

**Populism: Comparison of Populist Discourses in Latin America: Cases of Bolsonaro and
Maduro.**

How do Bolsonaro and Maduro of antagonistic ideologies coincide in the conformation
of their speeches to achieve their political goals?



**AALBORG
UNIVERSITET**

Jaime Vila (Student NO. 20201294)

Aalborg University

Master Thesis 31-05-2022

Professor: Óscar García Agustín

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jaime Vila', with a long horizontal line extending to the left.

Table of Contents

1. ABSTRACT	4
2. OUTLINE	5
Introduction	5
Body	5
Conclusion	5
3. INTRODUCTION	6
4. RESEARCH QUESTION	8
5. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	8
6. METHODOLOGY	8
6.1 Ontology and Epistemology	9
6.2 Research design and Data Collection	10
6.3 Selection of Theory	12
6.4. Limitations	12
7. LITERATURE REVIEW	14
8. THEORY	15
8.1 Populism: Theory of Governance	15
8.1.1 Populism: a definition	16
8.2.2 Inclusionary Vs Exclusionary Populism	19
9. SOCIAL-POLITICAL CONTEXT	22
9.1 Jair Bolsonaro	24
9.2 Nicolas Maduro	25
10. ANALYSIS	25
10.1 Jair Bolsonaro’s Speech	25
10.1.1 Address at the United Nations in 2020 amid Covid-19	25
10.2.1 Bolsonaro’s Campaign Speech	27
10.2 Nicholas Maduro’s Speech	28
10.2.1 Campaign Speech	28
10.2.2 Speech to End Sanctions at the UN’s 76th Session September 22, 2021	29
11. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS	30
11.1 Maduro’s Electoral Campaign Speech	30
11.2 Bolsonaro’s Speech during the Campaign	33
12. DISCUSSION	36

13. CONCLUSION	41
14. REFERENCES	44
15.1 Bibliography	44
14.2 Webography	46

1. ABSTRACT

The Comparison of Populist Discourses in Latin America, the Cases of Bolsonaro and Maduro, against the Principles of Liberal Democracy takes shape in the science and ideology of populism. This paper makes an exclusive step in analyzing the speeches of two populist leaders: Nicholas Maduro, the President of Venezuela, and Jair Bolsonaro, the President of Brazil. In particular, the paper looks into the nature of speech directed to campaigns and the United Nations. Campaign speeches are generally the most difficult to locate since they were made before the politician was elected and thus are not often documented on any official website. The UN speech is considered an international speech because it has a significant or primary audience of common people, including diplomats. Examining Bolsonaro's speech is the first step in understanding what occurred in Brazil's contentious 2018 federal elections. Brazil may be an instance where demand for populism meets supply, but this can only be recognized by comparing populist supply with voter desire for populism, which necessitates the examination of public opinion data. On the other hand, addressing the speech that Bolsonaro directed to the UN concerning the Covid-19 pandemic and environmental conservation approaches enables us to understand his stance on health and the environment. Maduro's speeches are constantly urging for the sovereignty of his country and people. He feels that sanctions put by the UN are detrimental to the people whom he swore to protect in his campaign. According to his belief, the UN should not impose sanctions upon the country's resources, such as national oil. Instead, his country's financial accounts are being pursued, gold has been confiscated and blocked from the Central Bank of Venezuela's lawful foreign reserves in London, and billions of dollars in bank accounts in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere have been seized and blocked. This is opposite to his populist ideology and opinion.

Keywords: *Populism, populist, campaign, speech.*

2. OUTLINE

Introduction

- Introducing the purpose of this thesis.
- Defining populism theory and its application in Latin America, especially in Brazil and Venezuela.

Body

- Interpretivism emphasizes that an individual's perception and interpretation of social reality are shaped by the ideological beliefs that he or she holds.
- Description of how the study uses inductive reasoning to achieve its purpose.
- Identification and conceptualization of the four speeches by the two leaders.
- The primary element for populism's growth is a widespread belief that existing structures cannot address societal issues.
- Identify the populist differences between the two leaders
- Discourse analysis of the speeches realizes their populist stature.
- Discussion of the results of the speeches and their implications.

Conclusion

- Wrap up two populist ideological differences between the two leaders.
- Show antagonism as the primary tool to strengthen the populist leader's position.
- The two presidents' message is anti-elite in the name of the sovereign people.

3. INTRODUCTION

This thesis is based on a multimodal critical analysis of various discourses. First, it analyzes various speeches to underlay the discourses in Latin America's populist and liberal democracy. Consequently, when the term "populism" is used to describe Latin American politics and history, it connotes a negative attitude toward governments other than liberal European democracies. I will then provide a new viewpoint on Latin American populism, which allows for a deeper, more complicated perspective, including the critical role of "the people" as a discursive actor capable of displacing a populist leader, particularly in the case of mediatized democracies. Finally, through the extensive analysis of Bolsonaro and Maduro's speeches, the paper developed a comprehensive stance and understanding of populism and liberal democracy and was envisioned by their speech at various conferences.

While populism is first and foremost a collection of beliefs that numerous political actors may implement, there is no such thing as a prototype populist leader; yet, according to scholarly and popular research, the charismatic strongman is the archetypal populist (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2017, pp. 62). However, the set of classic populist characteristics varies with each culture. Given the diverse contexts in which they function, we may assume that Donald Trump and Nicolas Maduro have distinct characteristics as persons. Nonetheless, all populist leaders position themselves as the voice of the people, which implies they are both political outsiders and genuine advocates of the common people.

Historians sometimes refer to Latin America as the "country of populism" because of its long history of populist politicians and movements (de la Torre, 2017). Populism in Brazil, as in other Latin American nations, stems from the middle of the twentieth century and is one of the most visible manifestations of the region's strong personalism in politics. However, populism has received little attention from Brazilian academics in recent years. This is because Brazil is appealing to the North with its Science. Without Borders' effort rather than looking to the region for partnership. Nevertheless, there is a reason to believe that the recent general election in Brazil signals the resurgence of populism in Brazil, which is aligned with a global wave of rising

populist politicians such as Donald Trump in the United States, Viktor Orban in Hungary, Recep Erdogan in Turkey, the "Five Star Movement" in Italy led by a populist politician, Matteo Salvini, or Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines.

The literature splits causes for populist leaders' success or failure into two dimensions: demand and supply. If we want to understand how voters become more likely to accept and defend populist values and, as a result, elect populist leaders and parties, we must first comprehend the demand for populism. Populist sentiments in a society, on the other hand, only have behavioral consequences in certain settings when leaders function as a "catalyst in the activation of populist attitudes" (Hawkins & Kaltwasser, 2019, p. 15). According to preliminary studies, Bolsonaro's campaign speeches contain populism, patriotism, and nationalism elements (Hawkins & Kaltwasser, 2019). His average populist score during the campaign (even in his first months in office) is more significant than any previous Brazilian president in the last 20 years.

Similarly, in one of his speeches, Nicholas Maduro said, "North American imperialism, go fuck yourself with your orders because the sovereign people rule here in Venezuela." Maduro's address marks his return to the international scene after a year away while the country was engulfed in political turmoil. He has been charged with narcotics charges by the United States, which does not recognize him as Venezuela's rightful President. Had the epidemic not caused the United Nations conference to go virtual, Maduro would have indeed boycotted this year's sessions as well.

Once we know the intent of the research we will follow up with the problem statement of the thesis.

4. RESEARCH QUESTION

How do Bolsonaro and Maduro of antagonistic ideologies coincide in the conformation of their speeches to achieve their political goals?

5. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- i. Conceptual: Understand populism and principles of liberal democracies and brought about Bolsonaro and Maduro speeches.
- ii. Comparative: Compare populism and liberal democracies using interpretivism ontology.
- iii. Analytic: Deep analysis of Bolsonaro and Maduro speeches to understand their undisputed exercise of populism.

6. METHODOLOGY

The methodology provides a description of actions needed to be taken to investigate the problem statement by using specific procedures or techniques to identify, select, process and analyze information obtained to understand the problem (Kallet, 2004).

The methodology section of this thesis answers three main questions: How was the data collected or generated? And, how was it analyzed? (Kallet, 2004). Lastly, how was the data analyzed used to answer the problem statement?

This section of this paper has been divided into various sections to address specific issues as they unfold distinctively:

- Ontology and Epistemology

- Research design and Data collection
- Selection of Theory
- Limitations

6.1 Ontology and Epistemology

Using a paradigm in my thesis gives us direction and path to conduct our research thoroughly.

I chose the **interpretivism** paradigm because it emphasizes that an individual's perception and interpretation of social reality are shaped by the ideological beliefs that he or she holds. According to Scauso (2020), rather than being obtained or forced from elsewhere, knowledge is gained via personal experience. The interpretive paradigm holds that reality is multi-layered and complicated, with various interpretations for a single occurrence. This research methodology is employed to assist me in understanding and illustrating how individuals perceive and interact with their social surroundings when investigating a topic. The social environment, traditions, norms, and standards of a particular individual or group are critical components in evaluating and comprehending human behavior (the truth is significant and susceptible to these subjective aspects); hence, analogies with hermeneutics and phenomenology exist.

