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Program of Postgraduation in International Relations

HOW DOES THE BEHAVIOR BETWEEN STATE LEADERS IN BRAZIL AND THE
UNITED STATES INFLUENCE DECISION-MAKING IN PRESIDENTIAL
DIPLOMACY: 2017 - 2022

Michael Kevin Warshaw

Belo Horizonte
2024

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Adviser: Professor Dr. Danny Zahreddine

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I want to thank my family and friends for their help, support, and dedication, making this possible, and my adviser for helping and guiding me along the way.

If a ruler lacks faith, so will the people. Unworthy rulers are despised. Common rulers are feared by their subjects. Good rulers win the affection and praise of their subjects. But when great rulers lead, the people are hardly aware of their existence. How carefully wise rulers choose their words; how simple are their actions. Under such a government, the people think they are ruling themselves.

Lao Tzu. Tao Te Ching (1868, p. 17)

ABSTRACT

Political psychology has played an essential role in decision-making as a foreign policy branch. Their personalities can be assessed by studying leadership diplomacy and the relationship between Brazilian and American leaders. These relationships can be explained by external factors such as health, personal matters, and even pressure from the historical event of interaction among nations, including foreign policy resulting from these interactions while in office. Thus, this project brings to understanding the origin and importance of these relations for both nations. The question that guides this research project is the following: Does the personality of a leader regarding their behavior result in/influence the decision-making through presidential diplomacy? The hypothesis that needs to be tested is that the behavior/personality of leaders influences decision-making in leadership diplomacy and to understand what these approaches are, and whether they occur due to personal reasons/interests or due to decision-making under the pressure of certain local events. As the relationship between American and Brazilian leaders from 2017 to 2022 shows, it is safe to assume that the flaws and merits are similar regarding personalities. Not to mention that the personalities are also a factor of approaching and the time pressure also draws attention to the approximation time.

Keywords: Leadership Diplomacy. Political Psychology. Decision Making in Foreign Policy. United States. Brazil.

RESUMO

A psicologia política tem desempenhado um papel essencial na tomada de decisões como ramo da política externa. Pode-se avaliar as personalidades dos líderes, ao estudar a diplomacia da liderança e o relacionamento entre líderes brasileiros e líderes americanos. Essas relações podem ser explicadas por fatores externos como saúde, questões pessoais ou até mesmo pressão do evento histórico da interação entre as nações, incluindo a política externa decorrente dessas interações durante o mandato. Assim, este projeto traz ao entendimento a origem e a importância dessas relações para ambas as nações. A questão que norteia este projeto de pesquisa é a seguinte: A personalidade de um líder quanto ao seu comportamento resulta/influencia na tomada de decisões por meio da diplomacia presidencial? A hipótese que precisa ser testada é: O comportamento/personalidade dos líderes influencia o momento de tomada de decisão na diplomacia de liderança e entender quais são essas abordagens, e se elas ocorrem por motivos/interesses pessoais ou por tomada de decisão pela pressão de determinados eventos locais. O principal objetivo desta pesquisa é determinar em que medida a personalidade e o comportamento influenciam um líder mundial quando ele precisa tomar decisões. Como podemos ver, a relação entre os líderes americanos e brasileiros estudados durante o período de 2017 – 2022, é seguro supor que as falhas e méritos são semelhantes em relação às personalidades. Sem contar que o interesse pessoal também é fator de aproximação e a pressão do tempo de fato também chama atenção na hora da aproximação.

Palavras-chave: Diplomacia Presidencial. Psicologia Política. Tomada de Decisão em Política Externa. Estados Unidos. Brasil.

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INTRODUCTION

By the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the Western world started to experience independence movements and revolts. These actions served as models among countries, especially in the Americas. Following the American independence from the United Kingdom, which culminated with the Declaration of Independence affirmed in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, by the Founding Fathers, the United States became the precursor to establishing independence in the region. With the domino effect, the sovereignty of the other nations followed its course (Karnal, 2007).

This movement crafted American Imperialism¹ in the Western world. The Brazilian independence occurred on September 7, 1822, supported by the United States, which had already recognized the kingdom of Brazil on May 26, 1824, when President James Monroe recognized José Silvestre Rebello as *Chargé d’Affaires* in the United States, and Count Raguet of Pennsylvania as *Chargé d’Affaires* in Brazil (Bandeira, 2007).

In 1876, Dom Pedro II made his historic trip to the United States on a non-official visit. He met Alexander Graham Bell at the World Expo of Technology in Philadelphia. This meeting galvanized the adoption of the telephone in Brazil. This event also established official visits among both countries. Since then, Brazil and the United States have forged a diplomatic relationship in which official visits became part of their presidential agendas, even in current times (Garcia, 2008).

Concerning United States foreign policy, it can be observed that there is a mutual interest in [re]approach throughout history. The bilateral relations between both nations have become stronger throughout history. These relations prove to be peaceful and, simultaneously, with military actions and economic interests, which are essential for both foreign policies (Oliveira, 2013).

Thus, this project aims to understand the origin and importance of these relations for both nations. The question that directs this research project is: Does a leader's personality and behavior result in/influence decision-making through presidential diplomacy in Brazilian and United States foreign policy?

The hypothesis that needs to be tested is: The behavior/personality of the leaders influences the moment of decision-making in leadership diplomacy. It is important to understand whether these approaches are due to personal reasons/interests or decision-making

¹ American Imperialism in the sense of expanding its power of influence among the region and eventually leading towards a regional hegemony.

under the pressure of certain events, regarding Brazilian and United States Foreign Policy from 2017 until 2021.

The main objective of this research is to determine to what extent personality and behavior influence a world leader when they need to make decisions. For specific purposes, what external factors influence/interfere in these relationships when taking action?

In the Brazilian presidential election of 2018, it can be observed an interest in an approximation of the Brazilian political elite with the United States, something that is not new in the history of Brazilian foreign policy as observed in the governments of Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca, Getúlio Dorneles Vargas (at the end of the Second World War), Eurico Gaspar Dutra, Humberto de Alencar Castello Branco, Fernando Collor de Melo, and Fernando Henrique Cardoso. This analysis shows that diplomatic and strategic relationships become stronger or weaker cyclically, substantiating some exciting questions.

This research is essential to find, describe, and elaborate upon the motivation for the connection between the United States and Brazil. It is possible to infer that the foreign policy of both countries is historically a compelling relationship of approximation and departure and always involves their mutual interests. The United States and Brazil maintain bilateral affairs among their leaders and mutual influence among nations. This influence is more significant from the United States than Brazil when considering the direct diplomatic contact of presidential diplomacy without the intervention of a mediator to conduct their diplomatic negotiations.

By analyzing the texts featuring the terms “Personal Diplomacy,” “Cupule Diplomacy,” “Presidential Diplomacy,” “Leader Diplomacy,” or “Diplomacy of Heads of State,” it is inferred that the president consistently acts in protocol actions of foreign policy that they will adhere to cupule diplomacy, once that: “Cupule diplomacy is of foreign policy. Even though it is strongly influenced and determined by influxes of internal politics and public opinion, it depends naturally on a series of factors connected to international politics and the diplomatic necessities of the country”. (Danese, 2017, p. 122)²

Cupule diplomacy includes three aspects: the first pertains to variants and subordinate forms, the second is the diplomacy of initiatives, and the third is the diplomacy of meetings (Danese, 2017). These variants analyze the intensity of both countries’ approximation. This

² Original text: A diplomacia de cúpula seja fortemente influenciada e determinada por influxos de política interna e de opinião pública, ela depende naturalmente de uma série de fatores ligados à política internacional e às necessidades diplomáticas do país.

analysis will cover the period of Donald John Trump (2017 – 2020) and Jair Messias Bolsonaro (2018 – 2022).

This research is eminently exploratory and explainable, and it will attempt to comprehend the means of foreign relations exclusively by the leadership diplomacy of the United States of America and Brazil and by the personality of each country's leader. In this case, the relationship between Trump and Bolsonaro. A historical process and bibliographic method will rule the ways of the procedure, and a psychobiography method as well, if available. To be more precise, the approach of bilateral relations among both nations can be seen by the Baron of Rio Branco, Theodore Roosevelt and the Monroe Doctrine (1902-1912); Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Getúlio Vargas, and World War II (1930-1945); Fernando Henrique Cardoso and William Jefferson Clinton, George Walker Bush, and September 11 (1995 – 2002).

Dependent-independent variables to personality and interaction time, the leader's behavior plays an essential role in decision-making. They were giving perspective on how these influences resulted. This will be analyzed by their foreign policy and the reactions to projects of both countries.

As Mols, Frank; 't Hart, and Paul (2018) describe it, Political psychology is an interdisciplinary academic field, dedicated to understanding politics, politicians and political behavior from a psychological perspective, and psychological processes using socio-political perspectives. (Mols & Hart 2018, p. 142)

Another approach could be the idea of political pragmatism among leaders, where the leaders' goals are, above all else, to excel. Foreign policy analyses specialize in international affairs that seek to explain behavior concerning the theoretical foundation of human decisions, acting by oneself or in groups. As McDermott (2007, p. 6) explains, "For purposes of political analysis in international relations, most scholars have adopted clinical theories of psychopathology or psychoanalysis, or, more recently, findings from social and cognitive psychology."

The sources used in this research are elaborated based on official records of presidential interactions (primary source). A corresponding bibliography to this topic is linked to diplomatic history and foreign policy texts and books, both Brazilian and American. Therefore, the study will use medical and psychological archived records from the US Department of State, along with the description of personalities by other scholars regarding Brazil's Ministry of Foreign Relations, accessed through the US Library of Congress and official documents. These methods will be a crucial factor when analyzing the presidential approaches and their personalities, leading to their behavior based on the Enneagram and Myers-Briggs Perspectives. The methodological approach will be predominantly qualitative.

Regarding the behavior analysis of each president (leader) from the period in question, it does bring a form of understanding of how specific actions/reactions to certain aspects of behavior as mentioned by the concept above.

When tying together political psychology, leadership diplomacy, and foreign policy analysis, it is possible to stumble upon common subjects. These are vital points to this research: the leadership role, domestic and foreign policy making, and leader behavior. Since these concepts are intertwined, it is possible to convey a form of approach or distancing according to the relationship among the leaders, in this case, the United States and Brazil.

In Chapter 01, I will discuss the theory, and the methodology involved in this research that sets the idea of foreign policy and delineates the main subject of decision-making and the political behavior/personality of the leader to deal with specific models of analysis on how the leader acts.

In Chapter 02, I will give a brief history of the foreign policy of the two countries, showing their similarities and differences. Additionally, I address when these affairs that are still going strong started to take place and which leaders acted for this approach to remain vital for the next 200 years.

In Chapter 03, I will confront the theory with the history of foreign relations between Brazil and the United States from 2017 to 2022, using examples of other leaders to show how approximation between the two countries and their relationship compared to the external and personal factors justifies specific actions of the leader's decision.

Lastly, I will approach the final remarks and conclusions about the project. It is known that when leaders act or tend to have certain behaviors due to pressure, health matters, personal interests, threats, struggles, consciences, etc., such factors will influence the decisions made or taken during their period of governance. As Jerrold Post (2013, p. 485) mentions: "However, to fully understand a leader's personality and political behavior, knowing how the life course shaped the leader, that is, the psychobiographic influence is imperative."

Also, as Stephen Dyson and Paul 'T Hart (2013, p. 395) express: "Political crises – episodes of threat, uncertainty, and urgency – present a devilish problem: A literal meaning of crisis is "turning point," the practical experience is one of high stress and complex choices. In crises, then, decision-making is both unusually consequential and usually tricky."

For these reasons, it is essential to analyze and explain by answering the question above and determine the approach or the distancing of the time the leaders took certain decisions from 2017 to 2022 (Bolsonaro – Trump) relations.

CHAPTER 01 - ANALYTICAL MODEL

This chapter presents a theoretical model of my research that gives a broader analysis and narrows it down to the main idea, which is the study's primary purpose. I will start with the definition of foreign policy, after foreign policy analysis, decision-making, the role of a leader, leadership diplomacy, political psychology, health, and finally, a comparison of both countries' constitutions (the United States and Brazil), where the leaders are prosecuted in case they cannot go through as head of state.

1.1 FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy as a subarea of international relations is the analysis of the interaction of two or more states. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines foreign policy as “the policy of a sovereign state in its interaction with other states.” The word was first used in 1804. (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 2024) Regarding Encyclopedia Britannica, foreign policy is defined as the:

General objectives guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states. Foreign policy development is influenced by domestic considerations, the policies or behavior of other states, or plans to advance specific geopolitical designs. Leopold von Ranke emphasized the importance of geography and external threats in shaping foreign policy, but later, writers emphasized domestic factors. Diplomacy is the tool of foreign policy, and war, alliances, and international trade may all be manifestations. (Britannica Encyclopedia, 2024)

George Modelski, Ambassador Hugh Gibson, Carlton Clymer Rodee, and Joseph Frankel are a few scholars in the area that define foreign policy; Modelski explains that “the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their activities to the international environment” (Ahmed, 2020, p. 787). Ambassador Gibson expresses:

A well-rounded, comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world, and that it is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nation, knowing, of course, just what those interests are – well, in that case, we might say: we have no foreign policy. (BiBi & Yousaf, 2020 p. 22)

Rodee explains that “foreign policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behavior pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its vital interests” (Baral, 2020, p. 52). Finally, Frankel defines “foreign policy consists of decisions and actions, which involves to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others” (Bojang, 2018, p. 2).

However, Altemani (2005) affirms that “foreign policy is the area that represents the interests and objectives of the State at the international level and that. Therefore, its definition

and implementation are a prerogative of the State.” Altemani (2005 p. 5) also mentions two other authors definition. As cited in Manfred Wilhelmy (1998), “in an objective and direct way, defines foreign policy as the set of political activities, through which each State promotes its interests vis-à-vis other States.”

According to Maria Regina Soares de Lima et al. (2000, p. 55), “The assumption, in this case, is that, regardless of the nature of the government in power, it will always be the most faithful interpreter of national interests - where the State and government are synonymous.”

Foreign policy analysis, as John Frederick Morin and Jonathan Pequin explain, “is a branch of political science [international relations] and dealing with theory development and empirical study regarding the processes and outcomes of foreign policy” (Morin, 2018, p. 8).

To summarize, foreign policy is the interaction among nations and international actors that have a direct relationship at the national and international levels regarding the strategies and principles that include the national and international safety of its citizens provided by their government. It also involves treaties, agreements, and involvements on the global stage with a direct and indirect relationship at a national level.

These levels of interaction may vary from country to country. In this case, the cultural and political aspects of things, not to mention the religious part, may also be considered characteristics of foreign policy. These interactions are an excellent benefit to the country’s interest in supporting the fundamental beliefs basis of relationships necessary to provide welfare among the nation nationally and internationally.

For this reason, foreign policy is an essential subject in social sciences and international relations. The depth of the affair gives us the necessary tools to understand the levels of analysis that will be discussed.

1.2 FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

Foreign policy analysis includes the process and results of human decisions having as its reference or known consequences noted by foreign entities (Hudson, 2019). Such choices involve actions and non-actions or even indecisions. Usually, the authority's performance delimits the horizon of interests but not necessarily the legitimate jurisdiction of the nation-state. Ideally, it is observed beyond a decision (or indecision); the recommended action that is analyzed is the constellation and frequently makes a sequence of judgments concerning a particular situation. The activities can be modified over time after exploring the consequences of the actions. There are cases in Foreign Policy Analysis that involve the decision-making process, including the problem of recognition, framework, perception, prioritizing goals, and

options evaluation. It can be excluded from the analyses, not intentionally, the actions and decisions that cannot be conceptualized for not being an international component, even though it should be comprehended that the same concepts and methodological tools used in Foreign Policy Analyses can be helpful to examine human decision making, regardless of the substantive focus (ibid, 2019, p. 4).

The most significant contribution to Foreign Policy Analysis is the theory of International Relations to identify the overlapping theoretical point between the primary determinants of state behavior: the material factors and ideational. The overlapping point is not the state but those who make the decision (ibid, 2019, p. 7).

The levels of Foreign Policy Analysis are:

Cognitive Process, Leader Personality and Orientations, Small Group Dynamics, Organizational Processes, Bureaucratic Politics, Culture and Identity, Domestic Political Contestation, National Attributes, and Regional and International Systems. (Hudson, 2019, p. 34)

In foreign policy analysis, as seen above, there are various sub-areas of study; however, this project will consider personal diplomacy and the act of decision-making, to be more precise, the behavior/personality of the heads of state regarding the leadership/decision-making between the United States and Brazil.

To evaluate policy options during the decision-making process. The sophistication and source of metaphors are not necessarily determined by processes inherent to analogical reasoning that apply universally but rather are affected by the individual characteristics of the decision maker. (Dyson & Preston, 2006, p. 284)

As well as McDermott (2008, p. 35) explains Jerrold Post's point of view:

Post discusses the “malignant narcissist”, a syndrome that combines ambition and aggression with an absence of conscience and paranoia. According to Post, such a personality disorder becomes particularly dangerous because it can combine with or produce a destructive charismatic leadership style. Such leaders not only believe that the rules that apply to everyone else do not apply to them because they are so special but also go to extreme lengths to accomplish their goals because they cannot live with the possibility or consequences of failure.

As McDermott puts it, not only her, but Post, Hudson, and Yiannis, there are authoritarian and narcissistic leaders and, in rare cases, both. However, being an authoritative or selfish leader does not imply they are a lousy leader. It just shows the mechanism of the ruler in power and how they act in front of authority. Besides, Kabindama (2019, p. 630) implies that absolute power does not corrupt the leader, as models by Hobbes, Lock, and Rousseau suggest in a guide on how to be a good leader; in other words, “authority and power served accordingly we have good governance and leadership.”

The main aspect of foreign policy evolution is the transition from traditional state-centric approaches to a more diverse and mutually dependent global environment. As the world

globalizes, all nations must adjust their foreign policies to address specific subjects such as terrorism, global health crises, climate change, etc.

Recognizing the importance of human security is a primary concern for foreign policy. Issues that come to attention are factors not yet seen as well-being and dignity, such as gender, human rights, and social justice, in the way diplomacy strategies are shaped.

The idea of soft power, cultural influence, and cooperation among nations gives us an idea of how matters shift from the traditional power based only on military might or economic power to a vaster understanding, as Hudson (2000) puts it.

Furthermore, non-state³ actors also helped form foreign policy. Involvement in various subjects such as economic development, human rights advocacy, and humanitarian interventions has also become the main essence and concern among governments.

1.3 DECISION MAKING

The act is called decision-making. Decision-making is a foundation in foreign policy analysis where a ruler, elected or not, decides on the policies and outcomes of the region they govern. According to Hudson (2020), decision-making is much influenced by individual characteristics. Other factors also affect decision-making, such as behavior, personality, age, illness, predisposition, time of crisis, threat, fear, etc. (Hudson, 2020, p. 39); see Rosati, 2000 and Hafner-Burton et al., 2017).

Figure 1 – Diagram of the components of the Mind Model

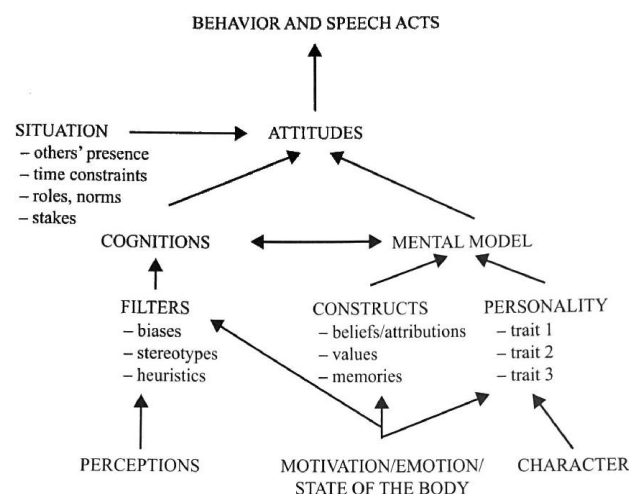


Figure 2.1 Diagram of the Components of the Mind Model

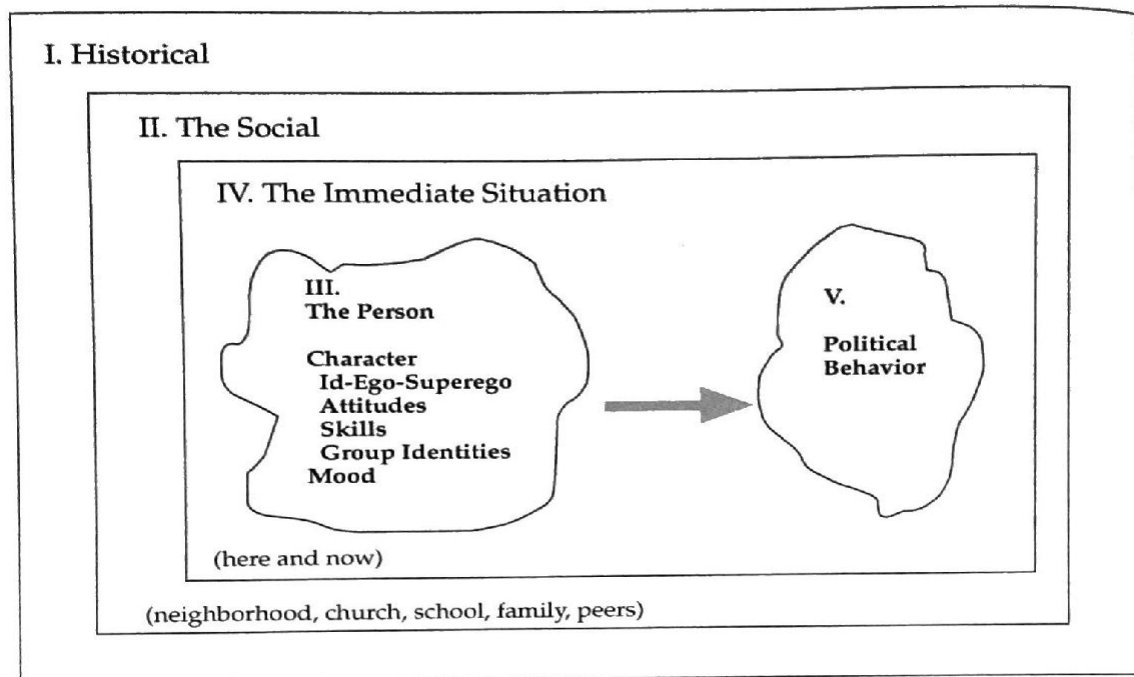
Source: Hudson (2000, p. 43).

