

# WHAT THE OFFICIAL WEBSITES SAY

Developing and Testing a New Systematic Information Collection Method





## WHAT THE OFFICIAL WEBSITES SAY:

Developing and Testing a New Systematic Information Collection Method

*The Hague* Centre for Strategic Studies (HCSS)

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## Executive Summary

Providing analysis of what is happening in the world remains an important task for our Ministries of Foreign Affairs. Much of this analysis currently continues to be done in the way in which it has been done for a very long time. Yet it is clear that the sources that can be used for this type of analysis are changing extremely rapidly. There is an overwhelming and exponentially growing amount of both numerical and text-based digital information publicly available – including in the international relations field. Our ability to condense these massive digitalized information flows into focused and actionable knowledge is improving more slowly, but also exponentially. Under the label ‘business intelligence’, the private sector is currently jumping on these new twin opportunities (more data and better data analysis tools) with a vengeance. The public sector has, by and large, lagged behind. In some – mostly ‘domestic’ – public policy areas, the availability of new (big and often publicly funded) datasets and the discovery of new patterns in those data are starting to assist us in improving public policy in ways that would have been unimaginable even just 10 years ago. Public policy areas like the life sciences, which are awash with both public and private funding, have leaped far ahead of policy areas such as diplomacy, global development or international security, where funding levels are immeasurably more modest.

And yet foreign policy remains a critically important public policy field. Its relevance may be less immediately tangible to most people than issues of domestic policy like education, health care or taxation. But in an ever more interdependent world it nevertheless affects the security and prosperity of every single individual in ever more fundamental and far-reaching ways. It therefore stands to reason that this area deserves and requires an applied analytical effort that is commensurate with the one we now afford ourselves in the key domestic policy areas. This would mean endowing our foreign policy decision-makers with a similarly thorough evidence- and knowledge-base from which they could start designing more evidence-based foreign policies. But is this even possible? Are such datasets available in the field of foreign policy? Can new data- and text-mining tools be applied to them? And what would the results from such an effort look like?

The main purpose of this project was to explore these questions. HCSS set out to demonstrate as a ‘proof of concept’ that it has now become possible to tap into a number of new (electronically available) data sources with a set of innovative (semi-automated and automated) analytical tools that offer unprecedented promise to improve the quality of our analyses of what is going on around the world. HCSS decided, in close coordination with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), to select the official MFA websites of various countries as the source for this exercise. There are clear disadvantages to this choice. These websites only reflect their

countries' declaratory stance on issues of international relations, which often bears little resemblance to their factual behavior in this area<sup>1</sup>. In many countries – in some even more than in others – MFA websites tend to be quite 'heavy' on legal, administrative and consular issues and much 'lighter' on the more substantive policy issues. Depending on a country's governmental structure, important foreign policy statements may also be posted on the website of the Head of State or Government.<sup>2</sup> Many government leaders at the top of the MFAs are also starting to use social media to communicate with their publics and the world at large – and HCSS is also examining how we could tap into these new data sources.<sup>3</sup> But while imperfect, we still maintain that the content of these official MFA websites remains the single most useful corpus of reference for analyzing a countries' (declaratory) foreign policy. These websites are also one of the very few text-based ones that currently do not appear to have any copyright limitations attached to them.

The international HCSS team developed and combined a number of tools in order to download and textmine these websites, and to then present and visualize the results. We then proceeded with our preliminary analysis of the data. We pursued two different research tracks: one in which we let the websites speak for themselves ('inside-out'), and another in which we asked the websites some targeted question ('outside-in'). Both approaches yielded some fascinating results that would have been impossible to obtain in any other way.

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<sup>1</sup> On this issue, see Stephan De Spiegeleire et al., *Assessing Assertions of Assertiveness. The Chinese and Russian Cases* (HCSS, 2014).

<sup>2</sup> Although even in those countries, the substantive policy priorities can still be expected to be reflected in the MFA websites as well.

<sup>3</sup> Early findings from this effort indicate, however, that the value of this data source lies more in their immediacy than in their authoritativeness.

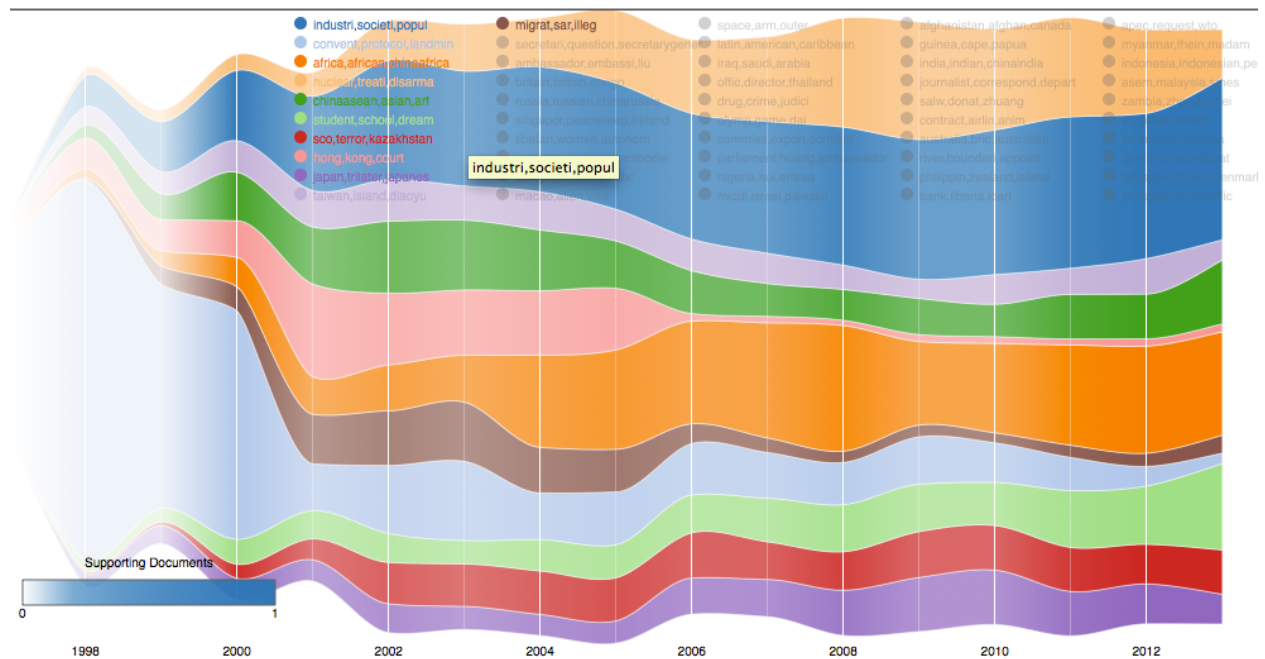


Figure 1. Sample of a streamgraph

The streamgraphs (for an example, see Figure 1) that were automatically generated from the websites are based on an underlying technique called ‘topic-modelling’. This provides the reader with a ‘bird’s eye’-view of the main topics that are discussed on that country’s MFA website and how those topics have waxed and waned over time. From our discussion with Dutch MFA staffers, we found that some of these tended to confirm their own (or the generally accepted) impressions, but that some were also found to be intriguing and deserving of closer analysis than this ‘proof of concept’ allowed for. The same applies for the outside-in approach in which we asked some questions to these websites. This was based on N-gram analysis, and it yielded visuals like the following one.

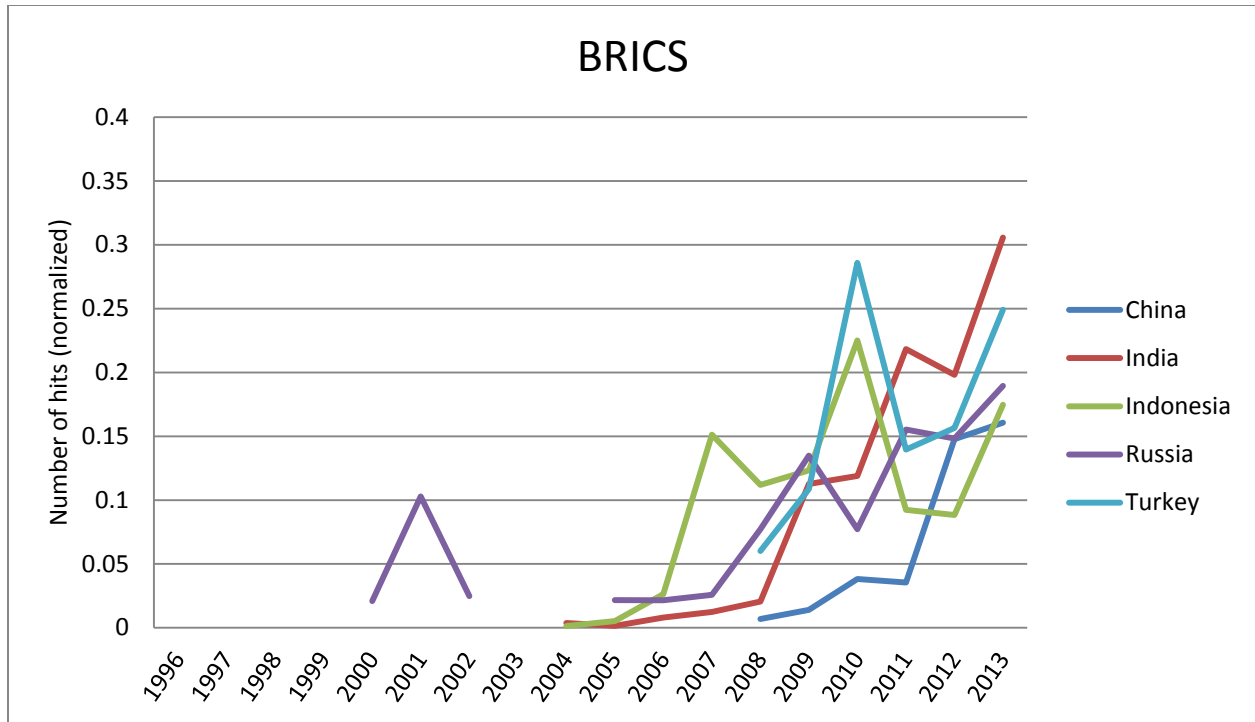


Figure 2. Sample of an N-gram analysis, visualized for the topic 'BRICS'

The line chart in Figure 2 shows how (relatively) important the unigram 'BRICS' is on the websites of these different countries across time (whereby it is already striking that it is not mentioned at all in Mexico).<sup>4</sup> It is hard to imagine any other current research tool that would allow for such systematic comparisons across countries and across time. The N-gram analysis enabled us to generate line charts like the following one.

Figure 3 shows the relative importance of economic, political and security considerations whenever China talks about the BRICS on its website. As we already suggested, this more systematic *and* detailed analysis of the treatment of these issues on the various MFA websites would be extremely hard – if not impossible – to achieve or replicate in any way other than impressionistic. There may be biases in this analysis as well. But at any rate, these biases are not primarily the ones of the analyst looking at these documents, but of the (authoritative) people who decided to put this wording in this sequence on these webpages (and maybe of the tools that were used – in which case they would still be more 'technical' than 'substantive' or 'political').

<sup>4</sup> Due to data disparity and comparability problems, as explained further on the Rizzoma topic online, data for Brazil could not be included in this chart. These issues do not, however, affect the analysis.



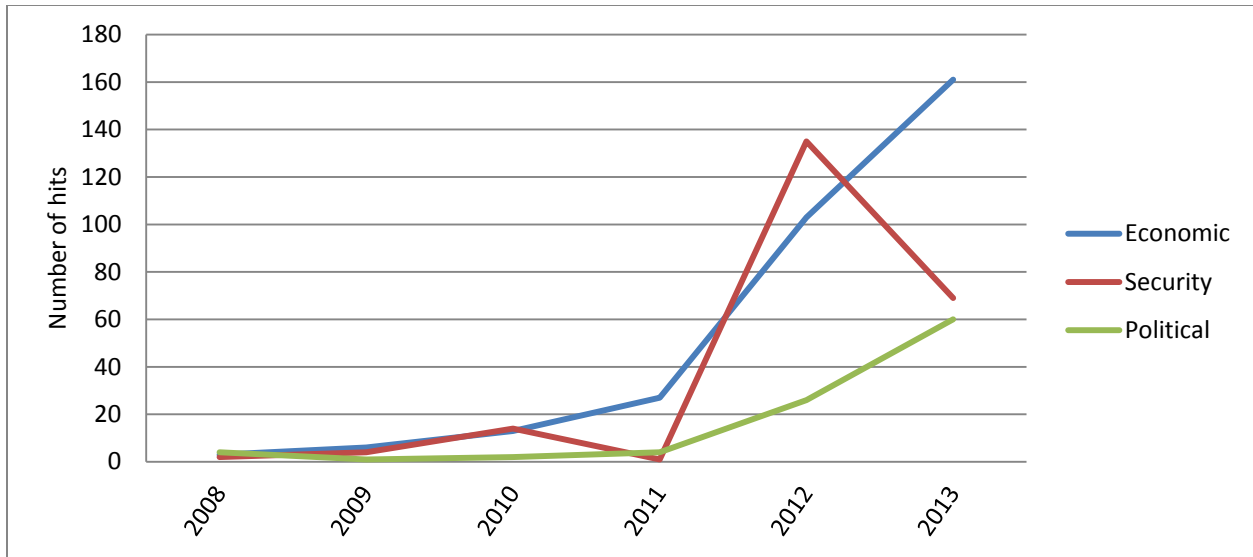


Figure 3. Sample of key terms generated from China’s results

The bottom line here is that if we as foreign policy practitioners, analysts or scholars want to develop more systematic and fine-tuned sensors to pick up patterns and trends in countries’ shifting stated<sup>5</sup> foreign policy priorities, there is currently not a single source that is more suitable for this than the MFA websites. They are publicly available in electronic format. In all of these countries, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs are the official custodians of foreign policy. Their websites remain the main vehicle through which they communicate with the outside world. Most of the texts that appear on these websites were drafted by civil servants. Those that were not were at least approved by them – typically through formal procedures that determine what ultimately ends up (or does not end up) on their websites. This corpus of texts can therefore be considered the single most authoritative content collection in the area of foreign policy. This may – in fact is even be likely to – change over time, but at this moment in time, social media cannot yet really compete with the official websites.

This report has provided some ‘proof of concept’ that these websites now can be analyzed in a semi-automated way, yielding results that would be difficult or even outright impossible to generate otherwise. None of the tools that were used in this report were commercial or proprietary. They were either public domain (such as Zotero, Mallet and Papermachines) or they were developed for this project based on algorithms that are once again in the public domain (our N-gram-analysis). The findings we obtained from these semi-automated tools – typically raw data with some visualization of those data – were then interpreted by HCSS analysts from across the world. These analyses are described in this report in more detail to illustrate the types of substantive findings this approach could yield. We want to emphasize, however, that

<sup>5</sup> Note the comment in footnote 2.

while this report demonstrates that this approach has now become technologically feasible, it has not provided a validation method for the accuracy and/or usefulness of its findings or of the interpretations that were given to those. This would require additional work in close cooperation with experts in these different areas within and outside of the MFA.

Most analyses of contemporary foreign policy are based on a regrettably – some might argue unacceptably – ‘thin’ and often selective evidence base. To buttress their arguments, foreign policy analysts of course do generally try to piece together evidence from a number of different sources. These sources include high-level policy documents; international agreements; policy and/or press statements by authoritative politicians, civil servants or spokesmen; the frequency and level visits to certain countries; budgetary priorities; the relative scope and/or character of the diplomatic representation in certain countries, etc. Analysts then typically make a fairly limited (and often untraceable) selection out of all of these potentially available sources – a selection, the representativeness of which cannot readily be ascertained. HCSS has always been surprised that the field (at least that part of the field that works in the public domain) has not made a bigger effort to remedy these glaring empirical deficiencies.<sup>6</sup> We submit this report as a modest attempt to demonstrate that these flaws can be remedied and some ways in which this could be achieved.

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<sup>6</sup> At HCSS we have therefore, in our own work, tried to make at least some progress in this area. See Stephan De Spiegeleire et al., *De Toekomst in Alle Staten. HCSS Strategic Monitor 2013. [The Future in All Its States]*, vol. 20, HCSS Report (The Hague: HCSS, 2013); Joris Van Esch et al., *Strategic Monitor 2014. Four Strategic Challenges* (The Hague: HCSS, 2014).

# Introduction

Providing analysis of what is happening in other countries remains an important task for our Ministries of Foreign Affairs. Much of this analysis currently continues to be done in the way in which it has been done for a very long time. Yet it is clear that the sources that can be used for this type of analysis are changing extremely rapidly. The same holds for the tools that can be used to analyze those sources.

As a 'proof-of-concept', this project represents an attempt to explore the usefulness of these new data sources and data analysis tools. HCSS set out to construct a new database consisting of all retrievable text-based webpages from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of seven important countries. It then applied a number of different textmining tools to this new dataset, in order to automatically identify the main topics to have emerged from these websites as well as a number of associations with some topics of interest.

This Final Report is structured as follows. The first chapter briefly describes the method that was developed and used for this analysis. The second chapter presents the findings of this analysis. It includes two parts: a description of the main topics to have emerged from textmining the websites, and how these changed over time (which we have termed the 'inside-out' approach); and the more in-depth analysis of the results generated for the topics selected with and by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and their evolution over time (the 'outside-in' approach).

## Methodology, Choices and Process

### The Task

The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) asked HCSS to develop a method to systematically identify and track the positions and perspectives of a number of key countries based on the information they decide to post on their websites. In doing so, HCSS followed a two-pronged approach:

- **Inside-out:** What are the key topics/regions that are discussed on these websites and how do they change over time?
- **Outside-in:** How do these websites treat a number of topics that are of interest to the Dutch government?



Figure 4. Dual Approach: Outside-in and Inside-out

This Final Report presents some findings based on an approach that was developed by HCSS for the automated analysis of various foresight sources (the MetaFore protocol), but that was applied here to a different source: the websites of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs. Interested readers are referred to the HCSS online brochure<sup>7</sup> and to some previous HCSS reports using the same approach.<sup>8</sup> The tools used for this protocol are briefly described in the following sections of this chapter.

## The Team

HCSS assembled two teams to conduct this analysis. One more **technical** team (HCSS/Indian) focused on the tooling that was developed specifically for this project. Another (multilingual) **analytical team** was assembled to analyze the data that were generated by the tooling. Members of this team were located in India, Indonesia, The Netherlands, Turkey, Ukraine, the United Kingdom and the United States and consisted of one Belgian, one

<sup>7</sup> See <http://www.hcss.nl/products-and-services/>.

<sup>8</sup> HCSS, De Toekomst in Alle Staten [“The Future in All its States”], HCSS Strategische Monitor 2013 (The Hague: The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies (HCSS), March 2013), <http://www.hcss.nl/reports/de-toekomst-in-alle-staten/123/>. HCSS, Licht Op De Toekomst, Zeven Perspectieven Op De Toekomstige Veiligheidsomgeving [“Light in the Darkness – Seven Perspectives on the Future Security Environment”], commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Defense, Foreign Affairs and Security and Justice (The Hague: The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies (HCSS), February 2012); Stephan De Spiegeleire, Tim Sweijs, and Tong Zhao, Contours of Conflict in the 21st Century (The Hague: The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies (HCSS), March 2011), <http://www.hcss.nl/reports/contours-of-conflict-in-the-21st-century/17/>.

Brazilian, one (mainland) Chinese, one French, one Indonesian, one Indian, one Portuguese, one Turkish and one Ukrainian analyst.



Figure 5. The HCSS Team

The team coordinated its activities through various online tools, in particular Asana, an online project management platform; Rizzoma, a web-based collaboration environment; and Google Apps for the actual writing of the report. Throughout the process, Rizzoma proved very useful in organizing the international work with our ecosystem partners, in discussing with them and coming to a shared understanding of various substantive and methodological issues both synchronously and asynchronously, in keeping track of the research progress and documenting any adjustments that had to be made. The Dutch MFA team was also a member of all of these online tools to ensure maximal transparency, to allow them to follow the entire process in real-time and to provide them with the opportunity to intervene at any moment.

## Agreements with the MFA

In the early stages of this project, HCSS and the Dutch MFA agreed upon the main parameters of the project (barring unforeseen/able setbacks), including the nature of the project, the research mode to be used, countries and languages to be included, the key topics, the types of sources, and the time periods to be analyzed.

## Nature of the project

At the outset of the project, the Dutch MFA and HCSS agreed that this was an exploratory 'proof of concept' project which would explore to what extent these new tools and methods

## 3 What the Official Websites Say

might be useful to the Ministry’s analytical tasks. The project therefore had an important **methodological** component, but also had to deliver useful **substantive results** on the basis of these new tools and methods.

## Research mode

It was agreed that the mode of research would be as automated and multilingual as circumstances would permit. Where the technology exists and is available for the different languages, the research mode would be mostly automated. But even in those cases, it was understood that there was still going to be a need for human choices in the selection of the tools to be used, the parameters to be selected in those tools, and the iterative refinement of the results. Wherever such choices were made, however, they were made in full transparency (and, wherever possible and desirable, in close cooperation with the Dutch MFA). Since all substantive discussions took place on Rizzoma, these choices (and the discussions that preceded them) can easily be consulted<sup>9</sup>.

The final interpretation of these results still required human knowledge and creativity. The results of the (semi-)automated analysis were therefore (automatically) visualized in a number of different ways (see below) and accompanied by an interpretation (‘duiding’) of these visuals by human analysts (HCSS + ecosystem partners + Dutch MFA). The HCSS team was eager to include various representatives from the MFA in this stage, but this proved difficult to realize.

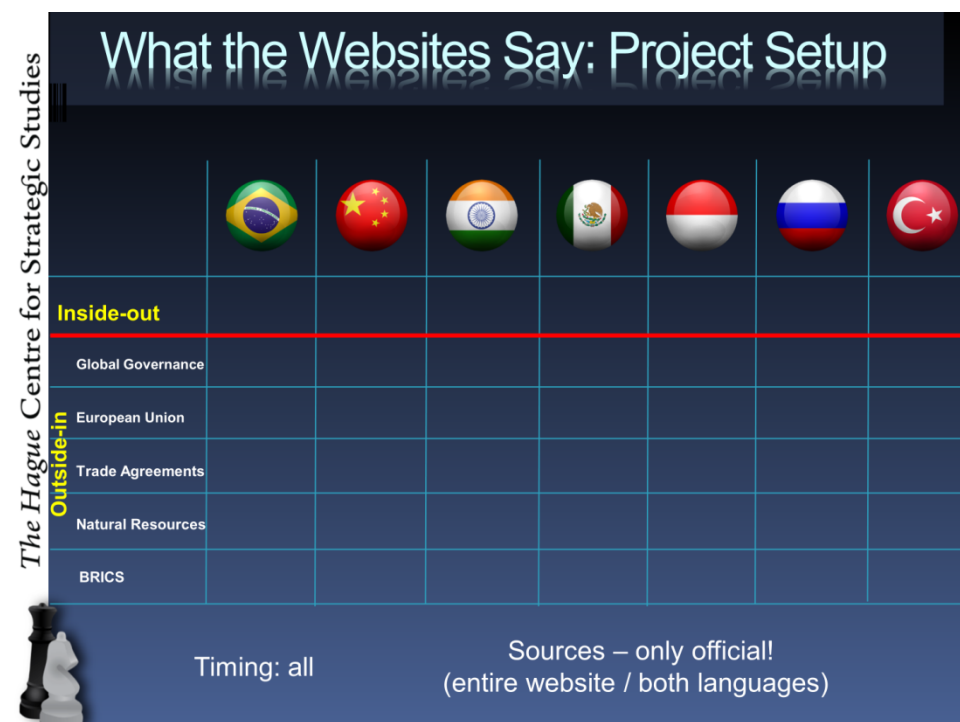


Figure 6. Project setup

<sup>9</sup> Access to the Rizzoma topic can be granted to interested readers upon request.

## Countries and languages

The countries and languages that were selected by the Dutch MFA to be analyzed included:

- Brazil (primarily in Portuguese),
- China (only in English – given the continuing challenges with Chinese textmining tools),
- India (in Hindi or in English),
- Indonesia (primarily in Indonesian Bahasa),
- Mexico (primarily in Spanish),
- Russia (primarily in Russian), and
- Turkey (primarily in Turkish).

In all cases, webpages were downloaded in all available languages (i.e., including the webpages on many countries' websites in English or other languages) and text-mined – with the single exception of China, where Chinese webpages were downloaded but not text-mined.

## Key topics

The main topics the Dutch MFA wanted to analyze included:

- 'Global governance',
- 'European Union',
- '(Natural) resources',
- 'Trade agreements', and
- 'BRICS'.

## Sources

Given the scope of this project, HCSS and the MFA agreed that official websites would be the sole source for this project. But both parties also agreed that the system to be developed would be set up in such a way that other websites (e.g., from think tanks, etc.), or databases of academic and other periodicals could be included as well at some future stage.

The initial intent of this project was to include the respective countries' websites of:

- The Ministries of Foreign Affairs,
- The Ministries of Defense, and
- The Head of State/Government.

But given a variety of practical issues involved in the crawling and parsing of various websites, both parties agreed to limit this effort to just the Ministries of Foreign Affairs:

- Brazil's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministério das Relações Exteriores*): <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/>.
- Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs: <http://www.mid.ru>.

- Ministry of External Affairs of India: <http://www.mea.gov.in/index.htm> (English), <http://www.mea.gov.in/index-hi.htm?> (Hindi).China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs: <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/>.
- Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İDİşleri Bakanlığı*): <http://www.mfa.gov.tr>.
- Mexico's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores*): <http://www.sre.gob.mx/>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia (*Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia*): <http://www.kemlu.go.id>.

## Time frame

The objective was to compare countries' perspectives and the discourse of their official departments over time. Two time-periods were selected to be compared: from 2000 to 2008, and from 2008 until today. This way, interesting temporal breaking points – that may differ from country to country – would be identified.

As the tooling was developed, it was agreed to increase the granularity of the analysis across time to any changes in importance/content that could be observed in the entire time period that was covered by the analysis.