I will use this paradigm to analyze how Bolsonaro and Maduro see social life as a uniquely human product. Interpretivism believes that reality is socially produced rather than objectively defined. The fundamental notion is that placing individuals in their social situations will make it easier to judge their actions. Understanding and interpreting the meanings generated requires understanding the situation's uniqueness. Interpretivism values what individuals say, do and feel and how they make sense of the studied occurrences. Individuals or groups assign meaning to their experiences, and interpretivism emphasizes this. Trends, themes, and patterns develop as a result of the research process, and the researcher's duty should be to comprehend real-life circumstances from an insider's perspective (Integrity, 2016).

Interpretivism describes a methodological approach to social science research motivated by philosophies such as phenomenology and hermeneutics, focusing on how humans make sense of their surroundings. This is precisely the discourse of populism. My theoretical and conceptual

framework is enriched as I understand the social environment and the formed reality grow. As a result, theory and research have a two-way interaction. Our knowledge of issues is informed by social theory, which aids us in making research decisions and making sense of the world. Our study experience and findings influence my theorizing. The theory will invariably be abstract since it only accounts for a portion of the complex social environment. Nevertheless, researchers can use such a theory to connect the abstract with the concrete, theoretical, and empirical.

Our thinking and knowledge are constantly constrained by the things we have been exposed to, our own unique experiences, and the meanings we have imparted. Our humanity and knowledge inform and frequently drive us as we go through the research process, and details like intuition, values, beliefs, or past information often impact our perception of the phenomenon under examination. To think of the universe as external and apart from our knowledge and comprehension is to overlook the subjectivity of our efforts.

6.2 Research design and Data Collection

The selection of data is an important part of the project as it provides a systematic approach and defines the path of the project as well as the problem statement. The initial research was made to obtain background data and a general understanding of populism.

The process of collecting and preparing the data for analysis is essential for any project. The different data and methods of collecting give different aspects of reality and thereby a deeper understanding of the issue will be gained by combining several collection methods and types of data in a single project.

The research design of this thesis utilizes **inductive reasoning**, based on logical reasoning that entails making broad generalizations based on individual instances, observations, or facts known to be true or false.

In the case of the Brazilian President we have researched the following sources for the analysis:

- 1. Remarks by President Jair Bolsonaro at the General Debate of the 75th Session of the United Nations General Assembly – September 22, 2020**. <https://www.gov.br/mre/en/content-centers/speeches-articles-and-interviews/presid-2020>

[ent-of-the-federative-republic-of-brazil/speeches/remarks-by-president-jair-bolsonaro-at-the-general-debate-of-the-75th-session-of-the-united-nations-general-assembly-september-22-2020](https://www.ft.com/content/324df26b-eac0-468b-b738-9258f5d82aa5)

2. **Jair Bolsonaro's 2018 electoral campaign (general ideological discourse)**
<https://www.ft.com/content/324df26b-eac0-468b-b738-9258f5d82aa5>

Similarly, the investigation considered for Maduro populism theory of governance will be based on the following two sources:

1. **Speech to End Sanctions at the UN's 76th Session on September 22, 2021).**
<https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/09/1100822>
2. **Nicolas Maduro presidential electoral campaign speech**
https://www.wikiwand.com/en/2018_Nicol%C3%A1s_Maduro_presidential_campaign

This is applied to investigating and evaluating the four speeches, which will provide the thesis with a broad picture of their political philosophy, that in both cases has been labeled as populist. For the project, it would use both **primary and secondary qualitative and quantitative sources** to analyze their terminology, situations, and how their beliefs are tied to the worldwide populist climate to understand the ramifications of their ideas better. These speeches were selected by interview with prior approval from my supervisor.

How was the data analyzed used to answer the problem statement?

The last mentioned sources have been subjected to a deep and critical reading with the intention of compiling the largest number of distinctive elements of each analyzed president (Maduro and Bolsonaro). In order to carry out the analysis that will be presented in the following sections in the most complete way. Each distinctive linguistic element that allows the understanding of the political discourse of each test to be analyzed will be exposed and disseminated with the greatest rigor of analysis, giving the investigation depth in terms of the compilation and interpretation of the populist discourse in its Venezuelan and Brazilian drift.

Following the next point we will develop the chosen theory and its relevance for the study.

6.3 Selection of Theory

In order to develop my analysis, I draw on a populism theory that has been defined and shaped by a number of academic authors, including ByBlendi Kajsiu, Mara de Guadalupe Salmorán Villar, Emmanouil Mavrozacharakis, Morelli, M., Nicol, A., & Roberti, Cas Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal, Franciso Panizza, Martin Retamozo, José Luis Villacañas and Ruth Wodak. There is a connecting link between the problem statement, method selection, gathered data, analyses, and probable conclusions; all of these sources are **valid and reliable** with potential conclusions. (Harboe, 2013).

This investigation, is relevant as it gives a interdisciplinary view of both the political situation of the Brazilian and Venezuelan regimes through the representation of the political will of its leaders, portraying this last one on their respective discourses and speeches. Thanks to this, it will be easier to give an explanation of the rise of populist movements in the Latin American region. Having this in mind, it is no wonder that the discourse of “the people” has the potential to influence the target it appeals to, which is the prime objective of this thesis.

6.4. Limitations

This section presents the boundaries of the project. The limitations describe situations and circumstances that may affect or restrict the project.

1. The major constraint I discovered is that the scope of definitions and literature on populism is so vast on the internet. Therefore, a significant amount of synthesis was required when carrying out this activity.
2. Because the analytical approach has been from interpretivism, it has been difficult to separate pure personal opinion from the more objective linguistic and interpretive dissection.

3. Analyzing an ideological political framework solely from a discourse is a very difficult task to complete successfully. I had to broaden the context and rely on external contextual references to interpret it in order to correctly approach my problem statement.
4. Limitation when making Maduro and Bolsonaro comparable.

In the next section we will talk about other projects and those we have come across and served as inspiration.

7. LITERATURE REVIEW

The following section will contain the literature/projects I have come across and served as inspiration for writing my thesis.

1. A book named ``POPULISM AND FOREIGN POLICY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA`` By Gratius and Rivero. This book has served as a great source of knowledge and inspiration. As a short description of what the book aims at is exploring the foreign policy of populist movements and leaders. Among other topics, it investigates how populism affects the foreign policy of States, what new topics and discourses it proposes, or what its contribution is to issues such as globalization, trade, security and migration. Through several case studies from Europe and the Americas, the book finds out if there is a core of international values common to populisms of different ideology and geographical origin, or if such differences are too wide to be able to speak of a populist international.
2. My exam in International Politics, Migration and Movements, this project I wrote was focused on analyzing ``*Remarks by President Jair Bolsonaro at the General Debate of the 75th Session of the United Nations General Assembly – September 22, 2020*``. Using either Kazowicz's theory on global governance and/or theory on populism (e.g., Cas Mudde, 2004). This was my main source of inspiration in my thesis to gain wider knowledge of what Populism represents in LATAM.
3. In the same way, a previous semester project where we analyzed ``*In which ways can the identity of the gang, MS-13, be understood and how can one connect their identity with cultural violence?*`` was a good source of inspiration. The aim of this study was by using the MDA theory in addition to the Social Identity Theory to connect the identity with cultural violence and at the same time analyzing tattoos, gang signs, clothes, music, language.

Once we have understood where the inspiration for writing this thesis came from, we can dive in the theory that will be further developed in the analysis.

8. THEORY

8.1 Populism: Theory of Governance

By definition, populism, as an ideology, assumes that society is divided into two antagonistic groups: the people and the elite. The populace is portrayed as a cohesive and honest bunch energized by populist rhetoric (Mudde, 2004). The people depend on the situation, but by definition, they are anti-establishment (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017). For example, the "heartland" or "silent majority" were mobilized during the 2016 US presidential election and Brexit vote. The elite are often portrayed as strong and prominent but corrupt entities in business, culture, or media, acting as the people's adversaries (Mudde, 2004). Mainstream news outlets, for example, might be viewed as an institution that some populists oppose.

Academic interest in the populist phenomenon has grown as it has spread empirically. This rising corpus of knowledge, however, is disjointed. Populism has been defined in various ways, sometimes not defined at all, and sometimes declared unsuitable due to its problems. It has been characterized as an ideology, a strategy, a political discourse, a movement, and a mode of communication. Several academic disciplines, including history, political science, and sociology, have studied the phenomena (Mudde, 2017). Furthermore, populism is typically associated with negative connotations in the European context, but it is viewed as a much more positive phenomenon in the South American context, where it is viewed as a democratizing and equalizing movement (Ostiguy, 2017).