³ Non-state actors, including multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and global networks, for example.

Hudson gives this model to explain how an individual creates behavior and how personality influences the mind model in various aspects of the decision-making process. It is possible to observe by analyzing the diagram above, that perceptions, along with filters, lead to cognitions. Motivations, emotions, and state of the body (health) construct ideas to a particular approach as well as the leader's character and personality; these are all drawn towards a confident attitude that can reflect upon situations, resulting in the individual's behavior and speech acts, which eventually determines their decision-making.

Barber believes that the leader's personality and traits shape the policymaker to lean toward a decision. As Jerrold Post mentions, "is perhaps most important in cases where you have a leader who dominates the society, who can act virtually without constraint" (quoted in Carey, 2011) and in Hudson (2020 pp. 40-41). Another point of view would be McDermott (Hatemi & McDermott, 2011, p. 167) where she expresses that "emotions can facilitate motivation and arousal... Emotion arouses an individual to take action concerning an imagined or experienced event. Emotion can also direct and sustain behavior responding to various situations" (Hudson, 2020, p. 50). McDermott also thinks a correlation exists between the leader's DNA and background that influences the decision-making process — Hudson (2020, pp. 62-63).

Figure 2 – Stone and Schaffner: Field Model



Source: Post (2004, p.14).

Post gives us an overview of how political behavior is designed throughout various models in which an individual has influence through multiple variables and how it determines one's political behavior. As learned before, the environment reacts toward the character's behavior; this image shows that a particular historical event influences the social aspect of the individual's persona, leaning toward an immediate situation that determines their political behavior. It goes from a broader perspective, narrowing down to a more individualistic outcome of results.

Political psychology is also important in decision-making. The type of analysis that influences the leader's feeling at the moment they are to decide, agree, disagree, or consider influences intonation and how the information is delivered and heard when the act is given.

In foreign policy analysis, the ruler does matter. Such decisions demonstrate a myriad of possibilities regarding the type of character/personality a leader has assumed in a particular time or period, influenced or not by internal or external factors. Not only because of the image they represent but also because the techniques used to make specific actions are essential to demonstrate how intense the decision-making process is, which can influence the national and international levels of analysis.

1.3.1 The Leader

Throughout history, it has been noticed that both countries (Brazil and the USA) have had moments of triumph and others of deception. Was this due to the leader's persona at the time? Was it the moment in history that forced them to take specific actions? Was it a plan of dominance? Or all the above?

Since the figure of a leader is essential to this research, also is the psychoanalytical aspect of its characteristics to determine their behavior and attitudes when it comes to decision-making, as Yiannis (2013, p. 393) puts it:

The distinguishing feature of psychoanalytic approaches is the assumption of an unconscious dimension to social and individual life. The unconscious is the mental territory where dangerous and painful ideas and desires are consigned through repression and other defensive mechanisms. It is also the source of resistance to specific ideas and emotions that threaten mental functioning. As the territory from which fantasies spring, the unconscious may also be a source of imagination and creativity in most spheres: scientific, artistic, economic, and political.

Since the purpose of this research is mainly in international relations, I am just borrowing the concept from psychoanalyses/psychiatry/psychology to exemplify the origin of such attitudes toward certain aspects of history and try to answer my original question on the relationship between the United States and Brazil through presidential diplomacy. The influence of the leader's behavior/personality at the specific times chosen regarding the

decision, which coincidentally ends up being pragmatic at times, can be identified through the historical section of this research.

To call attention to leaders in general, Yannis (2013, p. 403) says:

Leaders themselves are moved by fantasies of changing the world, taming their delusions of grandeur, omnipotence, and infallibility and stopping themselves from lapsing into dysfunctional modes, like narcissism and authoritarianism. Leaders must have a healthy narcissism, relishing the fame and glory of success. However, this makes them vulnerable to narcissistic disorders, where approval and admiration are all they crave -- in the interest of which they can distort reality, disregarding obstacles and indulging in wishful thinking. Likewise, leaders must maintain discipline and focus without crushing the creativity and drive of their followers, themselves lapsing into authoritarianism.

In this part of the research, I shall analyze how the leaders in question are alike or different regarding their behavior/personality and find out what traits and characteristics mainly determine their points of action when making decisions and reasons of their approximation.

Figure 3 – Comparison Group Cut Points for M. Hermann's Leadership Trait

Personality Trait	87 Heads of State	122 Political Leaders
Belief Can Control Events	Mean = 0.44 Low < 0.30 High > 0.58	Mean = 0.45 Low < 0.33 High > 0.57
Need for Power	Mean = 0.50 Low < 0.37 High > 0.62	Mean = 0.50 Low < 0.38 High > 0.62
Self-Confidence	Mean = 0.62 Low < 0.44 High > 0.81	Mean = 0.57 Low < 0.34 High > 0.80
Conceptual Complexity	Mean = 0.44 Low < 0.32 High > 0.56	Mean = 0.45 Low < 0.32 High > 0.58
Task Focus	Mean = 0.59 Low < 0.46 High > 0.71	Mean = 0.62 Low < 0.48 High > 0.76
Ingroup Bias	Mean = 0.42 Low < 0.32 High > 0.53	Mean = 0.43 Low < 0.34 High > 0.53
Distrust of Others	Mean = 0.41 Low < 0.25 High > 0.56	Mean = 0.38 Low < 0.20 High > 0.56

Source: Hudson (2000, p. 66).

Hudson shows how Herman quantifies the individual's personality in a series of tests, it mathematically shows highs and lows regarding the traits, and determines what their political behavior would or tends to be in the subject of study.

In this case, the table gives us a comparison of how other leaders' characteristics/behaviors are shaped by utilizing the exact characteristics of others and by comparing the attitudes of each leader. The scores are standardized, and then standard deviation is based on other leaders in the region according to a specific population in a particular area. Another factor of analysis is how many times a particular leader utilized a certain word and how many times the word was used to give a certain score based on the trait.

1.4 PRESIDENTIAL DIPLOMACY

Analyze the history of the United States and Brazilian foreign policy, the nature and the intensity of foreign relations of both countries, using presidential agendas: visits of North American presidents in Brazil and the Brazilian presidents to the United States – the so-called “Leader Diplomacy” (Danese, 2017).

By validating these analysis tools, this research proposes to investigate the position of Brazilian and American leaders on their behavior/personality in pursuing presidential diplomacy.

The international system affects the external behavior of the different states, and this is no different in the Brazil-United States relationship: “works if so, in the presumption that Brazilian foreign policy was and is conditioned by the interaction of internal and external factors” (Oliveira, 2005, p. 9). With the end of the Cold War, the United States tried to maintain Latin America inside its area of influence. At the same time, the Latin American countries had two macro tendencies: liberalization and renegotiation of the Interamerican system.

An analysis of Brazilian foreign policy should focus on the economic and political variables and the structural and conjuncture determinations. In this case, the cupule diplomacy:

Or Diplomacy of the head of state of government, or even leader Diplomacy, names, strictly speaking, could be used indistinctively to describe the same historical phenomenon or instrument political-diplomatic (depending on the point of view) that, in a country as Brazil, France or the United States, assumes the name of presidential Diplomacy: the personal condition in subjects of foreign policy, out of routine and other attributions ex officio, by the President, or, in the case of a parliamentary regime, by the chief of state and by the head of government. (Danese, 2017, p. 67. our translation)⁴

Diplomacy is one of the critical institutions of what the English School Theory of International Relations calls “society” of states or “international society” (Bull, Watson, 1982

⁴ Original text: Diplomacia de cúpula, ou diplomacia de chefes de estado e de governo, ou ainda diplomacia de mandatários, são nomes que a rigor poderiam ser utilizados indistintamente para descrever o mesmo fenômeno histórico ou instrumento político-diplomático (dependendo do ponto de vista) que, num país como o Brasil, a França ou os Estados Unidos, assume o nome de diplomacia presidencial: a condução pessoal de assuntos de política externa, fora da mera rotina ou das atribuições ex officio, pelo presidente, ou, no caso de um regime parlamentarista, pelo chefe de estado e/ou pelo chefe de governo.

apud Brighi, Hill 2016). Diplomacy will be analyzed in this research as an instrument of foreign policy with a greater focus on cupule diplomacy. The “international” political dimension overlaps essential areas with a social and normative layer.

In the United States, the head of the executive branch office is concerned with attention to the international and the national. Various presidents, including those who affirm having no diplomatic expertise, appreciate the challenges of the meetings with other heads of state. International travels gave them the sensation of realization, an image that they are active, and relief from perverse criticism (Schulzinger, 2008).

By analyzing the theoretical approaches of the foreign policy of both countries (Brazil and the United States) and observing in a complete form how the United States has become present at striking points in Brazilian history, from 2017 to 2023, through the diplomacy of its presidents, it is possible to observe that each one of its policies has changed throughout their terms for both countries. In this sense, their origins, forms, and outspreads can sometimes help to better comprehend convergent (or divergent) decision-making in short, middle, and long-term diplomatic decisions.

“Now, to define cupule diplomacy, it is pertinent to establish a relation of contrast between the agent that conduces personal foreign policy and the formal, the main executor of foreign policy, the chancellor. It is commonly identified in the chiefs of state and government responsible for important cupule diplomacy, the vocation of being “their chancellors.” (Danese, 2017, p. 91. Our translation)⁵

Burns (1984, p. 481 apud Danese, 2017, p. 106) described the creative leaders who puts themselves at the margin of society and, as a tactic, end up assuming roles (as chancellor, chief of party, or representative of the nation, among others), aiming “in the long run, to expand its limits in which they operate.”

Thus, the study of Brazilian foreign policy and American foreign policy will lead us to understand how their relationship (as of their mandates) can be maintained or changed, depending on the period in which the countries are at the moment of decision-making. One example is after September 11, when the world focused on an Amendment in the political guidelines, even at the national and international level, and in the global war on terror. This has made terrorism come into vogue as various forms of its manifestation. Due to this fact, the lenses through which specific issues in Foreign Policy are seen needs to be thorough when dealing with two or more countries. Therefore, to understand cupule diplomacy, it is necessary

⁵ Original text: Para definir a diplomacia de cúpula, é pertinente estabelecer a relação de contraste entre o mandatário que conduz pessoalmente a política exterior e aquele que, formalmente, é o principal executor da política externa, o chanceler. É comum identificar nos chefes de estado e governo responsáveis por uma importante diplomacia de cúpula a vocação de serem “os seus próprios chanceleres”.

to understand the representatives' foreign policy to comprehend their convergences and divergences.

Presidential diplomacy: The image of the President has tremendous importance in both periods and has been at the center of the strategies devised for diplomatic action. This was possible due to the symbolic heritage each could project.

Personal Diplomacy occurs when heads of state take the art of diplomacy into their own hands without mediation from others. When George Washington became President of the United States in 1789, “he believed that negotiations were preferable than other means, and he followed this ideology and assumed the role of leader in diplomatic relations during his presidency” (Chernow, 2010, website); he took diplomatic relations on his terms.

According to Hutchinson (2022), Thomas Woodrow Wilson set a precedent as the first sitting president to visit Europe and personally negotiate at a conference with world leaders. His diplomatic mission showed America's growing international power and prestige.

Modern presidents consider diplomacy more than a responsibility: they see value in practice. The “modern presidency,” characterized by rising expectations, sensitivity to public opinion, activism in the legislative arena, a propensity to act unilaterally, and a vast executive branch bureaucracy, emerged during Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration. Political scientists have been more apt than historians to explore personal diplomacy as a practice of international politics that transcends individual leaders. They have also examined it as an institutional practice of the presidency (Hutchinson, 2022, p. 13).

Danese (2017) expresses in Chancellor Lampreia's own words “[that] the concept of presidential diplomacy, as the organizing nucleus of diplomatic action, action strategy, and catalyst for government-wide external action.” And as Fernando Henrique Cardoso's message to the National Congresses 1st ordinary legislative session of the 50th Legislature that:

The presidents have been the great drivers of diplomatic initiatives, opening spaces and alternatives that are deepened and worked on by the chancelleries, whose role is thus strengthened. [...] With a concern for balance and political Pragmatism, and bearing in mind the ease with which the President (...) faces their foreign plan and the need to travel the world promoting Brazil and its national interests, Itamaraty, and the presidency combined the four types of international commitments that can involve the Head of State, on the one hand, with the profile of active diplomacy and the interest that Brazil arises abroad, on the other. The result was the most intense program Brazilian Diplomacy has ever proposed to a president. (Danese, 2017, p. 46. our translation)⁶

⁶ Original text: Têm sido os presidentes os grandes impulsionadores de iniciativas diplomáticas, abrindo espaços e alternativas que são aprofundados e trabalhados pelas chancelarias, cujo papel é assim fortalecido. [...] Com a preocupação de equilíbrio e pragmatismo político, e tendo presentes a facilidade com que o presidente (...) encara sua agenda externa e a necessidade de correr mundo promovendo o Brasil e seus interesses nacionais, o Itamaraty e a presidência combinaram os quatro tipos de compromissos internacionais que podem envolver o Chefe de

Among the leaders analyzed, there shall be convergence and divergence on the constitutions of both countries, the United States and Brazil, when it comes to the proceedings on the head of state regarding whether they are qualified or not to proceed as the leader of the country due to health or other personal issues.

Pragmatism in International Relations: In 1872, Charle Sanders Peirce, William James, John Dewey, and George Herbert Mead founded a group of four individuals in Cambridge, Massachusetts, called the Metaphysical Club. These authors are considered the fathers of Pragmatism. Pragmatism is a form of tackling a specific theory without using it. In other words, it is used because it works, instead of judging what is right or wrong, but analyzing if it works in the circumstances lived at the time. Therefore, what is Pragmatism?

Pragmatism in other fields is widely used, especially in the social sciences. In our case, it will be seen in politics and international relations. The latter being our primary focus. In politics, Pragmatism is used when a particular issue is in check at the moment of tension or in the interest of a leader or nation to overcome a specific outcome. This theory/philosophy is widely used in international relations due to the ability to take actions without exhausting the state to reach the same activities or even wrong decisions at the time of decision-making and its usage in foreign policy.

1.5 POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND BEHAVIOR

Political psychology is a subject that supports the study of political leadership. It helps to understand how political leaders' traits can influence their decision-making policies and interactions with other leaders, bringing their behavior and attitudes toward their policies to the matter. These traits help other leaders know what to expect when dealing with negotiations and other important issues, whether it's emotions, motivations, or biases.⁷

As McDermot (2009, p. 237) expresses,

“Studies of leadership constitute an essential aspect of studying political psychology in international relations. Political psychology among leaders is a vast branch of foreign policy analysis. Leadership models can help classify and categorize specific individuals in ways that explain seemingly irrational choices and behaviors.”

According to McDermott (2009), it is possible to realize that political psychology can categorize leadership models according to their choices and specific individuals and characteristics among the various types of character/behavior of the model of choice. These will

Estado, de um lado, com o perfil de uma diplomacia ativa e o interesse que o Brasil desperta lá fora, de outro. O resultado foi o programa mais intenso que a diplomacia brasileira já propôs a um presidente. (Cardoso 1995, p. 74)⁷ Hermann (2014).

be addressed on the following pages, and which one to use for this research analysis will be chosen.

As Barber (2009, p. 15) puts it,

History shows that political weakness can degenerate into tragedy: dictatorship, set up to cure confusion. However, what if we wake up, participate, and find leadership when that temptation looms? We can make life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness happen. Leadership is not sainthood. The President is no god. Harry Truman reminded us that the President (so far male) puts his pants on one leg at a time. Fortunately, the President stands with his power inside a system with “checks and balances,” a system put together after centuries of learning how tragic it is when a society kneels and sends its faith to a monarch. Through long, hard experiences, we finally learned that government – even democracy – is no church. Democracy is a system, a set of conditions, a down-to-earth skeleton to host and foster baseline virtues such as justice, freedom, equality, community, and participation rather than topline virtues such as faith, hope, and charity. So, who we ought to pick for the presidency is a concern not in the context of moral perfection but the context of basic political leadership in the reality of democracy.

Since personality shapes performance, it can be assumed that the President or the leader is no different in decision-making. Barber considers four essential categories. Active-positive, active-negative, passive-positive, and passive-negative. Barber thought leaders should not be elected if they were dysfunctional; therefore, he created the four-character categories. The active-positive leaders had energy levels and senses where personal effort made a difference in human affairs. The passive-negative were the leaders who were motivated to be elected. The only issue was whether the leader was optimistic or pessimistic about life. Passive-positive and passive-negative are leaders that take responsibility and not as an obligation. For Barber (2009), the best option was passive-negatives. They are not as dangerous as the active-negatives, usually tied to scandals and corruption. There is a limitation on the observance and the decision to choose during which periods of history you can consider the categories above decisive.

“Barber's framework thus serves the dual purpose of analysis and evaluation, which is true of all psychobiographical efforts” (Hudson, 2020 p. 63).

It is essential to mention that Barber uses the four categories of trait classification as well but in a different aspect. Suppose the leader is active-positive, active-negative, passive-positive, or passive-negative. Moreover, each attribute falls into its category and explains a personality.

Figure 4 – Barber's Character Type

James David Barber's		
<i>The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House .</i>		
	Positive	Negative
Active	ADAPTIVE: These presidents are confident & flexible; they create opportunities for action; they enjoy the exercise of power & do not take themselves too seriously; they emphasize the "rational mastery" of their environment; power is used as a means to achieve beneficial results. F. D. Roosevelt, H. Truman, J. F. Kennedy, G. Ford	COMPULSIVE: power is used as a means to self-realization; they expend great energy on tasks but derive little joy; they are preoccupied with whether they are failing or succeeding; they have low self-esteem; they are inclined to rigidity & are highly driven; they have a problem managing aggression. W. Wilson, H. Hoover, A. Lincoln, L. B. Johnson, R. Nixon
Passive	COMPLIANT: <i>superficially optimistic</i> they seek to be loved; they are easily manipulated; they have low self-esteem which is overcome by an ingratiating personality; they react rather than initiate. W. H. Taft, W. Harding, R. Reagan, W. Clinton	WITHDRAWN: they respond to a sense of duty; they avoid power; they have low self-esteem which is compensated by service to others; they respond rather than initiate; they avoid conflict and uncertainty; they emphasize principles and procedures and have an aversion to politicking. C. Coolidge, D. Eisenhower, G. Washington,

Source: University of Colorado Boulder - Dr. Vincent McGuire.

Jerrold Post⁸ is one of the most prominent authors and specialists in the field of Political Psychology and is a professor at the Elliott School of International Affairs at the George Washington University in Washington D.C., which was the same institution in which I pursued my degree in International Affairs and Latin American Studies. Dr. Post's works are essential to the field of analysis on the behavior of leaders such as Jimmy Carter (United States), Menachem Begin (Israel), Anwar Sadat (Egypt), Gamal Abdel Nasser (Egypt), Saddam Hussein (Iraq), Ayatollah Khomeini (Iran), Shah of Iran Reza Pahlavi (Persia), Bill Clinton (USA), Slobodan Milosevic (Serbia), the Unabomber (Ted Kaczynski), Tony Blair (United

⁸ Dr. Jerrold M. Post, C.I.A. analyst together with the State Department and founder of the Center for the Analysis of Personality and Political Behavior. Professor of Political Psychology at the George Washington University.

Kingdom), Osama bin Laden (Afghanistan), Donald Trump (United States), Fidel Castro (Cuba), Richard Nixon (United States), Deng Xiaoping (China), Kim Young Il (North Korea), to name a few.

Dr. Post (2004, p. 13) mentions in his own words:

As the leadership acts described above, clarifying the historical, cultural, and political context in which the leader works is of vital importance. The pendulum that overswung from the view of history as a consequence of power ignoring the role of leadership to the “great man” theory of history, which emphasized the centrality of leadership, has come to rest with the current working model, the leader in context.

As Post puts it, the leader is determined by his historical, cultural, and political context in how they will make decisions or even act regarding power. Since power modulates the individual, this power can be good or bad. It is valid because the consequences can corrupt an individual, and it has been seen throughout history.

Jerrold Post (2013, p. 459) also mentions:

This chapter will be concerned with elaborating on the theory and practice of the craft of psychobiography. It will describe the evolution of psychobiography, emphasizing the history and utilization of psychological theories that depict the formative influences that shape the emerging political personality and give rise to its psychodynamic features.

The best option and method of this research will be the psychobiographical approach, as suggested by Post, McDermott, and Hudson. In the next section of this page, personality tests shall be used as a guide to determine the best testing model.

Figure 5 – Variables Relevant to the Study of Personality and Politics

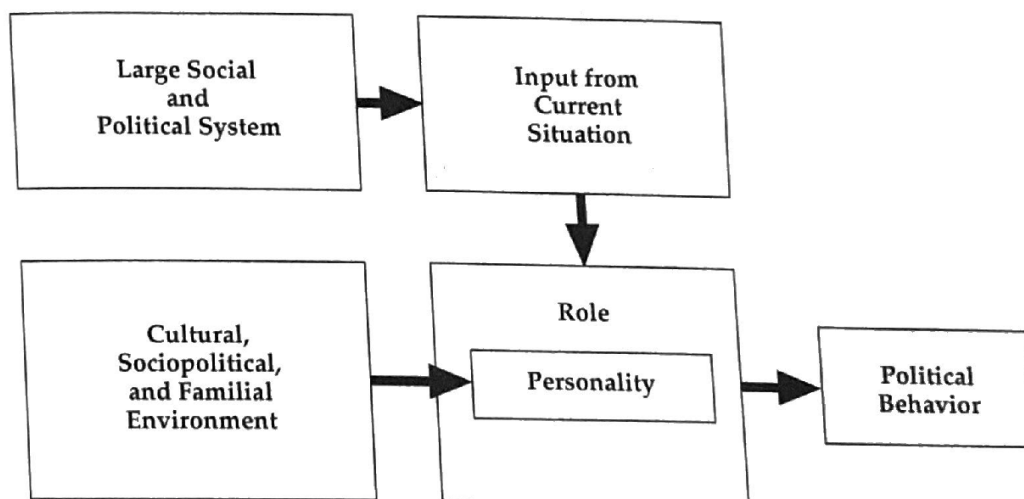


Figure 2.1. Variables Relevant to the Study of Personality and Politics

Source: Post (2004, p. 13).