## Research Design and Process

### The overall workflow

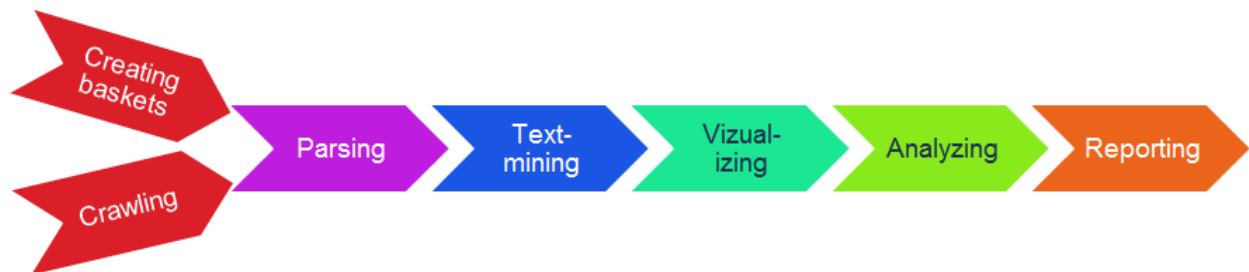


Figure 7. Overall workflow

The process started by downloading ('crawling') all the retrievable text-based webpages from the seven countries' MFA-websites. As that process was taking place, the analytical team started preparing the outside-in textmining effort by looking for words that are used in the different languages – and especially in official documents – to convey the various topics that had to be analyzed. Once the initial set of webpages was downloaded, the technical team parsed these pages to extract the key elements that would be required for the analysis: the Ministry, the source (URL), the date of publication, and the raw text of the central frame of the webpage. All those elements were stored in an online database, which we call the **HCSS Off-Base** (Database of Official Documents). From that database, all documents were text-mined to identify the key topics and their relative importance over



time. These topics were subsequently visualized and these visuals served as the basis for the analysis by the entire analytical team and then the reporting. The next section describes these steps in some more detail. Various limitations and caveats can be found in the Rizzoma online topic (access available upon request).

## Creating baskets

How does one analyze an abstract topic like ‘global governance’? Although most would acknowledge that the concept is of critical importance to the conduct (and analysis) of international relations, many countries’ public officials rarely use the term explicitly. The entire website of the United States’ State Department, for instance, only contains [252 occurrences of the term ‘global governance’](#) out of a total of 821.545 ‘crawlable’ pages.<sup>10</sup> Instead, these websites will use various other formulaic expressions that, to the trained eye, can be decoded as referring to ‘global governance’. What the HCSS team therefore set out to do, was to start inventorying these formulaic expressions and any other linguistic elements that could be used to analyze the concept. The idea was to collect a ‘basket’ of such words or expressions that could then be used for the textmining part of the analysis.



Figure 8. An example of a ‘basket’

<sup>10</sup> According to ahrefs.com, consulted on 12/11/2013.

Some of the elements that were used in this investigation included:

- A **literal translation** of the English term 'global governance' into the various languages
- A **search for synonyms** of this term both in English and in the other languages
- The available **knowledge** of HCSS and its partners – this yielded terms such as – 'international governance', 'uni/multilateral(ism)', 'uni/multipolar(ity)', 'hegemon(y)', etc.
- An **early analysis of a subset of the webpages** on the MFA websites to identify such formulaic expressions. In this effort, we focused on documents that are more likely to trigger discussions about global governance such as press releases on reforming the UN Security Council, etc. For example, the investigation of Turkish press releases revealed that 'global governance' was less used than 'international society' – a preferred term that referred to the same concept – while 'international/global cooperation' was commonly used for 'global governance' across Russian MFA webpages.
- A **short literature review** of national academic papers on each topic: we collected around five authoritative papers per topic per country, using browsers like Google Scholar, or academic databases. The language used by academics being different from that used by/in official documents, this literature review was more meant to complete the picture and trigger inspiration.

All of these elements were brought together on Rizzoma and Google Apps where the entire team discussed and refined them further.

## **Crawling**

Our research approach required the creation of a structured database from relatively unstructured websites. This process started with the actual downloading of all retrievable text-based documents from those pages. The way this process works is that 'crawlers' start with the homepage of a website. They download it and then systematically 'follow' all the links on that first page until all available links on all pages within that domain have been downloaded.



Figure 9. The Off-Base crawl

The technical team used a variety of different crawlers to achieve this aim. All pages were then stored in a 'mongoDB database' on the HCSS 'Off-Base server'.

The following visual shows the number of pages that we retrieved in this manner from the different MFA websites.

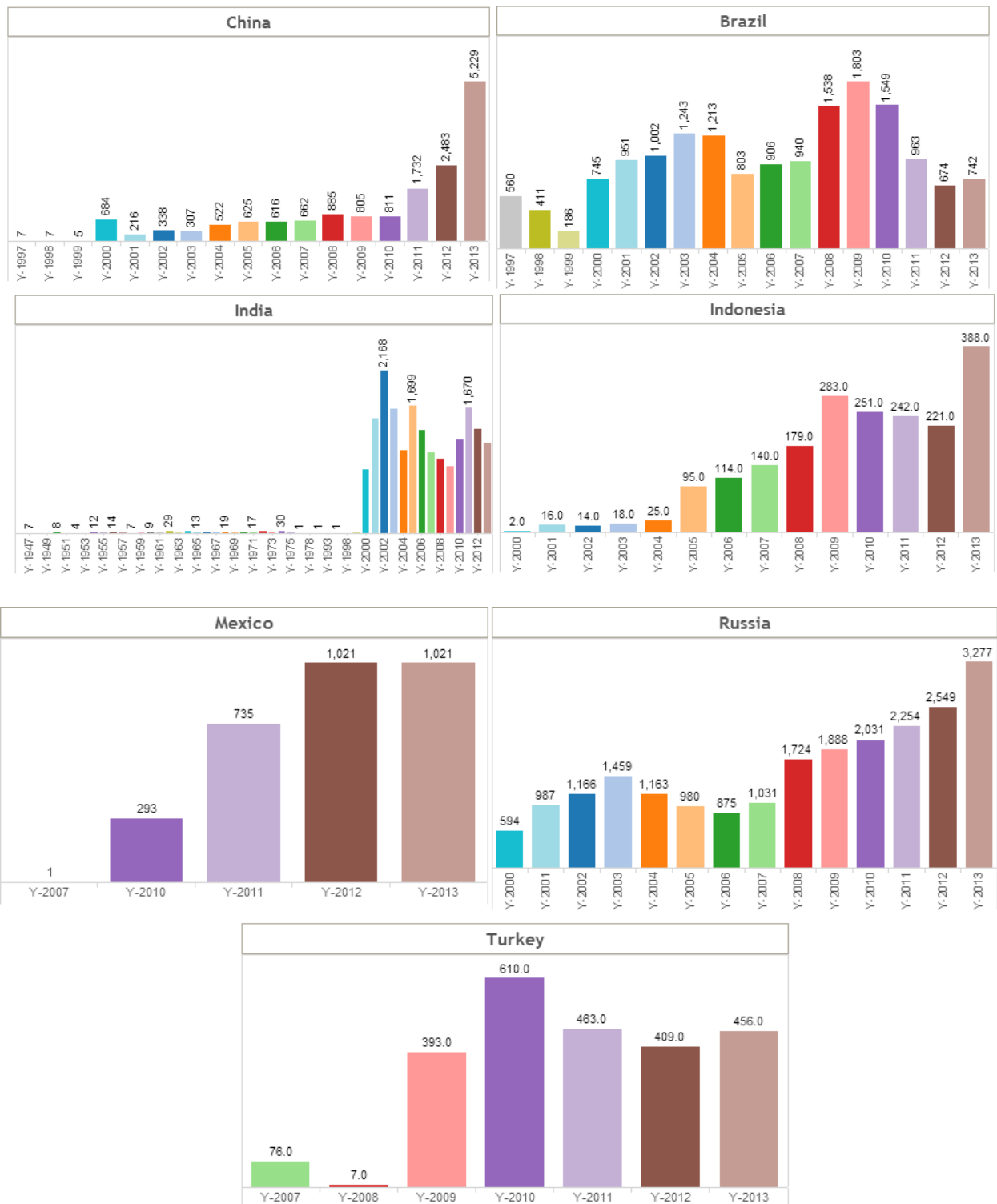


Figure 10. Off-Base statistics

## Parsing

After completing the downloading phase, the next step was to extract the relevant pieces of information from those pages. That meant eliminating all codes and irrelevant parts of a page to extract the 'raw text' of the main pages, extracting some important and easily available pieces of information (the website from which it was downloaded, the actual source

(URL), the date on which it was retrieved, etc.), as well as trying to extract the publication date of that page. Especially this last piece of information, which was critical to this project because we wanted to analyze changes over time, proved particularly difficult.

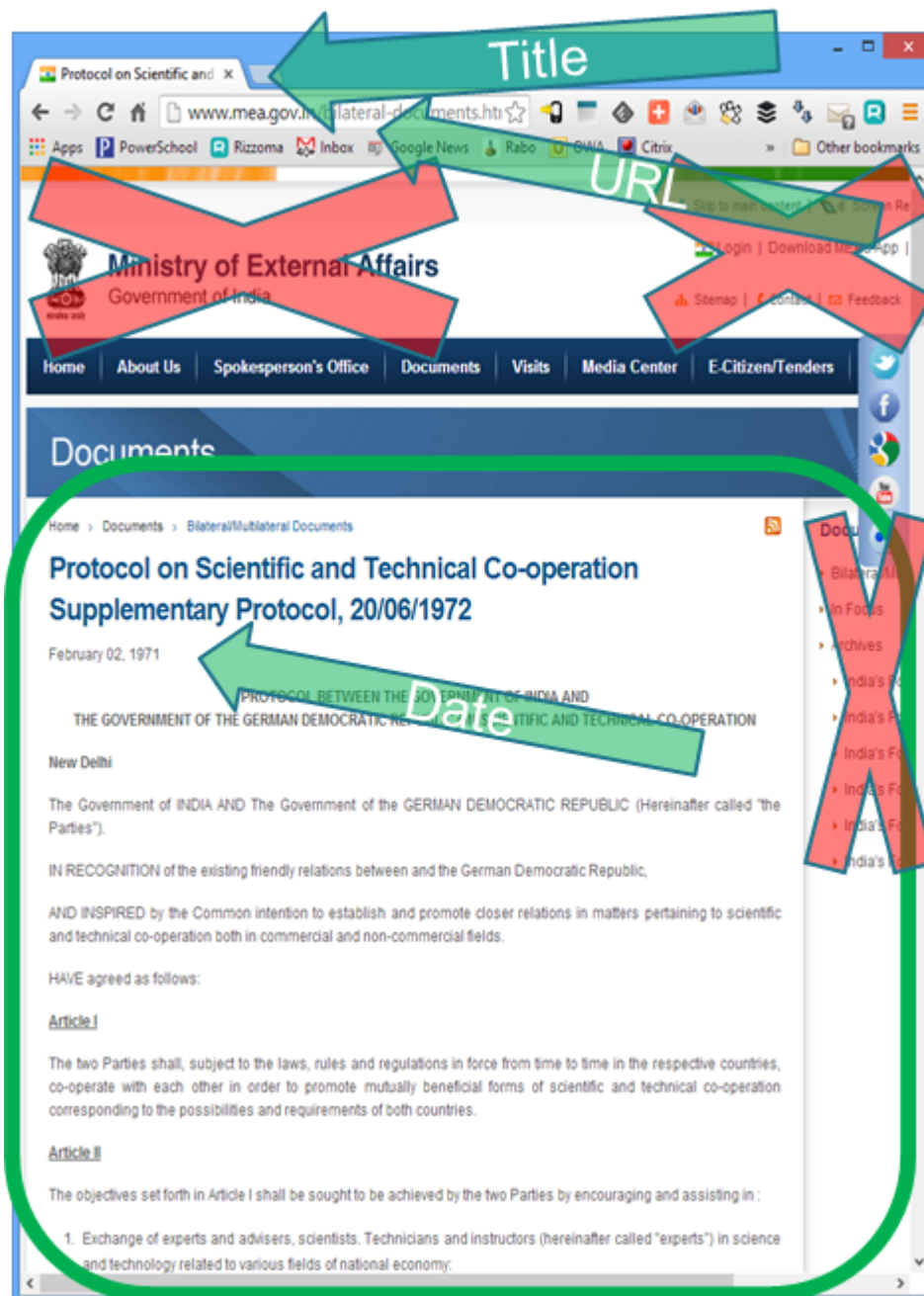


Figure 11. A parsing example

This process required a number of iterations. As the technical team made new versions available, the analytical team analyzed those to see whether all coding elements had been removed, whether the date had been accurately extracted, whether there were duplicates in the database, etc. Based on that information, the technical team then tweaked the parsers and reran all processes to yield a 'cleaner' database.

## Textmining

Once we were able to store the unstructured webpages in a more structured format into our HCSS 'Off-Base', the next step was to use a number of different textmining tools to analyze those texts. Textmining tools essentially attempt to convert 'text' into meaningful 'data'. They employ a variety of computational linguistic tools to break down texts in meaningful units, to boil those units down to their very essence (e.g., by reducing various grammatical variants of a word to its basic meaning) and to then employ a variety of statistical tools to tease out significant patterns from those data. For this project, HCSS used four different types of textmining tools which will be described here:

- Topic modelling,
- Geo-parsing or mapping, and
- N-gram co-occurrence.
- Topic modelling

In 2012, HCSS started using a new open-source text analysis tool called **Papermachines**. The great advantage of this tool is that it is a plugin to one of the most popular open-source bibliographic management programs currently available: **Zotero**. It allows scholars to automatically download the bibliographical information as well as the actual underlying document from various full-text databases (such as Google Scholar, EBSCO, etc.) in a database format that can subsequently be used for formatting footnotes and bibliographies. Besides this use for bibliographical management, Papermachines can also use this bibliographical information to textmine the underlying documents and to look at trends over time in the main topics that emerge from a set of documents – based on clustering algorithms that are very similar to those used in other textmining tools. Using contextual clues, topic models can connect words with similar meanings and distinguish between uses of words with multiple meanings. For a general introduction to topic modeling, see for example [Probabilistic Topic Models](#) by Steyvers and Griffiths (2007). Papermachines thus provides a 'picture' of a Zotero library's contents, allowing the user to compare collections, identify patterns, and assess the topics on which the material is mostly focused.

For this project, HCSS developed a tool that allowed us to import any database that was created with the crawled and parsed webpages from any website into Zotero, and to then analyze those with the **Mallet** topic modelling tool that is available within Papermachines. Topics are terms that tend to 'travel together through the texts' – i.e., they co-occur more frequently within the same documents than one would expect probabilistically. The system goes through all documents and tries to 'learn' (without any preconceived notions) which topics are important. Those topics are then visualized in 'streams' that are supposed to convey the waxing or waning importance of these clusters over time.



## Geoparsing

Another textmining tool that is available in Papermachines is **Geoparsing**. It identifies all geographical entities that are mentioned in these (English) texts and visualizes those. **Heat maps** show regions of relative intensity for mentions in the text. For the trends over time, we can once again visualize these in streamgraphs (see below). This allows us to establish which parts of the world receive more or less attention in the official webpages of the MFA website of a certain country and how that changes over time. Since gazetteers that allow us to geoparse texts are not easily accessible in languages other than English, we decided not to pursue this line of inquiry.

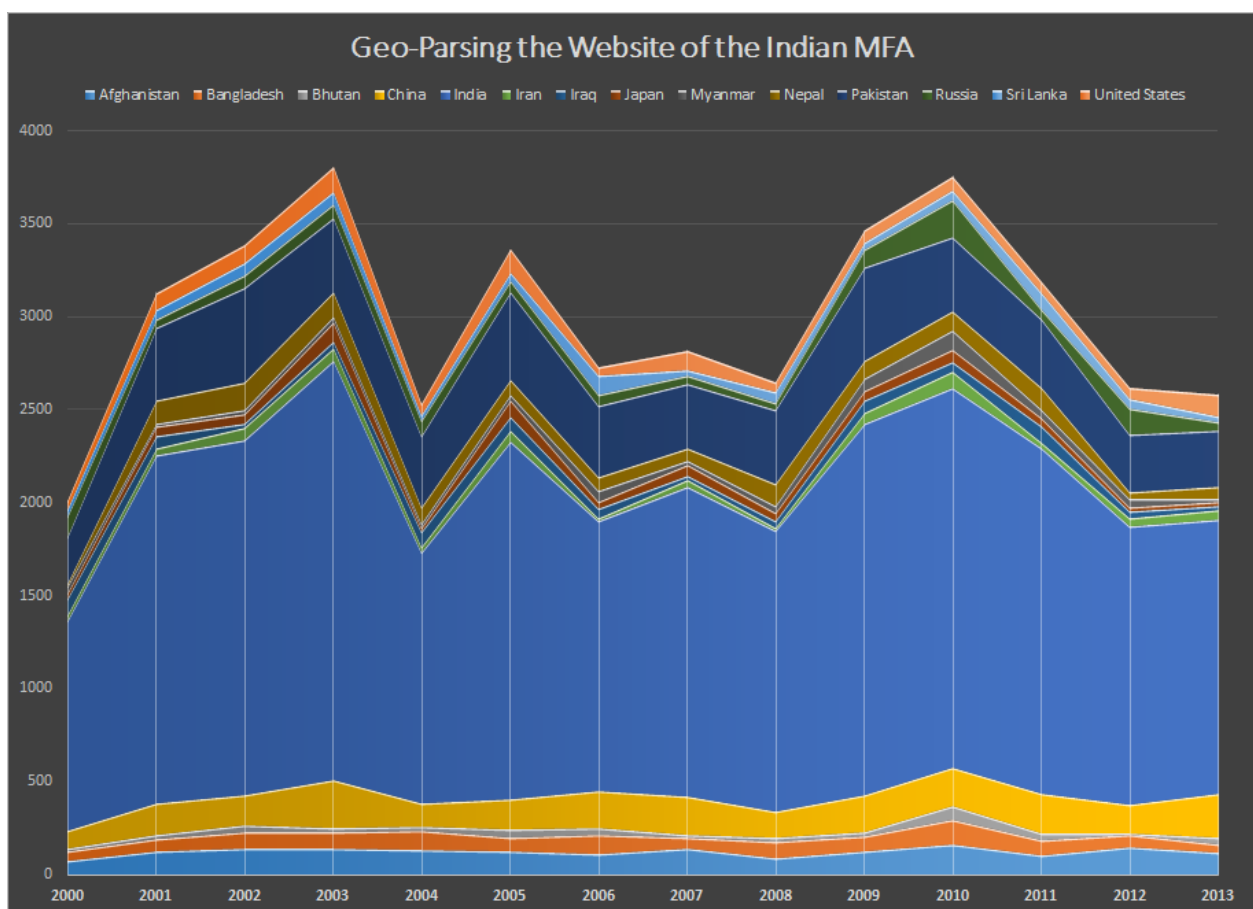


Figure 14. Geoparsing the website of the Indian MFA

## N-gram generation

The final textmining tool that HCSS developed and used in this project, is a tool that allows one to select a concept (or a basket of terms – as described above) and to then detect which other terms/concepts tend to travel together with that concept throughout a corpus (or a part of a corpus) – including over time. **‘N-gram’** is the term that is used in computational linguistics to denote a contiguous sequence of a certain number of items from a given sequence of text, in this particular context more specifically a sequence of words. A **‘unigram’** thus represents a single word (e.g., ‘energy’), a **‘bigram’** a sequence of two consecutive words (e.g., ‘water security’), a **‘trigram’** a sequence of three consecutive words



(e.g., 'Shanghai Cooperation Organization'), etc. By using various statistical techniques, textmining tools are able to identify which combinations of words tend to occur more frequently than one would expect – even without 'knowing' anything about a certain substantive area. So even though the program had never encountered the trigram 'Shanghai Cooperation Organization', by systematically going through the text it still 'learns' that that sequence of words tends to occur quite frequently, thus 'coding' it as a trigram. By computing all of these codes within a document (and/or a corpus), this textmining tool can thus establish which other uni-, bi- or tri-grams tend to co-occur with other ones and therefore seem to have a certain association with them.

## Findings and Analysis

### Inside-out

This chapter presents the findings of the 'inside-out' approach of this project in which we just let the websites speak for themselves. We present the visuals of the topic-modelling as well as our preliminary<sup>11</sup> analysis for the seven countries in alphabetical order. For each country, we will start by presenting a number of key take-aways; we will then present in more detail the streamgraph and the different streams that reflect the most important and/or intriguing topics that were detected for that country. This includes an analysis of the most striking observations our team was able to identify. Finally, this section will present some comparative observations across the seven countries.

### Brazil: A regional power aspiring to become a global power



#### Main findings

- Based on the discourse communicated online, Brazil's foreign policy seems dominated by the **Presidential figure**.
- There is a growing involvement of Brazil in matters of **peace, security and human rights, humanitarian aid and governance** as a way to project an image of a global power.
- **Energy security** is a recurring important topic, whose importance does not fluctuate over time.
- **Relations** with South American countries and BRIC countries are very relevant.
- The main international organizations Brazil is interested in are **MERCOSUL**, CPLP (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* – Community of Portuguese Language Countries), the UN Security Council, the WTO, and IBAS (India, Brazil, and South Africa).

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<sup>11</sup> Our initial intention was to further develop these in close cooperation with regional and functional subject-matter experts from the MFA. Since this proved difficult to achieve, and given the 'proof of concept'-nature of this project, we suggest these findings be viewed more as illustrative, than as exhaustive or authoritative. Our team worked hard to make sure the analysis reflects the content of the website, but this content was not double-checked or validated based on additional sources.

- There is a growing concern to strengthen economic and political ties at regional and global level, both in a bilateral and multilateral way.
- **Cooperation and coordination** are key features in Brazil's approach to international relations.
- The main subjects with respect to international relations include energy security, security and democratization; arms trade, disarmament, nuclear arms and non-proliferation and human rights.
- **Climate change** concerns are losing ground since 2010 – they nevertheless remain relevant.

### Stream analysis

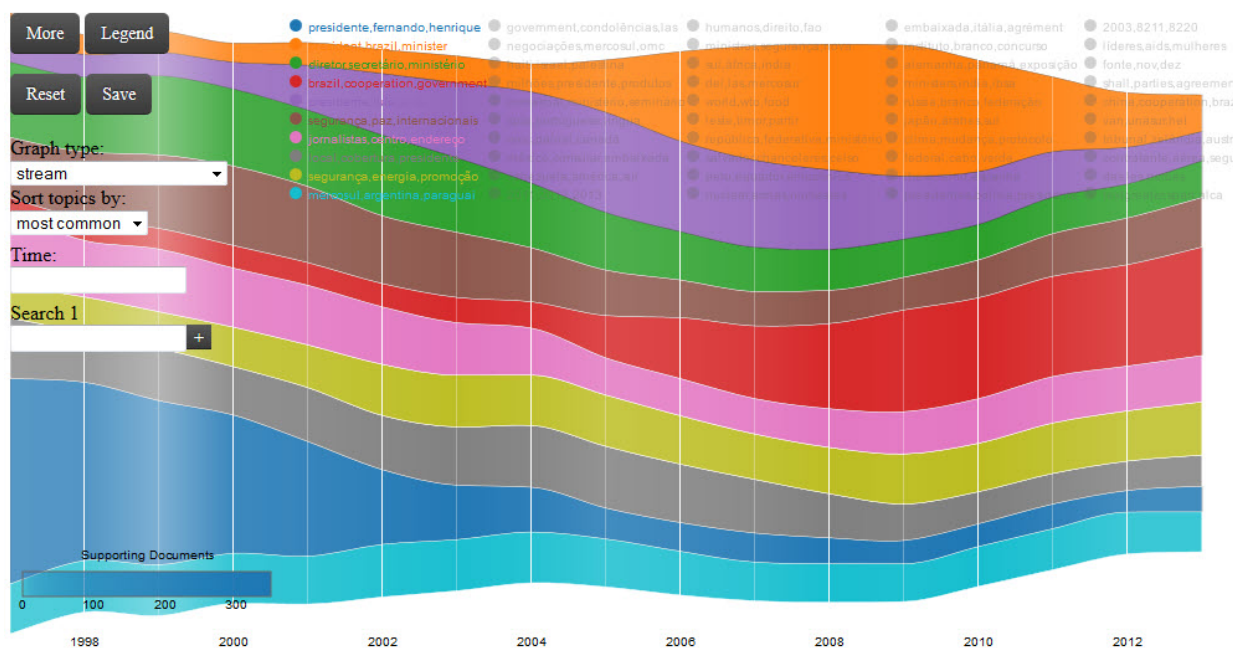


Figure 15. Streamgraph – Brazil



Figure 16. Legend

1► The red ‘International activism’ stream, focusing on Brazil’s increasingly active international stance, is one of the largest stream (as shown by the Figure above). Overall, it represents 4.33% of the corpus. It had little relevance during the presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, but gained momentum in the first years of Lula’s presidency, especially after 2004, as a steady and progressive increase can be verified. The Top-10 key words of

this stream are: 'Brazil', 'cooperation', 'government', 'rights', 'human', 'world', 'law', 'technical', 'biofuels', and 'agreement'.



Figure 17. 'International activism' word-cloud – Brazil

This stream suggests an increasing involvement of Brazil in international global affairs and willingness to promote and project Brazil as a global power. The involvement comprises **humanitarian aid** (e.g., humanitarian aid to Grenada and Jamaica in October 2004; to Cuba, Haiti and Honduras in February 2009; to Japan in March 2011; to the Syrian refugees in Lebanon in August 2012); the objective to strengthen **democratic values** (e.g., participation on the Ministerial Conference of the Community of Democracies – *Terceira Conferência da Comunidade das Democracias* – in April 2005); the improvement of **bilateral and multilateral economic, political and diplomatic ties** (e.g., condolences after the floods in China in July 2007; Qatar's Emir visit to Brazil in January 2010; meeting of the joint commission Brazil-Turkey on Economic, Trade and Industrial Cooperation on January 2010; Joint Action Plan between Brazil and China for 2010–2014 in May 2010; global partnership Brazil-United States in June 2011); and the participation to **regional or global organizations** (e.g., La Paz Declaration in December 2007; BRIC meeting in April 2010; participation to the World Economic Forum in January 2012; support the application of a Brazilian ambassador to the office of General-Director of the WTO in December 2012).

2►The **orange 'Institutional' stream**, occupies 4.46% of the corpus and was the most important one during President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's term in office (2003–2011 – especially in the first two years when he started to print his mark on Brazil's foreign relations). The Top-10 key words of this stream are: 'President', 'Brazil', 'minister', 'source', 'cooperation', 'summit', 'Republic', 'foreign', '2008', and 'government'.