Populist ideologies are best represented in its leaders' speeches. Because it is a centralized ideology, it is a moral discourse deployed by any political party or actor. In other words, populism "necessarily looks tied to... other ideas" (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2017, p. 6). Populism may take on several shapes by combining with other major ideologies (such as socialism and conservatism).

The primary distinction between these kinds is that the movement depicts "the people" and "the corrupt elite," as they are pliable and alter depending on the circumstances.

The collective identification of populist movements, i.e., the "people," is a context-driven notion that typically refers to an economic or cultural identity contrasted with some elite or governing group. Unfortunately, this concept of "people" has become homogenized due to the tendency to create idealized images of the group - a collective identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Typically, right-wing populist groups or leaders will have an exclusionary view of the people, commonly divided along ethnic or national lines (Mudde, 2007). In contrast, while left-wing populist parties and leaders may occasionally use ethnopopulist language, they also value multiculturalism and place a higher focus on socio economic groupings (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017).

In order to understand the theory of populism in this context of the speech, first, we need to understand the various dimensions of populism:

8.1.1 Populism: a definition

The definition of Populism, as stated by Mudde, Cas & Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal (2013) (following Giovanni Sartori's approach (1970)), is so complex, disputed, and polyhedral that, in order to be effective, we must adhere to "the promotion of minimal definitions.". "These include only the core – necessary and sufficient – attributes of a concept. Minimal definitions have the advantage of being able to examine a wide range of scenarios (high extension) because they are based on a small number of properties (little intension).

In order to assemble and describe the characteristics of such a political movement, we will mostly use Panizza (2005) and Wodak (2017) definitions:

- A. **National Identity and Leader's national Identification:** There is a heavy focus on the common identities of the leader and the people: shared values and characteristics that not only unite but also define them as a nation, with the leader as the incarnation of that identity. According to Panizza (2017), identification is formed through a process in which the populist leader and the people respond to one other and collaborate to form a common

identity. Populist leaders identify with their constituents and tailor their discourse to the social situation. Populist leaders "promote the low," positioning themselves outside the elite and closer to the masses. Furthermore, the people are elevated to the status of actual sovereigns, a society in which the other is deposed, and the People rule as the sole demo is promised. Raising the people to be the actual demos also provides a moral rationale for ruling only in their interests while excluding substantial community segments (Müller, 2017, pp. 596–597).

- B. **Antagonism:** Such a distinction must be made between those who are sincere defenders of common ideals and those who are not: In practice, the **concepts of "us" vs "them."** The good vs the bad: Immigrants, foreign powers, ideologies, religion, and ethnicity could all put a populist leader's convictions to the test (Panizza, 2005; Wodak, 2017). To some extent, a populist leader's politics is based on suspicion and fear. By naming **scapegoats**, populism creates a "us" vs. "them" division, with the "us" typically consisting of the leader and the people, and the "them" typically consisting of the elite and/or the rest of the scapegoats as defined by the leader. To some extent, distrust and dread are fundamental to the politics of a populist leader.
- C. **One people, one voice:** A populist leader is referred to as the people's voice, meaning that the leader's aspirations are the same as those of the people. The leader's job is to make sure that the people's wants are met and satisfied properly, yet the people in question are mostly ordinary citizens who aren't part of the elite.
- D. **The Speech:** Bolsonaro and Maduro's speech focuses not on the people but on the state and the **nation**. The study of populist leader targets the people, and when a general need or disagreement is identified, the charismatic leader uses it as a tool for his speech, promising to give a bigger concern to those social problems and unfair situations, using for demagogic constructs in their narrative. That is why, Kajsiu (2017) points out the need of analyzing not only the populist leader's discourse itself, but also its social impact for, as stated by Villacañas (2015), the role of the leader is "to always turn faulty intellectual representations into emotive representations. The unrepresentable from the conceptual point of view becomes representable from the personal point of view" (p. 68).

- E. **Use of colorful and undiplomatic text:** To separate themselves from the ruling class, populists frequently employed "colorful and undiplomatic rhetoric." Several populist leaders have made a name for themselves by speaking in local languages rather than French or English. Populist leaders frequently depict themselves as people of action rather than words, citing the necessity for "bold action" and "common sense answers" to challenges they refer to as "crises." (Kajsiu, 2017) Male populist leaders frequently use plain, sometimes vulgar language to portray themselves as "the ordinary man" or "one of the boys" in order to increase their populist appeal.
- F. **Authoritarian vs. liberal populism:** Cynicism about human rights, animosity toward the state, aversion to immigration, and enthusiasm for a robust defense and foreign policy are all signs of authoritarianism. Beyond majority rule, the majoritarian model of democracy questions the function of independent constitutional courts as institutions preserving fundamental rights and the rule of law. A classic example of a country whose leaders exercise authoritarian populism is Venezuela. Populism will persist as long as liberalism contributes to the inability of unhappiness to be expressed properly through Democratic Party politics (Bilgrami, 2021).
- G. **Democracy and polarization:** Differences in political beliefs and policy objectives are signs of a functioning democracy. Scholarly questions address changes in the amplitude of polarization over time, the extent to which polarization is a feature of American politics and society, and whether there has been a shift away from focusing on victories and toward controlling the (perceived) morally repugnant supporters of the opposition party.

In conclusion, Morelli, Nicoló, and Roberti (2021) demonstrate that the essential trait of populism is:

- A dedication to a popular program.
- Anti-elite rhetoric, bolstered by disinformation.

- A balancing of the elite's endogenous activity, mindful that popular fear is its most powerful weapon, that attempts to increase.

Mavrozacharakis's (2018) research adds to this notion by emphasizing:

- Populism incites negative emotions in people such as fear, indignation, and prejudice.
- Populists believe that by using the dialectic of us (the people) against the enemy (those who are different), they can shape the will of the people: “The populist discourse is above all a narrative about an enemy, an attempt to prove his hostility from him, and a rhetorical battle against the enemy” (Olschanski: 2017, p.77, cited in Mavrozacharakis, 2018).

Another very important term that has gained importance within Populism is:

8.2.2 Inclusionary Vs Exclusionary Populism

Depending on our analysis of Bolsonaro's and Maduro's speech, the necessity of placing the President of Brazil and Venezuela ideas within a larger perspective on the positioning of Populism in relation to the political situation in LATAM and the Western World cannot be overlooked. Academics such as Mudde, Cas & Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal (2013), and Retamozo (2017) bring up a new aspect of Populism to the table: the distinction between Inclusionary and Exclusionary Populism. The three authors convey that the idea that Populism generates a conceptual axis depending on the quality of "scapegoats", that axis would be inextricably tied to the populist leader's philosophy - in this example, Bolsonaros and Maduros' -.

A clear characteristic is a sense of belonging to a group that distinguishes itself from others via a shared culture, language, and history in the concept of nationalism. The nation is generally built by a clear antagonism between the country and other groups, influencing the choice to join the nation. The People, like in populism, is a created object, this time through nationalist discourses in which the country is the organizing principle. As a result, it is an exclusionary practice that separates individuals into groups, with those belonging to the country

constituting the most significant group and the other groups constituting the non-nation group. Furthermore, a key component of nationalism is the notion that the nation has the right to be sovereign and independent (Wodak, 2015).

The strategy of calculated ambivalence enables political actors to communicate different messages to different audiences simultaneously (Wodak, 2015, pp. 62–63). For example, discriminatory statements tend to be coded into insinuations, inferences, or presuppositions, which are understood only by a certain group. Other strategies include referring to posed danger to the homogenous community to legitimize the **exclusionary** agenda and describe the Self as unique and superior to distance itself (Wodak, 2015). Furthermore, it is common to attempt to shift blame and responsibility, including creating scapegoats. Lastly, another strategy is to simplify issues by portraying them as black and white (Wodak, 2015).

- A. **Exclusionary populism** could be defined when the notion of “people” matches with the idea of a community (regarding an autochthonous territory), the “enemies of the people” will be the “immigrants”, multilateral institutions, foreign economic interests, for instance. Based on this rhetoric of xenophobia, described as “populist,” Europe, for example, is witnessing how certain political movements defend the identity and cohesion of the EU countries against the migration and permanence of foreigners from outside the EU. For instance, during the Trump administration, the notion of an isolated United States of America -America First- led, for example, the US withdrawal from UNESCO, the trade war with the EU and China, and the proposal to build a wall along the Mexican border. (Markou, 2017)
- On the other hand, according to Grigoris Markou, **inclusionary populism** provides for the political union of marginalized social groups and people, hence expanding the borders of democracy. According to him, Latin-American and South-European populisms are largely inclusive and egalitarian, whereas North-American and North-European populisms are **exclusionary** and hierarchical. As a result, according to Markou, left-wing

populist parties in Latin America have met many public aspirations while laying the groundwork for a new 'pluralistic' and more democratic society. (Markou, 2017)

Exclusionary populism is typically represented by radical right-wing parties and is related to nationalism, whereas inclusionary populism is typically expressed by left-wing organizations and is paired with progressive patriotism. Inclusionary populism also provides for the political integration of marginalized and excluded individuals, broadening the scope of democracy. Exclusionary populism views people as an ethnically or culturally homogenous entity and excludes people (migrants and minorities) for racist and nativist motives (Markou, 2017). Latin American and South European populisms are predominantly inclusive and equitable (socioeconomic dimension), whereas North American and North European populisms are primarily exclusionary and hierarchical (socio-cultural components).