This model depicts the leader in a specific political context and how this context influences and shapes the leader's influence, which will build an interrelationship to determine their behavior. The structure, according to Post, is how political behavior is modeled. The two facts of an extensive social and political system and a cultural, social-political, and familial environment bring input from a current situation and a role that creates a confident personality. The sum of it all determines the individual's political behavior.

As McDermott (2007, p. 2) puts it:

There are myriad ways in which political science and psychology interconnect. Combining these disciplines can provide additional purchase in topics that include the study of political leadership, political judgment, and decision-making, public opinion and voting behavior, the impact of emotion on behavior, the interaction between individual processes and group behavior, and the formation and maintenance of dominant values in society.

This suggests borrowing different lenses from various disciplines to observe the subject. In this case, psychology is used with a political lens, and politics is used with a psychological lens. It is possible to bring both issues to international relations, allowing the subject of this research to be political psychology in international relations together with leader diplomacy in the formation of a foreign policy depending on the behavior of their personalities. Thus, the behavior and decision-making in which leaders deliberate their diplomatic proceedings through foreign policy among nations.

Figure 6 – Transitions of the Life Cycle

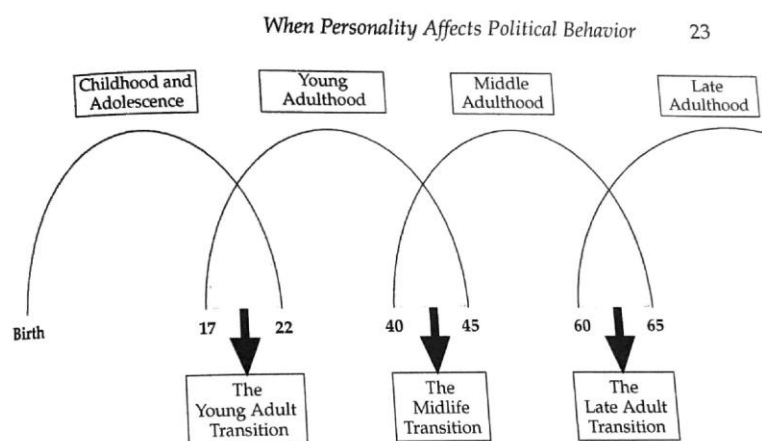


Figure 2.3. Transitions of the Life Cycle

Source: Post (2004, p. 23).

Figure 6 shows how personality transitions from time to time and can structure an individual's mind by experience or age, influencing decision-making. This was first described by Dan Levinson (1978) as a contribution to Erikson's work in *The Seasons of a Man's Life*. This analogy explains that during an individual's life cycle, existential crises tend to happen

where the ages overlap. During these times, it can also influence the individual's decision-making.

There are various methods to measure personalities, which are very similar regarding the options on how to determine what a person is or tends to be to analyze their behavior under certain circumstances. These methods include the more popular ones, such as the Big 5 (B5) or the five dimensions (FFM) or even Global 5, the Myers-Briggs type indicator (MBTI), also known as Jung's personality test measures, Disc Assessment, the Winslow Personality Profile, Process Communication Model, the Holtzman Inkblot Technique, Hexaco Personality Inventory, the Revised Neo Personality Inventory (Neo Pi-R), the Personality Assessment System, the Birkman Method, the Enneagram, etc.⁹¹⁰ There are numerous ways to evaluate personalities; however, only a few are considered the most effective because of their scientific explanation.

This project will be considered the Big – 5 with a direct connection to the Enneagram and Myers-Briggs, which are a more popular approach and more accessible to deal with according to researchers; they are based on types, a more straightforward way to analyze behavior. The five extensive methods have been around for over one hundred years and have a scientific approach. However, others have different categorizations to explain leaders' characters and psychobiography. These chosen methods complement each other the most, and they are simple methods to understand when studying the leaders' personalities.

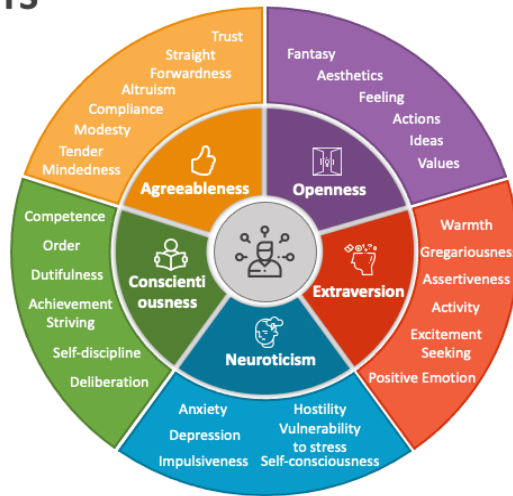
The Big Five method is the most accurate scientifically in studying the individual's personality, the leader. It focuses on five personality traits. D. W. Fiske (1949) started to use the system and, over the years, decided that the method was valid. Usually, the academic world uses this study to categorize individuals to understand the subject matter better. The acronym OCEAN is commonly used to facilitate the approach, which is the different categories of each trait. O is for openness, C is for conscientiousness, E is for extraversion, A is for agreeableness, and N is for neuroticism. This approach is the one suggested by Jerrold Post.

⁹ Personality Assessment Tests - <https://www.learning-mind.com/personality-assessment-tests/>

¹⁰ When taking personality tests in the subfields of international relations, there are other tests as well the more common ones are the Big 5 being the golden rule, which has been used the longest. LTA (Leadership Trait Analysis), Operational Code Analysis, Motive Analysis, Leadership biographies, psychobiographies, and Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC), just to name a few.

Figure 7 – The Big Five Traits

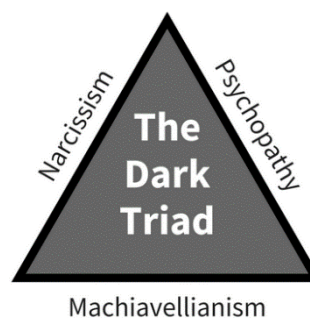
BIG FIVE TRAITS



Source: Colidu (website).

There is a subcategory that some authors, such as Nai and Toros (2020), use the Dark Triad system. These are narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy, a triangle that did discuss their notably offensive behaviors but not as a pathology. The authors receive specialists who conduct the research readings on each trait behavior. By obtaining the data in the Big Five category, they map an individual graph showing the tendency of how this person reacts in society. In this case, the A (agreeableness) is low, and a lack of C (conscientiousness) falls in the dark triad of three categories. This is why it is relevant to bring to our attention that this is an exciting tool to bear in mind when analyzing the leaders of this research.

Figure 8 – The Dark Triad



Source: Silva (website).

This is explained by how leaders display darker behavior than others throughout history. When a head of state behaves in one or more categories of the triangle, these categories tend to be harsher than others, but they are seen as stronger characters than others who are out of this subcategory.

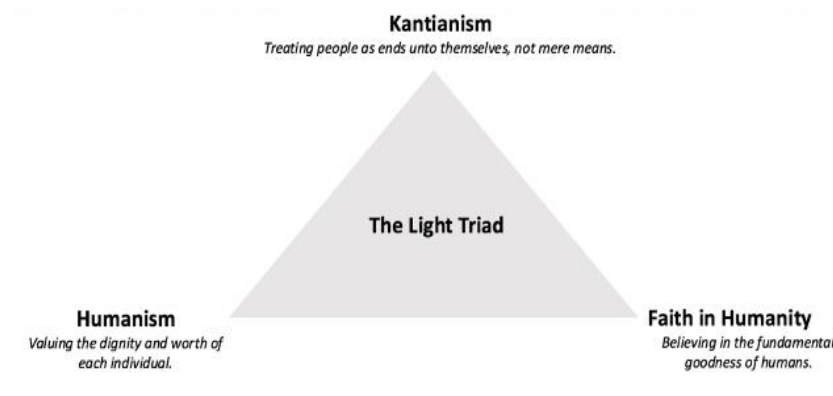
Figure 9 – Dark Triad in Detail



Source: Hogan (website).

Figure 9 and the previous images show the characteristics that fall into each category, giving a sense of how a leader may or may not behave in a specific group and, by this, determine their actions. The Dark Triad falls within the following categories. When a leader shows or demonstrates characteristics of one of the following, it is considered that they are one or more of the following: psychopathy, Machiavellianism, and narcissism. Psychopathy is impulsive behavior, emotionally cold, and remorseless. Machiavellianism is manipulative, self-interested, and domineering, and Narcissism is a behavior of grandiosity, perceived superiority, and entitlement. To pinpoint, these do not determine pathologies, just their actions toward some issues. Some of these traits can be demonstrated in this classification triad for leaders who tend to have a more conservative, autocratic behavior. (Nai, 2024, p. 5) There is sometimes a fourth tier, Sadism, which is cruel and violent behavior, but that shall not be discussed for now. As a counterbalance, there is also the Light Triad, which consists of Kantianism, humanism, and faith in humanity.

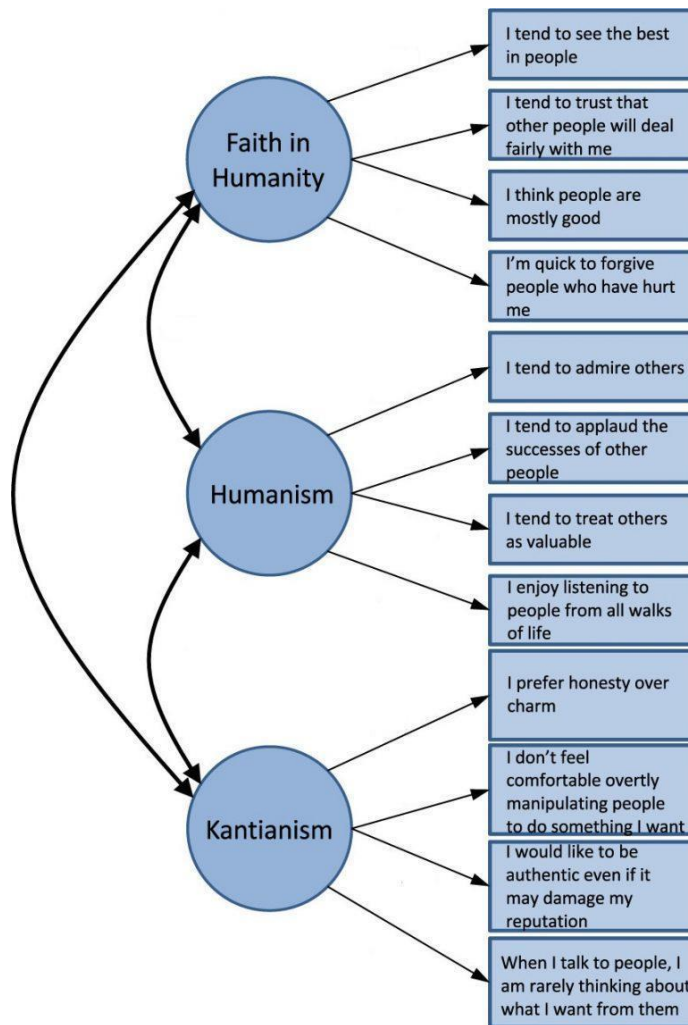
Figure 10 – The Light Triad



Source: Boyes (2019).

Figure 10 explains how leaders tend to have a lighter behavior than others, as seen through history in how they behave in one or more categories of the triangle when being a head of state. These categories tend to be lighter than others, but they are seen as stronger characters than others out of this subcategory. As seen previously in the dark triad, the light triad has the same principle. When an individual scores a high A (agreeableness) and an existing C (conscientiousness), they fall into the light triad. These categories are faith in humanity, humanism, and Kantianism. Regarding faith in humanity, they tend to be the best people, trust others, most are good, and quick in forgiving. Humanism tends to recognize the success of others, admire different individuals, treat others as valuable, and enjoy listening to anyone whom they please, and Kantianism prefers honesty to charm, does not feel confronted when manipulating people, would rather be authentic, even if it ruins their reputation, and does not expect anything in return when speaking to others.

Figure 11 – The Light Triad Detailed



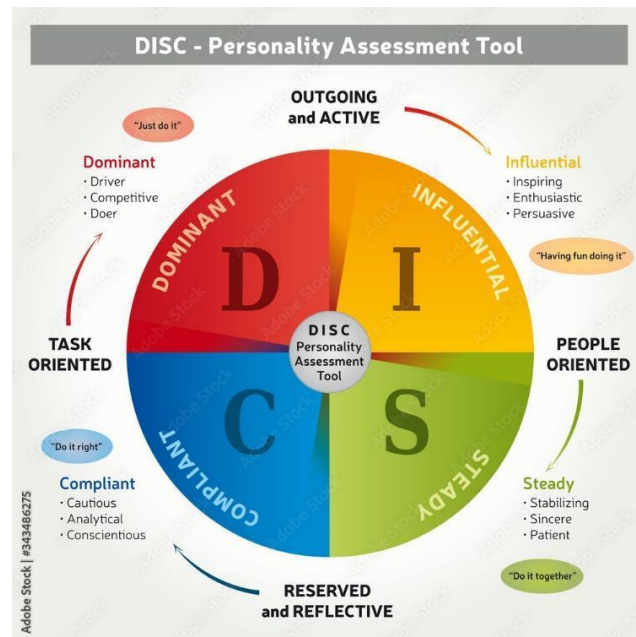
Source: Kaufman et al. (2019, adapted).

These traits are set to be seen in leaders who have more liberal and idealistic behaviors. It is noticed that Kaufman, Yaden, Hyde, and Tsukayama (2019) demonstrate it. Figure 11 and the previous embodiment show the characteristics that fall into each category, giving a sense of how a leader may or may not behave in a particular type and, by this, determine their actions.

Another method is the DISC (dominance, influence, stability, and conformity) assessment. This method has been described since Mesopotamia¹¹, where there are five traits: classical, elemental, Alfred Adler's concept, Fritz Riemann, and finally, DISC. It determines if the person is melancholic, phlegmatic, sanguine, or choleric.

¹¹ According to Miranda, "the history of DISC has evolved over centuries, beginning with the Greek philosopher Empedocles, who proposed that the four elements of fire, earth, air, and water influenced people's behavior. By 400 BC, Hippocrates had redefined these four elements as temperaments, including Choleric, Sanguine, Phlegmatic, and Melancholic. These temperaments would eventually form the basis of modern-day personality theory. Merenda (1987)

Figure 12 – DISC



Source: Career Fitter (website).

Figure 12 shows the characteristics of modern-day analogy on the DISC method traits and how each individual is characterized in each trait in a specific category.

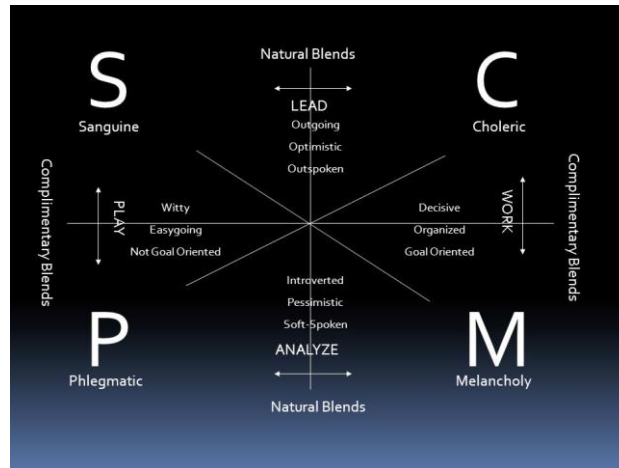
Table 1 – Classical Classification of Temperaments

Melancholic --- Earth	Choleric --- Fire	Sanguine --- Air	Phlegmatic --- Water
Abstract Non-practical Introverted Sensitive Pessimistic Analytical and literal Pondering Considerate Self reliant Cold/dry Long response time--delay, response sustained at length, if not, seemingly, permanently Wakes up worrying	Fearless Assertive Focused Intense Sharp Ambitious and leader-like Aggressive Energetic Dominating Hot/dry Short response time-- delay, but response sustained for a relatively long time Wakes up goal focused	Enthusiastic Present-oriented Tactical Emotional Optimistic Impulsive and pleasure- seeking Sociable Charismatic Quick Hot/wet Short-lived reactions Wakes up looking for joy	Self-sufficient Slow Consistent Reserved Conservative Relaxed and thoughtful Content Kind Accepting Cold/wet Longer response-delay, but short-lived response Wakes up happy to doze
Give melancholics plenty of time and info	Get on with the job rapidly without small talk	Give sanguines an idea of immediate benefits	Don't involve them in hurry and fuss

Source: Australian Institute of Applied Mindfulness - <https://www.theaiam.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Hippocrates-4-Temperaments-Digital-Copy.pdf>.

In the beginning, the analysis of how behavior/personality was measured on an Element. Based on this element, Adler and Riemann determined that the individual was a specific category. These categories were determined in classical interpretations, which correlate to the DISC analysis.

Figure 13 – Classical Classification of Temperaments Details



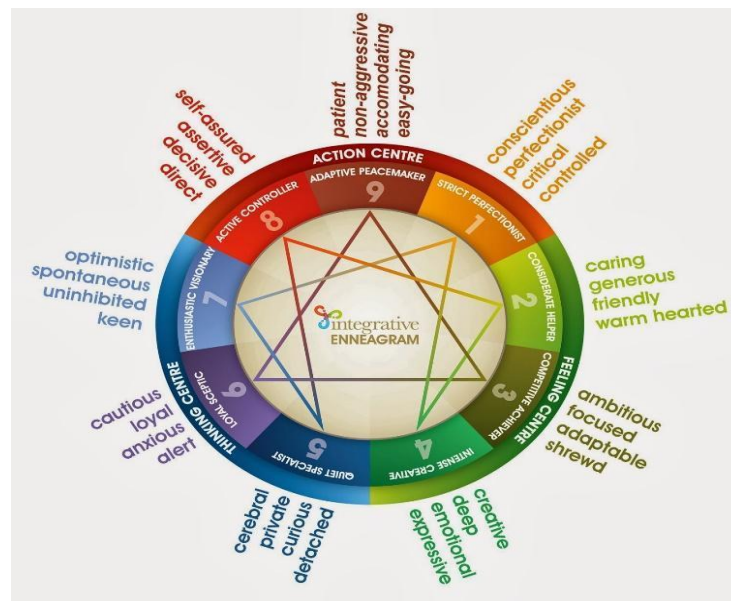
Source: Slide Player (website).

Figure 13 explains the characteristics of the classical method and how the individual behaves according to a certain trait within the spectrum of personality, entering the DISC method.

The Enneagram was based on the work of Oscar Ichazo and Claudio Naranjo, and it has nine personality types: Reformers, Helpers, Achievers, Individualists, Investigators, Loyalists, Enthusiasts, Challengers, and Peacemakers. These categories are the different possibilities on how leaders may be coined as a stereotypical characteristic when they act. They are represented in a geometrical form in which an individual is at its core from birth, with stress and growth levels. The other factor is the Wing, which tends to drive a feature or a direction custom derived from the original value. The Enneagram has a circle, an inner triangle, and a hexagon. The ring explains how the different personalities unite, while the triangle shows how three nearby characters may influence each one. The hexagon, in arithmetic, is the decimal figure derived from dividing one by seven. It is a well-received assessment because it is thorough (Pearce 2013)¹², as seen in Figure 14. Geometry gives us the trait and the tendency an individual may or may not act/ behave in a certain way in a specific category on how they perform according to their environment in a determined space and time.

¹² Herb Pearce, M. Ed., is an individual, couples, and family therapist, with over 35 years' experience in Enneagram and Myers-Briggs doing coaching, workshops, presentations counseling, team building, etc.

Figure 14 – Enneagram



Source: Arden Coaching (website).

Table 2 – Enneagram Details

Number Type	Characteristic	Stress	Growth	Wing
1	The Perfectionist/Reformer/Improver	4	7	9 or 2
2	The Giver/Pleaser/Cheerleader	8	4	1 or 3
3	The Success Seeker/Achiever/Winner	9	6	2 or 4
4	The Depth Seeker/Romantic/Searcher	2	1	3 or 5
5	Knowledge Seeker/Observer/Thinker	7	8	4 or 6
Number Type	Characteristic	Stress	Growth	Wing
6	The Questioner/Guardian/Security Seeker (Phobic and Counterphobic)	3	9	6 or 8
7	The Optimist/Adventurer/Fun Lover	1	5	6 or 8
8	The Director/Challenger/Powerhouse	5	2	7 or 9
9	The Peacemaker/Comfort Seeker	6	3	8 or 1

Source: Pearce (2018).

Table 2 shows in detail how the Enneagram geometry is given in a more linear explanation of what was shown in the image. All possible readings are shown in the table above.

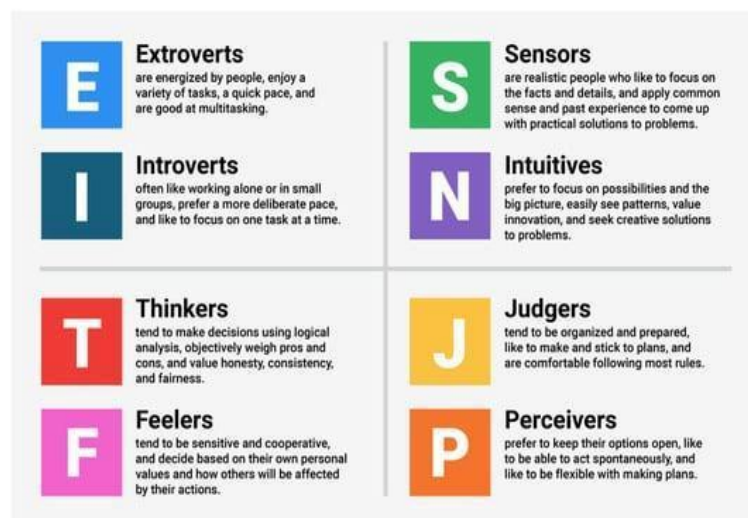
The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator gives us 16 subtypes that help elicit certain types of behavior. They based it on the ideas of psychoanalyst Carl Jung, who thought people understood the world through sensation, intuition, feeling, and thinking. Jung suggested that only one of these psychological functions is usually powerful. They also show if people are introverts or extroverts, while intuition and sensing help perception, feeling, and thinking support judgment (Liew 2017).