Figure 18. 'Institutional' word-cloud – Brazil

This stream mainly represents Brazilian actions and initiatives in international affairs, within international forums and organizations, with a special focus on President Lula. Some bilateral agreements are also represented in this stream (e.g., approval of the World Intellectual Property Organization – WIPO – in October 2007; information over forums of trade and cooperation promotion in Africa in June 2009; free trade agreement between MERCOSUR and Palestine in December 2011; Declaration of Cochabamba in May 2013). It indicates that Brazil is **progressively affirming itself** outside the framework of formal institutions. It is interesting to correlate this stream with the red stream as together, they show two levels of global action: one more autonomous, and one within institutional architectures.

3► The **brown 'Peace and security' stream** represents 4.11% of the corpus; it started the millennium as one of the main topics, but has lost its dominance during Lula's presidency. After 2010 however, it has regained some significance. The Top-10 key words of this stream are: 'security', 'peace', 'international', 'President', 'violence', 'terrorism', 'law', 'action', 'human', and 'society'. Only one country appears on the word-cloud: 'Iraq'.

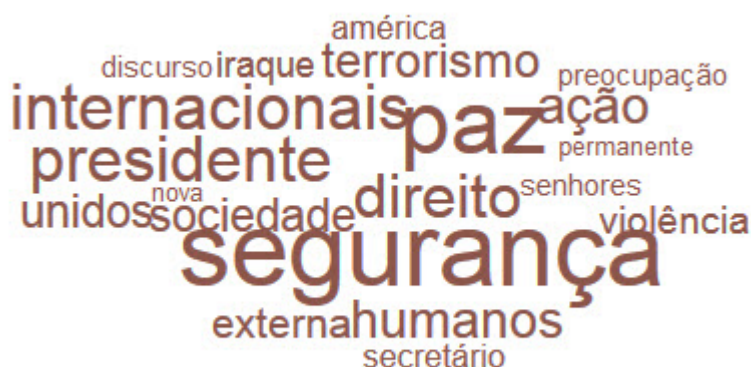


Figure 19. 'Peace and security' word-cloud – Brazil

This topic mainly concerns cooperation on **security, defense, humanitarian aid and trade** matters. The international events of the beginning of the century (9/11, war in Afghanistan, Iraq war on Iraq, war on terrorism) can explain the more prominent role of this stream until 2004. Its decreasing importance from 2005 to 2010 may indicate a shift in Brazilian preoccupations. In the most recent years, this stream has regained some weight, probably due to the Arab Spring and the (subsequent) re-emerging security concerns. Besides, Brazil had closely followed the situation and helped in assisting the victims.

4► The **blue and purple ‘Presidential’ streams** occupy, respectively, 5.49% and 4.32% of the corpus and indicate the central role of the President of the Federation of Brazil in the international affairs of the country. The **blue ‘Cardoso’ stream** includes the following key words: ‘President’, ‘Fernando’, ‘Henrique’, ‘Cardoso’, ‘Republic’. The **purple ‘Lula’ stream** has very similar key words, but instead of ‘Fernando Henrique Cardoso’, it shows ‘Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva’. ‘Dilma Rousseff’ only appears when more topics are added to the stream. Interestingly, in the **light blue word-cloud that includes ‘Dilma’** there are words such as ‘Patriot’ and ‘Presidenta’. In Portuguese, ‘President’ is ‘*Presidente*’, a gender-neutral term, but Dilma Rousseff took a stance to add an ‘a’ which is used to form the feminine gender. This was her way to assert power in a men’s world. The **‘Dilma’s stream’** (baby blue, with 2.08% of the corpus, on the ‘50 topics stream’) enlarges while **‘Lula’s stream’** (in purple) narrows.



Figure 20. ‘Presidential’ word-cloud (1) – Brazil



Figure 21. 'Presidential' word-cloud (2) – Brazil



Figure 22. 'Dilma' word-cloud – Brazil

5► The **green 'Americas' stream**, that occupies 4.44% of the corpus, has lost relevance over the past decade. The main keywords are: 'secretary', 'minister', 'director', 'USA', and 'America'. The stream refers to bilateral meetings between Brazil and other countries or regional organizations e.g., to solve the cotton dispute between Brazil and the US in June 2010.

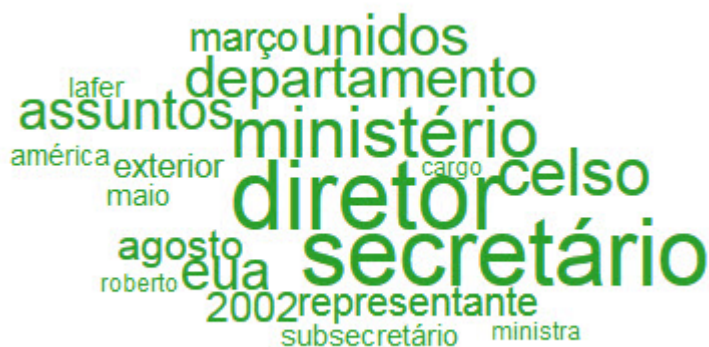


Figure 23. 'Americas' word-cloud – Brazil

6► The **olive green 'Energy security' stream**, that occupies 3.57% of the corpus, has generally maintained its importance over time. The key words of this stream are 'security', 'energy', 'international', 'global', 'coordination', 'both', 'together', and 'negotiations'. It seems to indicate that energy security is seen by Brazil as an important topic that demands cooperation. The clarification over Brazil's nuclear plans in May 2004, suggests Brazil's concern of being perceived as a benign force that acts according to international law.

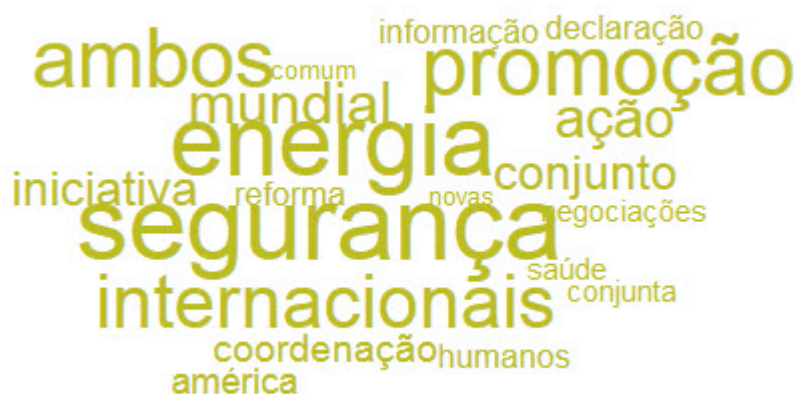


Figure 24. 'Energy security' word-cloud – Brazil

7► Likewise, the light blue 'Mercosul' stream is rather constant with a corpus of 3.53%. It refers mainly to Southern American relations, especially the MERCOSUL. The key words of this stream are indeed 'MERCOSUL', 'Argentina', 'Uruguay', 'Paraguay', 'Chile', and 'common'. The evolution of this stream indicates that Brazil does not rely exclusively nor does it place more emphasis on its regional alliances in order to become a global power. MERCOSUL is just one part of Brazil's foreign policy, among many others.



Figure 25. 'Mercosul' word-cloud – Brazil

8► The grey 'Events' and the pink 'Media' streams with – respectively – 3.72% and 3.82% of the corpus, are mainly illustrating the image, events and media coverage of Brazil's foreign action. Main key words for these streams are 'journalist', 'place', 'coverage', 'meeting', 'cerimônia' and 'homage' – and maybe clearly reflect the importance of the media in a vibrant democracy like Brazil. Comparing the evolution of both streams, the pink one (media coverage) is enlarging, while the grey one (events) is becoming more narrow over time. This indicates that Brazil wants to promote its actions increasingly through media coverage.



Figure 26. 'Media' word-cloud – Brazil



Figure 27. 'Events' word-cloud – Brazil

## China: Constructing a favorable external environment for a peaceful rise



### [Main findings](#)

- China's growing political, economic, military, social and cultural interests in and involvement with **Africa** are one of the most striking findings of this analysis.
- China's policy is claimed to remain **non-confrontational and defensive** by nature, integrating the efforts to safeguard national interests and promoting the common interests of all countries. Concerning economic, societal and developmental issues, the Chinese government seeks **cooperation** with the outside world, especially its **neighbors**, through both **bilateral** ties and involvement in **regional and international** regimes and organizations (e.g., ASEAN).
- China's outlook on security problems has shifted from a narrow nation-focus (pure border or territorial consultation and settlement) to a '**multilateralist**' stance, by taking initiatives in regional and international security regimes.
- China calls for the improvement of international and regional governance, covering **human rights issues, transnational crimes, or public health**.



- China continues to pursue a policy aiming at developing **good-neighborly ties** and partnership with its neighbors as well, as such relations are anchored in growing common interests. For example, China-Korea-Japan trilateral relations have been strengthened in recent years especially in the economic field.
- **China seeks to play a constructive role in international security issues by taking various initiatives.** But when **sovereignty issues** associated with the Japan and Taiwan disputes are concerned, the tone of the discourse changes and becomes less conciliatory.
- China is creating a **culturally legitimate** external environment for its peaceful rise by expanding people and cultural exchanges and intensively using cooperative discourses.
- We did not notice streams devoted to the US, the financial-economic crisis, issues of global governance (which would have reflected China's interest in more multipolarity), or the BRICS.

### Stream analysis

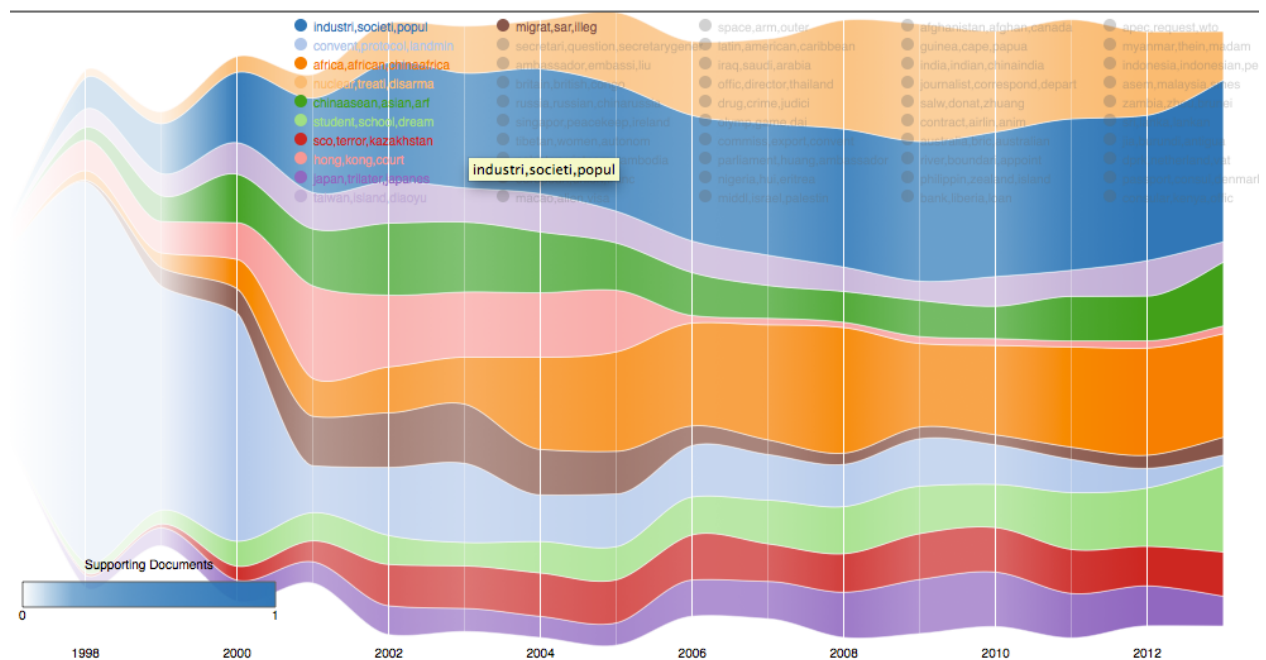


Figure 28. Streamgraph with Legend – China

One of the striking elements that jump out of this streamgraph is the slight shift in Chinese foreign policy – or at least in its discourse communicated on the MFA website – after 2005, when Hu took office. During the Hu Administration, Hong Kong issues and social problems such as illegal immigration had been downplayed. Security and sovereignty issues that can be associated with the Japan and Taiwan disputes and disarmament, economic cooperation and cultural exchanges as well as connection with African countries became increasingly mentioned in recent years. Other streams maintain relatively stable trends over time.

1► The most important **dark blue ‘Economic’ stream**, that occupies 6.95% of the corpus, appears to be related to the complex relationship between China’s economic growth and

situation ('trade' ('export'), 'investment' (especially 'FDI') and 'finance') and its internal development ('society', 'industry', 'population', and 'sustainable development'). It exhibits a significant increase over time.



Figure 29. 'Economic' word-cloud – China

Before 2007, most of China's trading partners mentioned across the MFA webpages were developing countries like India, Cyprus, Arab countries, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, and Eastern and Southern Africa. After 2007, trading partners mentioned include not only developing countries, but also developed countries and regions like Europe, the US, Asian NICs, etc. This shows that China has **expanded its economic ties** and the **scope of its economic diplomacy** purposes over time.

After 2008, China sought solutions to the financial crisis through **regional multilateral** cooperation (for instance through ASEAN+3), to build its confidence for world economic growth, a central topic in this stream. China has also sought investment and business opportunities as well as entering economic talks with regional and international economic organizations and IGOs. However, unlike throughout the pre-2007/2008 period (during which the MFA mentioned much about cooperation with multilateral and international meetings, organizations and regimes like ASEM, APEC, African common market, UN ECOSOC and export control regimes), during the post-2007/2008 period, there seems to be an increasing trend in the tendency to mention **bilateral or trilateral** cooperation and talks.

After 2007/2008, **issues of interest have expanded** as well, and include energy security and climate change; sustainable development became mentioned quite frequently in the context of this economic stream, unlike pure economic growth or export-driven economic views before this period.

2► The **light blue 'Multilateralism' stream**, which occupies 5.94%, is associated with 'protocol', 'convent', 'peacekeeping', 'landmine', 'CWC', 'arm', 'Sudan' and 'Rwanda'. It has kept decreasing since 2001. This stream places more emphasis on China's multilateral relations with international community and countries from the developing countries or country blocs like Latin America, Africa, East Europe and South Asia. Issue areas ranged from international **security** (participation in landmine protocols, Chinese peacekeeping contingent and China-ASEAN, China-Norway peacekeeping seminar, convention on conventional weapons like chemical, biological and toxic weapons and their destruction, and stability in Sudan), **public health** (Cooperation with Romania and Bulgaria in the sanitary

veterinary field, as well as animal quarantine and health; signature on convention on the privileges and immunities), **sustainable development** including contents like human rights, government transparency and environmental issues (China’s involvement in convention on the rights of persons with disabilities, convention against corruption and convention on the Law of the Sea).



Figure 30. ‘Multilateralism’ word-cloud – China

3►The third most sizeable **orange** ‘African’ stream since 2004 stresses the growing importance of cooperation between China and ‘African’ countries.<sup>12</sup> It contains references to both ‘hard’ security issues (‘peacekeeping’, ‘tank’) and some ‘softer’ issues (‘scholarship’, ‘medic’). The importance of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation is clear (China’s attempt to ‘multilateralize’ its ‘commitment’ to Africa) as are a couple of more frequently mentioned countries (Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia and South Africa).



Figure 31. ‘African’ word-cloud – China

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<sup>12</sup>China’s assistance to Africa increases every year. For example, China’s African policy paper identifies nearly 30 areas of cooperation between China and Africa, and this cooperation is predicted to be expanded. China has come up with many friendly principles towards African countries. During the Hu Administration, three principles were put forward: “maintaining traditional friendship and promoting a new China-Africa partnership; adhering to mutual assistance and mutual benefit and promoting common development; maintaining close collaboration and safeguarding the interests of developing countries”.

4► The light orange ‘Security’ stream in this streamgraph, which occupies 3.64% of the corpus, with a special emphasis on ‘nuclear’ issues also associated with nine other key words like ‘disarmament’, ‘safety’, ‘non-proliferation’, ‘counter terrorism’, ‘non-nuclear weapon zone’, ‘NPT’, ‘IAEA’, ‘protocol’ and ‘treaties’, and has been increasing significantly since 2001. This stream provides an extensive description of the relations between China and developed or emerging countries like the US, the EU, and Asian NICs. By examining the contents, three implications can be drawn:



Figure 32. ‘Security’ word-cloud – China

- The discourse of China’s MFA on security has broadened from a narrow focus on territorial disputes to **transnational security** issues such as denuclearization, joint prevention on conventional weapons and illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, as well as counter terrorism. **Non-traditional security** issues, it should be noted, also gained ground with, for instance, outer space arm race, ballistic missile defense system and cyber security.
- In parallel to the presence of a ‘multilateralism’ stream (aforementioned) and even in spite of the decreasing importance of this stream, the light orange stream shows that the solution to the security problems sought by China has shifted from a narrow nation-focus (pure border or territorial consultation and settlement) to an increased **focus on multilateralism**. For instance, regarding nuclear disarmament, China highly values the role of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and nuclear export regimes, and insists that all need to be strengthened. China expresses concerns over nuclear terrorism, and the Korean Peninsula’s nuclear issue. China also respects and supports the efforts made by non-nuclear weapon states to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones, and promotes the support, recognition and compliance on the side of nuclear-weapon states.
- China’s declaratory national policy remains defensive in nature, integrating the efforts to safeguard national interests and promoting the common interests of all countries. Judging by the greatly increasing trend of the light orange stream, China also seeks to play **a constructive role in international security issues by taking various initiatives**. In terms of China’s involvement in arms control regimes, China has joined and implemented international arms control and disarmament treaties, submitted a nuclear-weapon-free zone working paper, and participated in relevant discussions and negotiations in the UN and international agencies. China shares the non-proliferation

objective of the Hague Code of Conduct Against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (HCOC), and supports multilateral efforts to combat the illicit trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW). But as the Taiwan question involves its core interests, China opposes the attempts of any country to provide help or protection to the Taiwan region of China in the field of missile defense by all means.

5► The **dark green ‘ASEAN’ stream**, that occupies 2.68% of the corpus, with a special focus on ASEAN and other neighboring Asian countries, deals with intergovernmental governance issues. The underlying documents stress that China pursues a policy of developing **good-neighborly ties and partnerships with its neighbors**, as such relations are anchored in growing common interests.

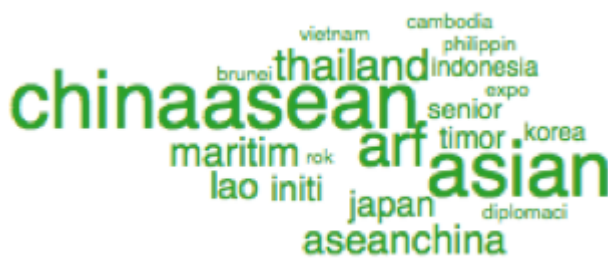


Figure 33. ‘ASEAN’ word-cloud – China

China’s bonds with other Asia-Pacific countries in the political field have become tighter e.g., with 60 mutual high-level mutual visits and exchanges with Asian countries. Economic cooperation has been deepened in the trade, FDI, financial and fiscal areas. For example, China has set up a China-APEC cooperation fund and signed bilateral currency swap agreements with Malaysia, Indonesia and the ROK. Security cooperation with other Asia-Pacific countries has expanded: significant efforts have been made to push forward the Six-Party Talks, actively involved in ASEAN and other security dialogue mechanisms to establish cooperation in counter-terrorism, non-proliferation, combating transnational crimes and public health. China is committed to building regional cooperation mechanisms with other Asia-Pacific countries: it has established China-ASEAN Free Trade Area. The ASEAN+3 showed great strength in countering the effects of the financial crisis. China also supported the creation of the Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization, and the regional foreign exchange reserve pool. The regional Credit Guarantee and Investment Facility have been established, and China-Japan-ROK cooperation has been strengthened. Concerning inter-regional cooperation, China actively participated in the Forum for East Asia and Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC), which strengthens cooperation between both regions on global issues as the economic crisis and climate change.

6► The **red ‘Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)’ stream**, which occupies 2.05% of the corpus, reflects the rather steady importance of that international organization in China’s foreign policy. The focus here appears to be on (counter) terrorism and on drugs trafficking (‘Afghanistan’, ‘drug’). Other key words include ‘crime’, ‘bank’, ‘gas’, and ‘treaty’.



Figure 34. 'SCO' word-cloud – China

The Sino-Russian relationship lies in the center of the SCO cooperation, especially before 2010. Areas for bilateral cooperation range from natural resources like gas and petroleum (China and Russia finalized petroleum and natural gas cooperation in 2004), economic matters (in the form of trade summit forums or establishment of bilateral agreement on Russia's membership at the WTO), and security concerns (by determining and declaring the boundaries between two countries, or for the international community such as by jointly submitting treaty on PPWT to the Conference on Disarmament or document of conduct for information security to the UN).

It is interesting to note that Central Asia, Eastern Europe and BRIC countries have also been much in focus since 2010, contrary to the traditional Western view of SCO which only focuses on the Sino-Russia tandem. Evidence can be found in frequent high-level bilateral or multilateral meetings between China and SCO member states and their joint collaboration in international community concerning crime prevention, banking cooperation, counter terrorism, issues on Afghanistan. We also find no reference to the US or the need to 'balance' the Western hegemony.

7► The **dark purple 'East Asia' stream**, that covers 1.89% of the corpus, mainly deals with 'China-Korea-Japan trilateral relations', which showed up in several streams. The relations between the three countries have been strengthened in recent years through various regional regimes, like APEC, six-party talks, ASEAN+3, and a 'China-Japan-RoK' trilateral summit<sup>13</sup> covering issue areas relating to economy, security and development.<sup>14</sup> Chinese President Hu Jintao made important remarks at the Seoul Nuclear Security Summit.

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<sup>13</sup> Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "Hu Jintao makes important remarks to the Seoul Nuclear Security Summit", March 27, 2012, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/topics/hjtatnsnss/t918472.shtml>.

<sup>14</sup> Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "The Action Strategy on Trilateral Cooperation Among the People's Republic of China, Japan and the Republic of Korea", December 21, 2004. Article in English: <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/yzs/dqzzywt/>



Figure 35. 'East Asia' word-cloud – China

8► The pink 'Hong Kong' stream, which occupies 1.97% of the corpus and is characterized by a sharp decreasing trend since the mid-2000s, shows that less emphasis has been placed on Hong Kong in recent years, because legitimacy or recognition was greatly needed after Hong Kong's return rather than in recent years.



Figure 36. 'Hong Kong' word-cloud – China

However, the Central Government of China has always given Hong Kong a high degree of autonomy, and spoken highly of the role of the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) in dealing with both internal and external affairs. The Chinese government has shown it is willing to take on a role as a strong supporter of Hong Kong. For example, it exerted all-out efforts to support HKSAR's fending off Asian financial crisis (e.g., maintaining the currency peg and overall stability). The Chinese leadership, such as that of President Jiang, expected a convergence in values and national identity on both sides.

9► The light purple 'Territorial claims' stream, which occupies 1.75% of the corpus, exhibits a stable and robust trend. This stream deals with two most important territorial problems, namely 'Taiwan issues' and 'the Diaoyu Islands' (in China's terminology) dispute with Japan', which China has been facing in recent years.

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t175827.shtml; article in Chinese: [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_chn/wjb\\_602314/zzjg\\_602420/yzs\\_602430/dqzz\\_602434/zrhhz\\_602492/t359361.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_chn/wjb_602314/zzjg_602420/yzs_602430/dqzz_602434/zrhhz_602492/t359361.shtml).



Figure 37. 'Territorial claims' word-cloud – China

- With respect to **Taiwan**, China seeks external support/recognition on its 'One China' principle. China opposes any forms of official contacts between Japan and Taiwan, and any attempt aiming at creating 'two Chinas' or 'one China, one Taiwan'. China also requires Japan to explicitly promise not to include Taiwan into the scope of US-Japanese security cooperation. China makes clear statements on Taiwan issues: (1) The People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; (2) Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China; (3) The so-called 'Peace Treaty' between Japan and the Chiang Kaishek authorities is illegal and invalid, and must be annulled.
- The **Diaoyu Islands** dispute between China and Japan has become increasingly acute in recent years. Although this is just one security issue among others, it has been mentioned quite often due to both frequent conflictual incidents which China claims to have been caused by Japanese right-wing parties, and the public pressure that accompanies the rise in China's domestic nationalism. China adopts an absolute and consistent position on this issue, and urges Japan to make joint efforts with China through real action to seek effective methods for appropriately controlling and resolving the issue through dialogue and consultation. Because Japan still has interest in seeking economic cooperation with China, this dispute may only be temporarily reconciled through a linkage between different issue-areas, but it seems difficult to anticipate that a full and final settlement will be reached on both sides. China opposes any forms of official contacts between Japan and Taiwan, and any attempt aiming at creating 'two Chinas', or 'one China, one Taiwan'. China also requires Japan to explicitly promise not to include Taiwan into the scope of US-Japanese security cooperation.

Given the declining trend of Taiwan's stream coincides with an increasing trend of the Diaoyu stream, it could be inferred that, with respect to sovereignty concerns, the MFA has shifted its focus from Taiwan to East China Sea – thus, in particular, by insisting more on the Diaoyu Island dispute.

10► The increasing trend of the **light green 'Cultural diplomacy' stream**, with key words including 'student', 'school', 'dream', 'language', 'exhibition' and 'scholarship'. The key word 'dream' was mentioned ten times with eight times in 2013 in our sample, which especially refers to President Xi's recent talk on 'Chinese dream'. This suggests that China is creating



a **culturally legitimate** external environment for its peaceful rise. Rhetorically, China frequently mentioned 'mutual trust', 'peaceful', 'cooperative partnership' and 'friendship' on various foreign affairs occasions.

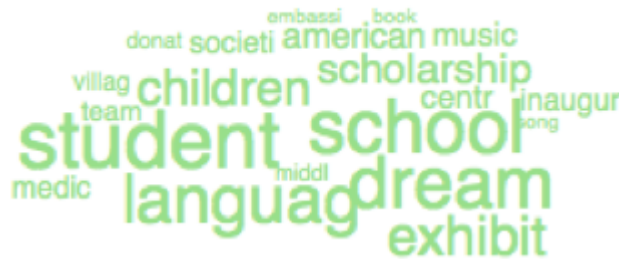


Figure 38. 'Cultural diplomacy' word-cloud – China

China built and improved its soft power by expanding educational and cultural exchanges with other developing countries in the early 2000s. For example, China facilitated cultural and educational exchanges or agreements with Croatia, India, Qatar, Turkey and Iraq, and with developed countries like the UK and Singapore in the late 2000s and early 2000s. China encouraged students from developing countries, such as South Africa, Antigua and Barbuda, to study in China by giving scholarships.