Another example of **inclusionary** populism is linked to Bolivia and Evo Morales' Movement to Socialism (MAS), which is classified as "ethno-populist," which implies that it appeals to the people but from an ethnic perspective to create another sort of enmity towards Spanish conquerors and Criollos. It is not a dilemma pitting the clever community against immigrants (foreigners) in this scenario; rather, the people will be the original indigenous peoples, with the Spanish Colonial Empire as the scapegoat. (Maria Guadalupe de Salmorán 2017).

<i>Identification of external enemy</i>	<i>External targeting</i>	<i>Demagogy leads to populism</i>	<i>Exploring populism</i>	<i>Leader</i>
Base of Nationalism→ Us Vs Them.	Domestic delimiting of the nation→ Who is "Us"?	Charismatic leader that radicalices the national feeling.	Exclusionary VS. Inclusionary.	Identification Style

Figure 1. Self Made

On the table above we can see how this would derive in different types of populism, creating an antagonism between the Us and Them in hand with and identification of either an exclusionary or inclusionary political leader.

According to Markou, left-wing populist movements do not always contain nationalism and xenophobia, as seen by their anti-racist stance. However, progressive patriotism, a sense of pride in a culturally or territorially defined group, can be used. Patriotism is typically described as the endurance of love or allegiance to one's nation instead of xenophobia or hatred of outsiders. In addition, patriotism draws into the emotional component of one's sentiments about one's country, whereas nationalism displays a sense of national superiority and a desire for national supremacy.

Once we have defined our theory that shall be used later on in the analysis of the project we will dive into the socio-political context of both leaders, Maduro from Venezuela and Bolsonaro from Brazil.

9. SOCIAL-POLITICAL CONTEXT

In order to understand populism, it is necessary to comprehend its development through the Latino American region:

The first wave of Latin American populism began in 1929, at the beginning of the Great Depression, and lasted until the end of the 1960s. Politicians in several nations acquired power by emphasizing "the people," including Getlio Vargas in Brazil, Juan Perón in Argentina, and José Mara Velasco Ibarra in Ecuador (Conniff, 2012). These were based on the Americanismo philosophy, which promoted a shared identity throughout Latin America while condemning any meddling from colonial nations.

The second wave arrived in the early 1990s. Many Latin American countries were in economic crises in the late 1980s, and various populist leaders were elected by criticizing the elites for the predicament. Carlos Menem in Argentina, Fernando Collor de Mello in Brazil, and

Alberto Fujimori in Peru are a few examples (Conniff, 2012). Once in power, these people implemented the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) suggested neoliberal economic measures to stabilize the economy and halt hyperinflation. However, unlike the first, the second wave did not place a premium on Americanismo or anti-imperialism.

The third wave began in the late 1990s and extended into the twenty-first century. The third wave, like the first, made extensive use of Americanismo and pro, but this time these themes were presented alongside an overtly socialist platform against the free market. Hugo Chávez of Venezuela, Evo Morales of Bolivia, Rafael Correa of Ecuador, and Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua are prominent examples. These socialist populist administrations have presented themselves as returning sovereignty "to the people," namely through the convening of constituent conferences that would draft new constitutions, which would then be confirmed through referendums.

A hypothetical fourth wave of populist movements in Latin America for the future could have to do with a more than plausible disappearance of the United States as the world leader in favor of China. This would lead to a huge list of economic consequences at the level of international commerce and financiality that would sink the region in a great crisis, re-starting once again the circle of populism deeply developed in this text. It is further away from this analysis if the increase of influence of China over the Latin economies could actually enhance or soften the shock, but what is clear is that the relaxation of United State pinzers over them would maybe do worse than better when it comes to the political stability of these States.

9.1 Jair Bolsonaro

In the midst of highly politicized coverage of Brazil and the media's fascination with its controversial leader, Jair Bolsonaro, it is evident that the current administration is the most aggressive of the South American continent's conservatives forces. Bolsonaro's political beliefs have been defined as nationalist and populist, with him advocating far-right policies. His admirers, on the other hand, argue that his beliefs are more in line with conventional right-wing

conservatism. His electorate consists mostly of persons over the age of 34, the working middle to upper class (primarily in the country's southeast), conservatives in general, college graduates, some centrists, and the Christian right. According to various polls, Bolsonaro's major supporters are from Brazil's southeast, central-west, and south. His supporters are mostly white men, with a clear gender divide, with Bolsonaro doing poorly among female voters (mustering only 18 percent support with this demographic).

Despite the "left-leaning media frenzy" against him, Bolsonaro stated in a 2017 interview with journalist Claudio Dantas Sequeira from "O Antagonista", that his opinions on gun ownership, abortion, gender politics, and trade are directly aligned with those of centrist to right-wing US voters. He restated his intention to overturn several disarmament legislation, restore public security, and strengthen commercial connections with the United States, which he claims were severed during the administrations of Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff. In the run-up to his vote in favor of impeaching President Dilma Rousseff amid a massive corruption scandal, Bolsonaro paid tribute to Colonel Brilhante Ustra, an agent of Brazil's military dictatorship, and announced on the floor of the Chamber of Deputies that he was dedicating his pro-impeachment vote to Ustra's memory. Ustra was the chief of the DOI-CODI torture team, which reportedly tortured Rousseff during the military dictatorship. During the same session, left-wing deputy Jean Wyllys spit at him after he made a comment. Jair Bolsonaro and his followers, according to the lawmaker, committed homophobic atrocities.

9.2 Nicolas Maduro

Maduro was re-elected in May 2018, despite allegations of election fraud, and his administration has been a problem due to an escalating economic crisis and a wave of widespread demonstrations. Venezuela shortages and falling living conditions sparked protests in 2014, which grew into regular marches around the country, persecution of dissent, and a reduction in Maduro's popularity. According to The New York Times, Maduro's administration was held "responsible for grossly mismanaged the economy and plunging the country into a deep humanitarian crisis," as well as attempting to "crush the opposition by imprisoning or exiling

critics and using lethal force against anti government protesters." In 2015, an opposition-led National Assembly was elected, and in 2016, a campaign to recall Maduro began, which was eventually canceled by Maduro's administration; Maduro retained power through the Supreme Tribunal, the National Electoral Council, and the military. Juan Guaidó, the head of Venezuela's National Assembly, swore himself in as temporary president, launching a direct challenge to President Nicolás Maduro, Hugo Chávez's successor and the country's leader since 2013. Guaidó was later recognized as the rightful leader by the United States and a number of other countries. Despite that, Nicolas Maduro has been able to maintain power, overcome his lack of international support and become one of the major political influences in Latam.

10. ANALYSIS

10.1 Jair Bolsonaro's Speech

10.1.1 Address at the United Nations in 2020 amid Covid-19

Amid a corruption scandal and an economic and political crisis, the country found itself in a state of intense discontent, suspicion, and hatred against the political elite. It is possible to build a direct link to the topic of this study here: populism. According to Urbinati (2019), "populism finds fertile soil in nations where skepticism of parties and partisanship is particularly entrenched" (p. 173). This is precisely the situation in Brazil, and it is here that we may turn our attention to the major figure of this study: Jair Bolsonaro.

Throughout the COVID-19 epidemic in Brazil, Bolsonaro and his government have been accused of downplaying the problem, even though the number of Brazilians infected with the virus had increased rapidly by mid-2020. Bolsonaro said that COVID-19 was no more dangerous than "the flu," and his focus was the nation's economic revival, not the health catastrophe. In truth, as of early 2021, the Brazilian economy was reviving, albeit slowly and inconsistently, since the epidemic threatened to derail any economic recovery. In addition, Bolsonaro repeatedly accused political opponents and the media of inflating the virus's threat, calling it a "dream" concocted by the media.

In his speech, president Bolsonaro defended himself in handling Covid-19 and climate change at the UN. The President's address was delivered quietly, even monotonously at points, beginning with a dull sales pitch to investors touting sanitation and transportation services advancements. Then, he presented "a new Brazil whose reputation in the world has been restored" – a far cry from the country decimated by the coronavirus under his watch and ravaged by fires in the Amazon, where Bolsonaro had pushed for development.

Jair Bolsonaro is hardly a new player in Brazilian politics. Before becoming President, he had a nearly three-decade-long political career as a congress representative with several mandates. However, during the political upheaval that has engulfed Brazil in recent years, his image has acquired prominence as an alternative to the country's conventional and corrupt political system.