This is important because it can influence, in this case, the presidents of Brazil and the United States regarding their foreign policy and the relationship among countries and nations. The Enneagram is divided into nine categories, and the Myers-Briggs is divided into 16 as shown in table 2 for the Enneagram and Figures 13 and 14 for the Myers-Briggs.

It is understandable that depending on one's situation, everyone can embrace all those types and categorizations; however, all are born with what is called a core type, and this core type is considered the center of the research. The idea is to understand the individual's personality and analyze their tendencies using the Enneagram, as well as their strengths and weaknesses using the Myers-Briggs indicator, reflecting on their behavior and circumstances. It seems flawed; however, these are today's most trustful analyses.

Regarding the behavior analysis of each President (leader) from the period studied, it does bring a form of understanding of specific actions/reactions to certain aspects of behavior, as mentioned by the concept above and seen in the image below.

Figure 15 – Myer-Briggs



Source: Amirhosseini and Kazemian (2020).

The image above is a definition of what each letter means in the 16 combinations of the Myers-Briggs. It will define if a person is an Extrovert (E)/Introvert (I), Sensor (S)/Intuitive

(N), Thinker (T)/Feeler (F), and Judger (J)/Perceiver (P). When studying the Big 5, which is a more specific test, using this method, we can simplify the outcome of a person's behavior.

Figure 16 – Myers-Briggs Explanation of Each Category

INTJ THE ARCHITECT IMAGINATIVE STRATEGIC PLANNERS	INTP THE LOGICIAN INNOVATIVE CURIOUS LOGICAL	ENTJ THE COMMANDER BOLD IMAGINATIVE STRONG-WILLED	ENTP THE DEBATER SMART CURIOUS INTELLECTUAL
INFJ THE ADVOCATE QUIET MYSTICAL IDEALIST	INFP THE MEDIATOR POETIC KIND ALTRUISTIC	ENFJ THE PROTAGONIST CHARISMATIC INSPIRING NATURAL LEADERS	ENFP THE CAMPAIGNER ENTHUSIASTIC CREATIVE SOCIAL
ISTJ THE LOGISTICIAN PRACTICAL FACT-MINDED RELIABLE	ISFJ THE DEFENDER PROTECTIVE WARM CARING	ESTJ THE EXECUTIVE ORGANIZED PUNCTUAL LEADER	ESFJ THE CONSUL CARING SOCIAL POPULAR
ISTP THE VIRTUOSO BOLD PRACTICAL EXPERIMENTAL	ISFP THE ADVENTURER ARTISTIC CHARMING EXPLORERS	ESTP THE ENTREPRENEUR SMART ENERGETIC PERCEPTIVE	ESFP THE ENTERTAINER SPONTANEOUS ENERGETIC ENTHUSIASTIC

Source: Pearce (2018).

The same is done here. In this situation, the Myers-Briggs shows the categories in which individuals with a specific score definition show characteristics according to the reading they received. In this case, it shows behavioral aspects that help us assess how a person reacts to certain situations. These readings help understand how a person may [re]act.

There is always a correlation among the methods making a bridge to match the following procedure. In other words, they complement each other and bring a better understanding of a person's personality since it is a very complex subject.

When tying together political psychology, leadership diplomacy, and foreign policy analysis, it is possible to stumble upon common subjects. These are vital points to this research: the leadership role, domestic and foreign policy making, and leader behavior. Since these concepts are intertwined, it is possible to convey a form of approach or distancing according to the relationship among the leaders, in this case, the United States and Brazil.

As for decision-making and behavior/personality, the field of Political Psychology will be used to analyze the characteristics of the heads of state and their relations to convergence or divergence throughout history. By doing this, the Big 5 analogy shall be applied for this analysis, since it is more accurate. The MBTI (Myers-Briggs) and Enneagram methods are the easiest/simplest way to decipher each leader's personality trait. However, there is no scientific essence regarding the analogies. Stephen Benedict Dyson and Thomas Preston wrote in an article titled Individual Characteristics of Political Leadership and the Use of Analogy in Foreign Policy Decision Making.

Dyson and Preston (2006, p. 284) express that:

Future research aside, the value added of the current work is to show that what the leader is like in terms of their characteristics significantly impacts the analogies they use and how individuals frame events and evaluate policy options in the decision-making process. The sophistication and source of metaphors are not necessarily determined by processes inherent to analogical reasoning that apply universally but rather are affected by the individual characteristics of the decision maker.

It is clear that a variety of factors influence decision-making, and not only certain aspects of behavior and personality but also a significant amount of how the leaders are performing their duties and how the people react to those demeanors are the key elements to evaluate such aspects of personality/behavior as Dyson and Preston suggest.

It is important to mention that in the Big 5 model and the Dark Triad sub-model, the ones used in this research, all the data collected are gathered by psychologists and psychiatrists. The data is then distributed into the models already predetermined by the percentiles, which show the characteristics of each category. This was explained by Alessandro Nai, a professor of Political Communication and Journalism at the Amsterdam School of Communication Research, in which I had the pleasure to speak on two different occasions to understand how the analysis process took place. After the data is collected and the behavior patterns are already set, it is left for scholars like Nai himself to distribute each political leader in their behavior spectral category. This will be later addressed in this research.

1.6 HEALTH AND DECISION MAKING IN FOREIGN POLICY

When considering health, it is noticed that “our cognition operates in the context of a physical body and what happens to that body can affect decision making (an excellent overview is McDermott, 2007)” (Hudson, 2020, p. 50); this states that leaders who are influenced or suffering from some illness, being it short or long term, might have their decision-making affected.

The types of pathologies considered are aging, illness, and addiction. These pathologies include superficial injuries, such as a broken arm or leg, and more severe ones that impact a leader's foreign or national decision-making. When discussing illness, there are two categories: physical condition and psychological disease (McDermott, 2008).

Illness raises the specter of unpredictable choice and action. Leaders who are impaired by physical or psychological illness or unduly affected by drugs and medication rarely remain as stable or predictable as those who are not. The prospect of a disabled leader arouses fear, anger, and anxiety in many observers and constituents as they contemplate the loss of stability, security, or predictability in their nation's future.

As McDermott suggests, not only physical illnesses are an issue when influencing a leader, but age, stress, pain, psychological matters such as fear and panic, and other issues like

environmental problems during moments of crisis or even war are also an influence when it comes to decision making.

As of aging, McDermott (2007, p. 25) puts it in her own words:

Advanced age is by no means a disability in and of itself. However, increasing age is associated with an increased incidence of such ailments as arteriosclerosis, cancer, stroke, and end-stage alcoholism. In addition, the treatments for such conditions, including various pharmaceutical regimens, carry additional risks to the elderly, especially regarding distorted judgment.

Thus, aging presents a double-edged sword in leadership. On the one hand, older leaders often prove unusually effective and insightful, bringing a unique and extensive history of experience and understanding to their job. On the other hand, older people tend to suffer disproportionately from certain particularly debilitating types of disease.

When considering illness, “these include problems associated with workaholics, mental illness, alcoholism and other forms of drug abuse, age, illness including diabetes, and what L'Etang termed “self-destructive aggression”, which is how anger can negatively impact the functioning of a leader's heart and lungs” (McDermott, 2008, p. 31).

This illness can be anything that could cause any distress in the leader's life that might impair their ability to function in their position due to the stress that the issue might cause; even a simple cut on a finger can cause distress when coming to decision-making or taking.

Dr. Post (2004, pp. 50-99) gives us a quick view of some leaders with certain illnesses and how it affected not only the presidency but also the decision-making at the time they were in charge according to their attitudes after having discomfort during their terms as heads of government. These examples can be seen in the following criteria: President Woodrow Wilson had a major stroke; Edith Galt Wilson, First Lady, acted as President Wilson could not pursue his duties as president. His wife acted as president in secrecy.

Prime Minister of Great Britain, Ramsay MacDonald, had dementia, and so did President Paul von Hindenburg of the Weimer Republic of Germany. Ramsay and Hindenburg did not think Hitler posed a threat in his rise to power and the world. Hitler was a victim of Polypharmacy; he was constantly high on a cocktail of meds, including speed and cocaine, which showed in his body trembling while walking up and down and suddenly stopping what he was doing. (Post & George, 2004, p. 53) Franklin Delano Roosevelt had poliomyelitis and its complications (cardiovascular and pulmonary illness), the sick man in Yalta. Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston Churchill, had arteriosclerotic dementia also in Yalta. Both were present at the Yalta Conference or the Crimea Conference to hold the future of Europe and Germany after the World War II. During the meeting, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was seen

without a spark, exhausted, and without the ability to speak. Churchill's temper constantly shifted, creating confusion (Post & George, 2004)¹³.

Joseph Stalin was diagnosed with terminal paranoia. Stalin was always alert and thought that enemies gathered him. He always conspired that everyone was going to kill him. He later died of a massive cerebral hemorrhage. François Mitterrand had metastatic prostate cancer; he kept his illness a secret, and he was so ill that he could not stand up and receive honors. John Fitzgerald Kennedy had colitis, duodenal ulcers, osteoporosis, and Addison's disease. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, Kennedy took a massive amount of drugs to keep him going and boost his energy to keep him on his feet under the stress of his illnesses and of that period, which was already tense (Post & George, 2004).

Governor of Louisiana Earl Long had a heart attack, and Tancredo Neves had diverticulitis; they underwent surgery and died. Long and Neves, to conceal their illness and delay treatment, accelerated their demise, and after getting medical attention, they both died.

Ronald Reagan showed signs of Alzheimer's disease. Besides the assassination attempt on Reagan, which created enough stress and was being operated on, they called the XXV Amendment to safeguard the situation in another event, when Ronald Reagan, during his visit to Latin America, instead of pronouncing the correct country, Brazil, to João Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo, said Bolivia, which later indicated an earlier sign of Alzheimer's disease (Post & George, 2004).

Prime Minister of Great Britain, Anthony Eden, had a Benzedrine addiction. Eden, during world crises, was acting in exaltation. Mao Zedong, the president of China, died of myocardial infection; however, they developed senile megalomania. The Shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, had splenomegaly and died of disease complications. The Shah of Iran, after being diagnosed with cancer, started to gamble in waters he shouldn't have, such as breaking from the OPEC alliance, and due to his actions, he started the Iranian revolution, which led to the rise of Khomeini as a solution to the problem in Iran at the time. Mao did the same as the Shah; the goal was the revolution, not the people he served, even during his illness.

Another example was Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, who had ulcers and Black Water Fever. After being diagnosed, Ferdinand Marcos started to have significant insurgent violence and martial law, which was seen as harsh and unnecessary and an inappropriate reaction. The illness began to alter his personality.

¹³ *Leaders and their followers in a dangerous world the psychology of political behavior*. Cornell University Press.

Prime Minister of Israel, Menachem Begin, had three heart attacks and a stroke. His illness did not stop him from continuing his efforts to run the country, and it consumed him. President of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, had liver cirrhosis, which gave him an itchy, scratchy ascites. President of Sudan, Jafar Nimeiri, due to diabetes complications, had arteriosclerosis. Nimeiri's mental faculties and judgment were affected by his illness, and he declared himself president for life. Yasser Arafat suffered bilateral subdural hematomas due to the plane crash he survived, and King Hussein of Jordan had kidney and urethra cancer. Arafat and King Hussein, after the news of their illnesses, decided to make a change in their behaviors and enter the history books as overachievers (Post & George, 2004).

Leonid Brezhnev had arteriosclerosis; Brezhnev was infirm and had trouble speaking. And Yuri Andropov suffered from kidney disease. Andropov was always in support of a detent. After a heart attack and a stroke, Dwight Eisenhower was left with dementia. Eisenhower's reasoning abilities were in question due to a heart attack, and later on, aging caused dementia and a diagnosis of Alzheimer's disease.

The assassination attempts on leaders can cause physical and psychological illnesses from the initial gunshot to the leader's recovery. The trauma, paranoia, blood loss, and the use of drugs to heal have a direct or indirect impact; it might take a short period to recover, or it might be long-term or even permanent. These are all under the same category, which will cause more ailments, such as stress, anxiety, depression, insomnia, etc.

Post discusses the "malignant narcissist," a syndrome that combines ambition and aggression with an absence of conscience and paranoia. According to Post, such a personality disorder becomes particularly dangerous because it can combine with or produce a destructive charismatic leadership style. Such leaders not only believe that the rules that apply to everyone else do not apply to them because they are so special but also go to extreme lengths to accomplish their goals because they cannot live with the possibility or consequences of failure. (McDermott, 2008, p. 35)

McDermott (2008) has an interesting point here. As mentioned above, narcissism is a problem, not only for the leader but also for those being ruled. Narcissistic rulers tend to put themselves in an ivory tower where they are untouchable, which drives them to failure due to the ambition that evolves around them. Usually, charisma only exists in themselves.

The cases of Mao Zedong, Joseph Stalin, and Ferdinand Marcos suggest that in closed societies when there is no precise succession mechanism, the intricate relationship between the ailing leader and the inner circle will be crucial. Because of this circumstance of secret and malignant interdependence, here we have called such leaders "captive kings." (Post, 1993, p. 12)

Post (1993) suggests that a ruler with dictatorial tendencies and no line of succession has no competition. Therefore, they act as if they are immortal beings, and above them is only God, and it gives them the legal right to dominate and destroy since their powers come from

the heavens. Therefore, to understand, “[A passive king] shall be much more grievous unto his realm than a right tyrant” (Tyndale, *Rex Inutilis*, cited in Peters, *Shadow King*, 4, cited in Post, 1993, p. XIII).

McDermott (2008, pp. 35-36) also mentions that:

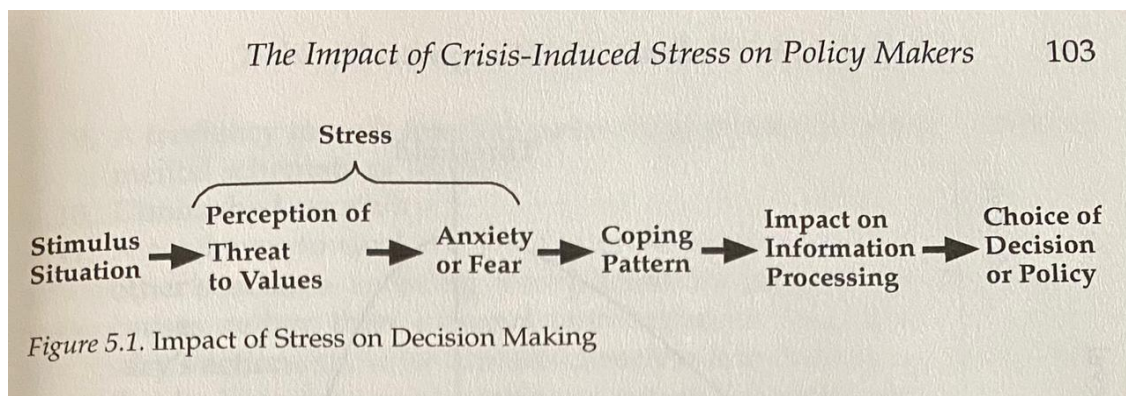
People who have paranoid personality disorders tend to suspect without foundation that others are exploiting, harming, or deceiving them; remain preoccupied with doubts about the loyalty of others; appear reluctant to confide in others for fear of information being used against them; read demeaning or threatening messages into benign remarks and events; bear grudges or remain unforgiving; perceive attacks on their character and react with anger where others see no such attacks and retain recurrent suspicions about a partner's fidelity. This disorder is more common in men than women and is often diagnosed when at least four of these characteristics are present.

Regarding addictions, “the most common addiction is alcohol abuse” (McDermott, 2008, pp. 37-39). However, “other central nervous system depressants that can be abused include tranquilizers, such as barbiturates and benzodiazepines, opiates, and pain killers.”

As seen above, it can be assumed that health is an essential factor in leadership decisions, foreign or national, from both sides. These decisions can be made on a personal level and for a vast majority of reasons, which will or will not benefit from the approach and policies among both countries, in this case, the United States and Brazil. Therefore, leadership diplomacy, regarding health and personality, is a massive influencer from the individual's point of view and behavior on how to deal with specific issues and the reasons for the decision taken.

Is it possible to determine the nature of the approaches through historical analysis and psychobiography? The study of the leaders regarding their time in history and their personality or pressure of the moment in time will determine the outcome of this approach as follows, and if their health is also a factor for such a decision.

Figure 17 – The Impact of Crisis-Induced Stress on Policy Makers



Source: Post (2004, p. 103).

Image 17 shows that stress can lead to misconceptions or open-mindedness; however, this will all depend on the type of person a leader is when it comes to stressful situations where

they feel fear, are being threatened, or are in an event in time, such as war or any other external force beyond their power.

Thus, the history of the leaders of Brazilian and American presidential governments shall be studied through their presidential diplomacy to find a [dis]connection when studying different time frames and things happening simultaneously in the world. This will teach us how to determine if there was a reason for the approach and if this reason was well chosen regarding the interests of each party as an individual and as a nation.

Since for this research, Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro are being taken into consideration, all possible aspects will be analyzed to conclude regarding approximation and, if possible, whether their illnesses and other factors interfere with their relationship, which is more than likely to happen. It will be used to draw a perspective and discuss related causes and effects.

Stress is also a critical factor in this situation. Stress can be a trigger point for good decisions as it can trigger decision-making. Moreover, stress can also lead to other illnesses.

1.7 CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL AND PRESIDENTIAL FOREIGN POLICY

In this crucial section of the research, I delve into the constitutions of both countries, which hold the key to the power of the President. What if the President fails to deliver as a leader? What actions does the Constitution define as legal and precedent for dismissal from office? These are not just legal provisions but the very foundations of our political systems.

Turning our attention to the United States Constitution and the President's powers, there is a fascinating aspect that piques the interest. Article II, Section 2, Clause 2 of the United States Constitution, says the President is the Chief Diplomat, with the authority to make treaties with the Senate's consent, recognize foreign governments, and engage in executive agreements with other heads of state (Ragone, 2004). This sets the stage for exploring the historical and diplomatic relationship between the United States and Brazil.

The XXV Amendment of the Constitution, a pivotal document in the context of presidential succession, states:

Section 1—In case of the president's removal from office, death, or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

Section 2—Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

Section 3—Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to

them a written statement to the contrary, such powers and obligations shall be released by the Vice President as Acting President.

Section 4—Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

After that, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by a two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to remove the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office. The Constitution of the United States, XXV Amendment. (Ragon, 2004, p. 22)

It can be concluded that before the passage of the XXV Amendment, nine presidents: William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor, Abraham Lincoln, James Garfield, William McKinley, Woodrow Wilson, Warren G. Harding, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Dwight D. Eisenhower, went through health issues that left them temporarily incapacitated, with death resulting in six cases (Harrison, Taylor, Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley, and Harding). After the passage of the XXV Amendment, President Ronald Reagan was incapacitated for almost 24 hours while undergoing surgery due to a gunshot wound resulting from a failed assassination attempt; therefore, no official designation of presidential responsibility was ever made. The Twenty-fifth Amendment has never been invoked (Smetkowski, 2014). The Goldwater Rule states that you can only diagnose public figures after examining them and only stating their diagnosis with their consent (American Psychiatry Association, 1973).

Regarding the Brazilian constitution on the same matter as the American Constitution, in Chapter II – Of the Executive Power, Section II – Attributions of the President of the Republic, Article 84, Incision VII and VIII, where the President maintains affairs among foreign states and accredit their diplomatic representation and celebrate treaties, conventions, and international acts subjected to a referendum in the National Congress.

In the constitution of 1824, Chapter V – In the Regency of Legal Age or the impairment of the emperor, in Article Art. 126 states: If the emperor, for physical or moral reasons, evidently recognized by the plurality of each of the Chambers of Assembly, is unable to govern, in his place will manage, as Regent the Imperial Prince, if he is over eighteen years old.

Dom Pedro II was dethroned and forced into exile. He left Brazil for Portugal, and due to deteriorating health, he died in France of pneumonia. In his last years, it seemed, or at least it is said, that he did not want to continue ruling and traveled extensively around the world; the part in which the leader can and should be removed from exercise was removed from the constitution (Tyndale, Rex *Inutilis*, cited in Peters, *Shadow King*, p. 4).

Today's constitution explicitly states in Chapter II, Section 1, Article 79 that substitution of the President will happen in the case of impairment, and they will be succeeded in the spot by the vice president, Unique Paragraph. Besides other attributions given by complementary law, the Vice President of the Republic will always aid the President when special missions summon them, thereby ensuring a smooth transition of power in the event of the President's incapacity.

The monarchy, seemingly aware of its potential downfall, took preemptive measures. It inserted a clause in the 1824 constitution, stating that if a head of state, in this case, the emperor, were ill or unfit to perform their duties as a ruler, they would be removed from office. This clause was removed after the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of the First Republic, marking a significant shift in the political landscape.

Regarding the following constitutions after 1824 (Brazil Empire): 1891 (First Republic), 1934 (Second Republic), 1937 (New State), 1946 (Republic of 1946), 1967 (Military Regime), and 1988 (New Republic, which is the current one), it is possible to conclude that the constitution omitted the idea that a head of state would one day fail to rule and, therefore, take any measures that would replace them from their post, especially during the military dictatorship.

1.8 METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

This exploratory research uses a hypothetical-deductive approach that applies each leader's historical and bibliographical information regarding the five extensive methods and correlates them to the Enneagram and Myers-Briggs. This allows us to describe each leader's dossier and draw up their personalities/behaviors. In this case, it is Donald Trump (2017 – 2021) and Jair Bolsonaro (2018 – 2022).

First, I shall use the psychobiographical method to help analyze who each individual is and who they became as leaders during the period studied; this gives us a better understanding when analyzing data and what to expect when it comes to decision-making. By doing this, I will add the hypothetical deductive method to test if the information between the two leaders has the scientific potential to determine if they fall into the correct category regarding behavior

during their decision-making process. Historical methodology should be considered to conclude whether external/internal factors made them take specific actions or behavioral reactions during the time of the two leaders. Finally, the bibliographical method will aid us in categorizing the behavior structures and the expectancy of how these behaviors will determine and classify each individual studied in this research.

Later, I will take their medical information, age, etc., and establish if they have a personal integration among their peers or a situational moment that requires approximation. This will give us enough evidence to ascertain whether the approach between the United States and Brazil during 2017 – 2022 is merely unilateral or bilateral to other factors besides interpersonal affairs.