This stream also points to the development of Confucius Institutes around the world, including in Nairobi, Canada, Africa, Thailand and Botswana. The Chinese language, often mentioned across this cultural stream, has been promoted externally by holding Chinese festivals or 'Chinese weeks' in foreign countries (like Brunei), and domestically by holding Chinese language contests for foreign college students. Cultural and art exhibitions such as musical instruments exhibitions, fine arts exhibition in London, the Beijing Olympics photo exhibition, or the China's earthquake photo exhibition aimed to facilitate a cultural understanding and communication between China and the rest of the world. It also broadens the networks for medical services. For example in 2004, the Chinese Red Cross society donated to the Myanmar Red Cross Society after the tsunami and earthquake.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Some evidence of such an effort can be found in the following facts. It is estimated that about 40 million people outside China are learning Chinese worldwide, growing by 40% annually, and the 349 Confucius Institutes have been set up in 102 countries. The Chinese government invite foreign teachers to teach in China, and encourages Chinese individuals to learn foreign languages and other disciplines overseas. In 2009, MIT, Tsinghua and Cambridge University forged the Low Carbon Energy Alliance, a shining example of international cooperation between universities. Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. Remarks by Hu Jintao, "For Peace, Development and Enduring Friendship", June 15, 2011, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/dozys/gjlb/3180/3183/t833513.shtml>; Remarks at the Anniversary Celebration of the Confucius Institute at the University of Zambia By Chinese Ambassador Zhou Yuxiao, August 23, 2011, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zwjg/zwbd/t850897.shtml>.

11► The dark brown ‘Migration issues’ stream only represents 1.15% of the corpus, but interestingly, it frequently refers to China’s concern on social development issues especially on ‘migration’, ‘human rights’, ‘refugees’, relations with ‘Mongolia’ and public health including endemic disease like ‘SARS’ (which has only been in 2003 in our sample). Intergovernmentally, high-level international dialogues on migration, refugees and development in Asia were often mentioned across MFA webpages. Internationally, China cooperated with UNHCR in calling for regional cooperation on refugee problems and issues of illegal migration. China MFA websites show that China has been seeking a benign relation with Mongolia especially after 2012, as indicated by a frequent use of words such as ‘good neighbors’, ‘goodwill visit’, ‘friends’ and ‘partners’.

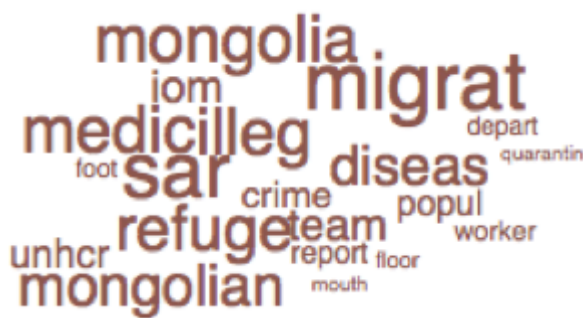


Figure 39. ‘Migration issues’ word-cloud – China

## India’s Foreign Policy: A Nation looks at its neighborhood



### [Main findings](#)

- The focus of India’s foreign policy seems to have remained fairly consistent over time. Sharp increases or sudden drops were not particularly noticed. This supports the general assessment that India’s foreign policy is administered in a conservative manner; the Ministry of External Affairs is not known for sudden reversals or drastic changes in policies. ‘**Status Quo**’ is the Indian MFA’s defining characteristic.
- But the results tend to suggest that over time, India has become **less involved** in global foreign policy issues. India’s foreign policy is **neighborhood-focused**, almost myopically so. Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Myanmar feature prominently in the visuals – which otherwise have few theme-based key words (such as nationalism, multilateralism, cooperation, etc.).
- In addition, the fact that even these few countries are only associated with the immediate challenges that they pose to Indian interests (such as territorial conflicts in the case of Pakistan or water sharing disputes with Bangladesh or the incarceration of Indian fishermen with regard to Sri Lanka) proves that not only is New Delhi’s policy **geographically limited**, it is driven entirely by **immediate interests and concerns**. This is shown further by the presence of Saudi Arabia – the only reason why Saudi Arabia is on the list is because India subsidizes a large contingent of Haj pilgrims every year; an ‘immediate’ issue, therefore.

- Surprisingly, commercial interests do not seem to be an important element of Indian foreign policy.
- **Europe hardly features** on New Delhi's radar – and neither do Latin American or East and South East Asia. Given India's much-touted 'global presence' or arrival on the international stage, this strikes a rather jarring note.
- The **consistent focus on nuclear**, particularly nuclear weapons, is interesting because, compared to the international discourse, the domestic discourse on Indian foreign policy (as reflected in newspaper editorials and op-eds, think-tank discussions, etc., especially outside Delhi's 'security community') does not traditionally focus much on India's nuclear weapons – according to our Indian analyst's assessment.
- The growing importance of **nuclear energy** is understandable though, given that India is actively seeking this and all other forms of energy to satiate the growing demands of its emerging economy and growing population.
- The focus on **'culture'** stands out, as expected – India's foreign policy has always had a strong soft power element.

### Stream analysis

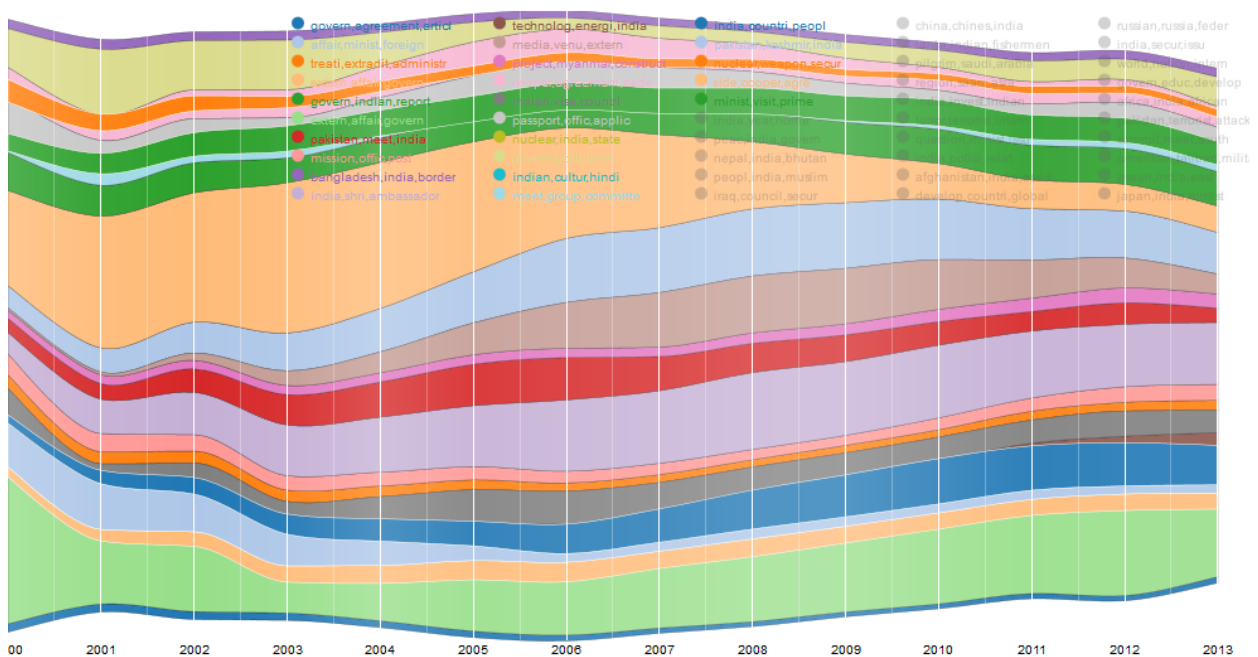


Figure 40. Streamgraph – India



Figure 41. Legend

1► The peach ‘External affairs’ stream (2.36% of the corpus, rank 4) which contains the key words ‘external’, ‘affairs’, ‘government’, ‘state’, and ‘speech’: A clear bulge can be observed in the early 2000s – and then the stream peters out.



Figure 42. ‘External affairs’ word-cloud – India

This could indicate that **India’s engagement with the rest of the world has decreased** post-2004, and significantly so post-2007/08. This coincides with the election of the UPA regime (which has since been widely criticized for its lackluster foreign policy) in 2004. The drastic fall which can be noticed in 2008 also coincides with the **deceleration of India’s economic growth** which has continued until today.

2► Three streams refer to **Pakistan** and each focuses on a different set of issues. This was to be expected, given that no other country possibly demands as much time and attention from the MEA than Pakistan.

(i) The red ‘Pakistan and India’ stream (1.74%, rank 7) contains ‘Pakistan’, ‘talk’, ‘India’, ‘dialogue’, ‘meet’, and ‘secretary level’. Expectedly, it bulges between 2003 and 2008 when the composite dialogue process between India and Pakistan was making good progress – until it had to be called off after the 26/11 attack.



Figure 43. ‘Pakistan and India’ word-cloud – India

(ii) The pale grey ‘Pakistan and Kashmir’ stream (0.61%, rank 22) also contains ‘Pakistan’ but a different set of allied words -- in this case, it is ‘Kashmir’, ‘terror’, ‘Jammu’, ‘border’, ‘Islamabad’, ‘state’, ‘controlled’, and ‘Musharraf’. It reflects specifically India’s relations with Pakistan *vis-à-vis* the Kashmir dispute. The stream’s coverage is significant until 2005 and then considerably thinnens. In 2003, India signed a ceasefire agreement with Pakistan that helped to bring some semblance of peace to the Valley (until recently).





and fall. This is not surprising. India has historical ties with Russia, and New Delhi maintains an enduring relationship with Moscow.



Figure 48.

6► The other Western power was the US in the **light pink** ‘Americans in Afghanistan’ stream (0.21%, ranked 48). This stream was much heavier in the early 2000s and then peters out. ‘Taliban’ and ‘military’ are the two top words which feature alongside ‘America’. This makes sense, as the movement of the stream then coincides with the US invasion of Afghanistan but, to be fair, also at a time during which the Indian-US bilateral had gained unprecedented strength, particularly with the nuclear deal. This stream then petered out after 2004-2005 (coinciding with the Indian-US bilateral plateauing).



Figure 49. ‘Americans in Afghanistan’ word-cloud – India

7► The **brown** ‘Technology and R&D’ stream (1.12%, rank 11) is ‘thematically’ interesting: it contains ‘technology’, ‘development’, ‘science’, ‘research’ and ‘energy’. It increases only ever so slightly over time. Still, this is one of the earlier signs that India’s foreign policy occasionally does look beyond its immediate concerns in South Asia and that science, technology and R&D are emerging as focus areas.



Figure 50. ‘Technology and R&D’ word-cloud – India

8► The **baby pink** ‘Cooperation’ stream (0.94%, rank 14) follows, with ‘cooperation’, ‘agreement’, ‘trade’, and ‘bilateral visit’. It remains consistency and simply seems to underline India’s continued engagement with the world.



Figure 51. 'Cooperation' word-cloud – India

9► Another theme or topic worth noting is that of 'nuclear'. Two streams appear particularly relevant in this respect:

- The dark orange 'Nuclear weapon' stream (0.57%, rank 23), which contains 'nuclear', 'weapons', 'proliferation', 'state', 'security', and 'missile' and also one mention of 'Korea'. Its presence remains constant throughout the timeline, and no major changes can be observed.



Figure 52. 'Nuclear weapon' word-cloud – India

- Nuclear energy, represented by the olive green 'Nuclear energy and agreement' stream (0.84%, rank 17), however, exhibits a different trend. It increases between 2003 and 2009, and peters out afterwards. Key words include 'nuclear', 'India', 'agreement', 'energy' and 'power' as well as the 'US', 'IAEA', and 'safeguard'. This seems to reflect the Indo-US nuclear agreement, a landmark deal that has now stagnated because of the liability (safeguards) disagreement.

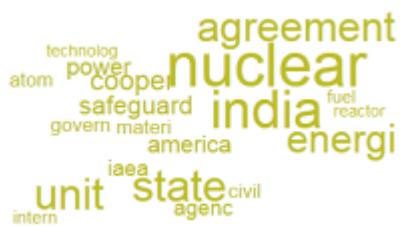


Figure 53. 'Nuclear energy and agreement' word-cloud – India

10► There is a 'Culture' theme is represented by the light blue stream (0.70%, rank 19) and dark blue stream (0.6%, rank 21). The former includes 'ICCR' (the Indian Council for Cultural Relations), 'films' and 'student' and 'Hindi' while the latter includes 'people', 'India', 'relationship', 'partnership'. Both show a clear hike in the years after 2008.



Figure 54. 'Culture' word-cloud – India

The stream reflects the usual sources of 'soft' power in India such as films and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR). The appearance of 'Hindi' is interesting because there is not much language promotion internally. Therefore, the government's choice to promote Hindi abroad may be surprising, as this may provoke the resentment of other national 'linguistic' communities. 'Hindi' may also refer to Hindi films.

The post-2008 hike may also suggest an effort to use 'soft' power in order to regain the influence that has been lost in terms of 'hard' (particularly economic) power although there is not enough evidence to support this hypothesis.

11► The **steel grey 'Commercial' stream** representing 'India' and 'investment' ranks at 35 (0.39%). It includes 'business', 'growth', 'million', 'billion', and 'trade'. The stream has gained much importance since 2010. While that may be a positive sign, there is still no denying that **commercial interests do not necessarily drive** India's foreign policy – based on the discourse communicated on the Indian MFA website.



Figure 55. 'Commercial' word-cloud – India

12► Regionally, Africa is an interesting outlier. It is represented in the **green 'Africa' stream** (0.27%, rank 45). The word-cloud includes key words such as 'Sudan', the 'African Union', 'partnership' and 'summit'. It visibly and consistently thickens over time – suggesting that even though Africa remains a low priority area, it is **gradually gaining in importance**. This fits with the fact that India has been investing in Africa – yet not as much as China, for example – probably because of the large Indian diaspora in the East of the continent.



Figure 56. 'Africa' word-cloud – India

**Indonesia: An important regional player, with 'zero enemies, thousands of friends'**



[Main findings](#)



- Indonesia's foreign policy, based on the documents published on the MFA website, seem to heavily focus on **economic issues** – especially internally and in cooperation, trade, investment –, **regional security** (separatism disputes, terrorism), the importance of **institutions** and diplomatic relations that include a broad **diversity** of countries (although mainly at the regional level, but with a focus on the West too), and the **promotion of democracy**. There seems to be a **dominance of 'soft' security topics**, yet with a clear **awareness of the importance of 'hard' power** relations and issues.
- The region of main focus for Indonesia is Asia, specifically **Southeast Asia**. This can be explained by the Asian Financial Crisis, the importance of the ASEAN Community, or the rise of China. Indonesia's leadership in Southeast Asia, especially ASEAN, may be facilitated by features such as a stable economy, a large population, a democratic system.
- **Promoting democracy** is one of Indonesia's main interests based on foreign policy communications.
- Diplomatic relations remain important as well. Indonesia believes in 'zero enemy, thousands of friends' in running its foreign policy. It has no significant intention to maintain specific relationships with one particular country or region, except in Southeast Asia (through ASEAN).
- Indonesia has been paying more attention to **terrorism** after the Bali Bombings. As a country with a large Muslim population, Indonesia may have to take on a more significant role in terrorist issues, but also democracy.

### Stream analysis

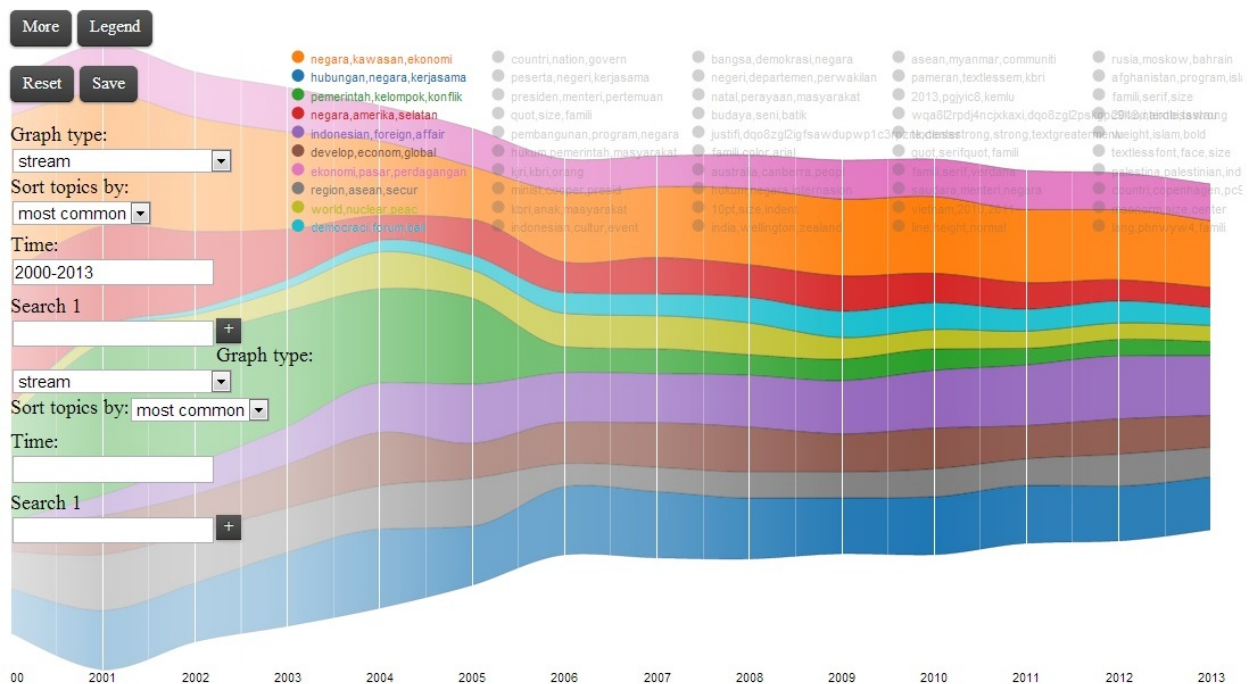


Figure 57. Streamgraph and legend – Indonesia

1► The orange ‘National economy’ stream includes key words such as ‘*negara*’ (‘state’), ‘*kawasan*’ (‘region’), ‘*ekonomi*’ (‘economy’).



Figure 58. ‘National economy’ word-cloud – Indonesia

*Translations of the other key terms: Kawasan: ‘region’; negeri: ‘country’; kerjasama: ‘cooperation’; tingkat: ‘level’; pembangunan: ‘development’; anggota: ‘member’; pertemuan: ‘meeting’; mendorong: ‘push’; memiliki: ‘own’.*

The stream is slightly decreasing in importance from 2001 onwards, although it remains important over time. The attention paid to the economic topic before that year is connected to the government’s attempt to strengthen the country’s economic capability, especially in terms of regional cooperation, and in the aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis. Indonesia itself was affected greatly by this crisis, as it has led to political instability and the overthrow of the President, followed by political reformation. According to the Indonesian discourse, Asian countries should strive together to overcome any upcoming crisis instead of depending on Western institutions. This intent is further supported by several initiatives between countries, such as the Chiang Mai Initiative and ASEAN+3 (China, Japan, RoK). The presence and size of this stream represents Indonesia’s strong economic focus, its objective to maintain economic stability internally by strengthening cooperation in Asia.

2► The brown ‘Growth and development’ stream points to key terms such as ‘develop’, ‘econom’, ‘global’, as well as ‘growth’, ‘crisi’, ‘financi’.



Figure 59. ‘Growth and development’ word-cloud – Indonesia

This stream increases in 2004, slightly decreases in 2005, and remains stable afterwards. Judging by the webpages accessible through the graph, this stream could refer to the efforts of the government to maintain economic cooperation, aiming at boosting development and investment. This echoes Indonesia’s economic concerns as previously described with the first orange stream above. Indonesia also tried to place more emphasis on regional issues,



and government members (e.g., ‘parliament’, ‘ambassador’, ‘embassy’, etc.). This suggests that these are important elements of foreign policy to Indonesia, as communicated across its MFA webpages.

5► The main key words of the **red ‘nations’ stream** include *negara* (‘country’/‘State’), *Amerika* (‘America’), and *Selatan* (‘South’).



Figure 62. ‘Nations’ word-cloud – Indonesia

*Translations of the other key terms: Menlu: ‘foreign minister’; Timur: ‘East Timor’; Filipina: ‘Philippines’; Europa: ‘Europe’; Singapura: ‘Singapore’; Jepang: ‘Japan’; upaya: ‘effort’; kerjasama: ‘cooperation’.*

The stream was more significant initially; it decreases at the beginning of the years 2000 (after 2003), and does not recover its initial coverage through 2013. The word-cloud includes many countries’ names. At first glance, this may not suggest any particular trend or meaning – but the key term ‘cooperation’ appears. The stream’s larger coverage in some years prior to 2005 could be explained by internal politics. 2004 was an election year, with a government change which could have led to a redefinition of foreign relations. There seems to be a strong focus on Asian countries – which are strong partners – but also on the Western world (Europe, Australia and America) – perhaps as part of a new policy. The US appears prominently, and is described as one of Indonesia’s friends. The relation between both countries is becoming broader, particularly regarding the fight against terrorism.

6► The **purple ‘Foreign affairs’ stream** includes the terms ‘Indonesian’, ‘foreign’, and ‘affair’, but also ‘ambassador’, and ‘embassi’.



Figure 63. ‘Foreign affairs’ word-cloud – Indonesia

This stream remains mostly significant over time compared to most of the other streams. This shows again Indonesia’s interest and active role in **maintaining diplomatic**

relationships and the emphasis on institutions and actors such as diplomats and ambassadors. Basically, Indonesia's MFA websites just put press releases on any diplomatic relations which are not necessarily based on specific issues.

7► The grey 'Regional concerns' stream includes 'region', 'ASEAN', 'Asia', 'China', and 'stabil'.



Figure 64. 'Regional concerns' word-cloud – Indonesia

This stream decreases from 2005–2006 onward, followed by some stagnation, and a slight increase after 2011–2013. This reflects the situation in South China Sea, and the tension between 'conflict', and 'peace'/'stability'. Indonesia itself has been playing important role in this issue, especially as part of ASEAN. Indonesia is also joining the upcoming ASEAN Community Summit in 2017, which may explain the upward trend of this stream after 2011–2013.

8► Interesting key words included in the olive green 'Peace and terror' stream are 'world', 'nuclear', and 'peace', but also 'Aceh', 'conflict', 'terror', 'Islam', 'Muslim', and 'weapon'.



Figure 65. 'Peace and terror' word-cloud – Indonesia

There has been an increase in 2004, and in the period 2006–2009, followed by a decrease. This stream's content refers to the context of terrorist attacks – i.e., the first Bali Bombing I in 2002, and the second one in 2004. Indonesia's role, as a country with a large Muslim population is deemed to engage more in the **fight against terrorism**. Some **cooperation**, such as with Australia, is being intensified to tackle this problem.

9► The light blue ‘Democracy’ stream includes ‘democraci’ and ‘democrat’, ‘forum’, and ‘Bali’, but also ‘dialogu’ and ‘peace’.



Figure 66. ‘Democracy’ word-cloud – Indonesia

This stream becomes more significant after 2004. The year 2004 is the first time a president has won on its name (and not the political party) through a direct election. The **promotion of democratic values** both internally and in foreign relations (through foreign policy) is reflected here. This stream could indeed explain the willingness to nurture and promote democracy in ‘society’, through ‘participation’, in the ‘media’, and perhaps through ‘culture’ (as suggested by the key words above). Indonesia has initiated the Bali Democracy Forum in 2008. ‘Asia’ and ‘region’ are also emerging from the word-cloud.

10► The green ‘Separatism’ stream comprises the words *pemerintah* (‘government’), *kelompok* (‘group’) and *konflik* (‘conflict’), as well as ‘Aceh’, interestingly.



Figure 67. ‘Separatism’ word-cloud – Indonesia

*Translations of the other key terms: Keamanan: ‘security’; kelompok: ‘group’; operasi: ‘operation’; dewan: ‘house’; Wilayah: ‘area’/‘region’; damai: ‘peace’; situasi: ‘situation’; bersenjata: ‘armed’; laporan: ‘report’; resolusi: ‘resolution’; proses: ‘process’.*

The stream’s coverage is stable over time, with a peak between 2003 and 2005. Next to Indonesia’s focus on economic stability, diplomatic relations, democracy and political stability in the region, **internal cohesion** is thus an important theme, too. This stream indeed refers to the country’s experience of **separatist disputes** in the ‘special’ Indonesian region Aceh by Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh Movement). The issue of separatism had been ongoing since 1976 and was eventually appeased in 2005 when the Helsinki Accord was

reached, which is reflected in the words 'resolution', 'peace', and 'process'. The stream's size remains the same after 2005, as the Movement has not ceased to exist and participates in elections.

## Mexico: strengthening an image, enhancing the business



### Main findings

- Mexican's foreign action is expanding, and becomes global.
- There are growing concerns to **strengthen economic and political ties**, in order to promote trade and the development of Mexico. **Cooperation** is perceived as a path to development.
- Relations with **North America and Latin Countries** remain very important. The US plays a very important role due to Mexican emigration and economic ties.
- **Asia** (especially China) and **Africa** stand out more than the EU or Germany. Considering the economic focus of Mexico reflected in the streams, this may indicate that the EU is no longer the first trade partner outside the American continent.
- The main international organizations of interest to Mexico are **the UN and the G20**.
- The main subjects in international relations include peace, security and democratization; arms trade, disarmament, nuclear arms and non-proliferation; and climate change.
- Mexico is investing in promoting its **culture**. On the external front, the country aims to show what it has to offer (products, artists, music, among others). Internally, it intends to strengthen social cohesion and national identity.
- **Human rights and education** are part of the priorities, as they are seen as a way to global integration and participation.
- The **President** is still an important figure for external affairs, but the roles of ministers and ambassadors are becoming more dynamic.







Figure 70. Legend

1► The blue ‘Economic cooperation’ stream occupies 3.88% of the corpus and is enlarging in recent years. The topic comprises key words such as: ‘cooperation’, ‘meetings’, ‘trade’, ‘agreement’, ‘development’, and ‘exchange’. This indicates a strong effort of Mexican authorities in strengthening bilateral and multilateral ties with other countries, especial in economic matters. The programs of Joint Action with China (2006-2010 and 2011-2015) are a good example of this cooperation, as stressed in the celebration of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries.