The conservative populist leader adhered to tried-and-true provocations on social and pandemic themes, regularly referring to "the traditional nuclear family" and condemning pandemic lockdown procedures. Doctors should be permitted to give "off-label" treatments against Covid-19, said the President, who has long advocated using the untested malaria drug hydroxychloroquine as a therapy. Brazil traditionally takes the lead in the General Assembly's weeklong schedule of speeches by member states, and Bolsonaro, who is up for coming reelection year, had already set a combative tone for his appearance, publicly defying the UN's "honor system," which requires foreign delegations to be vaccinated before entering the building. Bolsonaro confirmed that he would not be vaccinated since he was already infected with Covid-19.

However, while the Brazilian President has used his UN visits to reject foreign authority – demonstrating a similar aversion to being told what to do when it comes to another global catastrophe, global warming – he appeared to avoid any direct confrontation on that front. Instead, as flames blazed in the Amazon in 2020, he ordered the world to back off, alleging foreign operatives were exaggerating the wildfires in "the most cruel propaganda campaign." He has long portrayed environmental concerns raised by foreign governments, indigenous communities, and organizations as a precursor to a fictitious foreign invasion of the Amazon.

10.2.1 Bolsonaro's Campaign Speech

During the 2018 presidential campaign, his populist nature was in its full capacity. Bolsonaro softened his tone early in the campaign, according to political commentators, adopting a less combative and confrontational approach. Economically, he began to advocate for less government engagement (in contrast to the past, when he defended developmental policies). On the other hand, he maintained his harsh attitude on crime and support for "traditional family values." Bolsonaro also stated that he intends to reduce taxes across the board, notably on inheritances and enterprises, to spur growth and combat unemployment. He also pledged additional austerity measures and cuts in government spending, although he could not specify where the savings would be made. He also stated that he would try to reduce the size and complexity of the federal government through a range of deregulation initiatives. Bolsonaro's vows to restore security in the face of record-high crime and to end Brazil's chronic political corruption drew him massive public support. He declared in October that he would appoint liberal economist Paulo Guedes as his finance minister.

Throughout the campaign, academics expressed grave worries about the implications of Bolsonaro's victory for Brazilian **democracy**. Federico Finchelstein, a historian at the New School for Social Research who specializes in fascism, remarked in the weekly magazine *Foreign Policy*, "Bolsonaro's terminology is reminiscent of the Nazi rhetoric of persecution and victimhood. However, does sounding like a Nazi always make him a Nazi? He is not there yet, despite his belief in conducting elections. However, if he obtains power, things might change rapidly." According to Jason Stanley, a Yale philosopher who has written extensively on Nazism, Bolsonaro "uses more methods associated with fascism than American President Donald Trump." According to Harvard's Steven Levitsky, Bolsonaro is "obviously **authoritarian**," but not a fascist.

Early in his presidency, Bolsonaro concentrated on domestic and economic problems ranging from tax reform to adjustments to social security, but he faced an uphill struggle with Congress. Bolsonaro stripped the indigenous affairs agency FUNAI of the responsibility to identify and demarcate indigenous lands, claiming that those territories have tiny, isolated populations controlled by non-governmental organizations (NPOs) and proposing integrating

them into larger Brazilian society. Critics believed that such integration would result in the cultural assimilation of Brazilian Amerindians. After taking office, President Mauricio Macri was the first foreign leader Bolsonaro to welcome Brazil's official visit.

In August 2020, Bolsonaro's popularity rating began to rise during the epidemic, hitting its highest point since his election. In November 2020, he stated that if a COVID vaccination were available, he would not take it but subsequently stated that he would support any conceivable vaccine if the Brazilian Health Agency found it safe. Face masks, he said in the same show, were "the final taboo to go."

10.2 Nicholas Maduro's Speech

10.2.1 Campaign Speech

One of the most popular campaign speeches of Maduro is "pulling down all supermarkets that have hiked product prices". Maduro promised to take action against supermarkets and food centers around the country if they raised product prices in the coming days, claiming that after the 20 May poll, "I'll be president anyway...by hook or by crook." Maduro campaigned on the promise of establishing a "new economy" in Venezuela. The Bolivarian administration boosted expenditure on populist measures to persuade voters in Maduro's favor during the campaign. Analysts predicted that these initiatives would deepen the destructive impacts of Venezuela's situation.

For instance, Bolsonaro's campaign does not claim to be the people's representative or the defender of the popular will but rather Brazil's rescuer, the nation's protector, and the state against the enemy that has been in power for a decade. However, it is unclear whether he is referring to "the country" or "the State," it might be either. Nationalist rhetoric, according to Jenne, Hawkins, and Castanho Silva (2018), limits the borders of a sovereign ethnos to the group considered nationally dominant. Thus, "when political actors use national discourse, the result is

to reinforce or change these limits in the public mind" (Jenne, Hawkins, and Castanho Silva, 2019, p. 8).

10.2.2 Speech to End Sanctions at the UN's 76th Session September 22, 2021

President Nicholas Maduro addressed the UN that his nation was the victim of a "ferocious campaign" of constant and systematic attack by the United States and its allies in economic and financial sanctions. According to the President, Venezuelan oil businesses are barred from trading their goods or opening bank accounts to conduct commercial operations. In a pre-recorded address to the UN General Assembly, Maduro demanded the lifting of all sanctions against his country and expressed gratitude to the Organization's Member States for their assistance in this endeavor. However, in his act of populism, Maduro assured the Venezuelans that they had chosen the route of recovery and comprehensive progress for their country. They have chosen to deploy the productive powers of a country that has been subjected to an infernal embargo, criminal persecution, and brutal torture of its economic and social bodies. "And can we answer to the peoples of the globe, with bravery, decisiveness, intellect, and wisdom, 'Yes,' we can fight imperial aggressions and march forward?" he emphasized (United Nations, 2021).

Both Presidents, Nicholas Maduro, and Jair Bolsonaro seem to have a collision of political ideologies. Nicolas Maduro's second inauguration in Venezuela took place nine days after Bolsonaro's. The disputed results of Venezuela's 2018 presidential election triggered the Venezuelan presidential crisis when the National Assembly rejected the results, declared Maduro an illegitimate ruler since his first term ended, and nominated Juan Guaidó as acting President. Bolsonaro did not attend Maduro's inauguration and, like Argentina's Mauricio Macri and the United States Donald Trump, acknowledged Guaidó as Venezuela's rightful President. "We will continue to do everything possible to restore order, democracy, and freedom there," he stated.

11. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

But first it is necessary to understand how populism came to existence in general, and later on how it was established so well in the region of Latin America. For this purpose the next illustration will be shown.

Once the nation has been identified, it is the moment in which a charismatic leader (or less common institutions) adopts a radicalized nationalist discourse in which who belongs to said imagined community is further delimited, which allows a political affiliation of the followers of this radicalization greater than that of common nationalism. Therefore, and in short, a causal relationship can be established between Community → Nationalism → Demagoguery → Populism. Pattern that is going to be repeated in both cases of the analysis.

11.1 Maduro's Electoral Campaign Speech

I will perform a discourse analysis of one of the famous speeches Maduro gave during the presidential campaign: "*North American imperialism, go fuck yourself with your orders because here in Venezuela, the sovereign people rules.*" Maduro uses these strong and uncouth phrases to show how infuriated he was with the UN orders, giving an **example of usage of colorful and undiplomatic verbalization**. This relates to the second component of the populist message: anti-elitism, establishing the elite in an **antagonic** position. The anti-elite message is considerably more precise and more cohesive than the pro-people message because it is directed at specific institutions, groups, or individuals, applying the principle of **one people, one voice**. Although the populist message may be addressed against any type of elite — from cultural to intellectual, economic, and even judicial - it is most often focused on the political elite (Rooduijn et al., 2012). Indeed, "what European populists share is a rejection of the cartel-like dominance of entrenched political elites" (Jones, 2007, p. 38). They claim that the political elite "corrupts the relationship between leaders and followers, creates artificial divides within the homogenous population, and prioritizes their interests over the people's."

Maduro identifies people as sovereign. This concept of the people is founded on the **democratic** view of the people as the ultimate source of political power and as "the rulers." However, creating a **democratic** system does not mean that the gap between the governed and the governors are bridged. Under some conditions, the sovereign people may believe that they are not being (properly) represented by the ruling elites and, as a result, will take action against the establishment. This role serves as a reminder that the ultimate source of political power in a democracy is a collective body.

In his speech, he identifies the common people. The term "common people" refers to a larger idea that incorporates socioeconomic position and distinctive cultural traditions and popular beliefs, of course, one reality in which Maduro entitles himself, linking and identifying the president with the nation and vice-versa. It frequently refers to a critique of the dominant culture, which regards ordinary citizens' judgments, tastes, and values with distrust. In contrast to this elitist viewpoint, the concept of "the common people" defends the dignity and knowledge of groups excluded from power due to their socio-cultural and socioeconomic status. This is why populist leaders and constituencies frequently accept the prevailing culture's cultural aspects seen as substandard (Hawkins & Kaltwasser, 2017). Addressing the interests and beliefs of "the common people" is certainly one of the most prevalent appeals that we can find in many populist experiences. This meaning of the people is both integrative and divisive: it attempts to unify an angry and silent majority while simultaneously mobilizing this majority against a designated adversary (e.g., "the establishment"). This anti-elitist fervor is accompanied by a critique of institutions like political parties, large organizations, and bureaucracy, which are accused of distorting the "truthful" connections between populist leaders and "the ordinary people."