The purpose here is to learn what kind of leader they are when acting as a country leader. My intake here is to determine whether personality gives us any insight into the relationship between leaders and allows for divergence or convergence among ideas, beliefs, etc. Suppose these characteristics were mutual or not based on their interests or as an external factor of the moment the interaction takes place.

Since most leaders do not take personality tests, I shall try to do it at a distance using the criteria from bibliographical works, mainly the books of Rose McDermott and Jerro Post, psychobiographical files, Alessandro Nai, Yves Schemel, and Chiara Valli on the personality traits, and Adam Ramey, Gary Hollibaugh, and Jonathan Kingler on the speeches of the leaders that shows them demonstrating various emotions, behavior, and other personal factors that shape and influence when making/taking decisions. This also gives us a broad knowledge of how to use the methodology not only for the current leaders but for those who have already passed or those who will become future leaders for both the United States and Brazil, which is the theme of this research. It will be a good enough tool for other countries as well.

CHAPTER 2 – A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL FOREIGN POLICY

In this section, I will not go back to 1776 or 1808. I will start the period in 1822 with Brazil's independence from Portugal, England's influence, and the Rothschild family's British bank, which financed Brazil's freedom in 1822 (Novo, 2022). The problem was that Portugal charged Brazil 2 million sterling pounds to accept its independence at the time (Novo, 2022).

With the risk of the Napoleonic wars and the extension of its territory, it was wise for Portugal to establish an independent environment to prevent this risk of the Napoleonic spread. Since the Portuguese royal family had ties with the British royal family, it is also very likely that it influenced the United Kingdom to support Brazil's independence because the ports opened with the nations allied with Great Britain. After Brazil declared independence, the United States recognized such an event in 1824 (Novo, 2022), under President James Monroe's administration, giving full support, hence the fact that the United States was the pioneer and sparked the independence acts in the Americas. During the Paraguay War, there was aid from the United States in the region, and in 1876, Dom Pedro II visited the United States at the World's Fair.

Since then, the United States has always been involved or partly involved in events directly or indirectly throughout the history of Brazil. Sometimes, in a more imposing way, and others, more superficially; depending on the period analyzed, how evident this seems to be and how present the US is can be seen. It is often noticed that on Brazil's side, there is always a form to be aligned in its beliefs and fundamentals. On the other hand, it is always seen that Brazil, not only in the United States but for other international entities, is strategically important in terms of natural resources, territory, geographical locations, etc.

The connection between the United States and Brazil has been strong for over 200 years. Brazil is primarily known for having the biggest economy and democracy in Latin America, South America, after the United States. This relationship is believed to continue to prosper for a long time, if not permanently.

By the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the Western world started to experience independence movements and revolts. These actions served as models among countries, especially in the Americas. Following the American independence from the United Kingdom, which culminated with the Declaration of Independence affirmed in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, by the Founding Fathers, the United

States became the precursor to establishing independence in the region. With the domino effect, the sovereignty of the other nations followed its course (Karnal, 2007).

This movement crafted American Imperialism in the Western world. Brazilian independence occurred on September 7, 1822, supported by the United States, which had already recognized the kingdom of Brazil on May 26, 1824, when President James Monroe recognized José Silvestre Rebello as *Chargé d’Affaires* in the United States, and Count Raguet of Pennsylvania as *Chargé d’Affaires* in Brazil (Bandeira, 2007).

In 1876, Dom Pedro II made his historic trip to the United States on a non-official visit. He met Thomas Edison and Alexander Graham Bell at the World Expo of Technology in Philadelphia. This meeting galvanized the adoption of the telephone and the light bulb in Brazil. It also initiated official visits between both countries. Since then, Brazil and the United States have forged a diplomatic relationship in which official visits became part of their presidential agendas, even in current times (Garcia, 2008).

In the Brazilian presidential election of 2018, it can be observed the interest in an approximation of the Brazilian political elite with the United States, something that is not new in the history of Brazilian foreign policy, as observed in the governments of Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca, Getúlio Dorneles Vargas (at the end of the Second World War), Eurico Gaspar Dutra, Humberto de Alencar Castello Branco, Fernando Collor de Melo, and Fernando Henrique Cardoso. This analysis shows that diplomatic and strategic relationships become stronger or weaker cyclically, substantiating some exciting questions.

According to Smith (1991, p. 1), in his own words

Historians have referred to an “unwritten alliance” in which the national interests of the United States and Brazil have converged so that Brazilian Diplomacy has acted as a bridge in helping to facilitate many of the policy initiatives undertaken by the United States a hemispheric affair.

The relationship between Brazil and the United States has always been good since its recognized independence. As Smith suggests, an “unwritten alliance” comes to this purpose. Smith comments that as Professor Louis Agassiz had marked a decade earlier, Brazilians were regarded as fortunate to have such an enlightened and dignified ruler who looked and acted just like an American, even better (Smith, 1991, p. 315).

The reference here is about Dom Pedro II, an admirer of the United States who always looked after the population's wellbeing. During his reign in Brazil, he was branded as a visionary of the future, for sure a man ahead of his time, and this brought turmoil among the high class that ended up dethroning him.

Smith also indicates that Nixon commented: “We know that as Brazil goes, so will the rest of the Latin American continent” (Smith, 2010, p. 175). Brazil is the largest democracy in South America, the “United States” of the region where Brazil gives the shots, and the rest follows accordingly.

As some examples below, the relationship between the United States and Brazil takes shape in distinctive periods during the turmoil in four episodes. One by the Baron of Rio Branco and his pragmatism, the second between Roosevelt and Vargas and World War II, the third between Fernando Henrique and reestablishing Brazil in the world as a new emerging market, and finally, our subject of study between Trump and Bolsonaro and the time of the pandemic.

2.1 THE BARON OF RIO BRANCO AND THE PRAGMATIC AMERICANISM AN EXCEPTION AS HEAD OF STATE

José Maria da Silva Paranhos Júnior, the Baron of Rio Branco, conducted Brazilian foreign policy from December 1902 until he died, in 1912. Monarchist, from a family that prided itself on having served the Empire (the Baron himself, acting as a diplomat in Europe, provided direct assistance to the deposed Emperor on more than one occasion), it was a long-lasting and stable force in a political and institutional environment that was generally confused and irregular, lending its prestige and capacity to the Republic inaugurated in 1899¹⁴. The Proclamation of the Republic marks a period of foreign policy reorientation, causing a rupture in the line followed since the Empire. In the words of Cervo and Bueno (2002, p. 164), “(...) the Republic, wanting to innovate, broke with a good part of the Imperial foreign policy.” This orientation change was marked mainly by abandoning the realist vision for an approach more inclined to idealism. In addition, the most experienced and well-known diplomats were associated with the Empire (most were, in fact, monarchists), and the new regime had deliberated attitudes towards emptying and diluting a good part of the diplomatic service.

Also, according to Cervo and Bueno (2002), the foreign policy from 1889 to 1902 is traditionally understood as lacking guidelines – reflecting the period's political tribulation. The beginning of the 20th century was not a historical environment that allowed the luxury of a disjointed and erratic foreign policy: new European powers emerged, the United States ascended, England lost relative control, Argentina entered a path of prosperity and stability, and the European countries began the partition of Africa. In addition, Brazil had more than a dozen border issues to be resolved, three of them with European powers (United Kingdom, France,

¹⁴ Original text: “O barão do Rio Branco, no entanto, não repudiou suas convicções monárquicas, não praticou o adesismo, mas, ao mesmo tempo, não hostilizou a nova realidade política brasileira”. (Doratioto, 2014, p. 69)

and Holland) in the sparsely populated Amazon – and with France at risk of losing control of the mouth of the Amazon River. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs operated, under the command of the Baron of Rio Branco, with the autonomy of action and, since its inauguration, enjoyed a privileged position within the structure of the Executive power - which guaranteed the country ten years of continuity of a foreign policy that was anchored in his prestige.

The Baron of Rio Branco could synthesize and incorporate, in a coherent system, the various facets of Brazil's international relations. His vision was less fragmented and segmented than the tradition of the Empire, which saw the La Plata Basin as the arena of the national diplomatic “big game.” His realism fueled a pragmatism oriented by what was feasible, and his perception of the international scenario was of excellent understanding. The changes in Europe and the rise of the United States were in his calculations from the beginning. Ricupero (2017) pointed out that a double movement of universalization and integration permeated the axis of its foreign policy. For the work proposed here, I will emphasize the following aspects present in its foreign policy that had a positive impact on the consolidation of the Brazilian Republic: its always realistic approach, its inclination to compromise and negotiation, the territorial consolidation of the country, the approximation with the United States and its project to establish Brazil as a South American power.

The realist perspective influenced, in one way or another, the entire foreign policy put in place by the Baron of Rio Branco. In the words of Ricupero, “(...) a practical sense of reality” was behind every move and strategy put into practice. It approached each border problem in its specificity in territorial disputes, emphasizing the importance of a case-by-case approach, avoiding conceptual and legal abstractions of general scope, and focusing on historical, geographic, and demographic occupation aspects. (Ricupero, 2017, p. 424) In seeking Brazilian international insertion, he did not lose sight of the country's limitations, seeking a kind of “protection” against European interference in the Monroe Doctrine¹⁵.

The inclination towards compromise and negotiation manifested several moments during the foreign policy the Baron of Rio Branco commanded. Moreover, guiding that inclination was an emphasis on reciprocity politics. The justification for this preference was the perception that the war was costly and unpredictable and demanded an economic and military strength that Brazil lacked¹⁶. Emphasizing negotiation and demonstrating goodwill in

¹⁵ “Echoing the old Portuguese heritage of a diplomacy conscious of military weakness and consequently in need of a powerful ally, (...) preannounced the search for what Bradford Burns called “the unwritten alliance with the United States.” (Ricupero, 2017, p. 430)

¹⁶ Original text: “É melhor transigir do que ir à guerra, pois o recurso à guerra é sempre desgraçado”. Barão do Rio Branco, citado em Doratioto. (2014, p. 11)

compromising served the country well in two ways: In talks with South American countries, Brazil used its relative power to advance its interests; in the negotiations with the European powers, it saw the discussions as an opportunity for material equality that it would otherwise lack. With this course of action, the country resolved significant territorial disputes (of which the negotiations with Argentina, Bolivia, England, and France stand out). It promoted economic, customs, investment attraction, and export policies.

The territorial consolidation of the country is the most recognizable and notable feat of Rio Branco's foreign policy. About 900 thousand km² (347,49 mi²) of territory (part maintained, partly added) were definitively incorporated, having their disputes resolved. All this incorporation was carried out through bilateral negotiations or arbitration, a process in which the Brazilian Chancellor was exceptionally competent. There were no wars and high costs (even the purchase of Acre was compatible with the country's economic capacity).

As Ricupero (2017, p. 422) pointed out, “Borders are generally established at one time and then remain unchanged. No other diplomatic accomplishment is so concrete and valued in the public’s eyes. It has thus tended to overshadow Baron's other less tangible diplomatic contributions.”

The way territorial consolidation had been achieved spared the country numerous problems, some of which could potentially disrupt the Republic being established significantly. The disputes with Argentina, Bolivia, and France are particularly emblematic.

The approach to the United States and its pragmatic relationship with the Monroe Doctrine were based on economic and political-strategic aspects (Doratioto, 2014). On the financial side, the Brazilian agro-export economy (especially coffee) had its most important customer in the United States. On the political-strategic side, Rio Branco had been keenly aware of changes in the distribution of global power from an early age and had quickly recognized the renewed role of the United States. The Baron calculated that at that moment, the main potential threat to Brazil did not come from the United States but Europe – as demonstrated by the Amapá and Pirara issues. The expansionist pretensions of France and England over the Brazilian Amazon and the partition of Africa by the Europeans occupied the first positions in the scale of perceived threats.

In the words of Doratioto (2014, p. 75),

Rio Branco saw the USA as an instrument to contain any attempts at European intervention in South America and deepened the rapprochement movement between

the two countries, using it to defend Brazilian interests concerning the European “risk” or as a counterpoint to Argentina's international projection¹⁷.

The Monroe Doctrine and American prestige could guarantee the integrity of Latin America in the face of a Europe in transformation whose powers had already started the search for new areas of influence (Africa). The Monroe Doctrine was seen as a shield against European interference and had proved helpful on many occasions. At the same time, he recognized that “United States was the center of a subsystem of power (...) it did not mean that Brazil was the tail of that country's foreign policy. For Rio Branco, North American friendship had a pragmatic meaning” (Cervo & Bueno, 2002, p. 187).

The Baron of Rio Branco understood Brazil's role in South America as a regional power. His realism signaled a practical and viable path to resolving international and national disputes and impasses, many of which had the potential to lead the country into conflict; his inclination towards compromise and negotiation conferred the country prestige, which has acquired a reputation for being respectful of international law and essentially peaceful; territorial consolidation strengthened national identity and avoided problems with a significant internal political impact, such as the eventual loss of the mouth of the Amazon River or most of the territory of Santa Catarina; his approach to the United States supported a policy independent of Europe, whose colonial mentality worried him, approaching the new emerging power at the very beginning of its rise; his vision of the country as a regional power became the principle of all his movements and became a permanent mark of the national foreign policy. The territorial extension by the Republic would justify this prominent position.

The duration, continuity, and clarity of the Baron of Rio Branco's foreign policy spared the Republic numerous problems, some of them with the potential to shake the Regime. Despite his many achievements, the most important of them is the least tangible: The Baron rebuilt the country's international legitimacy. When he left the post with his death in 1912, there was no mistrust or suspicion in the global environment about the Republic's legitimacy or the coherence of power expression in Brazil. The situation was very different from that of 1902, when, despite more than ten years of Republic, such doubts persisted. Theodore Roosevelt had a specific agenda with the Monroe Doctrine and the Corollary named after himself together with the good relations in which Rio Branco had. The approximation was not because Rio

¹⁷ Original text: Rio Branco viu nos EUA um instrumento para a contenção de eventuais tentativas de intervenção europeia na América do Sul e aprofundou o movimento de aproximação existente entre os dois países, utilizando-o na defesa dos interesses brasileiros, quer em relação ao “risco” europeu, quer como contraponto à projeção internacional da Argentina.

Branco liked the Americans; he just felt it was the right thing to do at the time since Europe was recovering from the devastation. Roosevelt thought about the warm welcoming of the Brazilians, which later got him to explore the inner jungle and discover the river of doubt, named after him. Marechal Rondon and the Rockefellers set an expedition along with financing from the Rothschilds and the Smithsonian for specimens found in the jungle.

2.2 DURING WORLD WAR II – GETÚLIO VARGAS AND FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

The expression “pragmatic equidistance” was associated with foreign policy in the 1930s and early 1940s. In the sense in which it is used, it refers to the efforts of the first Vargas government to maximize the benefits arising from the country's international relations to reinforce the implementation of its development plan (in general terms, industrialization and modernization of the country's economy). The most literal meaning of this policy is marked by a more ambiguous and somewhat indefinite action on the part of Brazil, which sought to take advantage of the dispute between the United States and Germany, especially between 1935 and 1941. Cervo and Bueno (2002, p. 253) said, “During the 1930s, Brazil was the target of a trade dispute between Germany and the United States.” Among other related issues, the country sought support to build a steel plant and re-equip its armed forces.

Throughout the 1930s, Germany and the United States alternated in the leadership of Brazil's leading trading partner. The Brazilian oscillation that sought to take advantage of the two trading partners had a clear economic sense. Still, according to Cervo and Bueno (2002), it was also a reflection of the political uncertainty of the Vargas government, which, despite the long Brazilian tradition of association with the North Americans, also had groups sympathetic to Germany. At that moment, such sympathies could also be roughly explained in terms of political affinity: Democracy and market (USA) versus strong state and political centralization (Germany). The “pragmatic equidistance” would have served two purposes: Maximizing economic gain and awaiting the outcome of political disputes within the government about the two models represented by the two mentioned countries.

Therefore, the “pragmatic equidistance” would have guided the foreign policy implemented in Brazil during the first Vargas government. To achieve the national development project, it was presented as the best rational strategy available, extracting from the powers that would soon face each other in the war (Germany and the United States) the concessions that best served the country's interests. Taking advantage of the window of opportunity represented by the World War II, which had created extraordinary negotiation margins for countries like

Brazil, the country's alignment became an object of bargaining. The transformations that the country faced throughout the 1930s changed the perception of what would be the national interest, which acquired a broader aspect: More than taking care of traditional exports, in the words of Cervo and Bueno (2002, p. 234),

(...) Brazilian foreign policy sought cooperation and bargains aimed at a more comprehensive national interest than in the previous period, as it desired to contemplate other segments of society. This explains the transformations in Brazilian foreign policy, such as the strengthening of pragmatism and its sense of being an instrument of the national development project, whose cornerstone was implementing a steel mill¹⁸.

To prolong what historiography has pointed out as Brazil's “double game” about Germany and the United States (Cervo & Bueno, 2002, p. 234), the country declared neutrality in September 1939. Essential for the Brazilian definition (which in the future would be integrated into the effective war effort, sending troops) was the firm and resolute performance of Osvaldo Aranha as an ambassador and later as Chancellor, despite the episodes of reluctance on the part of the President Getúlio Vargas. He had made his bet in favor of the United States, not only because of economic and strategic interests but also because of historical ties and Pan-Americanism. Osvaldo Aranha demonstrated clarity of vision and knew how to assess the vulnerabilities that exposed the country to risks while prudently considering where there would be potential gains for the government (Araújo, 2017).

The “pragmatic equidistance” policy had already been abandoned in 1941, with the Brazilian alignment with the North Americans, mainly due to the guidelines negotiated by the now famous Aranha mission with the American authorities in 1939 (almost two months of negotiation). Political, commercial, and financial relations sought to “(...) link Brazil to the power system of the United States” (Cervo & Bueno, 2002, p. 251), with promises of supplying military material and training for the modernization of the armed forces. Moreover, it supported the implementation of a national steel plant. Brazilian support for the Allies' cause was necessary for logistics, the supply of raw materials, and the transfer of military bases in the northeast, which were strategic, primarily when the war unfolded in North Africa. According to Cervo and Bueno (2002), cooperation and economic support would have fallen short of

¹⁸ Original text: (...) a política externa brasileira buscou formas de cooperação e barganhas voltadas para um interesse nacional compreendido de maneira mais abrangente do que o período anterior, pois visava contemplar outros segmentos da sociedade. Isto explica as transformações havidas na política externa brasileira, como o reforço do pragmatismo e do seu sentido de instrumento do projeto de desenvolvimento nacional, que tinha na implantação de uma siderúrgica sua pedra angular.

expectations. At the military level, the desired re-equipment of the armed forces would not have occurred as agreed.

The United States, Roosevelt, in this case, wanted Brazil to react for the rest of Latin America to take a position regarding the war against Germany after Brazilian ships were sunk on the coast of Brazil, forcing the country to take it. Therefore, Brazil entered and participated in World War II, fighting alongside the Allies against the Axis.

It is interesting to mention that Roosevelt had the same approach as the Baron of Rio Branco. The pragmatic equidistance was implemented when leaving the alliance of Europe and approaching the United States at the beginning of the 19th century, as mentioned in Chapter 2.1; using political pragmatism to align Brazil with the United States, Roosevelt did the same by convincing Vargas to cut ties with Germany and join the United States to confront Germany in Europe. Therefore, Brazil ended up declaring war on Germany on August 22, 1942.

2.3 1964 BRAZILIAN COUP – HUMBERTO DE ALENCAR CASTELO BRANCO, JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY/LYNDON B. JOHNSON

To understand what happened in 1964 in Brazil, it is necessary to head back to 1941, when Lieutenant General Vernon Anthony Walters was a link of the 5th Army of the United States and General Humberto de Alencar Castelo Branco and Marshal João Baptista Mascarenhas de Moraes, which were part of the *Força Expedicionária Brasileira* (FEB) (Brazilian Expeditionary Force) during World War II, where they built a strong bond.

Later, Walters was appointed Army Attaché in Brazil in the '60s, under Kennedy's presidency. In 1962, after the Cuban missile crisis between the United States and the United Republic of Socialist States, the Cold War was more evident in the world, which started to shift. When Jânio Quadros resigned as president, his vice president, João Goulart, assumed the presidency, and because he was having more contact with the Eastern world and its leaders (Russia, China, Cuba, etc.), those residing in Brazil, nationalists to more be precise, started to feel tension¹⁹.

Lincoln Gordon, the US Ambassador in Brazil at the time (1962-1967), felt that Brazil had contact with Carlos Lacerda, leader of the opposition to Western ideology. Most Brazilians back then were anti-American as well. If they were correct, the influence would significantly impact Brazil and the whole Latin American region, and the United States could lose its hegemonic status.

¹⁹ Patterson, M. R. (2023, June 1). *Vernon A. Walters - Lieutenant General, United States Army Public Official*. Arlington National Cemetery. <https://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/vawalters.htm>

Gordon called Walters together with President Johnson. Since Kennedy was assassinated, Johnson, being more conservative than Kennedy himself, considered the bluff and started to intervene in Latin America and Brazil directly or indirectly. In 1964 Brazil had a military coup, and Humberto Castelo Branco assumed office on March 31/April 1, 1964, not to mention Walter's friend.

There is proof that there was a direct intervention of the United States, called Operation "Brother Sam" in Brazil in 1964 during the military coup, relocating the US Navy and Airforce in support of the event; however, there is evidence to believe, with the CIA involvement, that the United States took part in the outskirts of the operations. During this period, there was an approximation of the bilateral relationships between the US and Brazil (Cervo; Bueno, 2002, p. 388).

During the entire 21-year period of the military dictatorship²⁰, the United States had a strong influence, directly and indirectly. This association varied between approximation and distancing periods. At the end of the 1970s, the relationship between Geisel and Jimmy Carter degraded due to the Brazilian nuclear project, which caused the distancing of both countries until the end of the military period.

2.4 FERNANDO HENRIQUE CARDOSO, BILL CLINTON, GEORGE WALKER BUSH, AND REINSTITUTIONALIZATION

The foreign policy of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) (1995-2002) is related to more enduring aspects of the Brazilian diplomatic tradition and some common perceptions. There were eight years of foreign policy in a period of significant transformations, with the beginning of the emergence of China, the active negotiations of the FTAA, the economic crises, the September 11 attacks, and the acceleration of market integration.