Figure 71. ‘Economic cooperation’ word-cloud – Mexico

2► The orange ‘National pride’ stream occupies 2.90% of the corpus and also exhibits an upward trend. This stream can be associated with national identity and social cohesion. The key words include: ‘independence’, ‘Mexican’, ‘music’, ‘anniversary’, ‘cultural’, ‘national’, and ‘Mariachi’. It indicates an effort and willingness to project and promote Mexico’s culture on the one hand and, on the other, a need of internal social cohesion to address social divergences among the various states and peoples that form Mexico.



Figure 72. ‘National pride’ word-cloud – Mexico

3► The green ‘Cultural’ stream that occupies 2.44% of the corpus, emphasizes the cultural aspects of Mexico’s action, and has been enlarging over the past four years. Interesting key





Figure 76. 'Diaspora' word-cloud – Mexico

6► The **brown 'Elite' stream** exhibits an ascendant movement with a corpus of 1.77%. It includes words such as 'university', 'students', 'studies', 'Mexican', 'national', 'school', and 'science'. It indicates that Mexico is becoming concerned with the qualifications of its elites and understands that a growing power needs to provide better education in order to be fully integrated into the international order.



Figure 77. 'Elite' word-cloud – Mexico

7► The **grey 'Regional' stream** has only slightly increased over time and occupies 1.73% of the corpus. It refers to regional relations. The key words include: 'politic', 'development', 'Latin America countries', 'crisis', 'region', and 'space'. It indicates that regional cooperation and relations are not growing, and that Mexico is focusing on a **more global spectrum** in international relations.

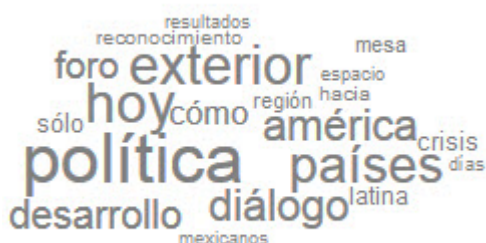


Figure 78. 'Regional' word-cloud – Mexico

8► The **light blue 'Trade promotion' stream**, with a corpus of 1.68%, has grown in importance over time. It refers to Mexico's economic projection and trade. Exporting

Mexican products (Tequila is even attributed a special place in the word-cloud) and attracting tourism seem to be an important part of the Mexican economic action.



Figure 79. 'Trade promotion' word-cloud – Mexico

9► The pink 'Human rights' stream points to human rights, justice and protection, occupying 1.73% of the corpus. It has slightly increased in recent years, and demonstrates that Mexico is interested in promoting the image of a country that abides to international standards with respect to human rights and frameworks of international law.



Figure 80. 'Human rights' word-cloud – Mexico

## Russia: A shift from 'hard' to 'soft' power?



### [Main findings](#)

- The Russian foreign policy discourse as communicated on the MFA website has remained rather **stable** over time. But it should be noted that there has been a clear shift in Russian foreign policy (or, at least as reflected by the analysis of MFA webpages) after 2004, which lasts until present. Namely, this refers to the **decrease in 'hard security' topics** ('hard' power) and the increase of culture and social topics ('soft' power). The reason for this might include the occurrence of so-called 'Colored' Revolutions in Georgia (following the election of Saakashvili), Ukraine (with the election of Yushchenko) and Kyrgyzstan (with the election of Bakiev), and the attempts for alike actions in Belarus, Moldova and Armenia. This might have led to the revision of

foreign policy instruments by the Russian leadership and accordingly, a change of the reflections on MFA webpages.

- After 2004, we notice the sharp decrease of the topic of international terrorism and other ‘hard’ security-related issues. A topic of ‘nuclear proliferation’ also seems to lose a substantive MFA informative effort in 2003.
- A ‘culture’ stream coverage is visible after 2005 among the Top-5 most common streams, which makes this ‘soft’ security topic one of the most important ones.
- Streams in foreign languages on MFA webpage increase after 2005 (with the exception of German content) and illustrate a clear will for distributing accessible information on the Russian international position.
- **African affairs** surprisingly lose the ministerial attention after 2003 and diminish further.
- Surprisingly, within the studied sample of MFA webpages at least, little attention was devoted to Russia’s relationships with its immediate neighbors and regional partners.

### Stream analysis

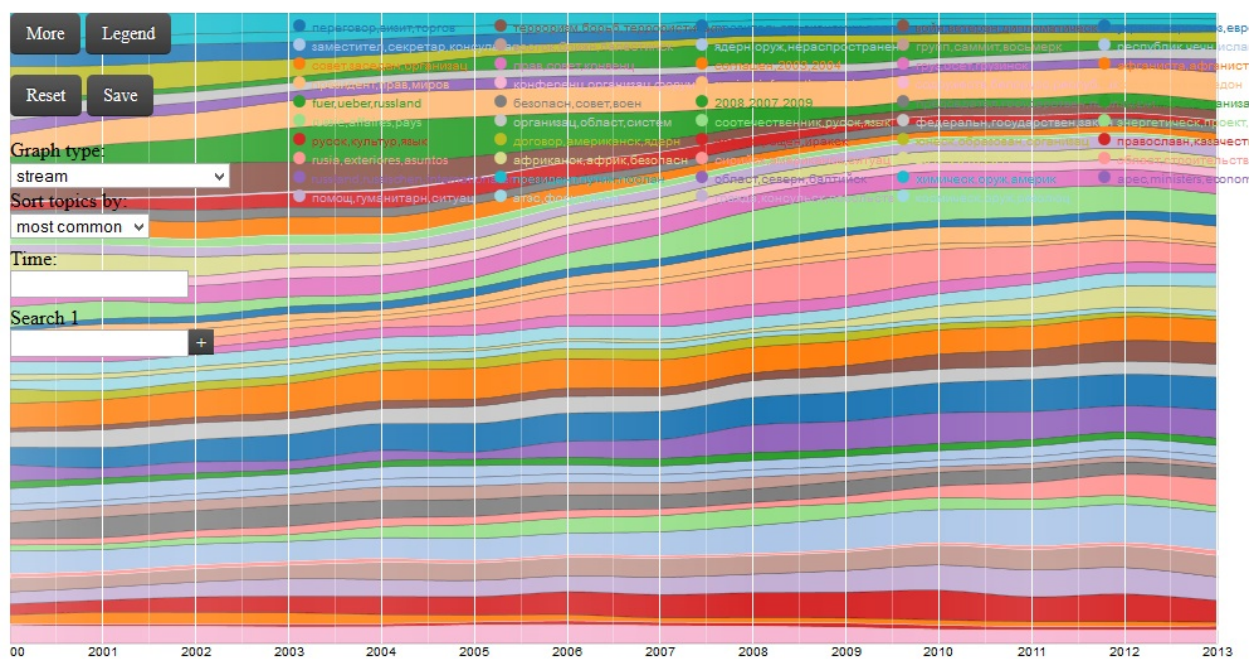


Figure 81. Streamgraph and legend – Russia

The analysis of Russian foreign policy discourse as communicated on the MFA website is nicely depicted in the main streamgraph – that includes the Top-50 topics emerging from the Russian MFA webpages, between 2000 and 2013. The country’s discourse seems to have remained quite stable with respect to the use of terms and topics that stand out. There are no sudden appearances or disappearances of topics, yet there are some variations in the level of attention paid to some ‘streams’. This can be explained by the shifts in global agenda (change in security environment, a large scale conflict), and are often clearly a planned policy of the Russian government. The results are discussed in more detail below.



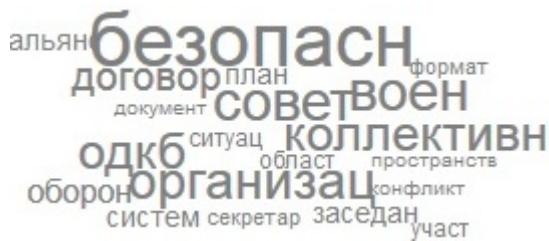


Figure 84. 'Hard security' word-cloud – Russia

4► Another trend, although it is not that clear at the beginning, but impossible to be ignored due to its high positioning among the Top-5 and Top-10 streams, is the increase of **foreign-language information** published on MFA webpages. There are few streams in the image (light green and light red), which makes little sense at first glance. Yet it seems to depict the presence of foreign language sources in the sample studied. Examples would include: 'Russie', 'Russischen', 'internationalen'; 'Rusia', 'exterioris', 'asuntos', 'affaires', etc. However, if one takes a closer look, the common features for these English, Spanish and French 'topics' have gained importance in 2005. This suggests that the amount of information about *the image* of Russian foreign policy increased simultaneously to the occurring shift from 'hard' to 'soft' security policy. One could argue that this illustrates a clear policy, targeting international audiences and distributing accessible information on the Russian international position.



Figure 85. 'Foreign language' word-cloud – Russia Figure 86. 'Foreign language' word-cloud (2)– Russia

5► German-language information, at least judging the key words on the **green** and **purple streams**, is the only exception, experiencing a sharp increase in 2002 and a decrease in 2008 (the change of Russian president – Putin/Medvedev – would be a possible explanation).



Figure 87. 'German language' word-cloud – Russia Figure 88. 'German language' word-cloud (2) – Russia

6► Perhaps surprisingly, **African affairs** are an interesting topic to glance at (as shown in the **light olive stream**). While being very important (at least within the exported sample) in 2000-2002, it suddenly dropped down in 2003. The main streamgraph shown above suggests that this was one of the sharpest decreases among all other topics studied. Key words include 'Africa', 'African', 'council', 'security', and 'conflict'. This partially supports the statement on a shift in the foreign policy paradigm formulated above. The reasoning for this could be the following: (1) by 2003 all ethnic conflicts in Africa had reached the (shaky) piece, (2) 9/11 attacks in the US had contributed to the shift of global agenda and the attention of the international community focused on the Middle East.



Figure 89. 'African affairs' word-cloud – Russia

7► A topic of '**Nuclear proliferation**' also seems to lose a substantive MFA informative effort in 2003. Yet this seems to touch upon bilateral talks with US on mutual strategic arms reduction. Key words in the **light grey stream** include: 'American', 'nuclear', 'agreement', and 'proliferation'. The highest decrease was observed in 2008, while in 2009, a new increase started and has continued until now. At the same time, the topic of 'Global Nuclear Proliferation' (key words in the **olive green stream**: 'nuclear', 'IAEA', 'proliferation') continues evenly throughout the entire period of the study. This suggests the symbolic 'failure' of the US-Russian arms reduction policy.



Figure 90. 'Nuclear proliferation' word-cloud (1) – Russia

Figure 91. 'Nuclear proliferation' word-cloud (2) – Russia

8► Surprisingly small attention within the studied sample of MFA articles was devoted to **Russia's relationships** with its immediate neighbors and regional partners. The entire 'Eastern' foreign policy direction was united within one topic, in the **light blue stream**. Key



words are quite diverse: 'Japan', 'forum', 'APEC', 'China', 'ASEAN', 'security', 'Korea', 'economy', etc. One would expect such a topic to gather significant attention, yet the stream barely reached the Top-20. In addition, there are no noticeable changes in its formulation throughout the studied period. The in-depth analysis of the articles included in this topic demonstrated its strict official nature. These are query information on regions and organizations, the Russian translation of agreements, news about ministerial working meetings. This would suggest a rather careful and formal attitude of Russian official diplomacy towards the rise of Asia – despite oral statements of the Russian leadership supporting enhanced cooperation.

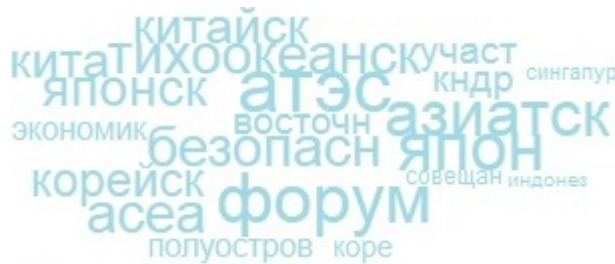


Figure 92. 'Russia's relations' word-cloud – Russia

9► Another unexpected finding was the 'Ukraine' topic (**dark blue stream**). One would easily assign it to 'regional issues' and argue that Russia wishes to keep its neighbor under control. Yet a close investigation of the key words included in this stream suggests a combination. These would include: 'Ukraine', 'Ukrainian', 'Europe', 'European Union', 'negotiations', 'agreement', 'The Netherlands', 'Belgium', 'Germany', 'France', 'Luxembourg', 'Great Britain', and 'visas'. Considering these words in a (logical) line might be associated with the recent negotiation talks held by Ukraine on joining the Free Trade Area with the EU. The sources in the stream are quite diverse: they range from interviews of ministers and ambassadors in Russian and foreign newspapers on European affairs, to information about (Russian) consular sections, scripts of ministerial level meetings and bilateral talks. The topic itself remains present and stable throughout the selected research period, yet scores very low in Top-list of streams.

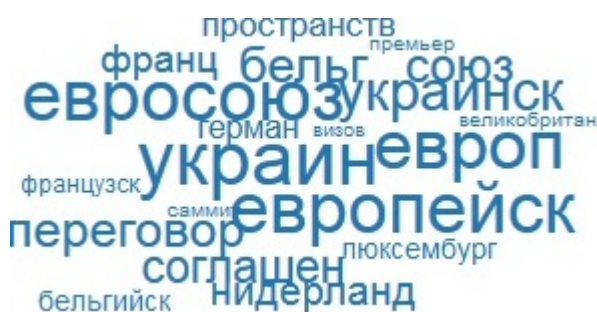


Figure 93. 'Ukraine' word-cloud – Russia

## Turkey: A turbulent 'Zero-Problem Policy' in a problematic region



[Main findings](#)

- Turkey, in line with the MFA documents analyzed, seems to assert efforts to **create a sphere of influence** in the region through **peaceful relations** – primarily with neighboring countries. However, the developments in the region have generated continuous problems to face. The **crises** in the region have followed each other and undermined the bases for the so-called ‘zero-problem policy’ initiated by the Turkish minister of Foreign Affairs – Mr. Davutoğlu.
- The **focus on the Middle East**, seems to become a major feature of the Turkish foreign policy. In contrast, ‘**Europe**’ is losing some influence in the Turkish discourse. It is rarely mentioned in the texts, ranking 20<sup>th</sup> in the topic modelling. This figure reflects what is in fact happening in practice. The Turkish foreign policy seems to distinguish itself to a considerable extent from Europe, the EU and European politics in general, especially after the Turkish authorities had been disappointed following the EU membership of the Greek government in Cyprus as the only formal representative of the Island. The streams show that Middle Eastern countries are often mentioned. Looking at the Top-3 words of the first 30 streams, only Germany is mentioned after Iraq, Armenia, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria, Israel and Palestine. This finding reflects one of the basic discussions about the Turkish foreign policy: whether there is a shift from a European vision or focus. This (limited) output suggests that the Turkish foreign policy, based on the discourse promoted online, has intensified its relations with the Middle East instead.
- We have not noticed the presence of an **economic stream**. After the rise of conflicts in the neighboring countries, the formerly discussed ‘soft’ power issues and discourses on economic growth seem to become less important in the texts. In a problematic region, Turkey often tends to react to security crises immediately.

## Stream analysis

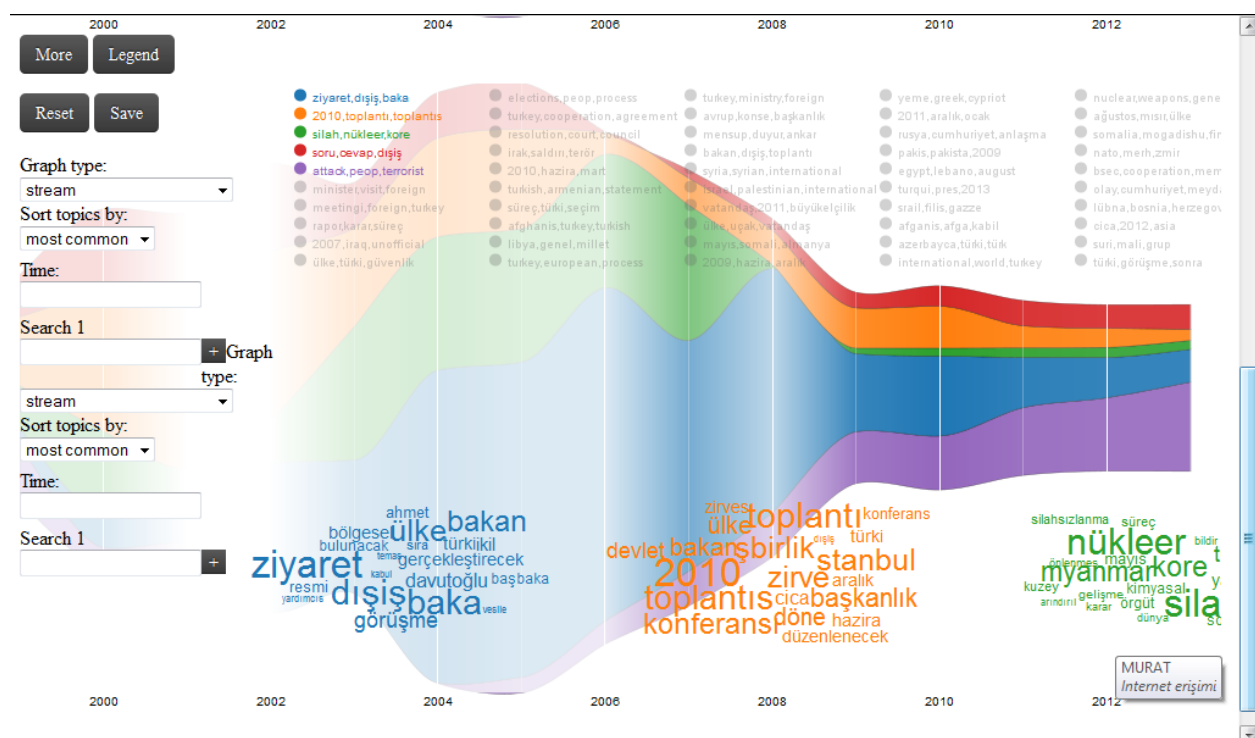


Figure 94. Streamgraph and legend – Turkey

1►The **blue ‘Political’ stream**’s word-cloud consists of ‘country’ (*ülke*), ‘minister’ (*baka(n)*), ‘visit’ (*ziyaret*), ‘foreign’ (*dışış*), ‘meeting’ (*görüŖme*), ‘regional’ (*bölgesel*), ‘Ahmet’, ‘Davudođlu’ (first and last name of the Turkish minister of Foreign Affairs), ‘bilateral’ (*ikili*), and ‘formal’ (*resmi*).



Figure 95. ‘Political’ word-cloud – Turkey

This is mainly a political stream. This could represent the signs of the Ministry’s willingness to communicate on a pro-active foreign policy – which has been indeed boldly observed over the last ten years. This word-cloud could reflect the strengthening of diplomatic ties. The minister’s name, which appears in the word-cloud, would likely signal the increase in Top-level bilateral visits, initiated by Mr. Davudođlu. The words that co-occur with his name in this stream are ‘bilateral’ (*ikili*) and ‘regional’ (*bölgesel*). This would show that Turkey tries to restore order in the region through the improvement of bilateral relations and a stronger regional focus. The minister of Foreign Affairs had visited several countries in the region in one program. This is a shuttle diplomacy mechanism, through which crucial crises such as the Israeli-Palestinian problem were discussed multilaterally. The decline of this stream after 2009 would be a sign that these visits did not give the expected results in several crises. For instance, visits to Israel and to Syria were stopped, due to the problems occurring between governments after 2009. Problematic bilateral relations have limited the development of regional diplomatic ties by the Turkish foreign policy.

2► Interesting key words in the **orange ‘International visits’ stream** include ‘meeting’ (*toplantı*), ‘conference’ (*konferans*), ‘summit’ (*zirve*), ‘İstanbul’, ‘Presidency’ (*Başkanlık*), ‘2010’, ‘cooperation’ (*iŖŖbirlik*).



Figure 96. ‘International visits’ word-cloud – Turkey



This stream represents the reactions of the Turkish foreign policy to the world's emerging developments. The texts analyzed consist of the formal stance of Turkey regarding events that occurred at the regional and global levels. These events include bomb attacks, earthquakes, terrorist activities, human rights violations. The regions emerging from the stream are primarily the Balkans and the Middle East. Texts refer to Muslim populations facing problems, to the restoration of Turkish cultural assets such as a Turkish Mosque, or about Turkish staff-captives. The MV Mavi Marmara incident between Turkey and Israel occupied the agenda for a long period as well. New governments and regime changes such as the overthrow of the Muslim Brothers are subjected to a significant focus across the Turkish MFA webpages. The stable yet slow increase of the stream shows that the Turkish foreign policy as communicated online voices more reactions to any change especially in the region. The more Turkey shows interest and engages in regional politics, the more it will become a part of the problems. The Turkish captives in recent years, such as journalists, citizens, or pilots, are discussed in domestic politics as one outcome (collateral damage) of the foreign policy.

5► The purple 'Security and terrorism' stream includes words such as 'terrorist', 'attack(s)', 'people', 'perpetrated', 'people', 'city', 'Iraq', 'security', 'terrorism', 'wounded', 'injured', 'brotherly', 'bomb', 'stability'. This is clearly a 'security stream'.



Figure 99. 'Security and terrorism' word-cloud – Turkey

The Turkish foreign policy seems sensitive to the issue of terrorism. The Ministry immediately reacts against any kind of terrorist assaults that may happen in the world. This stream suggests that such 'hard' security issues tend to remain represented in the Turkish foreign policy discourse. Terrorism in Turkey and abroad is a major concern according to the documents associated with this stream. The stream seems to gain even more importance in recent years, especially because of the violence that has risen in Syria and Iraq. PKK's terrorist actions are also mentioned in the texts. The Turkish foreign policy seems to create a proactive and reactive policy, looking through 'security glasses'.

### Cross-country comparisons

Several key topics have emerged across the selected countries' foreign policy discourse. The variation of emphasis on these themes is also highlighted in this section. The topics include cooperation, economic matters, energy, 'soft' security (e.g., culture, societal development, education), 'hard' security (nuclear weapons, terrorism), and political themes (strategic geographical areas, the role of countries as regional or global powers).

► **Cooperation and coordination** within international relations emerges an important topic in the Brazilian, Chinese, Mexican, Turkish, and Indonesian samples.

Some elements of Brazil's discourse (reflecting cooperation on security, defense, humanitarian aid and trade matters), can be found in the Chinese sample – as this one mentions mostly trade issues, and cooperation on economic issues (on infrastructure building, agricultural development, financing channels), with beneficial spillovers to other 'areas' such as mutual trust, cultural exchange and political dialogue. China pays more attention to its constructive role by taking the initiatives and using terms such as 'friendly', 'brotherly', 'common ground', or 'peaceful' in dealing with foreign relations. Both Mexico and China seek cooperation on trade and tourism. Both Indonesia and China seek to maintain cooperation with neighboring countries and IGOs like ASEAN+3, particularly in the fields of economy and security. The Indian sample only refers to two international entities, namely the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and ASEAN.

The US is a relevant partner for both Brazil and Mexico, but also Indonesia which refers more generally to 'America' and China with respect to educational partnerships. According to our analysis, Russia only refers to the US once with respect to arms reduction.

► Mexico places a greater emphasis on **economic matters** than any other country. Indonesia's economic interests are frequently emphasized, too, particularly in the context of cooperation. They seem quite close to those of China, for instance in the fields of industry and investment. Elements pointing to 'investment', 'export', 'industry' or 'bank' are found in the Chinese sample, with a significant upward trend over time. Those matters are also very relevant to Brazil's foreign policy, but its action is more diversified than Mexico, for example. We did not include economic topics as a finding emerging from the Russian and Turkish samples.

► In contrast with Brazil, in the Russian, Mexican and Indonesian samples, **energy** – and particularly energy security seemed to be less emphasized as a major source of concern though most of these countries are energy-hungry economies. Such issues may be addressed mainly on the webpages of their Ministries of Energy. India simply refers to nuclear energy. One of the Brazilian topics includes energy security. Energy (e.g., clean energy) is mentioned in the Chinese documents referring to sustainable development, although not as frequently as across, for instance, the Brazilian files.

► There has been a clear shift in both the Russian and Chinese foreign policy towards '**soft security**' issues. Elements of 'soft' power are traditionally part of India's foreign policy objectives or perspectives.

**Culture as an element of national identity and 'soft' security** is a particular focus of Russian, Chinese, Mexican and, to a lesser extent, Indian and Brazilian foreign policies. Turkey and Indonesia place little to no emphasis on this topic – according to our results. Mexico, China and Brazil seem interested in spreading or promoting their culture through **art** or **language**. Mexico, China but also Russia add **education** as an important element,

with reference to universities, students, the promotion of educational activities abroad (and in neighboring states for Russia), and the attractiveness of their own educational systems. **Social cohesion** seems closely linked to the Mexican's focus on culture, as the country celebrates its 'Independence', 'Anniversary', etc. The equivalent may be found in elements of '**societal development**' as a topic emphasized in China and also emerging from the Russian discourse.

**Human security** tends to be reflected in the importance attributed to **migration issues** by China or Mexico (which for instance do not emerge from the Russian sample). Mexico also stresses its focus on its communities abroad. **Climate change** concerns emerge from the Mexican, Brazilian and Chinese discourse and remain relevant, but are losing ground both in Brazil and China. They were not noticed across the other countries' samples. **Development aid** was not found among Mexico's results, compared to Brazil or India which develops infrastructure projects in Myanmar and provides aid assistance to Afghanistan. Mexico emphasizes themes such as **democracy, human rights**, justice and protection. Brazil and China also refer significantly to democratization processes and human rights. This is less evident among the Russian results.

► '**Hard**' security topics tend to include terrorism, and nuclear weapons.

**Terrorism** is emphasized by Brazil, but much more by Indonesia and Turkey with respect to their own territories. Indeed, Indonesia and Turkey find themselves in a different situation *vis-à-vis* terrorism: both have experienced homeland terrorist attacks (Bali Bombings in Indonesia; PKK's attacks in Turkey). Indonesia is home to the world's largest Muslim population, and Turkey's region includes such communities as well. Perhaps surprisingly, terrorism does not emerge strongly in the India discourse – except for specific references to Kashmir – despite the fact that terrorism has emerged as a major security threat in recent years.