National Identity and Leader's national Identification: as he applies it in his campaign, this phrase refers to the national community, which can be described in civic or ethnic terms. This suggests that all people who are "native" to a nation are included and form a community with a shared life. As a result, separate communities of "people" symbolize distinct nations typically supported by fundamental myths. Nonetheless, defining the nation's borders is anything from straightforward. To equate "the people" with the population of an actual state has

proven to be a difficult undertaking, especially given the presence of numerous ethnic groups in the same area.

An extensive analysis of Maduro's speech shows that Populist strongmen want to portray themselves as men of action rather than words, brave enough to make tough and swift judgments, even against expert advice. As a result, they appeal to anti-intellectualism and a feeling of urgency, stating that the supposed catastrophe necessitates urgent action and common sense answers (Bonikowski, 2016). As a result, populist politicians prefer to adopt plain, even vulgar language to claim legitimacy among the general public. They appeal to "the average guy" by exploiting sexist stereotypes and using foul language.

"Venezuela demands the end of sanctions and urges leaders to build a 'new world.'" this speech addressed the national matters of Venezuela regarding the lifting of sanctions put by the United Nations. "We ratify our request, our demand that all criminal sanctions against the Venezuelan economy, against Venezuelan society by the United States and by the governments of the European Union be lifted," Maduro stated in a pre-recorded address to the United Nations General Assembly in New York. In his speech, he uses the populist phrase; "we" to show that the entire nation wants the sanction lifted. This is the spirit of one people, one voice. As a populist leader, Maduro is known as the people's voice, meaning that his aspirations are also the people's desires. His role is to guarantee that the people's demands are addressed and satisfied appropriately, yet the people are mostly regular citizens who are not members of the elite. In his quest, Maduro stated that sanctions have hampered the financial activities of Venezuela's state-owned oil business and have made it more difficult for his administration to pay for essential goods imports. He also used the situation to demand the release of gold reserves held by the Venezuelan Central Bank at the Bank of England.

The world must know that we are prepared to fight with the force of our history, our spirit, reason, and international law." (Armario, 2020). The President also called for a new world free of "colonialism" and "hegemonic empires" in his address. "A new world arises from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Native Americans in the United States of America." "A new world is being born to abolish the old hegemonies, end some pretending to be policemen and judges for all the globe's peoples," he stated. "It must be emancipated from any hegemonies

or empires' attempts at economic, financial, military, or political dominance; liberated from those who have looted, ruled, exploited, and oppressed people worldwide with their old predatory colonialism for ages," he continued. Maduro believes that his ideology to serve the Venezuelans is undisputed.

In his speech, Maduro stated that his nation had transitioned from a painful to a healing phase by 2021, with continuous growth in research, innovation, technology, and "spiritual ability." Us vs. them proves the identity and spirit of belonging; "We have chosen a path of recovery and comprehensive growth for our country." We have chosen to deploy the productive powers of a country that has been subjected to an infernal embargo, criminal persecution, and brutal torture of its economic and social bodies. "And can we answer to the peoples of the globe, with bravery, decisiveness, intellect, and wisdom, 'Yes,' we can fight imperial aggressions and march forward?" he emphasized (United Nations, 2021).

Finally, President Maduro called for the "construction of a new world" free of hegemony and founded on multilateralism and international law. "A new world arises from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean, as well as from Native Americans in the United States of America." "A new world that is reborn to terminate the old hegemonies, to put an end to some pretending to be policemen and judges of all the peoples of the globe," he added, noting that this new world also required a new United Nations.

11.2 Bolsonaro's Speech during the Campaign

One of the most important aspects of populism is the belief in and appreciation for popular sovereignty. Above all, the "people's will" should be honored and obeyed as the greatest principle conceivable as they represent the nation.

We are different from those who ruled over us over the past 20 years. With us, you will be in the first place; you will be our bosses! Together we can change Brazil; we won't have another opportunity.

Nonetheless, this "people" is changeable; it is a group that shifts and reshapes depending on the circumstances (Reinemann et al., 2017). In his campaign, Bolsonaro constructs "people" based on traditional and religious values from a cultural standpoint. He states:

Brazil is ours, "good citizens," workers, conservatives, Christians that preserve family values; that do not want gender ideology in classrooms; that want Brazil doing business with the entire world without an ideological bias.

He uses "we" and "our" to emphasize his followers' affinity with popular beliefs, which might represent an attempt to create a homogenous populist people and their "imagined community" and giving them a way to identify themselves (previously named as nation) with **Bolsonaro itself, who transforms in an extension of that nation**. However, in Bolsonaro's discourse, the "people" take a back seat. Its use is uneven and frequently implied, serving as a supplement to other favored expressions (for example, "Brazilians," "our country," "our nation," "(our) Brazil"). As a result, the "people" are eclipsed by other components unsuited for this people-centrism, which we shall explore shortly.

Aside from people-centrism, a populist's **speech** must denounce an elite as the root of all "bad," greedy and corrupt, and responsible for scheming against the people to steal their authority. "This **antagonist** is well delineated: he is a flawless model of malice, a type of amoral superman: menacing, pervasive, strong, cruel, sensual, luxury-loving," writes (Hawkins, 2009, p. 1044).

For instance, the terms "Brazil," "our flag," and "country" often occur, leaving less place for "people"; "we" and "the people" are synonymous with "the nation." Bolsonaro also makes frequent use of the word "Brazil." I believe that this is mainly because phrases like "people" are strongly connected with the left, specifically the political party (PT) – his major adversary – and serve as a strategy for him to distance himself from what he views as his "enemy."

In his campaign **speeches**, Bolsonaro openly admits that the opposition (the left and the PT) are his opponents, accusing the PT administration of being corrupt, ineffective, and responsible for carrying out a plan to promote its ideology while in office. Furthermore, Bolsonaro considers PT responsible for weakening the traditional family and its values.

Bolsonaro addresses PT with hostile rhetoric, getting harsher as the elections near, and publicly endorses non-**democratic** ways of defeating his political adversary. Populists may construct "the adversary" in an unclear manner at times; nonetheless, "the enemy" may be identified by evaluating the communication environment (Reinemann et al., 2017). It is feasible to determine that the adversary is PT in the following example: "No one is leaving our country because this homeland is ours, not this gang with a red flag and "brainwashed" members."

Bolsonaro's short **speech** was full of vigor. *'President of Brazil Jair Bolsonaro speaks during the 76th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, United States, on September 21, 2021'*. As he took the podium, he stated, "I came here to show a Brazil that is different from what is shown in the newspapers and on television," he told the chamber. "Brazil has changed, and a lot, since we assumed office in January 2019." He uses populist phrases such as "we" to represent the voice of the people he represents.

Brazil was regularly among the countries with the greatest number of illnesses throughout the epidemic, behind only the United States for a while. Bolsonaro is well-known because of his Covid-19 anti-vaccination. However, Bolsonaro defended himself, saying that "From the very beginning, in my country, I warned that we had two problems to solve, the virus and joblessness and that both issues had to be addressed simultaneously and with the same sense of responsibility." Here, he touches on the common citizens' immediate problems: lack of jobs. He understands very well that people are more interested in jobs and not the spread of the virus. "Under the mottos 'stay at home' and 'we will deal with the economy later on,' they almost brought about social chaos to the country," he said. "But our administration in a bold step put in place several economic measures that prevented a greater evil." (Diaz, 2021). In his speech, "us vs. them" is evident. "In my country" phrase is a considerable **antagonism**. This represents the government he leads versus the international bodies such as WHO.

Bolsonaro shows an implicit antagonism towards the mass media. Antagonism between him, speaking on behalf of "the population" (US) and the mass media (THEM), who has created social chaos which indirectly could be understood as something 'the people did not wish for. Bolsonaro makes the Brazilian media seem like **scapegoats** regarding Brazil's "social chaos" without considering that the Brazilian policies against Covid-19 could not prevent almost 20

million infections and almost 500k deaths. Bolsonaro is ‘**exclusionary**’ towards the Brazilian media.

According to the Brazilian President, the benefits of this climate action "have already begun to manifest." He reported a 32% decrease in deforestation in August compared to the same month last year in the Amazon. Although “We expect industrialized countries to meet their climate finance commitments in relevant volumes effectively," the **voices of the people** are still prominent. He reminded that his country's agriculture industry feeds more than one billion people worldwide while occupying just 8% of the national area, and he emphasized that "no country in the world has such comprehensive environmental regulations." Our Forest Code must serve as a model for other countries," he stated. As a country of continental dimensions, he acknowledged that the country confronts "significant environmental issues." The Amazon region alone is larger than the entire continent of Western Europe.