During the presidential diplomacy period, the president's figure was important and was central to the strategies developed for diplomatic action. This was possible due to the symbolic heritage that he projected. In presidential diplomacy, regional relations were appreciated, especially Mercosur, but without giving up universalism and the search for influence in multilateral organizations pursuing operational autonomy. The success of the Real Plan and economic stabilization, the reaffirmed commitments to democracy and stability, allied to FHC's history as an intellectual and man of letters, contributed to recovering the country's credibility.

²⁰ The term dictatorship here is not in the sense of one ruler that is a tyrant who stays in power for eternity. However, a very rigid regime is usually seen under a dictatorship ruler even though the country remained under military power, even though it changed the head of state eight times.

Economic stability allowed, in the words of Vigevani, Oliveira, and Cintra (2003, p. 11), “to refund external credibility over internal stability.”

The country's economic dimensions, allied to its growth, possibly thanks to stabilization and the process of economic opening, represented a good part of the symbolic capital from which President FHC acted in his international interactions. However, FHC was also considered charismatic in a restrained, ingratiating way. He saw strengthening regional relations, especially in Mercosur, as an essential aspect of foreign policy, but without giving up the rest of the world. Foreign policies shared the idea, to different degrees, that a strong Mercosur would validate and increase the country's relative power in other arenas: Foreign policy articulates the concept of open regionalism. In the words of Vigevani, Oliveira, and Cintra (2003, p. 44), this is not a game on two boards. In the perception of the Brazilian government, different negotiations are complementary and not opposed.” They were underlying the idea that strengthening relations in South America would be an impetus for action elsewhere.

“Autonomy through integration” and the concept of the global trader guide foreign policy. Autonomy through integration would seek an active role²¹ for the country, which would begin to build its space of independence based on direct and effective participation in the international arena²²; the vision of a global trader, in the words of Vigevani, Oliveira, and Cintra (2003, p. 34), “meant that Brazil had global interests, and thus could take on diversified positions and agendas, seeking markets and affiliations without being bound by them into a single partner.”

How public policymakers perceive the role of the State influences the directions of the strategies implemented: The level of the centrality of state action was determined by the [neo] liberal influence, on the one hand, and by the belief in the articulating role of the state, on the other – the “logistic state.” (Cervo & Bueno, 2011, p. 525) Analyzing the evolution of FHC's foreign policy, Cervo and Bueno (p. 529) present it as a movement “from neoliberalism to global interdependence” welcoming a country that had been governed in recent years by Sarney and Collor, whose economy was struggling to establish the price stability recently achieved in the short term of Itamar Franco, the exhaustion of the state's investment capacity sought to be overcome by a liberal policy, of opening the economy, privatization, cutting spending, and fiscal and monetary austerity. In such an environment, foreign policy acquires more modest

²¹ “(...) a perspectiva institucionalista passou a ser vista como favorável aos interesses brasileiros, porque promovia o respeito às regras do jogo internacional, as quais, uma vez estabelecidas, deveriam ser respeitadas por todos, inclusive pelos países mais poderosos”. (Vigeani, Oliveira & Cintra, 2003, p. 32)

²² “o mesmo sistema que nos impõe um revés funciona, no longo prazo, a nosso favor”. (Cardoso, 2000b, p. 3)

ambitions. Not that it is not central to the broader political-economic project, but the scope is more classical and less innovative. Effective action in multilateral arenas, search for new markets, avoiding irremediable tensions that would lead to impasses, etc. This more traditional outline also reflects the less central role of the State as an articulator and manager of public policies.

The scope of external insertion reflects the ability of governments to achieve more concrete achievements due to the quality of their strategies and the ability to execute them, navigating the tumultuous sea of the international system/society. The government's main contribution was the recovery of the country's credibility abroad and the break from the isolation prevalent in recent years. With Fernando Henrique Cardoso, there was a test of a more proactive foreign policy that would seek an international action capable of building a space for Brazil to be more active when dealing with world affairs.

In the words of Lampreia, quoted by Vigevani and Cintra (2003, p. 38), “(...) the maintenance of a mainstream behavior, but with attention to the specificity of Brazil, both in its conditioning and in its objectives and interests.” The scope of foreign policy does not go far beyond common aspirations (credibility, multilateralism, respect for the law, search for peace, etc.). The more traditional foreign policy even reflects the lesser weight given to the role of the State in the pursuit of the nation's general objectives.

The United States' agenda during this period focused on Free Trade, and due to Brazil's economic emergence, it was a vital player in attracting their participation. However, it never went through, and with the war on terror, Bush's agenda was to finish the Iraq war; the war his father started, the fight against terrorists after the World Trade Center was attacked. This came to be the agenda for the next 20 years.

It is essential to highlight that during this period, Brazil did not want to find convergence and avoid isolation regarding the international scenery. Brazil wanted to enter the XXI century more universalized in the international plan of development and transformation. Not only in economics but also in other fields such as technology, culture, etc. To see Brazil as a Global Player and Global Trader (Teixeira, 2022, p. 11) and not a subordinate in the interdependence economy as it has been for the last years of its existence.

The approximation during the Cardoso years was not only bilateral among nations but multilateral in terms of reciprocity and having commercial partners other than the traditional post-world war nations, especially with a more globalized world, would make Brazil in terms of exports and imports more stable than before. The relationship with the United States was particularly considerable in terms of commercial aspects and brought more investment into the

country. The connection was ideological in that both presidents thought alike (Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Bill Clinton), and it was pragmatic during the period of Fernando Henrique Cardoso and George W. Bush.

It seemed ideological in the sense that social democracy was the best solution at the time for Brazil and pragmatic because Brazil was following the United States' footsteps to succeed economically on what was going on in the world and the market around the globe. Besides this, presidential diplomacy was more predominant during his mandate than any other Brazilian leader, even though it existed way before FHC, as I have discussed before.

2.5 FROM TRUMP TO BOLSONARO – THE BRAZILIAN-UNITED STATES RELATION BETWEEN 2017- 2021

History is never a new subject; it only tends to repeat itself. The Trump years and Bolsonaro made the rhetoric of what happened before World War II, around 1920. The emergence of the Radical Right started to take shape, and the war on socialism/communism emerged from the dead. Exactly what Carr explains in his book *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939*, the world witnessed it once again, but with new technology; however, over time, it was fake news that got around to manipulate the minds of the population to draw fear and paranoia; Thomas Jefferson is often attributed to the following quote that says those who control fear, controls a nation, which was actually said by John Basil Barnhill. Brooks, S. (n.d.)²³. The approximation among these two leaders came from thinking and believing in the same terms as a ruling autocrat in office. The United States went through what is to be ruled by a conservative right for the first time. This is interesting since Trump has been left in the past, in this case, Democrat and Republican, liberal and conservative. Another interesting fact is that Trump was never a politician. He is a businessman who ran the country as a large enterprise. His mindset is different from that of other presidents before and after him. Bolsonaro had the same autocratic posture, but since he had a military background and reemerged, giving civilian offices to the armed forces, the population started to be uncomfortable with the situation since Brazil had already experienced three military coups, which lasted for some time. One was during the dethroning of the emperor in 1889, establishing the republic until 1894 (5 years); the other was before Vargas assumed the presidency in 1930, during which he stayed in office until 1945 (15 years) with a military junta, and in 1964 – 1985 (21 years) Brazil was ruled by militaries without direct elections (Fausto, 2019, p. 436).

²³ When governments fear the people. Brooks (2016).

The United States and Brazil were probably more aligned since Deodoro da Fonseca. Bolsonaro is from a more far-right but, at times, had supported the center-left in the past. Something hung for them both to think, act, and behave similarly, which brought an excellent approximation among the leaders during this time in office.

The scenario was very similar to what happened in the past: An economic crash, ideology divergences, war, and a pandemic. This time, there was economic instability, ideology again emerged, the war on terror, the war between Ukraine and Russia, and another pandemic related to the original (Spanish Flu x Sars Covid 2). There was even a break-in in the US Congress on January 6, 2020; the same happened in Brazil on January 8, 2023, in the Brazilian federal triangle.

When Biden and Lula assumed the presidency together, they both had the rhetoric of reestablishing democracy, freedom, etc. However, it is a challenging task for both. Both countries now face internal and external issues that might make it difficult to advance their agendas and beliefs. The problem that people tend to forget when hearing a leader, head of state, etc., is precise as Hudson puts it:

Politicians lie, sometimes for good reasons, such as national security. Much of what politicians say in public has been ghostwritten. A politician may say different things—and differently—to diverse audiences. Moreover, even in spontaneous interviews, the answers may be shaped by how the question is posed, sometimes unnaturally. (Hudson, 2020, p. 65)

After elections, the presidential agenda or priorities differ from what they have said during their campaign due to other necessary issues. In other words, politicians tend to be actors acting to an audience, and if the audience buys the rhetoric, they shall get votes no matter how absurd or wrong they are. Another interesting fact is that, according to Owen (2008), “unhealthy leaders I.” It seems silly to think, but if a leader is dying, they might lose their followers or be vulnerable and lose credibility to maintain a position of power rather than appear as an impotent figure that cannot deal with severe matters of interest for the population governed. This was true with George Washington, who almost died from the flu, and the nation could have been killed with him. The same would have happened to Trump when he got Covid 19, as Brockell (2020) mentions in her article.

While Lula and Biden have similar ideas, they think especially about the approximation after the attacks on the government, spreading democracy among each country, particularly in the region, and protecting the constitution. Nowadays (2023), the world agenda is to protect the environment and reduce greenhouse gases—the economy’s stability and a more social and just

world for all that is being done. However, as seen before, it is tricky, especially when there are two heads of state with idealistic views in a realist world.

In this session, I shall analyze the official visits, the signed accords, and the approximation of the two presidents. Here is an overall table of the visits of both heads of state. It is possible to analyze that Brazil has a more direct approach, and the United States sends Secretary of State (Mike Pompeo) regarding Donald Trump on two occasions versus Bolsonaro, who approaches Trump directly eight times, even if the visit was multilateral, such as the opening of the United Nations General Assembly.

Table 3 – Official visits of both heads of State

Official Visits of Both Heads of State	Donald Jay Trump (USA) 2017-2021 Mike Pompeo (Secretary of State) 2017-2021	Jair Messias Bolsonaro (BRAZIL) 2019-2022 Ernesto Araújo (Secretary of State) 2019 - 2021 and Carlos França (Secretary of State) 2021 - 2022
2017	N/A	N/A
2018	December 31, 2018 to January 02, 2019 - Brasília	N/A
2019	N/A	January 17, 2019 to January 20, 2019 – Washington DC March 17, 2019, to March 20, 2019 – Washington DC May 15, 2019, and May 16, 2019 – Dallas September 24, 2019 – New York
2020	September 18, 2020 – Boa Vista	March 07, 2020, to March 10, 2020 – Miami
2021	N/A	September 19, 2021, to September 22, 2021 – New York
2022	N/A	June 09, 2022, to June 11, 2022 – Los Angeles and Orlando September 19, 2022, to September 20, 2022 – New York December 30, 2022 - Kissimmee
2023	N/A	N/A
Total Visits	2	8

Source: Table developed by the author using sources from the US and Brazilian Embassy.

Official visits between Bolsonaro and Trump occurred on Tuesday, March 19, 2019, at the White House to discuss how to build a western hemisphere that is more prosperous, safe, and democratic. They also discussed cooperation in commerce, defense, and energy (US Embassy in Brazil)²⁴.

²⁴ United States Embassy in Brazil.

There is no record of events that had the signing of official documents, just events where both parties participated, such as the Technology Protection Accords between the United States and Brazil, the non-NATO ally; the United States associated the impact investment focused on the conducted biodiversity, establishment in the forum of Brazil- United States, a panel of CEOs of the United States – Brazil²⁵.

During the speeches of Bolsonaro and Trump, they expressed mutual support and exchanged praises on various occasions. In 2018, during Bolsonaro's presidential campaign, these appraisals showed that he "would like to establish a close relationship with the United States." In March 2019, during his official visit, Bolsonaro praised Trump for being a courageous leader and compromised with conservative values. On different occasions, Bolsonaro highlighted his policies with Trump's policies about the economic agenda and security matters²⁶.

On the other hand, during his presidency, Trump praised Bolsonaro as a strong leader and affirmed that Brazil was in the correct direction in terms of leadership. Trump supported Bolsonaro in preserving national sovereignty in the Amazon and a strong posture against socialism. Trump also praised Bolsonaro for his availability to fortify the economic and commercial ties between Brazil and the United States. Moreover, Trump mentioned the 2019 Bolsonaro campaign in an event in New Orleans, Louisiana, with farmers, where US beef was being shipped to Brazil for the first time since 2003, praising him for being the New Trump of South America (O Globo).

Bolsonaro and Trump shared similar positions and approaches in international organizations like the United Nations. Bolsonaro was very skeptical about the UN's actions in certain aspects. He criticized the organization regarding environmental issues and participation in the Amazon, arguing that the international community threatened Brazilian sovereignty due to foreign involvement and that the UN should respect the country's independence (The New York Times).

Bolsonaro also expressed discontent with the Global Migration Pact, alleging that Brazil should not abandon its sovereignty in questions related to immigration.

On the other hand, Trump adopted a critical posture toward the United Nations during his presidency of the United States. He questioned the efficiency of the organization and its relevance in some international questions (Senate Prints).

²⁵ United States Embassy in Brazil .

²⁶ Ibid.

Trump withdrew the United States from the Paris Accords on climate change, arguing that the accord harmed the North American economy. Various countries criticized this measure and raised worries about the United States' commitment to cooperating in global combat against climate change (Senate Prints).

Besides that, Trump also questioned the United States' financial contribution to the UN, reducing the organization's destined resources (Council on Foreign Relations).

As their agendas go, Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro share some similarities regarding determined themes and priorities. However, their agendas significantly differ due to their political positions and national contexts. I will show a general view of each one's agenda next.

2.6 DONALD TRUMP'S WORK AGENDA

Economy and commerce: Trump tried to boost the US economy by reducing taxes, deregulation, and renegotiating commercial agreements, such as NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), which was negotiated and became USMCA (United States-Mexico-Canada) (Open Democracy).

Immigration: Trump defended a more restrictive immigration policy, emphasizing the construction of a wall at the Mexican border, besides measures to increase security and restrict the entrance of immigrants and refugees into the United States (Rodrigues & Maio, 2021).

Foreign Policy: Trump adopted a new approach, more unilateral concerning foreign policy, prioritizing the national interests of the United States. He sought to involve more limited multilateral agreements and defined a stricter posture in ties to countries such as China and Iran (Council on Foreign Relations).

International issues: Trump emphasized the necessity to combat terrorism and extremism, also pressuring for more equal expenses with defense in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization).

COVID-19: Trump did not respond effectively in the fight against COVID-19 as he puts it in his own words, "Nobody knew there would be a pandemic or an epidemic of this proportion. Nobody's ever seen anything like this before" (White House, 2020a cited in Parker and Stern 2022, p. 2), and "nobody could have known a thing like this could happen" (White House, 2020b cited in Parker and Stern 2022, p. 2). Such statements could easily be dismissed as self-serving political rhetoric, but for the fact that not only the words but also the substance of the Trump administration's policy reaction to the pandemic suggest a tragic failure to

proactively mount a focused, whole-of-government and whole-of-society response to indications of a rapidly intensifying public health threat (Parker and Stern 2022, p. 2).

2.7 JAIR BOLSONAROS WORK AGENDA

Economy and reforms: Bolsonaro sought to implement economic reforms, including private pension reform and promoting pro-market policies. He defended the reduction of bureaucracy and the country's opening for foreign investments (Lima, 2020).

Combat against corruption and public security: Bolsonaro emphasized the importance of combatting corruption and improving public safety in Brazil. He defended a stricter posture concerning crime and supported measures such as flexibility on the right to bear arms (Boadle & Stargardter, 2018).

Foreign policy: Bolsonaro sought to maintain strong ties with the United States and promote a more pragmatic approach to foreign policy along with an ideological approach among both leaders in question. He highlighted the alignment with conservative leaders and adopted a critical posture about governments considered leftist. This posture has happened for the first time in Brazil's foreign policy history (Guimarães, 2019).

Social agenda and conservative values: Bolsonaro defended and valued conventional social plans, promoting the traditional family and opposing gender ideology (Lelo & Caminhas, 2021).

However, there are some overlays on the work agenda; it is essential to highlight that Trump and Bolsonaro differ significantly in their approach to policies and specific priorities.

Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro are known for their direct and controversial speech styles, bringing them closer to their support base. While there are subtle differences in their communication styles, there are some notable similarities in how they address the public (Setzler, 2021). Here are some traits that are often associated with their speeches:

Colloquial language: Both political leaders use everyday language in their speeches, seeking to connect with the population more informally and directly. They often use slang, popular expressions, and accessible language to communicate with their audience (Genari, 2022).

Populist Approach: Both Trump and Bolsonaro took a populist approach to their speeches, presenting themselves as defenders of the ordinary people against an alleged political and economic elite. They often criticize established institutions and pledge to fight for the people's interests (Guimarães, 2019).

Use of social media: Both leaders have a strong presence, especially on Twitter. They use these platforms to transmit direct messages, express controversial opinions, and mobilize followers. This straightforward and immediate communication allows them to bypass traditional media channels and directly reach their support base (Mangerotti, 2021).

Emphasis on national issues: Trump and Bolsonaro strongly focus on national issues in their speeches. They often highlight security, immigration, employment, the economy, and national sovereignty. These themes resonate with many of their support bases, who see these issues as crucial to the country's well-being (Kingsolver, 2022).

Polarizing rhetoric: Both political leaders are known for their polarizing rhetoric, which tends to divide opinions and generate controversy. They often express solid and contentious views, constantly attacking their political opponents, the media, or specific social groups. This approach generates both emotional support and intense criticism (Setzler, 2021).

It is important to emphasize that these characteristics are generalizations and do not fully capture the complexity and diversity of Trump and Bolsonaro's speeches.

During Donald Trump's government in the United States and Jair Bolsonaro's government in Brazil, there was rapprochement and collaboration between the two administrations. Below are some of the central moments of rapprochement between their governments (U.S. Embassy & Consulates in Brazil, website).

Jair Bolsonaro's visit to the United States: In March 2019, Jair Bolsonaro made his first official visit to the United States as President of Brazil. During that visit, he met with Donald Trump at the White House, where both leaders highlighted the importance of the bilateral relationship between Brazil and the US and expressed mutual support (Ibid.).

Support for Brazil's OECD candidacy: In October 2019, the United States government formally supported Brazil's candidacy to join the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a leading international forum for economic cooperation (Paraguassu, 2019).

Cooperation on Defense and Security Matters: The Trump and Bolsonaro administrations have sought greater cooperation on defense and security matters. In August 2020, the two countries signed a technological safeguards agreement to grant commercial use of the Alcântara rocket launch base in Maranhão by the US space sector (Moury, 2020).

Trade relationship and bilateral agreements: During the Trump and Bolsonaro governments, there was an effort to strengthen the trade relationship between Brazil and the United States, as well as the signing among both nations in trade and investment, trade facilitation, and cooperation in customs matters (Brasil, 2019).

Cooperation on Environmental and Forestry Issues: While there have been some differences regarding environmental issues, the Trump and Bolsonaro administrations have expressed interest in working together on initiatives related to the environment and the preservation of tropical forests, including the Amazon (Ibid.).

These are just some rapprochement moments between the Trump and Bolsonaro governments. However, it is essential to emphasize that relations between countries and political leaders are complex and subject to change and evolve (Delfim, website).

It is possible to notice in their own words that Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro share ideas and points of view regarding certain issues, such as the examples below. These examples happened during their presidencies on various occasions.

President Trump, in his speech at the 74th United Nations General Meeting, highlighted:

Americans will also never tire of defending innocent lives. We are aware that many United Nations projects have attempted to assert a global right to taxpayer-funded abortion on demand right up until the moment of delivery. Global bureaucrats have absolutely no business attacking the sovereignty of nations that wish to protect innocent lives. Like many nations here today, we in America believe that every child — born and unborn — is a sacred gift from God. (Trump, 2019, p. 10)

According to Araújo, the “Comunavirus” would accelerate the “globalist project”:

This [globalist project] has already been carried out through climaticism or climate alarmism, gender ideology, politically correct dogmatism, immigration, racialism, or the reorganization of society based on the principle of race, antinationalism, and scientism. These are efficient instruments, but the pandemic, placing individuals and societies in the face of the impending death panic, represents the aggrandizement of all of them. (O Globo, 2021, n.p.)

According to Bolsonaro (2019 apud Trump, 2019, n.p.):

[...] may I say that Brazil and the United States stand side by side in their efforts to ensure liberties and respect to traditional family lifestyles, respect to God our Creator, against the gender ideology or the politically correct attitudes, and against fake news.

Some tweets also demonstrate how they both show their strong opinionated position when it comes to fake news:

On November 15, 2020, at 11:19 AM, Donald Trump tweeted: “He only won in the eyes of the FAKE NEWS MEDIA. I concede NOTHING! We have a long way to go. This was a RIGGED ELECTION!”

On March 13, 2020, at 12:45 PM, Jair Bolsonaro Tweeted: “DO NOT BELIEVE IN THE FAKE NEWS MEDIA! THEY ARE THE ONES WHO NEED YOU!”.

The slogans that both candidates implied during their campaigns also show how populist ideas bring the spotlight on how they are similar even ideologically, while Trump wants to MAKE AMERICA FIRST (2017) and now MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN (2024) and Bolsonaro (2019), with the idea of God, Patriotism, and Family, in the same lines as Antônio

de Oliveira Salazar in Portugal from 1933-1974, Bolsonaro always praised the slogan Brazil above all and God above everything. Now (2024), the slogan seems to be God, Homeland, Family, and Liberty.

As Zacharia (2024) summarizes Trump in his own words,

Trump's hour-long campaign speeches could be boiled down to four lines: The Chinese are taking away your factories. The Mexicans are taking away your jobs. The Muslims are trying to kill you. I will beat them all up and make America great again. It was a message of nationalism, chauvinism, protectionism, and isolationism. Zacharia (2024, p. 3)

Zacharia (2024, p. 3) also speaks about Bolsonaro in the following sense,

In Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro's right-wing party described its project as returning the country to its Christian past, from which it had been led astray by cosmopolitans, leftists, and minorities.