Most countries – Turkey, Brazil, Mexico, particularly Russia (though with a decreasing trend) – also surprisingly China and India (as this is not a traditional topic) – focus on the 'nuclear topic', e.g., arms trade, disarmament, **nuclear weapons and non-proliferation**. China seems to adopt a more defensive position on nuclear issues.

It should be noted that both Russian and Chinese' samples exhibit a decrease in 'hard' security topics.

► '**Political**' themes (which could here mostly include references to each country's role and purpose within international relations), are also interesting to compare across countries.

The Chinese MFA, similarly to Brazil and Mexico, often refers to its country's increasing **involvement in international global affairs**, and willingness to promote and project itself as a global power abiding to international law frameworks. Brazil and Indonesia have both shown efforts in promoting their **image** as – respectively – global or regional power, by

strengthening democratic values, economic, political, and diplomatic ties, and through a participation in regional organizations.

While the Indian streams only include two 'Western' powers (Russia and the US), **Europe** also appears next to these countries in the Chinese sample – it has indeed become an increasingly important actor in China's foreign relations. Indonesia also refers to the 'Old Continent'. But in the Turkish and Mexican perspectives, it is losing its importance as a major – respectively – political and economic partner.

Asia and particularly **Africa** have become more important to most countries over time. The strong focus on Africa is shared by China, Mexico, and Brazil, but also Turkey (though more specifically towards the Middle East). The analysis of Russian sources suggest that the cooperation between Russia and Africa is decreasing in importance. China emphasizes Africa more strongly than the Middle East, while India mentions both Africa and Saudi Arabia, and Indonesia only mentions Asia (East Asia and Southeast Asia). Besides, each major power focuses on their own region and regional topics (e.g., Hong Kong or Taiwan for China, South Asia for India).

Strategies to create a **regional sphere of influence** can be found in both Turkish and Chinese foreign policy discourses (cf. China's 'good neighbor policy', the 'Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence', etc.), but also in the Brazilian sample. Similarly to India, the Chinese MFA places a lot of emphasis on its neighbors due to border disputes. India's foreign policy is particularly neighborhood-focused – which is verified for Indonesia and partially true for Russia whose policy seems more 'topic-oriented', rather than 'geography-oriented'. In contrast, China has been broadening its focus, from a narrow vision (pure border or territorial consultations and settlements) towards a greater outlook on multilateralism. Russia's foreign policy does not seem to focus much on its immediate neighborhood in spite of its remaining influence in many post-Soviet countries.

The central **role of political figures or leaders** in the conduct of foreign affairs is emphasized differently across countries. There are many references to the President of the Federation of Brazil in the country's international affairs. The Russian sample also includes many key words such as 'President', 'minister', etc. Similar observations were made for Mexico and Turkey. They could reflect a more 'administrative' cluster, due to the frequency of these terms on the selected webpages, but may also say something about the importance of individual leadership positions and roles in the formulation, promotion and implementation of foreign policy. We have not noted such references in the Indian sample, and ambassadors and ministers in general seem to be emphasized in Indonesia (and increasingly so in Mexico), rather than a political leader in particular.

## Outside-in

The previous chapter of this report tried to faithfully reconstruct the main topics that are contained on the websites of the various ministries and how these have changed over time. In essence we let the websites tell their stories. In this chapter, we will ask them some



concrete questions. We will approach these same websites from the outside-in, by zooming in on five specific topics that were selected by the Dutch Ministry for closer analysis:

- 'Global governance',
- 'European Union',
- 'Trade agreements',
- '(Natural) resources', and
- 'BRICS'.

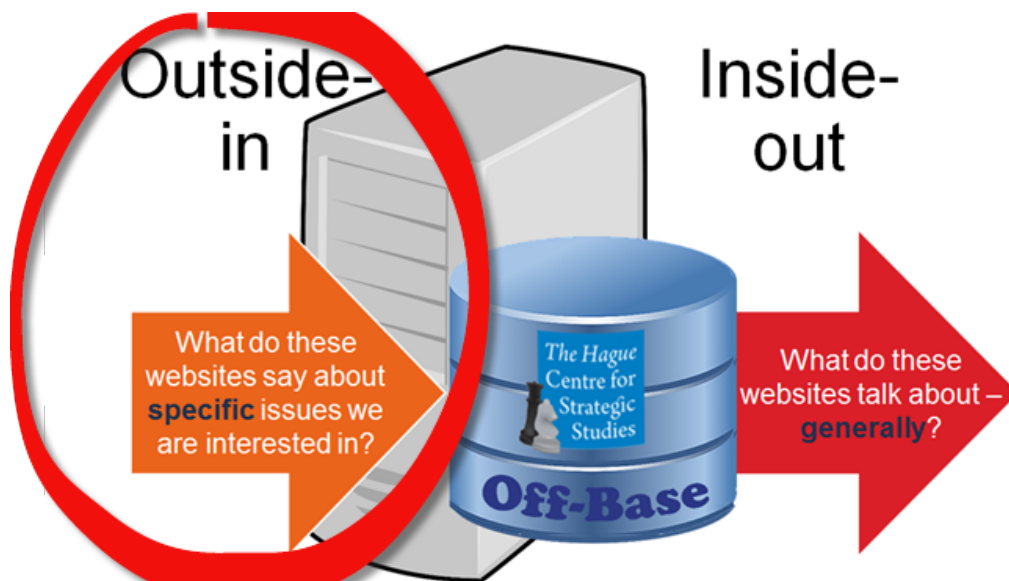


Figure 100. The Outside-in approach

This chapter of the report will present the analysis for each of the five topics selected, for each of the seven countries, in an alphabetical order. We remind our readers that we have developed a special software tool to be able to make queries (e.g., 'global governance') and then to retrieve the N-grams (single words or combinations of 2 or three words) that co-occur with that query within 2 sentences before or after it. For instance, if we find that the terms 'security' occurs more frequently than the term 'economy', then that implies that within the subset of webpages that contain the term 'global governance', the term 'security' occurs more frequently in the immediate vicinity of the term 'global governance' than the term 'economy'. This analysis will be followed by a number of key take-aways for each topic, including comparative observations across countries. Along the way, we will provide a number of visuals to show the evolution of some interesting key terms over time.

## Global governance

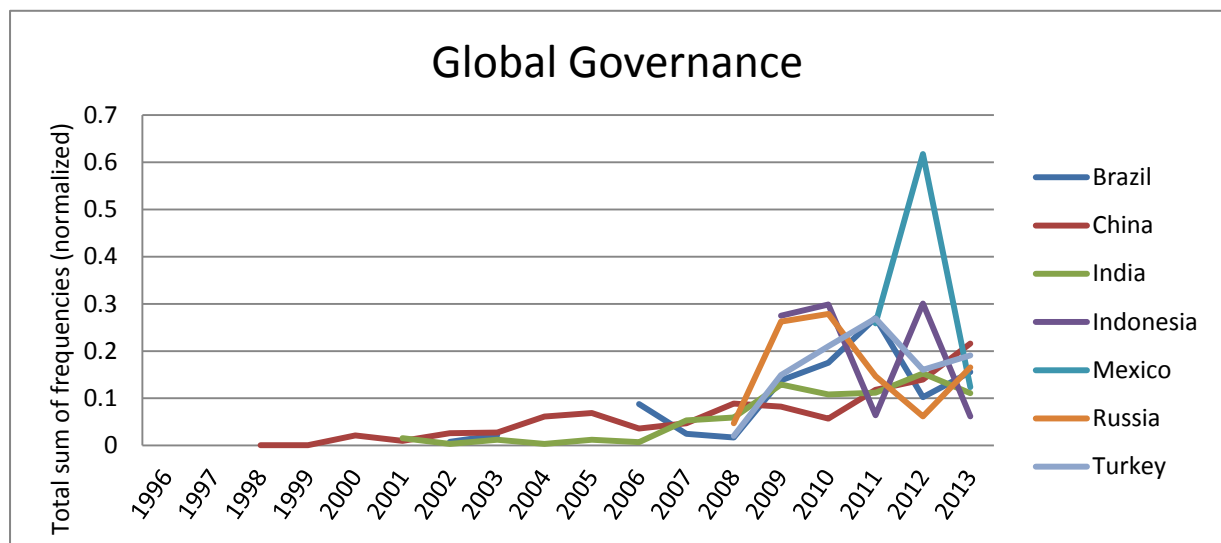


Figure 101. The topic 'Global governance', trends over time for all countries

Our results suggest that global governance has steadily gained interest from most countries over time, perhaps with the exception of Indonesia, for which it seems more difficult to identify a clear-cut trend.

### Brazil



#### ► Main findings

The results generated for Brazil suggest that democracy, transparency, and peace are the particular founding principles of global governance. The need for reforms can and should be fulfilled multilaterally and institutionally. This can be implemented at the political level within relevant organs such as the UN Security Council, and economically, especially in the aftermath of the economic crisis, within the IMF or the World Bank. It should be noted that trade and commerce are seen to be part of a more bilateral system of exchange. Global governance also involves concerns for energy issues as well as agriculture. And one of the interesting findings is that global governance should deal with 'new' issues such as the Internet. This is seen as allowing for more progress and boosting the improvement of human rights.

#### ► Statistics

- Query in Portuguese: *Governança global* [English translation: global governance]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 204
- Number of documents matched: 163
- The query yielded 14.682 results
- Years: 2002, 2003, and 2006 to 2013.

## ► Analyses

The first interesting result using this query is that the topic ‘global governance’ itself shows up 249 times in English, but only appears 2 times in Portuguese. Indeed, the translation of governance from English to Portuguese is not commonly used. Global governance is connected to international political, economic and institutional **reforms and change**; ‘global governance change’ (*‘governance global mudança’*) appears 6 times. The most common associations include ‘governance global reform’ (*‘governance global reforma’* – 38); ‘reform governance’ (*‘reforma governance’* – 34); ‘reform institutions governance’ (*‘reforma instituições governance’* – 24); ‘political dialogue’ (*‘diálogo político’* – 22).

Considering the dynamic of the topic over time, it is clear that it has gained more attention from the Brazilian MFA overall since 2002. Even in spite of a decline between 2010 and 2012, the trend follows an upward trajectory. In particular, two peaks can be identified. The first corresponds to the period in 2006 during which Lula’s Brazil began its quest for a seat at the UN Security Council. The second, from 2008 onwards, can be easily connected to the global financial crisis. The recent concerns over global governance may indicate Brazil’s perception that there is room for additional players to increase their influence on the international scene.

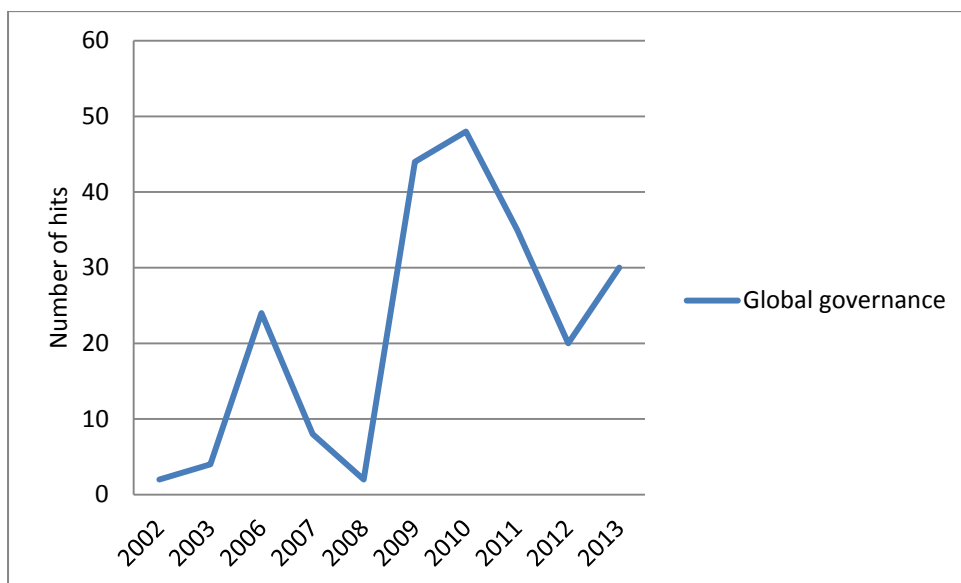


Figure 102. ‘Global governance’ over time – Brazil

Despite ‘bilateral’ having a slightly higher frequency overall than words related to multilateral (*‘bilateral’* – 86 and *‘bilaterais’* – 8; *‘multilaterais’* – 49 and *‘multilateral’* – 39), a broader diversity terms that connote a multilateral perspective can be found. The former yielded 212 associated results and the latter, 163.

In terms of content, ‘multilateral’ has a general scope, with concerns regarding **democracy, transparency, peace**, and the pursuit of a multipolar world. This is expressed through expressions such as: ‘multilateral global’ (*‘multilaterais globais’* – 6); ‘multipolar democratic transparent’ (*‘multilateral democrática transparente’* – 6); ‘multilateral maintenance peace’

(‘*multilateral preserva paz*’ – 2) and ‘promotion multipolar world’ (‘*promoção mundo multipolar*’ – 2). ‘Bilateral’, on the other end, seems associated with more specific relations, such as in **trade and commerce**, and with a regional scope or within the BRICS. At the regional level, **increasing multilateralism** is identified (‘*regional multilateral incremento*’ – 4). As for ‘bilateral’, the main expressions are the following: ‘bilateral cooperation’ (‘*cooperação bilateral*’ – 10); ‘bilateral trade’ (‘*bilateral comércio*’ – 10); ‘commercial bilateral flows’ (‘*fluxos comercial bilateral*’ – 4); ‘strategic bilateral partnership’ (‘*parceria estratégica bilateral*’ – 4); ‘bilateral regional’ (‘*bilateral regional*’ – 4); ‘bilateral technological field’ (‘*bilateral área tecnologia*’ – 2) and ‘bilateral within BRICS’ (‘*bilateral âmbito BRICS*’ – 2).

From a Brazilian perspective, a number of **reforms** should be undertaken in some areas of global governance. This view has particularly gained momentum after 2008. The main institution where ‘reform’ is to be pursued is the **UN** and in particular the Security Council. Indeed, ‘United Nations’ (‘*Nações Unidas*’) appears 117 times and ‘United Nations reform’ (‘*nações unidas reforma*’), 28 times. Within the reform of the Security Council, changes in the established permanent seats are an important topic, as shown by the use of terms such as: ‘Security Council’ (‘*conselho segurança*’ – 87); ‘Security Council reform’ (‘*reforma conselho segurança*’ – 21).<sup>16</sup>

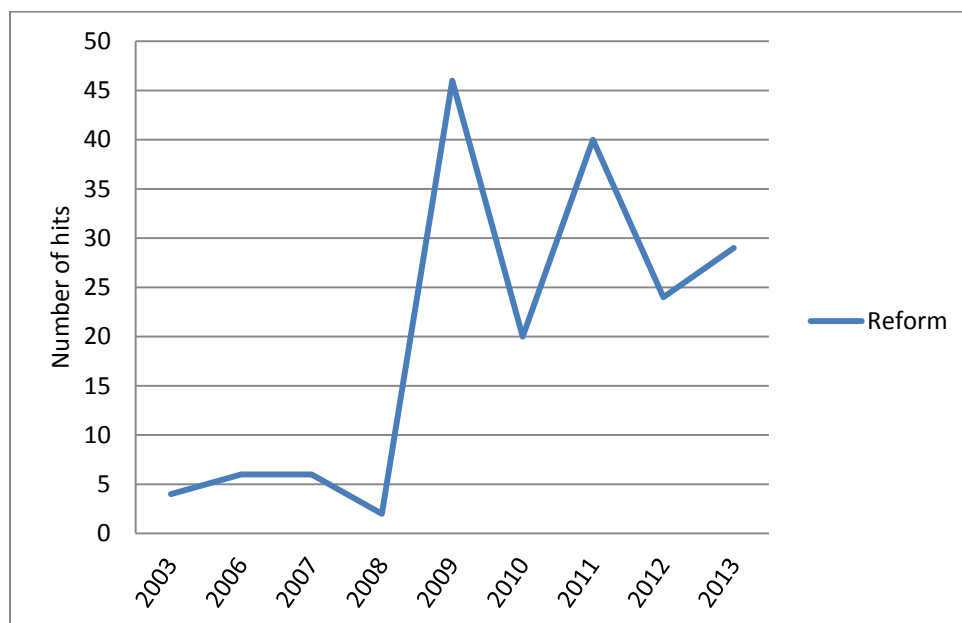


Figure 103. ‘Reform’ within the topic ‘Global governance’ – Brazil

The international economic crisis of 2008 and the necessary reforms of the **global financial and economic system** are two other areas of concern. The governance reforms recommended for those two areas are connected with the action of the IMF and the World

<sup>16</sup> Other key terms include: ‘*permanente conselho segurança*’ (‘permanent security council’ – 13); ‘*permanentes conselho*’ (‘permanent council’ – 13); ‘*assentamentos permanente conselho*’ (‘permanent seats council’ – 8); ‘*pleito Brasil assentamento*’ (‘demand Brazil seat’ – 2); ‘*Brasil assentamentos permanentes*’ (‘Brazil seats permanent’ – 2).

Bank. Words include 'finance' ('*financeira*' – 74); 'financial crisis' ('*crise financeira*' – 19); 'economic finance' ('*econômico financeira*' – 13); 'international finance reform' ('*financeira internacional reforma*' – 11); 'reform finance system' ('*reforma sistema financeira*' – 4).

The 'Internet' appears 36 times. Its international governance of is an important topic. The Internet is perceived as **a tool for progress**, which is even associated with **human rights**. Relevant key terms include: 'global governance Internet' (20); 'emphasize governance Internet' ('*enfatizaram governance Internet*' – 6); 'development governance Internet' ('*desenvolvimento governance Internet*' – 4); 'Internet stimulate progress' ('*Internet catalisadora progresso*' – 2) and 'Internet human rights' ('*Internet direito humanos*' – 2).

'Energy' ('*energia*') emerges 3 times and can be associated with the necessity of establishing sustainable energy cooperation and investments in the energy field at the global level of regulations. Energy includes multiple sources with biofuels being mentioned 2 times and oil only once. It is interesting to note the link between energy and agriculture with 'agriculture energy' ('*agricultura energia*' – 4) – in connection with investment, food and health: this suggests a nexus approach to energy-agriculture-food.

## [China](#)



### ► Main findings

Global governance has gained nothing but more attention from China over time. The need for major improvements in global governance is emphasized; especially cooperation must be strengthened – in a peaceful way. The UN stands out as a major pillar based on which these changes can be made, yet the BRICS do not emerge from the results studied in this context. Yet global leaders are deemed important, and China seems to adopt a bilateral, regional focus too (with Asia and Africa). Next to the economy which is seen as the main arena for global governance, political and security matters stand out as core concerns. Interestingly, technology, the nuclear topic, energy and climate, as well as the people, render the Chinese perspective of global governance even broader.<sup>17</sup>

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: Global governance OR world governance OR international governance OR global consensus OR international responsibility OR global politics OR multilateralism OR international cooperation
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 3.425
- Number of documents matched: 1.784

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<sup>17</sup> We expected at first that 'people' would emerge frequently due to the presence of 'PRC' on the webpages. But after searching 'people' across the Chinese MFA's webpages, we found that most results are related to 'people' itself, and not necessarily only to the PRC.

- The query yielded 661.055 results
- Years: 1998 to 2013. All main key words have gradually and significantly gained in importance since 2004 in terms of frequency of occurrence.

### ► Analyses

'China' (6.501) was the most frequently mentioned N-gram, followed by '**cooperation**' (6.093) and '**developing**' (5.015) – which is rather frequent in the Chinese language domain. Such high frequencies of both words suggest that global governance should be based on **cooperative relations** but that these **have yet to be strengthened and improved**. All terms have been increasingly mentioned since 2000. The term '**peacefully**' (1.338) demonstrates China's usual stated preference for non-confrontational relations.

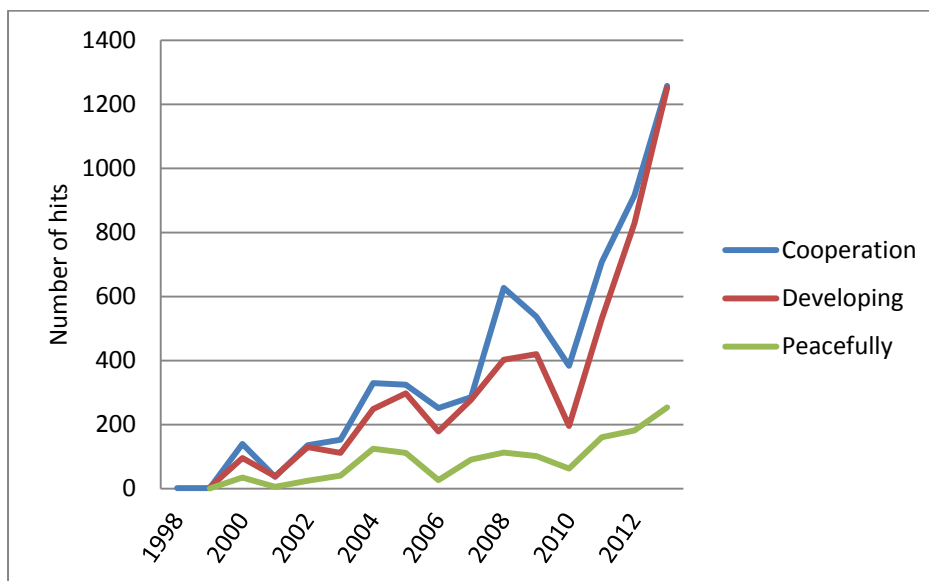


Figure 104. 'Cooperation', 'Developing' and 'Peacefully' within the topic 'Global governance' – China

Unsurprisingly, 'international' (4.310), 'multilaterally' (2.302), 'global' (1.237), 'international cooperation' (1.603), 'community' (579), 'international community' (500) appear much more often than 'regional' (1.785) or 'bilateral' (1.416), indicating that global governance is part of **a broader effort** towards **consensus**, a 'system' (629), and should be achieved under a wider and deeper 'framework' (520). Particularly, the role of 'UN' (943, and 'United Nations' – 583) is strongly emphasized. 'Asia' (826) and 'Africa' (521) are part of the Top-100, showing China may be more interested in these two regions in matters of global governance.

Although the success of global governance is typically based on the relations between countries' leaders and is a prerogative of the main heads of state or governments ('government'– 1.044, '(President) Hu' – 672, and 'leaders' – 548), China regards global governance as **a collective effort** and demands **international consensus on all sides**. Many terms show such commitment and China's 'active' (896) role in global governance:

'promotion' (1.722), 'strengthen' (1.422), 'supporting' (1.263), 'enhance' (1.052), 'maintaining' (708), 'organizing' (694), 'building' (656), 'sustaining' (609), etc.<sup>18</sup>

When China talks about global governance, the **economy** ('economic' (1.968)) appears to be the main focus area, as supported by the presence of terms such as 'trade' (1.618), 'economy' (749), 'financial' (676), and 'growth' (491). All relevant terms, such as 'trade', 'economic', 'exchanges', exhibit upward trends; they start to peak in 2010 and reach record highs in 2013.

'**Security**' (1.722) and '**political**' (701) follow as other two important domains. The trend of political theme is generally stable and reached a peak in 2008. 'Political' appears every year since 1999, while 'security' does not appear until 2000 but does start to gain significantly more attention since 2006.

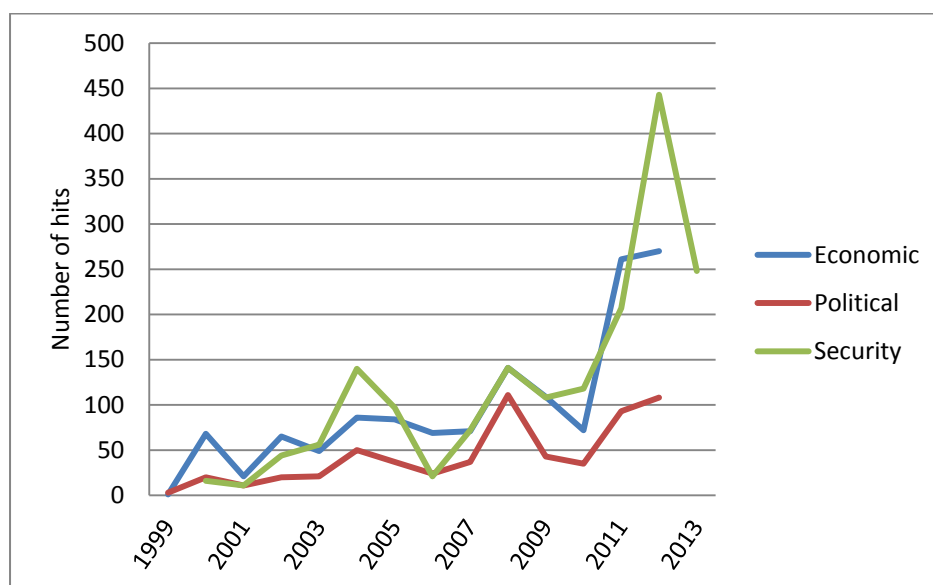


Figure 105. 'Economic', 'Political' and 'Security' within the topic 'Global governance' – China

'**Nuclear**' (1.253) and '**energy**' (661) are seen to represent an opportunity for the future use and availability of resources but are also seen as a threat to international security. '**Climate**' (486), coinciding with the emergence of environmental problems, is also heavily stressed as part of the realm of global governance affairs. '**People**' (1.137) is a frequently used N-gram as well, meaning global governance should also take into consideration the interests of the public, which provide legitimacy to both national and international governance. Interestingly, '**technology**' (499) also appears.

## India

<sup>18</sup> Other relevant key terms include: 'establishment' (625), 'implemented' (552), 'increased' (585), 'achieve' (577), 'played' (551), 'positive' (535), 'responsible' (494), 'improve' (511), 'commitment' (503), 'respect' (521), 'mutual' (1.242), 'coordinated' (1.046), 'common' (988), 'efforts' (969), 'joint' (709), and 'negotiations' (443).



### ► Main findings

The use of the term ‘global government’ shows that India has ambitions for global governance. It entails a broad number of objectives for India: from security (including human) to the economy, world politics, and resources. It is meant to be used to lead change and reform systems, which also implies involving more countries into global governance institutions. Interestingly, the BRICS and the UN are seen as the main pivot organizations for this purpose, suggesting both a regional bilateral view and multilateral ambitions.