12. DISCUSSION

In order to make the reader understand why the populist movement has risen in such a manner in both Brazil and Venezuela, it is important to give a short explanation of how populism appears and grows as a political movement. First of all, the fundamental element for populism to appear is a period of crisis, generally economic, but it can be seen also after a national-ethnic crisis, a war or any other international affair that could harm the perspective of a population over their own country.

The next element to take into account is the apparition of a charismatic personality or a powerful enough institution for guiding the public opinion towards the previously established regime. Most of the time this guidance will take advantage of the priorly mentioned crisis and the poor performance of the former government to face it.

Finally, the spark flamed for the start of the fire of populism is the achievement of the populist leader to identify the mass with an oppressed class and the government and high officers of the forer government as the establishment and/or elite that must disappear in order to give “the people” what they desire as a class.

Therefore, as a lack of degeneration of the marxist revolutionary tradition, populism, now in the form of **“the people ”** begins a social (violent or not) revolution in which the old political powers are deposed. Giving them a free entrance to the populist forces to establish themselves as the new ruling elite.

According to the analysis findings, both leaders’ vital points are consistent with the main aspects attributed to populist speech, not only in the offline world but also in the online context, confirming the ideas provided by the literature on populism. The following discussion provides linkages and relationships between the analyses and ideas connected to this research issue. Furthermore, the analyst's perspective and critique, which are crucial components of our approach and will be given and supported by the analytical results and directed by the theories.

According to the sanctions imposed by the UN on Venezuela, to consolidate his supporters, Maduro held a solid stance. In a lengthy, pre-recorded statement that stretched more than twice as long as the allocated time, the socialist leader attacked what he called the United States' "criminal, barbaric aggression" aimed at deposing him from office. He states, “The world must know that we are prepared to fight with the force of our history, our spirit, reason, and international law.” The address marked Maduro's return to the international scene after a year away due to political turmoil in Venezuela. The United States, which does not recognize him as Venezuela's legitimate President, was charged with narcotics trafficking. Maduro would have likely boycotted this year's events if the epidemic had not compelled the United Nations meeting to be held virtually.

The political conflict in Venezuela, which pits Maduro against the US-backed opposition leader Juan Guaidó, regularly spills onto the international arena, where the world's largest nations have claimed a claim in the country's unrest. This year's internet General Assembly gave Maduro an advantage, relegating opposition leaders who attended side events with important leaders in 2019 to the sidelines. Guaidó, on the other hand, attempted to make his voice known by posting a pre-recorded video reply to Maduro on social media sites. He spoke as though addressing a room full of dignitaries while standing in front of four Venezuelan flags, calling his remark "an act of democratic vindication" by the country's "real representatives." Currently, Venezuela is in the middle of a spectacular economic fall that, even before the COVID-19

outbreak, was thought to be worse than the Great Depression in the United States. As a result, the Trump administration has imposed sanctions on the Maduro government. The punitive measures, according to Maduro, are the "illegal blockade" that has struck a crushing blow but that his administration has managed to avoid.

Despite his widespread unpopularity, Maduro continues to exert absolute authority over Venezuela. Guaidó, despite the support of powerful international leaders, is becoming increasingly impotent within the embattled country, his popularity dwindling as he tries to mobilize more than a tiny number of supporters at recent calls for protest. The United Nations has provided humanitarian assistance and brought attention to human rights violations. The secretary-general has pushed for talks. Although approximately 60 countries support Guaidó, many UN members favor Maduro.

Maduro's populist strategy made him win the elections. His promises won the hearts of Venezuelans. However, he has lost grip with his people. Rising division, electoral irregularities, an impending economic disaster, and large protests have characterized Maduro's seven years in power. Maduro's inept actions have further pushed the country into a downward spiral, forcing more than five million people to flee the country. The regime's developing **authoritarianism** was aided by political, economic, and social shocks. As the opposition gained public support during the elections and external pressure on Maduro mounted, he turned to anti-**democratic** tactics to keep power.

Despite his lack of popular support, Maduro shares several characteristics with past populist presidents. His rhetoric and political approach, which portray politics as a perpetual war between the good and the corrupt, are distinctly populist. Similarly, his battle for power at the price of increasing repression and limitations is consistent with previous populist leaders' dictatorial methods, as seen in Venezuela. According to numerous researchers, Maduro has converted an inherited semi-authoritarian system into a full-fledged **authoritarian** dictatorship (Marsteintredet, 2020).

He has attempted to find the widespread support of his predecessor and has failed to legitimize his reign at the elections due to a lack of personal charm and increasing oil income.

Instead, Maduro cemented his authority by distributing it to elites and the military. Externally, the country's social, economic, and political environments have contributed to foreign actors' (such as China who has increased its investment in the area) rising opinion that the regime is becoming increasingly **authoritarian** and unstable. Moreover, Maduro and his collaborators destroyed Venezuela's surviving **democratic** institutions despite the biggest threat to its existence both at home and abroad.

The Maduro government is still hesitant to compromise, which may weaken its grip on power. Maduro has maintained power through tacit and explicit power-sharing relationships with major domestic actors. Currently, the military is loyal to Maduro, and there are no indicators that this will change very soon. As recent political events indicate, especially in the absence of free and fair elections, unpopular populist Maduro will continue in power.

It is important to define the contribution this study intends to make to research on populism speech. First, it can be argued that considering the current populist concept and its relationship with the two populists' speeches has taken on a new dimension in terms of how they stand within the political realm; that is, they have gained central attention in political processes, and this reality applies to the Brazilian and Venezuelan political context. As a result, understanding populist speech, nuances, and problematic features become essential. This analysis uses the primary traits detected in Maduro and Bolsonaro's speeches to map the main techniques they employ. Understanding the nature of populist communication and analyzing the underlying meanings and intents hidden in the speech is one method to prevent normalizing a form of behavior that is gaining strength and poses a danger to **democratic** norms and practices.

As a result, the following discussion considers the critical points discovered in the research, analyzes the features recognized in a populist speech in the Brazilian and Venezuelan political environment, and stresses the significant points discovered in the investigation. Furthermore, the discussion describes the problematic elements of the discovered characteristics and strategies, emphasizing the importance of such aspects to the reasonable understanding of populist speech in contexts other than European and North American, demonstrating the actuality of a country in the international south where populist ideologies are presently part of the political reality.

Some regimes labeled as left-populisms (such as Maduro's Venezuela) may not appear to share the characteristics of right-wing nationalist populisms. However, they have elements like the threat of internal and external enemies, a focus on loyalty, surveillance, and "us" vs. "them," and a charismatic leader who rallies the crowd around the people's genuine interests. Such populisms are ultimately detrimental to gender differences, women, and democracy because of these aspects.

The ideas offered in this part help a general knowledge of populist speech by providing an overview of the main features revealed in the current study's research. It is conceivable to assert that populist communication in the Venezuelan and Brazilian context, as represented by Bolsonaro and Maduro, adheres to the essential characteristics of populist communication in other political situations. The significance of social media is crucial and quite important. In conclusion, this study contributes to the debate on populism and populist speech by broadening the understanding of the problem to a political context that is not central to the debate and emphasizing the aspects that define populism and how it manifests in these regions' political reality.

Whereas the aspects of populist communication identified in their speech reveal general patterns that allow an understanding of how populism manifests itself in the Latin American context, some aspects require further discussion due to their relevance and centrality in populist communication globally. One thing that emerged from the investigation is how Bolsonaro, as a populist leader, managed to bring together disparate societal needs and construct the image of a savior capable of resolving issues. These demands are brought together as a point of equivalency against the leader's specific actor or actors (Laclau, 2007). In this situation, there is a propensity to generate division, which takes the topic closer to the concept of **polarization** by employing techniques that create a sense of exclusion and a barrier between sectors of society.

Resolving this issue in this research focused on one of the most important characteristics of populism, which has been a reality in the Brazilian context. Political **polarization**, which was already strong before Bolsonaro's victory, was exacerbated. The instruments contributing to this escalation may be linked to the methods and arguments that comprise the speech in the populist wave that the Brazilian political setting is experiencing.

The study reveals how populist communication relies on different degrees of **polarization** in circumstances and with various players to create a schism within society. In the case of Venezuela and Brazil, this may be observed in the demonization of the image of the political left in Brazil, social movements, the media, and other political actors or people that oppose or criticize the administration. Although the distinction is symbolic, reality reveals that it can create significant societal divisiveness.