It is well aware that Trump and Bolsonaro went beyond their previous counterparts when it comes to politics and economic reform in a way that it was a shock to the current system as well as to the time in which both candidates arrived, not only during the Covid 19 crisis but the way and the alignment among both leaders, which was astonishing. Zacharia (2024), on the one hand, tries to show this by pointing out these characteristics based on the two quotes above. It is also interesting to observe how the level of conservatism is marked as high in which everything else considered in balance is once again being [re]shaped and [re]modeled to a new understanding of conservatism, which was quite different from the past centuries.

What is different among their approaches, and some might consider a divergence, is the type of economic model. Trump made the United States under a more mercantilist economy, such as NAFTA 2.0, with a more hegemonic presence towards the international, while Bolsonaro used a more liberal economy focused on regional rather than international (Motta & Milani, 2023).

Even with the 2019 pandemic, both candidates managed to stay in alignment with their decisions and agendas, which helped to maintain the accords and agreements even when they both contracted the disease, and they both started to promote the use of hydroxychloroquine and ivermectin, even though it was proven not to work towards the disease. Instead, they took immunoglobulin to deal with the symptoms and, later, were vaccinated, even misleading people not to take vaccines (Casarões & Magalhães, 2021).

CHAPTER 03 – CONFRONT THE THEORY WITH THE HISTORY OF FOREIGN POLICY BETWEEN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES AND ITS RESULTS – 2017-2021

As mentioned in the sections above, pragmatism is essential in international affairs. As this research suggests, the four studied periods start to knock on pragmatism. However, there are also moments of pragmatism in other historical moments of both nations. Besides Barão do Rio Branco, Getúlio Vargas, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and Bolsonaro, there is also Ernesto Geisel, George Washington, Bill Clinton, and Obama. These attitudes came at a time of tension, especially since one was Kennedy's towards Khrushchev during the Cuban Missile Crisis (October 16-29, 1962).

When all goes against it, pragmatism falls into a more logical approach due to the practicality of solving the problem in a moment of tension and stress. However, the pragmatic method should be used more daily. This does not necessarily mean abandoning all rules, laws, ethics, morality, etc. It is just a way to approach the issue from a more rational view.

On this project, Barão do Rio Branco's views and pragmatic decision to abandon Europe, especially the United Kingdom, to approach the United States were talked about. Getúlio Vargas, when appealing to the Germans during World War II, at the last moment, aligned with Roosevelt and the United States with a pragmatic equidistance. Finally, Fernando Henrique Cardoso pragmatically put Brazil at the center of the economic spectrum in Latin America. He approached the United States again as a strong economic power in the region.

These three events show how pragmatism works in different aspects of time, giving the idea of how to deal with various issues, both political and economic, during war tensions, etc. This is why it is used in international relations. A form of approach that blocks decisions that generate loss to the state when used in foreign policy.

Table 4 – Leaders Taken into Consideration

Leaders Taken into Consideration										
Head of State	DOB	In Office	Country	Vice President	Party	Big 5	Enneagram	Myers - Briggs	Military Rank	Illness
Donald John Trump	June 14, 1946 (76 years old) New York, New York	January 20, 2017 – January 20, 2021 (4 years)	United States of America	Michael Richard Pence	Republican	SLUEN	8W7	ESTP	Did not serve	COVID-19 related illnesses
Jair Messias Bolsonaro	March 21, 1955 (67 years old) Glicério, São Paulo	January 1, 2019 – December 31, 2022 (4 years)	Brazil	Antônio Hamilton Martins Mourão	Liberal Party	SLUEN	8W7	ESTP	Captain	Knife wound to the gut.

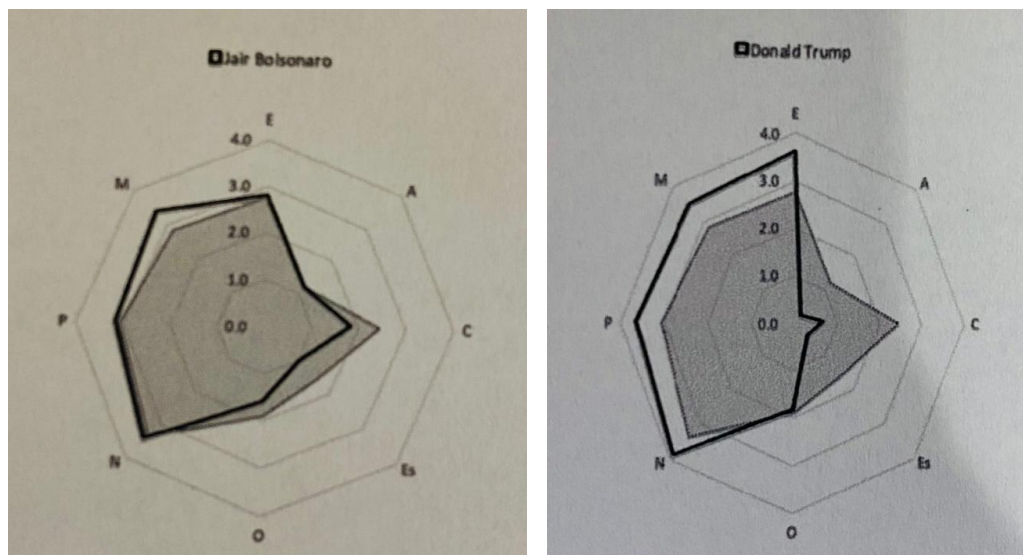
Table Created by the Author²⁷.

²⁷ Based on various sources, the table was built collecting the information and putting it in one great schematic for easier visualization.

According to Post, McDermott, Pearce, and Nai, I put together Table 3 to easily visualize the aspects of the mandatory leaders' behavior, which shall be taken into consideration in this project, so that conclusions can be drawn about their behavior, based on the scientific approach of the Big 5, the more popular approach of the Enneagram, and the Myers-Briggs, as well as the health issues of each president accordingly. What is important in this research is the Big 5 and the Illness columns. The other results are a way to show other traits to add regarding polishing one's behavior when it comes to decision-making.

Table 3 reveals intriguing insights about Trump and Bolsonaro's personalities. Contrary to the autocratic sense typically associated with leaders from autocratic nations, they exhibit autocratic tendencies. Nai (2020) aptly captures this. The graph further illustrates their unique personality profiles, highlighting both similarities and differences.

Figure 18 – Personality Profile of Autocrats – Jair Bolsonaro and Donald Trump



Source: Nai (2020).

Personality profile of autocrats. Note: all variables vary between 0, 'very low,' and 'very high.' The light-grey dotted area represents the average score of autocrats on all personality traits. The darker bold outline represents the profile of the candidate. E 'Extraversion'; A 'Agreeableness'; C 'Conscientiousness'; Es 'Emotional stability'; O 'Openness'; N 'Narcissism'; P 'Psychopathy'; M 'Machiavellianism' Nai and Toros (2020).

These figures are leaders of electoral democracies – not autocracies. Even though they tend to drive their capacity as an autocracy, as mentioned (Foa & Mounk 2017; Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018), they all pose belligerent characteristics to politics in their respective countries for the concentration of powers. Some authors, such as psychiatrist John Gartner, add sadism and paranoia to the mix when it comes to malignant traits.

These findings underscore the importance of understanding leaders' traits in politics. While these traits may not always shift over time, they can have a significant impact, particularly in extreme cases. This understanding can be crucial in predicting and analyzing political behavior.

When it comes to balance, there tends to be a mix of dark and light triads like a yin-yang relationship, a good versus evil situation. Depending on their traits, others tend to have a more significant piece of the pie. Palhus (2020), it can be said that too much is unhealthy, and there is a tendency for people to force themselves as one or the other to give the benefit of doubt when it comes to relating to the opposites. This is how leaders support, not only by identification but by what they represent or how they act in a way they think a good leader does and end up being wrong and deceitful.

Nai (2019) says "populists score higher on extraversion, narcissism, psychopathy, and Machiavellianism. These results have important implications for the study of the success of populists in contemporary democracies and beyond" (Nai, 2019, p. 2). I presume it is safe to say that although Bolsonaro and Trump are very similar in their personalities and traits, the same cannot always be said. Their dark triad outspeaks for their behavior.

Another point of view is the view of a populist; no matter what ideology they choose, the approach is always the same. The figure below shows that.

So far, this research has shown the different attitudes between Bolsonaro and Trump, their crisis management, and the relationship between the leaders. Their narratives and expectations are also clear, and their personal touches give an idea of how people tend to act or deal with a situation that demands personal attributes, which are reflected in their actions. The table below shows how these narratives and expectations take place accordingly.

Figure 19 – Narratives and Expectations

Table 1. Narratives and expectations.

Narrative	Logic	Big Five					Dark Triad		
		E	A	C	Es	O	N	P	M
'Drunken dinner guests'	Taking pleasure in displaying bad manners, 'low' style of politics, low self-control								
'Agents provocateurs'	Agitation, spectacular acts, exaggeration, provocations, and breaching of social taboos	p						p	p
'Charismatic leaders'	Energetic and bold style, charisma, self-assurance, self-promotion, fearless dominance	p						p	p
Expected profile of populists		1				x	1	1	1

p'Increased prevalence of trait'; 'Decreased prevalence of trait'; x'No different prevalence of trait'.
E 'Extraversion'; A 'Agreeableness'; C 'Conscientiousness'; Es 'Emotional Stability'; O 'Openness'; N 'Narcissism'; P 'Psychopathy'; M 'Machiavellianism'.

Source: Nai and Coma (2019).

Figure 19 displays the expected profile of populists according to the Big 5 and Dark Triad traits. The latter's narrative then shows a logic where the leader's traits are predominant to characterize their behavior, according to the subject they are expressing or opinionating.

Populists tend to exceed in extroversion and on the dark triad traits more or less depending on their approach towards the leader's profile and characteristics based on actions and beliefs; this can be seen based on their speeches as well. Even though they are populists, the essential core traits are there, but charisma determines their behavior, which will be analyzed later in this research.

Table 5 - The personality of Populists

Table 5 - The personality of Populists in this sample - Average Scores Table according to Alessandro Nai and Ferran Martínez I Coma (2019)										
Leader	Big 5						Dark Triad			
	E	A	C	Es	O		N	P	M	
Jair Bolsonaro (Brazil)	2.75	1.15	1.83	1.03	1.60		3.50	3.17	3.33	
Donald Trump (USA)	3.61	0.18	0.68	0.43	1.88		3.91	3.66	3.44	
Note: All variables range between 0, 'very low,' and 4, 'very high.'										
E 'Extraversion'; A 'Agreeableness'; C 'Conscientiousness'; Es 'Emotional Stability'; O 'Openness'; N 'Narcissism'; P 'Psychopathy'; M 'Machiavellianism.'										

Source: Nai and Coma (2019).

According to Nai and Coma (2019), the table shows how the scores among populist leaders are similar to their traits; on the one hand, Extraversion is high, Agreeableness is low, Conscientiousness is low, Emotional Stability is low, and Openness is low. On the other hand, Narcissism is high, Psychopathy is high, and Machiavellianism is high. The author demonstrated by applying the markers of each trait to determine what trait it was leaning more into to determine if the leader is considered more neurotic, Machiavellian, or psychopath.

These characteristics may connect with the traumas these leaders have encountered throughout their lives.

Figure 20 – HEXACO-PI factors/facets

	Biden	Trump	Biden Percentile	Trump Percentile
Honesty-Humility	2.94	1.32	43.47	0.40
Sincerity	2.20	2.07	10.32	7.5 2
Fairness	3.48	1.18	65.30	3.0 1
Greed Avoidance	2.80	1.05	59.01	6.1 8
Modesty	3.30	1.00	46.74	0.1 4
Emotionality	2.87	2.62	52.16	34.53
Fearfulness	2.32	3.43	35.35	86.63
Anxiety	2.59	2.43	31.63	24.32
Dependence	3.07	3.05	61.23	60.13
Sentimentality	3.50	1.59	76.49	2.6 8
Extraversion	4.07	3.87	80.15	69.69
Social Self Esteem	4.18	3.95	68.17	55.10
Social Boldness	4.14	4.57	85.91	94.21
Sociability	4.30	3.52	81.51	48.19
Liveliness	3.66	3.43	64.01	52.22
Agreeableness	3.30	1.19	62.93	0.2 5
Forgiveness	3.18	1.18	62.38	1.8 1

(continue)

	Biden	Trump	Biden Percentile	Trump Percentile
Flexibility	3.41	1.16	76.02	3.4 3
Patience	3.20	1.25	47.07	1.1 6
Conscientiousness	3.45	1.11	64.45	0.0 7
Organization	3.00	2.30	39.98	5.0 5
Diligence	3.43	2.59	82.56	27.01
Perfectionism	3.95	1.77	49.03	6.4 1
Prudence	3.43	1.94	66.02	10.73
Openness	3.16	2.23	51.06	8.0 1
Aesthetic Appreciation	3.30	1.36	70.63	6.8 0
Inquisitiveness	3.75	2.01	72.50	9.7 1
Creativity	2.68	1.64	21.94	2.2 5
Unconventionality	2.90	1.50	31.91	0.7 8

Source: Book, Visser and Volk (2020).

Table 20 compares Trump's and Biden's readings. The values are almost similar, but their ways of leadership differ, and this difference is only in their interactions. It is interesting to notice that the percentiles in each category show almost a tiny difference, while a more drastic change in other types can be seen.

Another issue when it comes to leadership is charisma, which is a different theoretical sphere where both leaders do not have charisma and/or charismatic traits during their

speeches and behavior, according to numerous people; however, they captivate the interest of various people due to their persona and beliefs which is a different aspect of charisma. Here is a table by Schweitzer (1974) that helps give a better understanding.

Table 6 – Types of Pure Personal Charisma

Types of Pure Personal Charisma			
Situation	Military	Magic	Religious
Personality	War Lord	Sorcerer	Prophet
Quality	Great Courage	Ecstasy	Ascetic
The attitude of the followers	Hero Worship	Awe, Fear	Reverence
Achievement	Conquest	Oracle	Revelation
Group Formation	Daring Soldiers	Sacrificial Community	Community of Disciples
Organization	Armed Forces	Secret Societies	Sects

Source: Schweitzer (1974).

It is interesting how charisma plays an essential role in politics and as a leadership trait, even for decision-making when demonstrating policies toward followers and believers. According to Schweitzer (1974), charisma reproduces Weber's theory, divided into nine suggestions: supernatural, natural, new style, mission, political types, instability, revolution, violence, and routinization.

Autocratic and counterrevolutionary dictatorships can be put into two categories, Schweitzer (1974) cites Webber as he suggests that there is a democratic charisma and a revolutionary charisma. These leaders have certain traits, as seen in the table below.

Table 7 - Prototypes of Political Charisma

Prototypes of Political Charisma	
Democratic Charisma	Revolutionary Charisma
Charismatic Party Leader	Prophet of Social Revolution
Charismatic Demagogue	Charismatic Hero
Caesarist Charisma	Revolutionary Ideologist
Aristocratic Charisma	Glorifier of Reason

Source: Schweitzer (1974).

Charisma is an essential factor independent from being a right-wing populist or left-wing populist democrat, republican, etc. The point is that character and the rhetoric used are essential in decision-making. Some may argue that a right-wing populist is less charismatic, and a left-wing populist is more charismatic, but this is untrue due to the various traits and leaders the world has witnessed in the past and the present. Another form of analysis of the leaders is the leadership trait analysis, which constitutes a review based on their behaviors, actions, roles, etc., as seen in Table 8.

Table 8 - Personality Characteristics in Leadership Trait Analysis

Personality Characteristics in Leadership Trait Analysis	
LTA Trait	Description
Belief in Ability to Control Events	perception of own degree of control over political world
Need of Power	interest in developing or reinstituting own power
Conceptual Complexity	ability to distinguish complexities of political life
Self-Confidence	notion of self-importance and capacity to take on political environment
In-group Bias	belief that own group constitutes center of political world
Distrust of Others	suspensions, skepticism, worry about others outside own group
Task Focus	focus on problem solving vs. building relationships

Source: Çuhdar et al. (2017b).

It is possible to set Trump, Bolsonaro, Biden, and Lula on the table above and draw conclusions on how their personalities are a mixed match between themselves and each other. When comparing Trump to Bolsonaro and Lula to Biden, it is clear that these characteristics are well seen. Even when considering them as individuals, their traits are well-expressed and fall into the categories above. This demonstrates that they have an affinity among themselves even though they do not present the same type of personality to behave in a particular manner; however, the period in which they all acted gave pressure to the situation they encountered. The leaders did not seem to show any illness that would suddenly induce them to take a certain [re]action to approximate or force any side of the bargaining table to conduct certain negotiation matters when discussing personal diplomacy. As mentioned before, illnesses tend to make people lie to maintain their posture and, in this case, as heads of state and the figures of leaders.

This seems to be a huge factor in health as a matter of leadership. Trump dealt with health issues regarding the SarsCovid-19 virus; Bolsonaro was stabbed in his abdomen, causing complications in his large intestines. These factors influence a person's decision-making, not only behavior and personality since they are more vulnerable than others. It seems that at a higher level, the leaders in question may be wiser, but their background experience does not seem to regard their decision-making and health-related matters.

From COVID-19 onwards, the outbreak and the war between Russia and Ukraine affected the governments of Donald Trump (2017-2021) and Jair Bolsonaro (2018-2022).

These events determined their character regarding politicizing vaccines and exports/imports from abroad. It came to the point that the decisions made by most leaders in the world became more ideological than scientific.

Without the positions both leaders had, their backgrounds also influenced their behavior; Trump is diagnosed by his niece, Dr. Mary Trump, who says that Trump has a narcissist, “psychopathic,” “borderline” behavior, antisocial personality disorder, dependent personality disorder, and an undiagnosed learning disability to process information. Hence, he has enough background to justify his behavior (Doctor Zebra, website).

Jair Bolsonaro is a military man who retired as captain of the army. He is diagnosed with St. Anthony's Fire and was a victim of a stab wound to the gut in his presidential campaign in 2018, from which he still has complications. His personality is very similar to Trump's narcissistic, psychopath Machiavellic; still, in terms of Trump and Bolsonaro, Trump has a higher narcissistic variable than Bolsonaro, and Bolsonaro has a higher Machiavellic ratio than Trump. However, their actions are very similar, and they are both in the Dark Triad of the Big 5 analysis, which overrides the values of the other readings, as mentioned before Nai (2020).

The two leaders in this research, besides being of age and having health issues, to mention a few, are from different backgrounds. Their stories also left a mark of survival, which also influenced their decision-making process and confrontation with the multiple issues familiar to their governments or their way of governing the people.

The ages of both presidents in question are not much of an issue at this time; yet they might be more vulnerable to external factors that could be life-threatening than others, such as health, mental, or psychological issues, depending on their everyday lives and the situation they might face during office or even before or after their terms in office.

There is great certainty and evidence in the approximation of the two leaders when it comes to the way of thought and behavior and their interests, which are demonstrated by their personalities and how they behave in different matters during their government, such as the way they faced COVID, for example. How do all episodes of one copy the other in terms of ideals, how do they deal with the situational pressure of the time of their governments, and what are their beliefs towards issues emerging at the time of their presidency?

By using the Big 5 analysis, it is evident that both Trump and Bolsonaro, as mentioned before, tend to be autocrats without being adhocratic in the sense of autocratic nations. They lack and behave in ways that are explained by showing the traits displayed: Extraversion, Agreeableness, Emotional Stability, Openness, Narcissism, Psychopathy, and Machiavellianism. When there is an indicator where higher extraversion comes in, the dark

triad is used to see the tendency. This is not in the pathological sense but in the behavioral sense. This is why the individuals mentioned above are seen as hard to relate to and understand in terms of persona.

This method is an excellent way to understand how the leader is classified to determine their direction regarding foreign policy and dealings with international and national relations in a global sphere, as well as what to expect or where they tend to go when issues arise.

As for speech, it is possible to see these traits as well. When analyzing Ramey, Kingler, and Hollibaugh (2016), the person chosen to write the head of state speech usually has a model of personality following their emotional characteristics. When the head of state reads those lines, they put their feelings and personality according to their nature and the public to whom they are giving the speech. This is evident primarily since written and spoken language is alive. There is no standard way to determine how the information is delivered without any influence on who is speaking what is written or vice versa. That is why heads of state that fall into the Big 5 categories tend to shift in a specific direction due to their traits; in other words, if a leader is charismatic, they will change the speech according to their characteristics, as if a leader were to be narcissistic, they would shift towards those characteristics on dealing with the speech that originally was written with the intention at times not being either.

Thus, it can be [pre]determined a speech and their personality accordingly as they “act” through the information delivered, and how the people will intake the information is also shaped based on the anxiety and necessity of its listeners by manipulating and feeding information which calms the spirit of those in need. This is how personality can be a blessing or a curse in international relations and how the leaders’ personalities are essential when dealing with presidential diplomacy.

CONCLUSION AND FINAL REMARKS

The Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil have been evident since the mid-eighteenth century until today, throughout the periods of the monarchy, republic, new republic, military coups, military dictatorships, new government, etc. The United States and Brazil have had a good relationship since the beginning. Divergences and convergences during specific periods of history can be noticed. However, they still needed to cut ties with each other. What is seen is a particular approach and a certain distance regarding the period and the situation of the time in which the historical context is proof of this relation. Mostly, this relationship is pragmatic.

Such examples can be observed as in the monarchy period when Dom Pedro II visited the United States, and they were amazed at his posture. Smith comments that as Professor Louis Agassiz had marked a decade earlier, Brazilians were regarded as fortunate to have such an enlightened and dignified ruler who looked and acted just like an American, even better (Smith 1991, p. 315). This resulted in a problematic situation in getting the United States to recognize Brazil's New Republic in 1889.

The relationship of Joaquim Nabuco, Baron of Rio Branco, and Theodore Roosevelt, along with the Monroe Doctrine and Gun Boat Diplomacy. The ties got Brazil away from Europe and approached closer relations with the West, in this case, the United States. During the New Republic, the relationship with Brazil was solid. The United States provided aid to influence internal national affairs, such as the Naval Revolt and the situation with Acre, which was later annexed to Brazil.

During World War I, the "Unequal Giants" worked together in the war, which brought them closer together and allowed their entrance into the League of Nations. This was the first step to becoming "independent" from the United States. Even though the League was built under the influence of Woodrow Wilson, the United States did not take part in it, which allowed Brazil to be one of the leading heads.