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: Global governance
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 31
- Number of documents matched: 23
- The query yielded 38.068 results
- Years: 2001 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

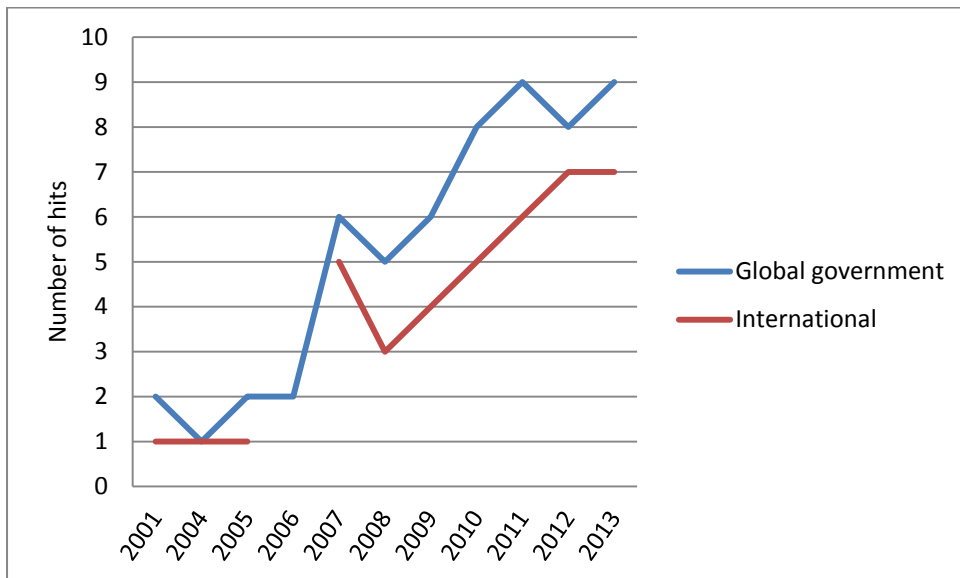


Figure 106. ‘Global government’ and ‘International’ within the topic ‘Global governance’ – India

A number of recurring themes suggest that from an Indian perspective, global governance (found under ‘global government’ – 230) has a strong ‘security’ dimension (164). At the same time, it also has a clear ‘economic’ (135) and ‘financial’ (65) aspect, based on **development** (‘developing’ – 215) and ‘cooperation’ (104), leading ‘change’ (63), based on ‘multilateral’ (62) relations (144) and ‘democratic’ (49) institutions, ‘peacefully’ (44) solving issues.



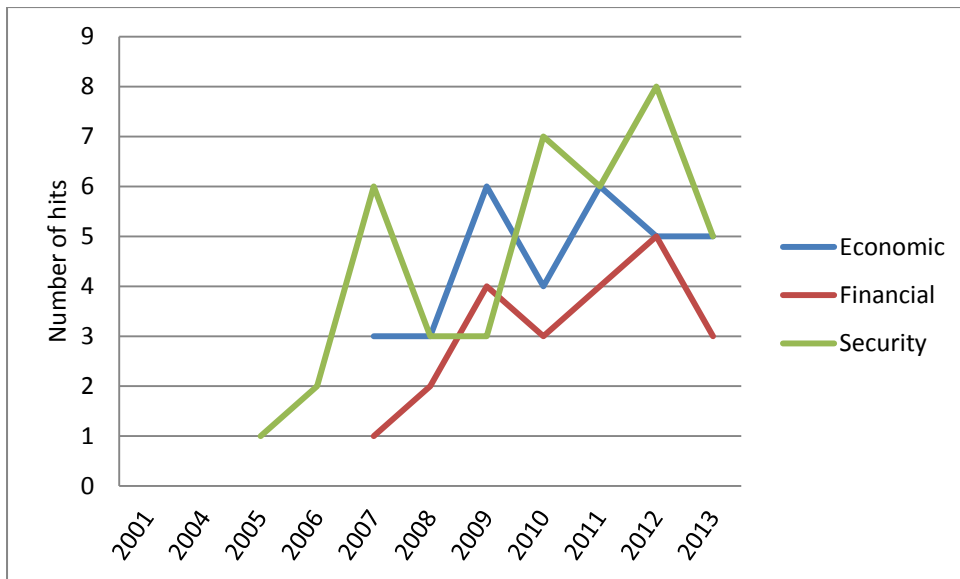


Figure 107. 'Economic', 'Financial' and 'Security' within the topic 'Global governance' – India

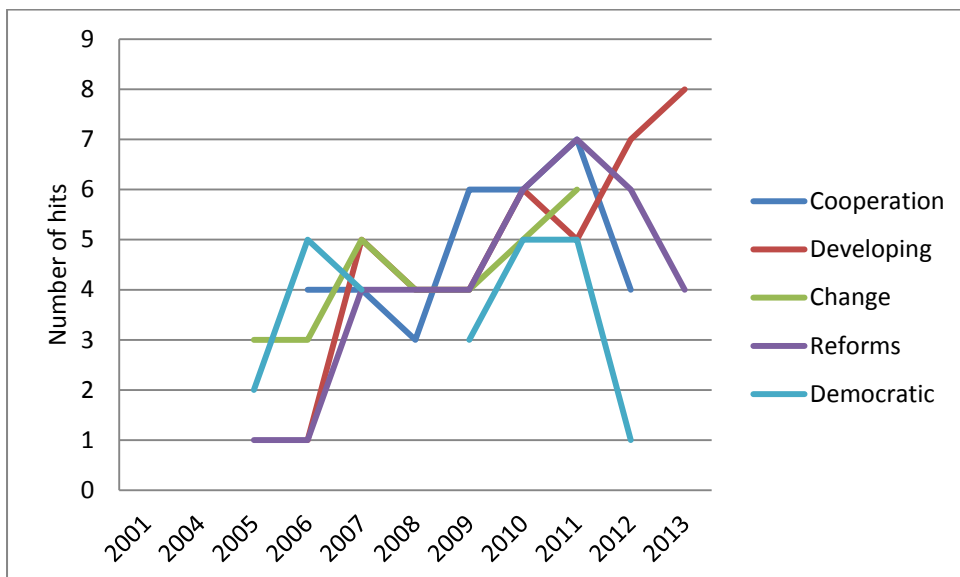


Figure 108. 'Cooperation', 'Developing', 'Change', 'Reforms' and 'Democratic' within the topic 'Global governance' – India

Major concerns for global governance include **basic needs for human lives or the economy**, as evidenced by the emergence of terms such as 'energy' (42), 'climate change' (31, or 'climate' – 32), and 'food' (31).

India approaches the concept of global governance from two key perspectives. First, by emphasizing the **need for reform** ('reforms' – 136) within multilateral institutions so as to better reflect a changing world order. Second, by recommending **greater integration** into the global economy. In the first case, India's own aspirations to acquire a permanent seat at the UN Security Council fit perfectly into this reform discourse. In the second case, there seems to be an indication that India is using its economic growth to power its world view. India also seems to be **working with developing nation groups** such as BRICS and IBSA.

Hence, **global regions and intergovernmental organizations** appear quite expectedly. There is a significant focus on **the UN** ('UN' – 93, 'United Nations' – 82), 'Security Council' (80), 'UN Security Council' (33). **'BRICS'** is strongly emphasized (99), followed by 'IBSA' (54). (Maybe surprisingly) 'Africa' (61) also emerges. With respect to countries, Brazil (42) is the only country featured in the Top-100.

## Indonesia



### ► Main findings

According to the Indonesian discourse, global governance concerns the economic, political, security and 'human' spheres of action. The UN stands out as the main actor. The presence of references to democracy and human rights shows that Indonesia wants to play a role in promoting international values within global governance institutions.

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: Global governance
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 31
- Number of documents matched: 23
- The query yielded 3.930 results
- Years: 2009 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

'Global' (62) and 'government' (31) are the main key terms – 'Global government' is the next bi-gram (31) and indicates the ambitions Indonesia attributes to a **potential 'supra'-power** (above national powers). The term 'central role' (6) stood out in 2010.

The **'United Nations'** (18) plays a role in global governance processes (including 'peacekeeping efforts'), although this actor was almost only mentioned in 2010, and barely in 2009 and 2012. No countries stand out next to this organization, except for Indonesia itself.

The term 'global government' appeared significantly in 2009 (8), 2010 (8), and 2012 (11). Overall, the topic seems to have gained interest from 2009 onwards, but it is difficult to grasp a clear-cut trend. It was more frequently mentioned in 2009, 2010 and 2012, but underwent significant drops in 2011 and 2013.

'Nations' (30) and 'united' (26) appear closely related (and appear more often than the bigram 'United Nations', suggesting that these are really different terms), which could be interpreted as the idea that global governance is based on the **togetherness** of countries. The presence of 'community' (12) and 'international' further supports this, although all these terms either lost importance over time or disappeared in recent years.

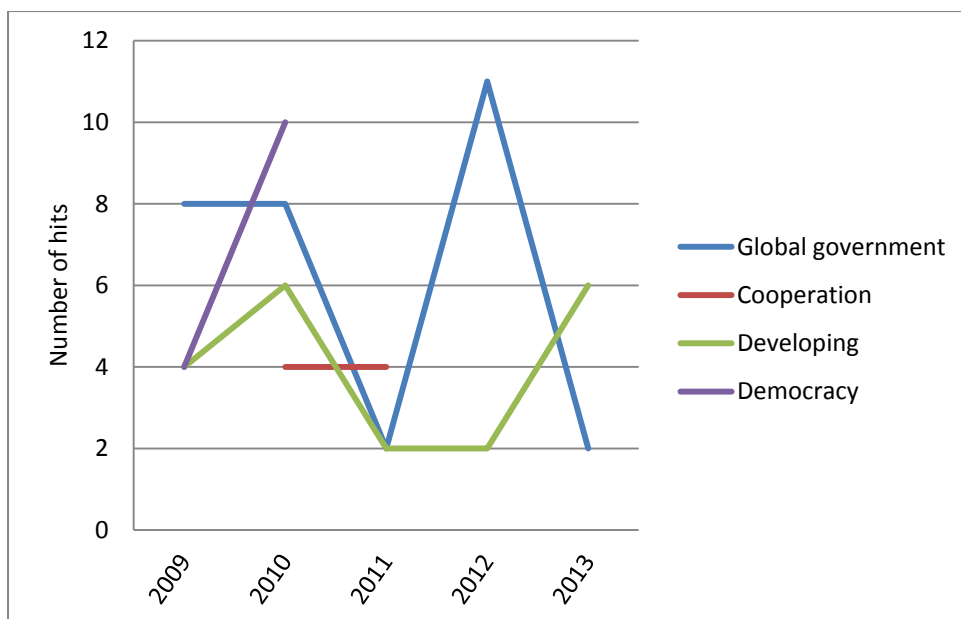


Figure 109. ‘Global government’, ‘Cooperation’, ‘Developing’ and ‘Democracy’ within the topic ‘Global governance’ – Indonesia

‘Democracy’ (24 – followed by ‘democratic’, with 12 hits, or ‘democratic global government’ – 6), ‘cooperation’ (10), ‘development’ (20) and ‘dialogue’ (8), but also ‘international solidarity’ (4) are core objectives.

The term ‘democracy’ appeared in 2009 (4), and became quite significant in 2010 (10) and 2012 (10). It reflects a value that Indonesia tries to uphold and promote at the international level. This is also reflected in the Bali Democracy Forum. This annual, inclusive, and open intergovernmental initiative aims at fostering regional and international cooperation in the field of peace and democracy. Some terms that appear further down on the N-gram ranking are related to the themes of Bali Democratic Forum itself. Two examples can be provided. First, the term ‘promotion democracy’ (6) appeared only in 2010, which coincides with the theme of the 2010 Bali Democracy Forum III (i.e., Democracy and the Promotion of Peace and Stability). Second, the term ‘democratic principle’ (4) appeared in 2012 – and the theme of the 2012 Bali Forum was ‘Advancing Democratic Principle in Global Setting’.

Next, the notion of partnership also appears with several references to ‘partners’.

Global governance needs to ‘reform’ (at least this term mostly appeared in 2012), to ‘address’ (17) ‘challenges’ (17) and the ‘financial’ and ‘economic’ (14) ‘crisis’ (16). Reforming international institutions, especially with regard to the international financial system, is one of Indonesia’s concerns.<sup>19</sup> A regional cooperation that is mentioned here is **APEC** (‘APEC exit strategy’ – 4). The impacts of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis have led Asian countries to

<sup>19</sup> This is shown by terms such as ‘structure reforms still’ (4), ‘reforms still needs’ (4), fragile structure reforms (4), ‘reforms international financial (6), ‘fiscal stimulus expansionary’ (4), ‘extraordinary fiscal stimulus’ (4), ‘recovery still fragile’ (4), ‘find opportunity crisis’ (4).

strengthen regional cooperation in times of a global crisis. These results suggest that Indonesia attributes both a **political and economic role** to global governance.

'Security' does appear as an area that this system can or must deal with – this is also suggested by the emergence of 'conflict' (7 – and 'Middle East conflict' or 'nuclear disarmament').

There is also a focus on 'human rights', 'humankind', 'freedom' and 'human' challenges (6) and religion.

## Mexico



### ► Main findings

The results generated for Mexico reveal a very economic, technical, institutional perspective as far as global governance is concerned. The term itself does not appear, and the role of national leaders and major institutions seem to be emphasized instead.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Spanish: *Gobernanza global* [English translation: global governance]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 40
- Number of documents matched: 26
- The query yielded 6.593 results
- Years: 2011 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

The first interesting result of this query is the **absence of the expression 'gobernanza global'** ('global governance') itself. Instead the results include 'global rulers' ('*gobernadores globales*' – 40) with many relevant hits. This N-gram is connected with expressions such as 'improve rulers' ('*mejorar gobernadores*' – 5); 'improve global rulers' ('*mejorar gobernadores globales*' – 4) and 'global rulers reform' ('*gobernadores globales reforma*' – 3), which indicates a will to **change** the established world order.

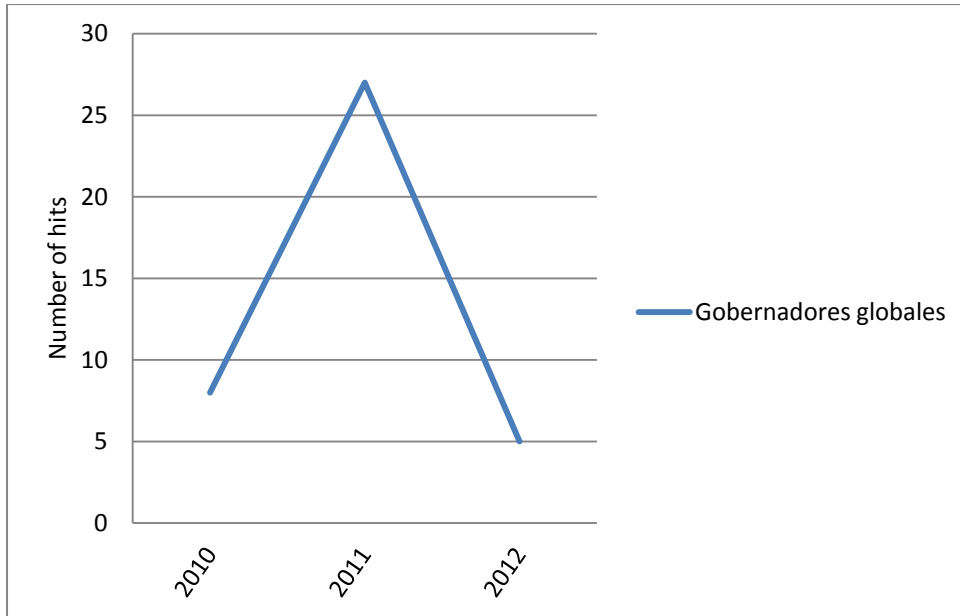


Figure 110. 'Gobernadores globales' within the topic 'Global governance' – Mexico

The word 'multilateral' shows up 11 times, and points to discussions about a 'multilateral system' ('*sistema multilateral*' – 4) within 'multilateral institutions' ('*instituciones multilateral*' – 2). The first multilateral institution or forum that appears is the G20 ('g20' – 60 – and 'g 20' – 14). Apart from 'administrative' N-grams, the query does not connect the G20 to meaningful expressions. 'United Nations' ('*Naciones Unidas*' – 11) is still the second most frequent institution, with some relevance to the 'UN Security Council' ('*consejo segura*' – 6) and the 'security council reform' ('*reforma consejo segura*' – 4). Bretton Woods institutions such as the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank also feature: 'OMC' (WTO – World Trade Organization – 3); 'FMI' (IMF – International Monetary Fund – 1); and 'BM' (WB – World Bank – 1).

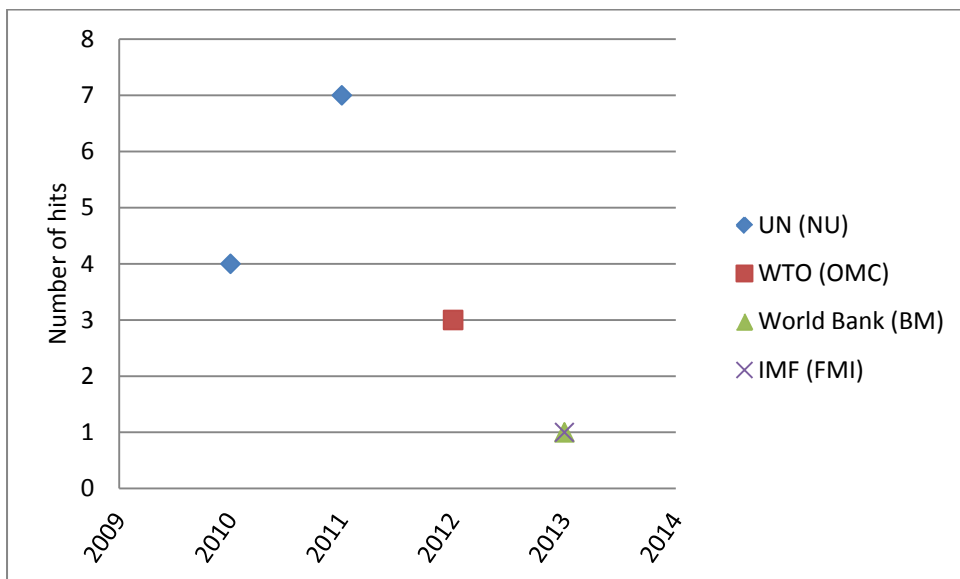


Figure 111. Mapping 'UN', 'WTO', 'World Bank' and 'IMF' within the topic 'Global governance' – Mexico

In the context of global governance, there are some concerns over **economic growth** and its **sustainability and stability**, with some relevance to the recovery of world financial and economic stabilization. The main expressions associated are: 'world economies' ('*economías globales*' – 4); 'economies stability' ('*estabilidad economías*' – 2); 'bigger economic growth' ('*mayor crecimiento economías*' – 1); 'sustainable economic growth' ('*crecimiento economías sostenido*' – 1); 'volatility economies finance' ('*volatilidad economías financieras*' – 1); and 'recovery economic stability' ('*recuperacion estabilidad economías*' – 1).

## Russia



### ► Main findings

In the Russian perspective, global governance is an effective polycentric system or mechanism developed under state but primarily UN leadership as a response to new (mostly) economic challenges. Russia seemed to be actively involved in suggesting forms of governance architecture in 2009–2010. The results suggest that the BRICS are mostly a Russian-driven project, and are attributed global governance ambitions.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Russian: Глобальное управление [English translation: global governance]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 105
- Number of documents matched: 80
- The query yielded 22.592 results
- Years: 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

'Global' scores first with 157 references, 'global governance' and 'governance' follow (110), next to 'system' (67) and 'system of global governance' (34). The topic has mostly gained importance after 2008, peaking in 2009-2010, and losing importance in 2012 until 2013, when the topic appears to once again gather more attention from the Russian MFA.

Interestingly, '**new**' stands out with 57 hits, which may indicate the novelty of this regime, the innovative way in which it addresses global issues, and/or the need for reform. We also notice the term '**polycentric**' (26).

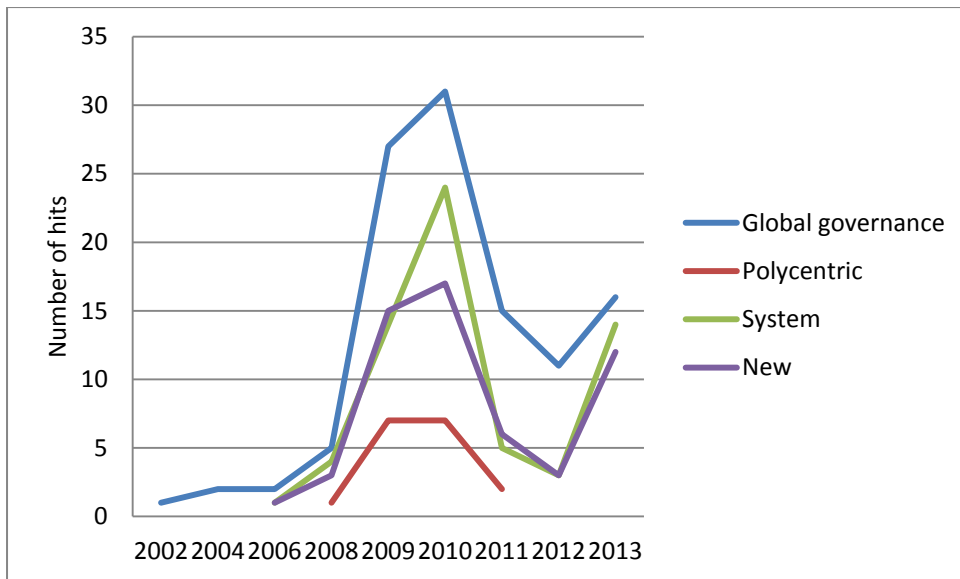


Figure 112. 'Global governance', 'Polycentric', 'System' and 'New' within the topic 'Global governance' – Russia

This 'system of global governance' that emerged is perceived as a tool that addresses both **global and regional** issues. This is suggested by the presence of terms such as 'international' (125) and 'world' (as an adjective – 10<sup>th</sup> position in the list; as a noun – 13<sup>th</sup>), as well as 'regional' (16<sup>th</sup> with 53 references).

The main actors involved in the new system of global governance include both '**states**' (69), accompanied by 'countries' (59) and 'organizations' (36). **The 'UN'** scores the highest, which highlights its leading role within the new governance system and architecture – not too surprising given Russia's firm seat in the UN Security Council.

'Russia' (59) and 'Russian' (31) stand out, but are not among the very first key terms which contrasts with the results of all other queries (as shown further below for each of the other topics). This might indicate Russia's rather **passive role** in a global governance system promoted by the UN, that is, Russia would position itself as a 'participant' rather than with a status of 'promoter'.

Other actors that emerge include the '**BRICS**' (33, accompanied by 'BRIC' – 17) and G20 ('the group' – 28; 'of twenty' – 20; 'the group of twenty' – 20). 'BRICS' is an interesting finding. Being a mostly Russian-driven project, and evolving outside of the UN global governance system and authority, its presence suggests that this organization is perceived or promoted as **an alternative to various Western-dominated international bodies**, with global (governance) ambitions.

Both 'Russia' and the 'UN' exhibit similar trends as 'global governance' over time (increase after 2008, peaks in 2009–2010, and decrease in 2012). Yet interestingly, the number of hits for Russia in the context of global governance dropped almost by half in 2011, while 'UN' only decreased in 2012. 'BRICS' emerges in 2011, becoming more important than the UN or even Russia from 2012 onwards.

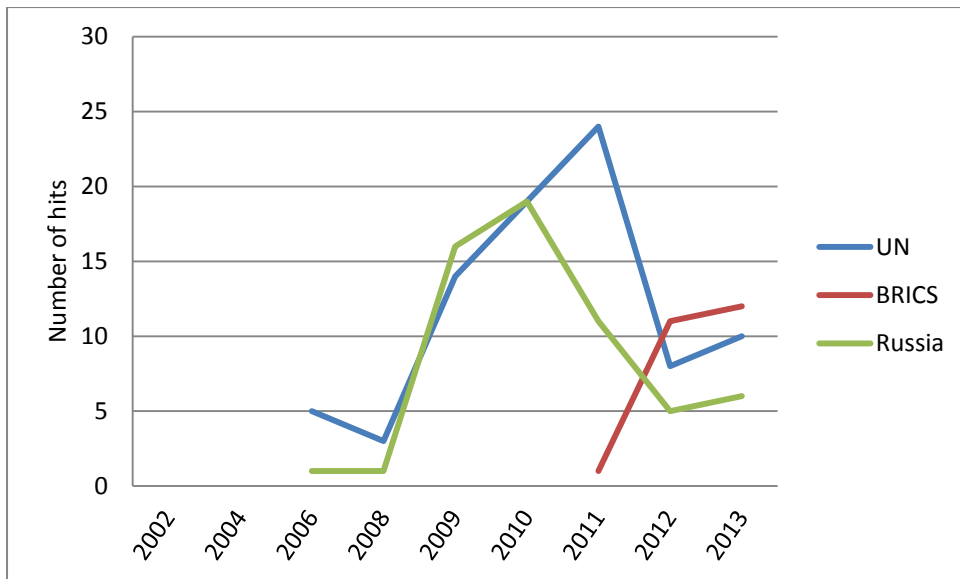


Figure 113. 'UN', 'BRICS' and 'Russia' within the topic 'Global governance' – Russia

The results for this query highlight the main goals of global governance as well. Russia seems to define the new system of global governance primarily from an economic perspective, as a response to new financial and economic situations or crises. 'Development' (74), 'economic' (68) and 'economy' – 40, 'financial' – 37, 'financial and economic' – 22, 'response' (53), 'crisis' (42), 'support' (41), and 'challenges' (18) provide interesting clues in this respect. 'Security' also emerges, although to a lesser extent (33 hits).

Over time, 'security', 'economic' and 'financial' exhibit similar trends as 'global governance' – they gain importance after 2008, peak in 2010, and decrease substantially from 2011 onwards. The **economic** domain remains frequently mentioned though, and regains its 2009 in 2013. Global governance has remained mostly an economic system for Russia, perhaps except in 2006–2008.