While addressing the UN on matters Covid, Bolsonarismo becomes a crucial concept in which the populist leader's authority and might are embodied in the populist government (Urbinati, 2019). It also refers to the concept of empty signifiers (Laclau, 2007) in the way he represents the fusion of demands, connected by the frustration and rage that finds uniqueness in the populist leader's form. The President manages to position himself as a leader who unifies disparate demands and is the voice of the decent people. This power may be observed in his speech, notably in how he portrays himself as a redemptive character capable of resolving the country's various problems. Through his intimate relationship with the people, which is mirrored in the speech, he puts forth the concept of representation and taking complete control of the situation, be it in his word choices or the repeated repetition emphasizing that his administration is transforming Brazil.

Some regimes labeled as left-populisms (such as Maduro's Venezuela) may not appear to share the characteristics of right-wing nationalist populisms. However, they have elements like the threat of internal and external enemies, a focus on loyalty, surveillance, and specially the "us" vs. "them," and a charismatic leader who rallies the crowd around the people's genuine interests. Such populisms are ultimately detrimental to gender differences, women, and democracy because of these aspects.

13. CONCLUSION

How do Bolsonaro and Maduro of antagonistic ideologies coincide in the conformation of their speeches to achieve their political goals?

Despite their differences in political culture and ideological assumptions, the two populist leaders share many language techniques and discursive methods. They are both engaged in anti-establishment rhetoric in which the status quo is portrayed as a crisis scenario that requires quick correction and emergency actions in the name of the people. Therefore, it can be said that the two presidents' message is anti-elite in the name of the sovereign people.

These concepts are conveyed through the use of crude language and plain and vulgar words in order to engage with the public. The populist leader is allegedly the moral and sovereign people's spokesman and purportedly speaks the truth (as it is also an extension of the nation's will), as seen by the frequent use of modal verbs and the uncommon use of any hedging mechanisms to soften the sharpness of their words. Their firm belief in their version of the truth is bolstered by using highly modal verbs like "shall" and "will". In addition, neither transitivity nor nominalizations are employed, so the speech stays as simple as possible. Instead, the two global leaders make categorical assertions about one another as the source of evil in a democratic society, i.e., they clearly say that "the other" (them) is to blame for deceiving "the people", even though they represent the voice of the same people.

In summary, I have reached the following result in the theoretical framework within which populist language should be investigated. It should be examined as a discursive frame through which the current political state of affairs, whether in the domestic political landscape or the arena of international relations, is seen as rapidly deteriorating, necessitating immediate action on the part of the populist leader in order to resolve the acute crisis liberal democracy and of people's representation adequately. The primary element for populism's growth is a widespread belief that existing structures cannot address societal issues. This development is thus not so much an ideological shift to the left as it is a reaction to a combination of a lack of strong institutions; social problems and inequality; ineffective civil society; charismatic and influential leaders emerge putting in jeopardy the constitutional basis, Separation of powers, Human rights, Freedom of expression.

A pesar de que ambos líderes manejan ideologías distintas, utilizan los mismos elementos para elaborar su discurso, que corresponden perfectamente a las distintas características del estilo populistas; Dicha ideología nace como consecuencia de la crisis de la democracia liberal en Latino America.

On the one hand, we have Maduro with an inclusive discourse closely linked to Bolivia and Evo Morales' Movement for Socialism (MAS), which is classified as "ethno-populist", that is, it appeals to the people but in an ethnic sense. to increase another type of enmity towards the Spanish conquerors and the Creoles. It is not a dilemma that pits the smart community against the (foreign) immigrants in this scenario; rather, the people will be the original indigenous peoples, with the Spanish Colonial Empire as the scapegoat.

And on the other hand, we have Bolsonaro, who, being exclusionary, also has populist characteristics, closer to the European Populism and the one which Donald Trump represented in his mandate with - America First -. Bolsonaro uses anti-elite rhetoric as their enemy. Therefore, populist policies are popular policies that go against the interests of a few who want to maintain their economic and political power (political opposition, economic international interests, opposing mass media, etc.). They play a unique role in LATAM, in direct contrast to European and Trumpist populism.

Bolsonaro and Maduro are the two exponents of the third great wave of populism that has occurred in LATAM, and they are the immediate precedent, especially Maduro, of the fourth wave that is coming with the new populisms such as those that have recently occurred after the elections Peru and Chile, and possibly in Colombia from June 19, 2022.

Populism has brought with it changes in democratic paradigms since they have involved changes in constitutions, as has occurred in Venezuela, or social confrontations, as have occurred in Chile or Colombia.

This concludes my thesis, thank you.

14. REFERENCES

15.1 Bibliography

Benford, R. D. & Snow, D. A., (2000), Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment, Annual Review of Sociology.

Bonikowski, B., (2016). Three Lessons of Contemporary Populism in Europe and the United States, The Brown Journal of World Affairs, 23(1).

De la Torre, C. (2017). "Populism in Latin America." The Oxford handbook of populism.

Goffman, E., (1974), Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press. Hawkins, K. A. & R. Kaltwasser, C., (2017), the Ideational Approach to Populism. Latin American.

Harboe, T. "Method and Project Writing", 2nd Edition. 2013.

Lakoff, G., (2004), Don't Think of an Elephant! Know Your Values and Frame the Debate. White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green.

María de Guadalupe Salmorán Villar (2017). "Populism: an anti-democratic ideology". Open edition journal.

Mavrozacharakis, E. "Populism and democracy: an ambiguous relationship. European Quarterly of Political Attitudes and Mentalities" (2018)

Morelli, M., Nicolò, A., & Roberti, P. (2021) "A commitment theory of populism. " Public Economics.

Jones, E. (2007). Populism in Europe. SAIS Review of International Affairs.

Kahneman, D., Tversky, A., (1984), Choices, Values and Frames, American Psychologist, 39 (4), 341–50.

Kajsiu, B.(2017) "A socio-morphological theory of populism: the case of Uribismo 2002-2010". *Análisis Político*, 209-225.

Kallet, R. H. (2004). *Organizing your social sciences research paper: 6. The Methodology*. Retrieved from USCLibraries: libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/methodology.

Laclau, E. (2007). *On populist reason*. London; New York: Verso

Markou, Grigoris. (2017). *the Rise of Inclusionary Populism in Europe: The Case of SYRIZA*. *Contemporary Southeastern Europe*. 4. 54-71.

Mudde, Cas & Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal. (2017). *Populism: a very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ostiguy, Pierre (2017). *The Oxford handbook of populism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 250-274 .

Panizza, Francisco (2005): "Populism and the Mirror of Democracy" Verso.

Reinemann, Carsten; Aalberg, Toril; Esser, Frank; Strömbäck, Jesper; Vreese, Claes H. (2017). *Populist political communication: toward a model of its causes, forms, and effects*. In: Aalbert, Toril; Esser, Frank; Reinemann, Carsten; Strömbäck, Jesper; Vreese, Claes H. (ed.). *Populist political communication in Europe*. New York: Routledge. pp. 12-29.

Rooduijn, M., de Lange, S. L., & van der Brug, W. (2012). *A Populist Zeitgeist: Program-matic Contagion by Populist Parties in Western Europe*. *Party Politics*.

Retamozo, M. "The political theory of populism uses and debates in Latin America in post-foundational perspective." *Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos*, 125-151. 2017.

Urbinati, N. (2019). *Me the People—How Populism Transforms Democracy*. Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press.

Villacañas, J. L.(2015) . "Populismo". Madrid: La Huerta Grande.

Wodak, R. (2015). *The politics of fear: What right-wing populist discourses mean*. London: Sage.

Wodak, Ruth: "The "Establishment", the "Élites", and the "People": Who's who?" Lancaster University/University Vienna. 2017.

14.2 Webography

Armario, C. (2020, September 24). *Venezuela's Maduro blasts US in speech to world leaders*.

AP

NEWS. <https://apnews.com/article/virus-outbreak-colombia-south-america-latin-america-united-nations-general-assembly-b989309fc89e6378a99939b0700ee24f>.

Bilgrami, A. (2021, September 9). *How liberalism paves the way for populism*. New

Statesman. <https://www.newstatesman.com/ideas/2020/11/how-liberalism-paves-way-populism>.

Diaz, J. (2021, September 22). *Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro remains defiant on COVID-19 and the environment at the UN*. Georgia Public

Broadcasting. <https://www.gpb.org/news/2021/09/22/brazils-jair-bolsonaro-remains-defiant-on-covid-19-and-the-environment-at-the-un>.

- Hu, C. (2021, September 21). *Analysis: 'Isolated' but defiant, Brazil's Bolsonaro defends handling of Covid and climate at UN.*
CNN. <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/09/21/americas/bolsonaro-brazil-un-speech-2021-intl-latam/index.html>.
- Intgrty. (2016, August 15). *Waiting for the redirectiron.* Waiting for the redirectiron. <https://www.intgrty.co.za/2016/08/15/research-paradigms-interpretivism/>
- Scauso, M. S. (2020). Interpretivism: Definitions, trends, and emerging paths. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.522>
- United Nations. (2021, September 24). *Venezuela demands the end of sanctions and urges leaders to build a 'new world.'* UN News. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/09/1100822>.