Between World War I and World War II, the United States and Brazil maintained neutral world affairs; during Herbert Hoover, the relationship was hostile due to the coffee situation, where Brazil and the United States had an agreement since early in both countries' history. Franklin Roosevelt was trying to approximate the Western world with Good Neighbor Diplomacy; the symbol of Brazil in foreign territory was the image of Carmen Miranda. When Getúlio Vargas was leaning towards the Germanic cause, boats on the coast of Brazil forced Brazil to declare war on the countries of the Axis. In 1944, even Walt Disney pictured Saludos

Amigos and The Three Caballeros 1944 (Smith, 2010, p. 120); this brought Brazil into the spotlight as the South American giant.

After World War II, the relationship between the United States and Brazil once again picked up as members of the United Nations and the promise of the country becoming a permanent member of the Security Council; however, Churchill gave up the contract to China and once again, Brazil lost the chance to be a member. During the Cold War, the Monroe Doctrine started to weigh in on Latin American nations and the probability of being in line with the Western democratic world and having the lookout between the North and the South.

During the military dictatorship in Brazil, which lasted around twenty-one years, some leaders were mainly pro-American, and some had parted ways in the sense of being more autonomous regarding a dependency on the “sister” nation of the North, which was the case of Costa e Silva, later Geisel. Especially during the Baruch Plan (USA, website) of 1946 and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1969, which got Brazil towards other parts of Europe for such interests. Nixon commented: “We know that as Brazil goes, so will the rest of the Latin American Continent” (Smith, 2010, p. 175).

After the end of the dictatorship, the new republic, and a new constitution, the relationship is restored, and the United States is once again on the agenda of both leaders. The bilateral relationship is evident but might be more apparent than before. The United States and Brazil started having multiple economic agreements. The North American Free Trade Agreement was created. As for Brazil, the Common Market of the South, making two blocks, one of the North and one of the South, and later only one as the Free Trade Area of the Americas, similar to the European Union; however, the “colonizing” feeling was still there, and the latter never took place. Yet, since globalization is on the verge, the direct relations between the United States, MERCOSUR, and NAFTA as business partners continue to benefit the economies of all involved countries. In the twenty-first century, both countries have a great relationship, in fact, historians have referred to it as an “unwritten alliance” in which the national interests of the United States and Brazil have converged so that Brazilian diplomacy has acted as a bridge in helping to facilitate many of the policy initiatives undertaken by the United States hemispheric affairs” (Smith 2010 p. 1).

During the years 2017 – 2022, it is clear that by analyzing the traits of Trump (2017 – 2021) and Bolsonaro (2019 – 2022), there is a significant personality alignment which did benefit the approximation between the two leaders and the two countries enough so they have more of an iron fist when it comes to decision-making and leadership traits, we can see that their behavior is very similar to their attitudes towards government matters. Due to ideals of

democracy, independence, etc., their policies are very similar when governing in the same region, giving them means for an approximation. I would say that the difference in reasons for approximation between the two governments (Trump and Bolsonaro) is not only a personal strategy, but an economic and even environmental one for this rapprochement.

Due to the proximity or “distancing” of both countries, in diplomatic terms, it is clear that there is not a distancing per se, but rather a not-so-dependent relationship, more of a self-growth to try and act on one’s own and not in shadows of the United States. Since the beginning of the relationship between both nations, it is noticeable that the different times and occurrences, such as Political Interest, Economic Interest, Territorial Interest, Military Interest, and Regional Interest, can be concluded. Another example is the relationship among the leaders diplomacy, in which both have empathy for each other, the pressure of the situation at the time in which the approach took place, and the similarity of personalities; even when the characters did not match, there was always something that would get both nations to agree more or less in a matter, but never a case to cut ties as other nations have done with the United States.

The conclusion is that the behavior of each leader influences the actions and the relationship between the two. Also, the number of visits from Brazil to the United States is much higher than the other way around, which gives the impression that Brazil has more interest in having an alliance with the United States than the United States is interested in having one with Brazil. This analysis shows more visits from Brazilian leaders than the American leaders (six US official visits vs. fifteen official Brazilian holidays), a difference of nine visits between the leaders of these countries. This study shows that Brazil's interests are much more political, economic, and commercial. At the same time, the United States is a buffer in the region, considering their relationship and influence in Brazil regarding the territorial importance of its political position and resources in the world.

As John Mearsheimer puts it, the United States is the regional hegemon. By being so, the United States will always be the “police” in the Western hemisphere in balancing the power among nations. Those who seem to threaten this balance, history has already shown that the United States will have a role directly or indirectly in maintaining order. Especially in Brazil, a role model in South and Latin America. Brazil is always in the United States' spotlight due to its mass size, similarities, good relationships among its leaders, and customs. For this reason, the diplomatic relations between the United States and Brazil, and more precisely, the diplomatic leadership, are a constant no matter when and where it occurs.

Returning to the initial debate, it can be argued that the leader's roles during times of decision-making are the primary reason for similarities between the different periods studied.

The pressures of the moment led both leaders to make/take pragmatic decisions towards the alliance between nations; even though, the categorization of the leaders differ from each other in the sense of not interfering in the presidential diplomatic discussions at those moments. The behavior/personality of the leaders influences the decision-making in leadership diplomacy. It is pivotal to understand whether these approaches are for personal reasons/interests or due to the pressure of certain events, as seen in the case of Brazilian and United States Foreign Policy, from 2017 until 2022.

According to the data and the information collected, it is safe to assume that both leaders are very alike concerning decision-making and political/ideological ways of thinking, which aided both countries in terms of the economic approach seen during their terms in government. Despite the COVID-19 pandemic, they overcame the barriers and maintained ties in various subjects, such as bilateral and multilateral agreements. Thus, they have almost the same diagnosis, not in a pathological sense, but they are categorized to have similar ideas, which determines that they are both in the dark triad spectrum of behavior (autocratic, narcissistic, and psychopathic), which leads to an outcome of partnership and even friendship when it comes to presidential diplomacy.

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Appendix – LEADERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL

Leader	Date	Party	Country	Enneagram/ Myer-Briggs	Illness
Abraham Lincoln	March 4, 1861 – April 15, 1865	Republican/ National Union	USA	Type 4/INTP	Endocrine Neoplasia Type 2 or Marfan Syndrome
					Gunshot to the head by John Wilkes Booth
Afonso Augusto Moreira Pena	November 15, 1906 – June 14, 1909	Mineiro Republican Party	Brazil	Type 6/ENTP	Pneumonia
Andrew Jackson	March 4, 1829 – March 4, 1837	Democratic	USA	Type 8/ESTP	Rotten teeth, chronic headaches, failing eyesight, lung bleeding, internal infection, and pain from two bullet wounds might lead to poisoning: chronic dropsy, and heart failure.
Andrew Johnson	April 15, 1865 – March 4, 1869	National Union/Democratic	USA	Type 1/ESTJ	Stroke
Artur da Costa e Silva	March 15, 1967 – August 31, 1969	National Renewal Alliance	Brazil	Type 2/ISTJ	Complications of a Stroke
Artur da Silva Bernardes	November 15, 1922 – November 15, 1926	Mineiro Republican Party	Brazil	Type 1/INFP	Myocardial Heart Attack

Leader	Date	Party	Country	Enneagram/ Myer-Briggs	Illness
Augusto Hamann Rademaker Grünewald	August 31, 1969 – October 30, 1969	Second Military Alliance (Navy) - National Renewal Alliance	Brazil	Type 8/ESTP	Cardiorespiratory arrest
Augusto Tasso Fragoso	October 24, 1930 – November 3, 1930	First Military Alliance (Army)	Brazil	Type 5/ESTJ	Poor health conditions due to his age and war wounds
Aurélio de Lira Tavares	August 31, 1969 – October 30, 1969	Second Military Alliance (Army) - None	Brazil	Type 8/ESTP	Heart attack
Barak Hussein Obama	January 20, 2009 – January 20, 2017	Democratic	USA	Type 9/ENFJ	Living
Benjamin Harrison	March 4, 1889 – March 4, 1893	Republican	USA	Type 1/ISTJ	Pneumonia
Calvin Coolidge	August 2, 1923 – March 4, 1929	Republican	USA	Type 1/ISTJ	Heart attack
Carlos Coimbra da Luz	November 8, 1955 – November 11, 1955	Democratic Social Party	Brazil	Type 8/ESTP	Uremia attack
Chester Alan Arthur	September 19, 1881 – March 4, 1885	Republican	USA	Type 8/ESFP	Stroke

Leader	Date	Party	Country	Enneagram/ Myer-Briggs	Illness
Delfim Moreira da Costa Ribeiro	November 15, 1918 – July 28, 1919	Mineiro Republican Party	Brazil	Type 4/INTJ	Tertiary Syphilis
Dilma Vana Rousseff	1 January 2011 – 31 August 2016	Workers Party	Brazil	Type 8/INTJ	Living
Donald John Trump	January 20, 2017 – January 2021	Republican	USA	Type 8/ESTP	Living
Dwight David Eisenhower	January 20, 1953 – January 20, 1961	Republican	USA	Type 1/INTJ	Coronary thrombosis, Heart attack, stroke, and Chron`s Disease
Emílio Garrastazu Médici	October 30, 1969 – March 14, 1974	National Renewal Alliance	Brazil	Type 2/ESTJ	Acute renal and respiratory insufficiency due to a stroke
Epitácio Lindolfo da Silva Pessoa	July 28, 1919 – November 15, 1922	Mineiro Republican Party	Brazil	Type 4/ISTJ	Complications of Parkinson`s Disease
Ernesto Beckmann Geisel	March 15, 1974 – March 14, 1979	National Renewal Alliance	Brazil	Type 8/INTP	Generalized Cancer
Eurico Gaspar Dutra	January 31, 1946 – January 31, 1951	Democratic Social Party	Brazil	Type 8/ESTJ	Natural Causes
Fernando Affonso Collor de Mello	March 15, 1990 – December 29, 1992	Christian Labor Party	Brazil	Type 3/ENTJ	Living
Fernando Henrique Cardoso	1 January 1995 – 31 December 2002	Brazilian Social Democracy Party	Brazil	Type 5/INTJ	Living

Leader	Date	Party	Country	Enneagram/ Myer-Briggs	Illness
Florianio Vieira Peixoto	November 23, 1891 – November 15, 1894,	None	Brazil	Type 8/ENTJ	Hepatic Cirrhosis
Francisco de Paula Rodrigues Alves	November 15, 1902 – November 15, 1906	Paulista Republican Party	Brazil	Type 9/ENTJ	Spanish Flu
	They died before taking office.				
Franklin Delano Roosevelt	March 4, 1933 – April 12, 1945	Democratic	USA	Type 7/ESTP	Polio, cerebral hemorrhage, and stroke
Franklin Pierce	March 4, 1853 – March 4, 1857	Democratic	USA	Type 7/ESFP	Inflammation of the stomach
George Herbert Walker Bush	January 20, 1989 – January 20, 1993	Republican	USA	Type 6/ISFJ	Arterial Fibrillation, hyperthyroidism, Grave`s Disease, Parkinson`s disease
George Walker Bush	January 20, 2001 – January 20, 2009	Republican	USA	Type 6/ESTJ	Living
George Washington	April 30, 1789 – March 4, 1797	Unaffiliated	USA	Type 3/ISTJ	Two years after leaving office, an infection in his larynx took place. Epiglottitis
Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr.	(August 9, 1974). – January 20, 1977	Republican	USA	Type 9/ESFJ	Arteriosclerotic cerebrovascular disease and diffuse arteriosclerosis

Leader	Date	Party	Country	Enneagram/ Myer-Briggs	Illness
Getúlio Dornelles Vargas	November 3, 1930 – October 29, 1945	None -Brazilian Labor Party	Brazil	Type 3/ENTJ	Suicide by a gunshot wound to the heart
Grover Cleveland	March 4, 1885 – March 4, 1889	Democratic	USA	Type 8/ESTJ	Cancer in the palate
	March 4, 1893 – March 4, 1897				
Harrison Shipp Truman	April 12, 1945 – January 20, 1953	Democratic	USA	Type 1/ISTJ	Minor lung congestion, organ failures, cardiovascular system collapse, and hypertension.
Herbert Hoover	March 4, 1929 – March 4, 1933	Republican	USA	Type 5/INTJ	Internal hemorrhage, upper gastrointestinal bleeding, strained vascular systems
Hermes Rodrigues da Fonseca	November 15, 1910 – November 15, 1914	Conservative Republican Party	Brazil	Type 3/INFJ	Sudden death caused by cardiac sin copy
Humberto de Alencar Castelo Branco	April 15, 1964 – March 14, 1967	National Renewal Alliance	Brazil	Type 6/ESFJ	Airplane Crash
Itamar Augusto Catiero Franco	December 29, 1992 – December 31, 1994	Christian Labor Party	Brazil	Type 1/ISFJ	Stroke and was with leukemia
Jair Messias Bolsonaro	1 January 2019 – 31 December 2022	Independent	Brazil	Type 8/ESTP	Living

Leader	Date	Party	Country	Enneagram/ Myer-Briggs	Illness
James Abram Garfield	March 4, 1881 – September 19, 1881	Republican	USA	Type 7/ESFP	Septic shock resulting care from a gunshot by Charles Julius Guiteau
James Buchanan	March 4, 1857 – March 4, 1861	Democratic	USA	Type 6/ISFJ	Respiratory failure, rheumatic gout
James Earl Carter Jr.	(January 20, 1977). – January 20, 1981	Democratic	USA	Type 3/ISTJ	Living
James Knox Polk	March 4, 1845 – March 4, 1849	Democratic	USA	Type 1/ISTJ	Cholera
James Madison	March 4, 1809 – March 4, 1817	Democratic- Republican	USA	Type 5/INTP	Heart Failure
James Monroe	March 4, 1817 – March 4, 1825	Democratic- Republican	USA	Type 3/ISTJ	Tuberculosis
Jânio da Silva Quadros	January 31, 1961 – August 25, 1961	National Workers Party	Brazil	Type 6/ENTP	Stroke
João Batista de Oliveira Figueiredo	March 15, 1979 – March 14, 1985	Democratic Social Party/National Renewal Alliance	Brazil	Type 8/ISTP	Renal and cardiac insufficiency
João Belchior Marques Goulart	31 January 1956 – 7 September 1961	Brazilian Labor Party	Brazil	Type 5/ISTP	Supposedly a heart attack
	8 September 1961 – 1 April 1964				

Leader	Date	Party	Country	Enneagram/ Myer-Briggs	Illness
João de Deus Mena Barreto	October 24, 1930 – November 3, 1930	First Military Alliance (Army)	Brazil	Type 8/ESTJ	Heart attack
João Maria José Francisco Xavier de Paula Luís António Domingos Rafael	March 20, 1816 – October 12, 1822, November 15, 1825 – March 25, 1826	Monarchy	Brazil	Type 9/ENFP	Intoxication from Arsenic
John Adams	March 4, 1797 – March 4, 1801	Federalist	USA	Type 1/INTJ	Heart failure
John Fitzgerald Kennedy	January 20, 1961 – November 22, 1963	Democratic	USA	Type 7/ESTP	Addison`s Disease, back pain, anxiety, gunshot wound, Lee Harvey Oswald
John Quincy Adams	March 4, 1825 – March 4, 1829	Democratic-Republican/National Republican	USA	Type 1/INTJ	Stroke
John Tyler	April 4, 1841 – March 4, 1845	Wig/Unaffiliated	USA	Type 1/ISTJ	Stroke
José Fernandes Campos Café Filho	August 24, 1954 – November 8, 1955	Progressive Social Party	Brazil	Type 1/ISTJ	Cardiovascular disturbance
José Isaías de Noronha	October 24, 1930 – November 3, 1930	First Military Alliance (Navy)	Brazil	Type 6/ESTJ	Cancer

Leader	Date	Party	Country	Enneagram/ Myer-Briggs	Illness
José Linhares	October 29, 1945 – 31 January 1946	None	Brazil	Type/ENTJ	Heart attack
José Maria da Silva Paranhos Jr.	November 03, 1902 – February 10, 1912	Conservative	Brazil	Type 5/INTP	Renal Insufficiency
José Sarney de Araújo Costa	21 April 1985 – 14 March 1990	Brazilian Democratic Movement	Brazil	Type 8/INTJ	Living
Joseph Biden	January 20, 2021 – January 20, 2025	Democratic	USA	Type 7/ESFJ	Living
Júlio Prestes de Albuquerque	He did not take office due to the 1930s Revolution	Paulista Republican Party	Brazil	Type 8/INTP	Cerebral emboly
Juscelino Kubitscheck de Oliveira	31 January 1956 – 30 January 1961	Social Democratic Party	Brazil	Type 8/INFJ	Injury due to a car accident
Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva	1 January 2003 – 1 January 2011/1 January 2023 - 1 January 2026	Workers Party	Brazil	Type 6/ENFJ	Living
Lyndon Baines Johnson	November 22, 1963 – January 20, 1969	Democratic	USA	Type 8/ESTP	Heart attack

Leader	Date	Party	Country	Enneagram/ Myer-Briggs	Illness
Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca	November 15, 1889 – November 23, 1891	None	Brazil	Type 8/ESTJ	Dyspnea
Manuel Ferraz de Campos Sales	November 15, 1898 – November 15, 1902	Republic Party of São Paulo	Brazil	Type 7/ESFJ	Cerebral Emboly
árcio de Sousa Melo	August 31, 1969 – October 30, 1969	Second Military Alliance (Airforce) - None	Brazil	Type 8/ESTP	Cerebral thrombosis
Martin Van Buren	March 4, 1837 – March 4, 1841	Democratic	USA	Type 2/ESFP	Asthma
Michel Miguel Elias Temer Lulia	31 August 2016 – 31 December 2018	Brazilian Democratic Movement	Brazil	Type 6/INTJ	Living
Millard Filmore	July 9, 1850 – March 4, 1853	Whig	USA	Type 9/ISFJ	Stroke
Nereu de Oliveira Ramos	November 11, 1955 – January 31, 1956	Social Democratic Party	Brazil	Type 6/ESTJ	Airplane Crash
Nilo Procópio Peçanha	June 14, 1909 – November 15, 1910	Fluminense Republican Party	Brazil	Type 2/ESFJ	Chagas Disease
Paschoal Ranieri Mazzilli	August 25, 1961 – April 15, 1964	Social Democratic Party	Brazil	Type 5/ESTJ	Post-Operatory Complications

Leader	Date	Party	Country	Enneagram/ Myer-Briggs	Illness
Pedro Aleixo	Vice President to take office but was not permitted by the Joint Provisional Government of 1969	National Renewal Alliance	Brazil	Type 2/ESFP	Caused by torture wounds
Pedro de Alcântara Francisco Antônio João Carlos Xavier de Paula Miguel Rafael Joaquim José Gonzaga Pascoal Cipriano Serafim	October 12, 1822 – April 7, 1831	Monarchy	Brazil	Type 7/ESTP	Tuberculosis
Pedro de Alcântara João Carlos Leopoldo Salvador Bibiano Francisco Xavier de Paula Leocádio Miguel Gabriel Rafael Gonzaga de Habsburgo-Lorena e Bragança	April 7, 1831 – November 15, 1889	Monarchy	Brazil	Type 5/INTP	Mental Tension, diabetic neuropathy, stroke, and Russian Flu (1889 – 1890)
Prudente José de Morais Barros	November 15, 1894 – November 15, 1898	Federal Republican Party	Brazil	Type 9/INTJ	Tuberculosis

Leader	Date	Party	Country	Enneagram/ Myer-Briggs	Illness
Richard Milhouse Nixon	January 20, 1969 – August 9, 1974	Republican	USA	Type 6/INTJ	Stroke, paralysis, swelling of the brain
Ronald Wilson Reagan	January 20, 1981 – January 20, 1989	Republican	USA	Type 9/ENFJ	Urinary Tract Infection, temporomandibular joint disease, colon cancer, melanoma, Alzheimer's, pneumonia
Rutherford Birchard Hayes	March 4, 1877 – March 4, 1881	Republican	USA	Type 1/ESTJ	Heart disease
Tancredo de Almeida Neves	He died before taking office	Brazilian Democratic Movement Party	Brazil	Type 9/ESTJ	Supposedly Diverticulitis
Theodore Roosevelt Jr.	(September 14, 1901). – March 4, 1909	Republican	USA	Type 8/ESTP	Coronary occlusion by a blood clot and complications of malaria
Thomas Jefferson	March 4, 1801 – March 4, 1809	Democratic-Republican	USA	Type 5/	Toxemia from a kidney infection, uremia from kidney damage, and pneumonia.
				INTP	Autistic.
Thomas Woodrow Wilson	March 4, 1913 – March 4, 1921	Democratic	USA	Type 1/INTJ	Hypertension, headaches, and double vision. Later he had numerous strokes, which confined him to a wheelchair due to his paralysis.

Leader	Date	Party	Country	Enneagram/ Myer-Briggs	Illness
Ulysses Simpson Grant	March 4, 1869 – March 4, 1877	Republican	USA	Type 5/INTJ	Throat cancer
Warren Gamaliel Harding	March 4, 1921 – August 2, 1923	Republican	USA	Type 6/ESFP	Mental disorders, fatigue, and nervous illnesses. Insomnia and exhaustion
Washington Luís Pereira de Sousa	November 15, 1926 – October 24, 1930	Paulista Republican Party	Brazil	Type 2/ISFP	Natural Causes
Wenceslau Brás Pereira Gomes	November 15, 1914 – November 15, 1918	Mineiro Republican Party	Brazil	Type 9/ISFP	Natural Causes
William Henry Harrison	March 4, 1841 – April 4, 1841	Whig	USA	Type 3/ESTJ	Enteric fever, pneumonia, and pleurisy
William Howard Taft	March 4, 1909 – March 4, 1913	Republican	USA	Type 9/ISFJ	Obesity, sleep apnea, blood pressure, and heart problems
William Jefferson Clinton	January 20, 1993 – January 20, 2001	Democratic	USA	Type 3/ESFP	Living
William McKinley	March 4, 1897 – September 14, 1901	Republican	USA	Type 2/ESFJ	Gangrene due to a gunshot wound by Leon Frank Czolgosz
Zachary Taylor	March 4, 1849 – July 9, 1850	Whig	USA	Type 8/ISTP	Acute Gastroenteritis

Brazilian Leaders Used
American Leaders Used

“Alternatively, future work might focus on classes of individuals that are united less by pathologies than by particular processes, strategies, or accomplishments.” (McDermott. 2009, p.237)

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Also developed by the author.