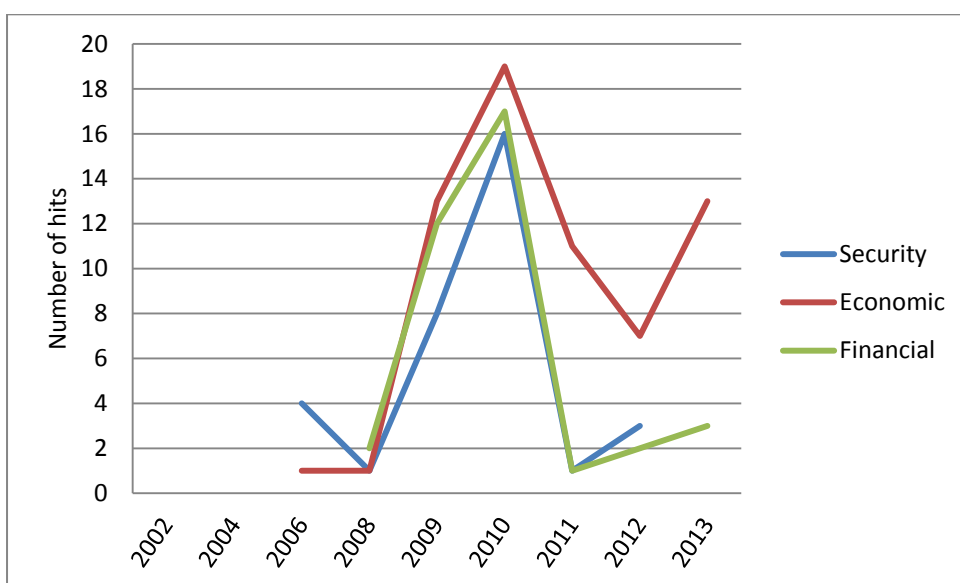


Figure 114. 'Security', 'Economic' and 'Financial' within the topic 'Global governance' – Russia





### ► Main findings

Turkey understands global governance from a national perspective, but affords it a crucial global mission as it connects it to the voice of the ‘international society’, peace and cultures. The UN, the BRICS but also the EU and some countries in the region show that a diversity of actors matter in global governance processes. Security issues (e.g., in Syria) are where this topic finds its largest role.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Turkish: *Küresel yönetim* OR *uluslararası toplum* OR *uluslararası camia* OR *küresel sorumluluk* OR *çok taraflı* OR *çok kutuplu* OR *işbirliği* OR *birleşmiş milletler* [English translation and query: global governance OR international society OR global responsibility OR multilateral OR multipolar OR cooperation OR United Nations]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 1.677 [English results: 1.148]
- Number of documents matched: 461 [English results: 443]
- The query yielded 234.641 results [English results: 175.782]
- Years: 2008 to 2013 [English results: 2007 to 2013].<sup>21</sup>

### ► Analyses

One of the results worth noting is the presence of ‘**international society**’ (*uluslararası toplum* – 266), an abstract term generally used to define a phenomenon or ensemble of reactions in case a crisis arises, and reflects a call for capable powers to solve challenges. Indeed, relevant documents include concerns about several violent crises.

‘**Cooperation**’ is an important key word (*işbirliği* – 1.217), which help in defining Turkey’s vision of global governance and should be used to deal with crises affecting international peace. English texts emphasize ‘**dialogue**’ (162), and ‘**cultures**’ (131). According to the Turkish discourse, one relevant objective is ‘**peace**’ (*barış* – 274, and ‘peace processes’: *süreçte* – 301). ‘Peace’ was one of the most frequently cited key terms in 2011 which, based on our selection of documents, can be explained by Turkey’s bid for a new term at the UN

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<sup>20</sup> For Turkey, the only way to build a solid analysis was to generate bilingual queries as there is no concept of translation. The results from both English and Turkish texts appeared rather complementary. The bilingual analysis allows to strengthen arguments and to fill in some gaps in understanding the queries’ results. In order to avoid tautology, Turkish texts are used as the primary resource, while the analyses derived from English texts are incorporated if contributive.

<sup>21</sup> Two queries were generated for Turkey, for each topic.

Security Council, for the 2015–2016 period. Turkey was then promoted as a country that would contribute to ‘peace’ at a regional and global scale.<sup>22</sup>

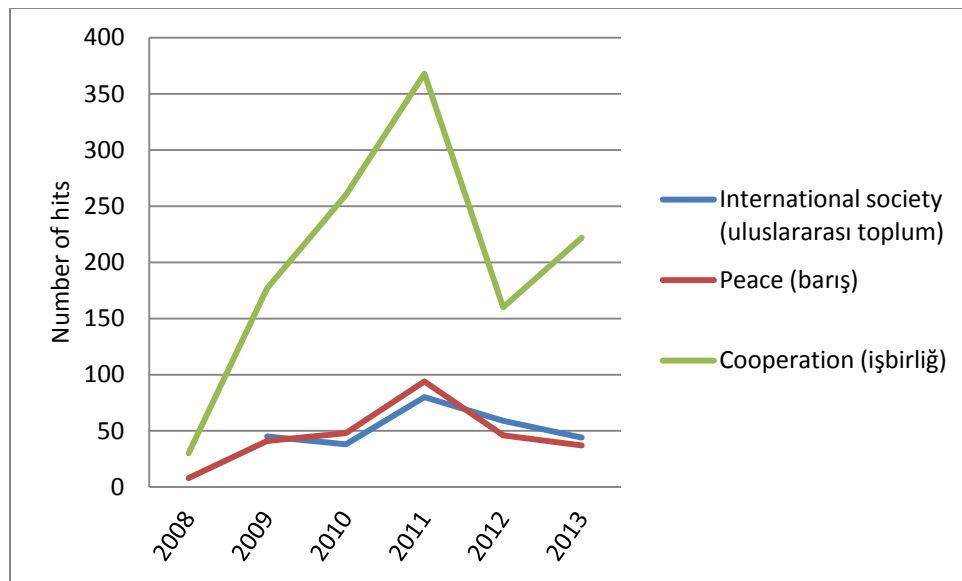


Figure 115. ‘International society’, ‘Peace’ and ‘Cooperation’ within the topic ‘Global governance’ – Turkey

Potential ‘contributions’ to global governance are highlighted (‘katkı’ – 205) and need to be ‘common’ or ‘joint’ (‘ortak’ – 355) to seek ‘stability’ (‘istikrarın’ – 187).

Turkey seems to emphasize a **national angle** as far as global governance is concerned: ‘our country’ (‘ülkemizin’ – 1266) and ‘Turkey’ (‘Türkiye’ – 789) are the main key terms. ‘International’ does follow, but quite far behind (‘uluslararası’ – 701). The issues addressed across the texts are also evaluated at a **‘regional’** level (‘bölgesel’ – 256, or ‘bölgesinde’ – ‘in its region’, 313). **‘Africa’** (‘Afrika’ – 16) appears as a significant region in 2011, due to the institutionalization of the Turkish MFA’s African Policy. Global problems are also addressed in this framework, especially during the meeting of the First Ministerial Review Conference of the Turkey-Africa Cooperation in Istanbul in 2011.

One of the main actors of global governance is **the ‘UN’** (‘Birleşmiş Milletler’ – 380, or ‘birleşmiş’ – ‘United’, 427 and ‘milletler’ – ‘nations’, 393, or ‘BM’ – ‘UN’, 180). Its importance increased in 2013. **The EU** follows, referred to as ‘birliğini’ – ‘Union’ (270) and ‘Avrupa’ – ‘Europe’ (181). The **Black Sea Economic Cooperation** also appears, even more frequently (‘BSEC’ – 384).

Global governance seems to primarily belong to the **economic domain** (‘ekonomik’ – 259) across Turkish texts. This is supported by evidence from English texts (‘economic’ – 386; ‘trade’ – 141). The **political domain** also appears (‘siyasi’ – ‘political’, 177).

<sup>22</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, “Candidacy of the Republic of Turkey to the United Nations Security Council for the period 2015–2016”, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/candidacy-of-the-republic-of-turkey-to-the-united-nations-security-council-for-the-period-2015-2016.en.mfa>.

Yet 'security' ('*güvenlik*' – 352) is a crucial governance arena as well – next to terms that connote 'hard' security such as 'attack' (150) and 'terrorism' (172) among the English documents. This was particularly the case in 2009. As previously noted, the main focus of the 'global governance' includes regions or countries where peace is threatened. It is therefore not surprising to see '*Filistin*' ('Palestine' – 25) emerging, particularly in 2012. '*Syria*' ('*Suriye*' – 220) is the most frequently cited country that stands out from the Turkish texts (especially in 2012 as well), while the results generated in English include 'Afghanistan' (160) and 'Iraq' (157).

The Cyprus issue gained significance in 2011, as shown by the emergence of 'Cyprus' (24), 'Cypriots' (19), and (UN) 'resolution' (18).

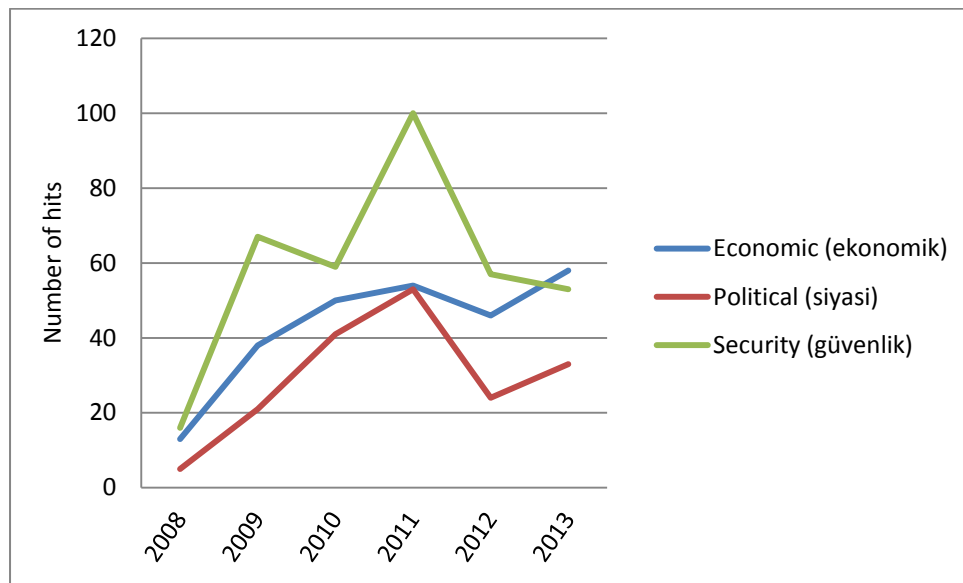


Figure 116. 'Economic', 'Political' and 'Security' within the topic 'Global governance' – Turkey

### Cross-country comparison



Be it either a tool for integration and reforms at the global level for India, Brazil and Indonesia, or a way to peacefully build consensus based on the efforts of all for China, global governance is greatly emphasized by many countries as a broad system that **needs to be improved, changed or reformed** (Mexico, China, India, Indonesia), and that **encompasses many concerns** for the economy and the financial realm (especially for Mexico and Russia, Turkey, Indonesia and increasingly so in recent years for many other countries), human safety, sustainability, security (Turkey, Russia, Indonesia) and world politics.

References to technology, and to people's basic needs (to a lesser extent, India too, with food) were only noticed in the Chinese results. Energy and climate particularly stand out in India and China's views, whereas Indonesia mostly insists on human rights. Brazil mentions agriculture and the Internet. Turkey includes terrorism as a key mission of global governance institutions and, interestingly, adds culture to the international dialogue.

Regarding founding principles or objectives of global governance, **cooperation and development from all** are recurrent, perhaps with less insistence from Mexico which emphasizes the role of 'global rulers' too (similarly to China). Democracy is a concern that is mostly raised by Indonesia, Brazil and India. Transparency is a particular ambition in the Brazilian perspective, as well as peace (as observed for Turkey, but also China with its 'peaceful' connotations).

From an institutional viewpoint, global governance is widely envisaged through the **role of international or regional organizations** such as the Bretton Woods institutions, the UN and its Security Council (Mexico, China, India, Turkey, Russia, Mexico, Indonesia) or the BRICS (India, Brazil, Russia – unlike China), usually for obvious strategic reasons. Based on the information we selected, Mexico and Russia seem to be the only countries that emphasize the G20 (perhaps suggesting a more economic approach to international relations), but Turkey is the only country that mentions **the EU**. Turkey and China primarily refer to their **own respective nations**, too. Russia seems to see the UN rather as the main 'marker' of this system, and the BRICS as an alternative or perhaps as the main interlocutor to the UN. Clearly, individual countries are not cited, suggesting that global governance is **not just an effort from nations**; if they were to act bilaterally, this would not yield much results. However, bilateral **relations between regional groups** are deemed relevant to global governance.

Global governance, it should be noted, gathered a suddenly increasing attention from Russia and Brazil after 2008.

## The European Union

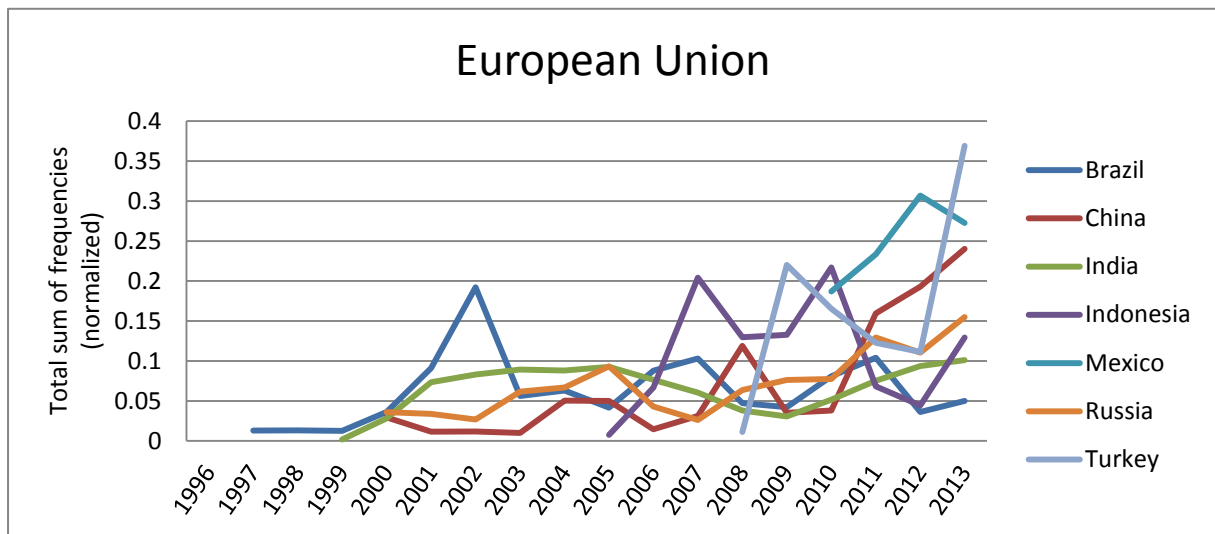


Figure 117. The topic 'European Union', trends over time for all countries

The topic 'European Union' seems to have gathered attention steadily over time, but the trends include many peaks and troughs. Turkey and even China and Russia stand out for having increasingly included the EU in their discourse, while the discussion seems less intense in India or Brazil.

### Brazil



#### ► Main findings

The EU is an important partner for Brazil and is often mentioned. The intense commercial relations between EU and Brazil (bilaterally and within MERCOSUR) have led to some international disputes on trade issues, but without compromising their relations. As far as EU members states are concerned, Brazil clearly focuses on its Portuguese counterpart. Brazilian webpages suggest that the EU is important with respect to sustainable development, scientific, technological and economic cooperation. Economic areas of importance are broad, and include agriculture, energy, sugar, meat, tourism, etc. The focus on Europe is very much trade-oriented. Yet the EU remains an important player in maintaining international standards for global production and trade.

#### ► Statistics

- Query in Portuguese: *Europa* OR *União europeia* [English translation: Europe OR European Union]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 4.272
- Number of documents matched: 1.593
- The query yielded 186.329 results
- Years: 1997 to 2013.

## ► Analyses

'*União Europeia*' yielded 5.274 results. Over time, much attention has been paid to the EU between 2000 and 2002, a year in which it appeared 1.299 times. From 2003 to 2013, its frequency dropped to below 600 hits per year, with in 2012 a record-low 110 hits. Between 1997 and 1999 there were fewer entries on Brazil's MFA website.

The EU is mainly associated with '**MERCOSUL**' and '**Brazil**' in matters of **trade and cooperation**: 'European MERCOSUR Union' – '*Européia MERCOSUL União*', 1.085; 'European Brazil Union' ('*Européia Brasil União*' – 940); 'European Union trade' ('*União Europeia comércio*', 60). There is a recurrent reference to the '**European sugar regime**' ('*regimes açucareira européia*' – 102), as Brazil constantly monitors the sugar exportations from the EU, in order to ensure that they respect the maximum levels negotiated within the WTO. Looking at trends of the frequency of occurrence over time, it is possible to identify two moments characterized by intense episodes: 2004–2005 and 2010. The first one corresponds to Brazil's complaints to WTO, as the European sugar regime did not comply with multilateral trade rules.<sup>23</sup> The second moment (2010) illustrates Brazil's displeased reaction to the EU decision to increase its sugar exports by 500.000 tons.

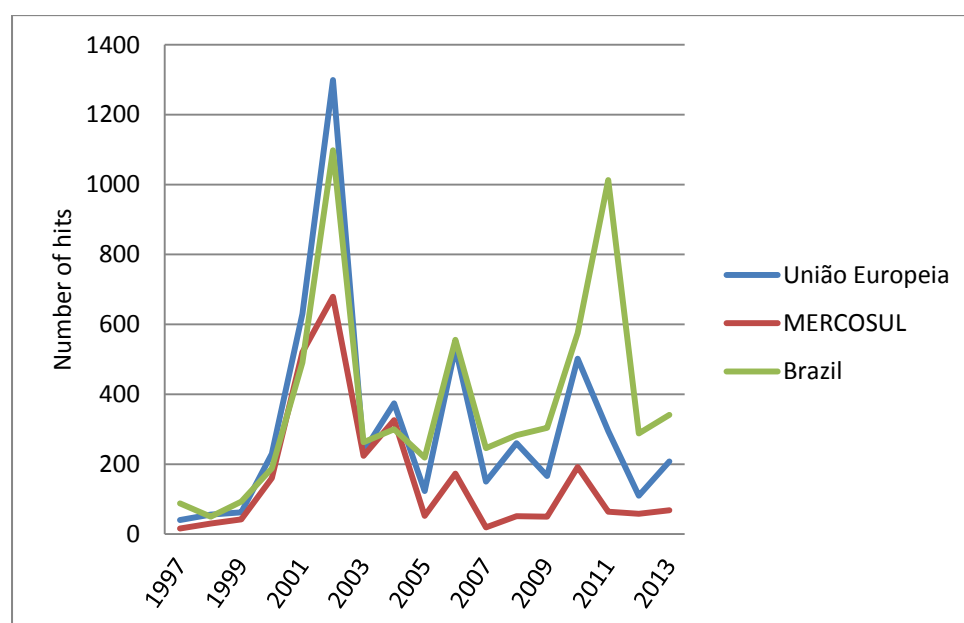


Figure 118. 'European Union', 'MERCOSUR' and 'Brazil' within the topic 'European Union' – Brazil

With a frequency of 2.724, '**MERCOSUL**' is one of the main terms to co-occur with the European Union. This reflects partially the EU 'model' for Mercosul as well as the economic importance of the EU for Brazil, both at a **bilateral level and within MERCOSUR itself**. The association of the EU to MERCOSUL even prevails over the association between Brazil and

<sup>23</sup> Brazil claims were considered rightful, and the EU reformed its sugar regime.

EU (in term of hits). It is associated with expressions such as negotiations ('MERCOSUR negotiations union' – '*MERCOSUL negociações união*', 149) or agreements ('agreement association MERCOSUL' – '*acordo associação MERCOSUL*', 96), and trade ('MERCOSUR trade' – '*MERCOSUL comércio*', 37). Over time, there has been a steady decline of this topic in connection with the EU. From almost 700 hits in 2002, the topic decreases to 58 occurrences in 2012, and 68 in 2013. The decline was compensated by some small peaks in 2004 (324), 2006 (173), and 2010 (192).

'**Cooperation**' ('*cooperação*') appears 2.644 times, and is mainly associated with **technological and scientific** cooperation as well as **economic** cooperation. This is best evidenced by the frequency of key bi-grams or tri-grams such as 'scientific cooperation' ('*científico cooperação*' – 170); 'scientific technological cooperation' ('*científico tecnológico cooperação*' – 110); and 'economic cooperation' ('*econômico cooperação*' – 68).

Sustainable economic and social **development** is another important priority ('development' – '*desenvolvimento*', 2.128), and includes areas such as research, industrial, trade and technological development. Expressions associated with this key unigram are: 'sustainable development' ('*sustentável desenvolvimento*' – 267); 'economic development social' ('*econômico desenvolvimento social*' – 121); 'development research' ('*desenvolvimento pesquisa*' – 102); 'industrial development' ('*desenvolvimento indústrias*' – 80); and 'technological development' ('*desenvolvimento tecnológico*' – 39).

'**Trade**' ('*comércio*') appears 1.629 times, but appears connected to a global context ('world trade' – '*comércio mundial*', 186). Institutions such as the WTO (170) stand out. The industries or economic fields included in this topic are quite **diverse**, demonstrating a **growing complexity (richness)** in the economic relations between Brazil and the EU. The presence of the uni-gram '**agricultural**' ('*agrícolas*' – 431) that peaked in 2002, reflect Brazil's engagement in regulating international agricultural trade within the WTO. Subsidies and practices that may distort international trade are raising concerns.<sup>24</sup> In this regard, 'meat' and its exportation are relevant ('*carnes*' – 190).<sup>25</sup> International regulation is also at

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<sup>24</sup> The main expressions connected to agriculture include '*político agrícolas comum*' ('common agricultural policy' – 489); '*agrícolas comércio*' ('agricultural trade' – 40); '*subsídios agrícolas*' ('agricultural subsidies' – 31); '*acordo agrícolas OMC*' ('agreement agricultural WTO' – 10); '*distorções comércio agrícolas*' ('distortions trade agricultural' – 10); '*agrícolas comércio internacional*' ('agricultural trade international' – 8); '*mercado agrícolas comunitário*' ('agricultural common market' – 8); and '*agrícolas FIDA*' ('agricultural IFAD – International Fund for Agricultural Development' – 8).

<sup>25</sup> The main terms include: '*carnes frango*' ('meat chicken' – 82); '*carnes salgado frango*' ('meat salty chicken' – 74); '*carnes frango brasileiros*' ('meat chicken Brazilian' – 46); '*exportadora brasileiros carnes*' ('export Brazilian meats' – 44); '*carneiro*' ('sheep' – 18); '*carnes suína*' ('swine meat' – 10); and '*bovina carnes*' ('bovine meat' – 10).

the core of 'sugar' ('*açucareira*' – 192), where we observe great interest in sugar regimes and in monitoring EU's action on this field.<sup>26</sup>

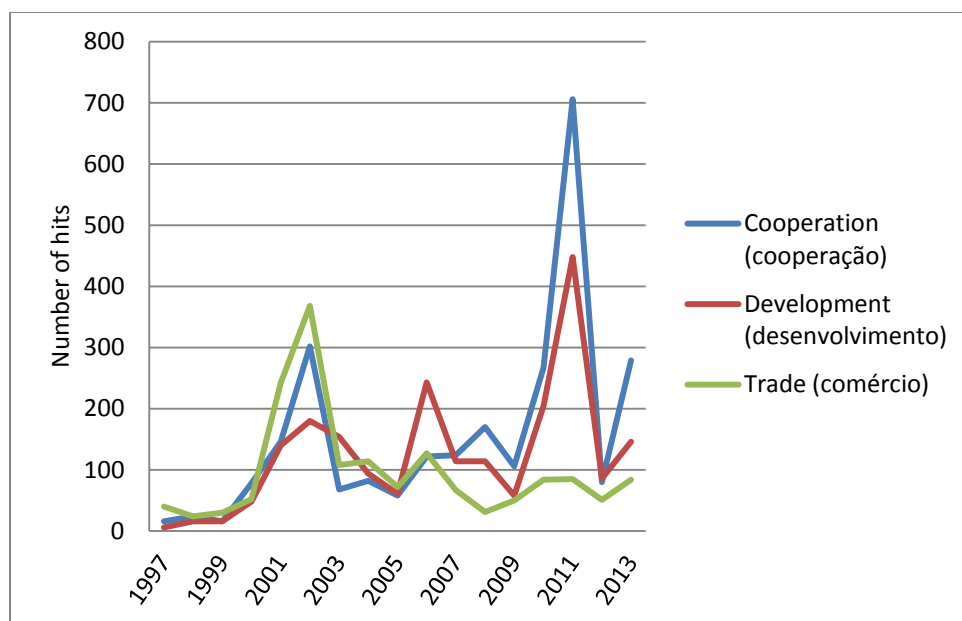


Figure 119. 'Cooperation', 'Development' and 'Trade' within the topic 'European Union' – Brazil

Close connotations with the unigram 'biofuels' ('*biocombustíveis*' – 204) reveal the will to develop **international standards to produce biofuels** in a sustainable manner. In this regard, the commitment of the EU is needed.<sup>27</sup> 'Tourism' ('*turismo*' – 167), 'aviation' ('*aviação*' – 94) and 'textiles' ('*têxteis*' – 62, a topic that was mostly important in 2002)<sup>28</sup> are also relevant industries. Brazil wants to facilitate and develop tourism between the EU and Brazil in particular, and South America in general – this interest appears particularly evident in 2011.<sup>29</sup> From 2009 onwards, agreements between EU and Brazil on civil aviation started to

<sup>26</sup> The main expressions are the following: '*regimes açucareira*' ('sugar regimes' – 168); '*açucareira europeia*' ('sugar European' – 110); '*regimes açucareira europeia*' ('sugar regime European' – 102); '*açucareira blocos*' ('sugar blocs' – 8); and '*reforma setores açucareira*' ('reforms sugar sector').

<sup>27</sup> The main key words include: '*internacional biocombustíveis*' ('international biofuels' – 20); '*fórum internacional biocombustíveis*' ('international biofuels forum' – 14); '*sustentável biocombustíveis*' ('sustainable biofuels' – 14); '*biocombustíveis bioeletricidade*' ('biofuels bioelectricity' – 9); '*mudança clima biocombustíveis*' ('climate change biofuels' – 8); '*biocombustíveis mercado internacional*' ('biofuels international market' – 8); '*biocombustíveis segurança energética*' ('biofuels security energy' – 4); '*internacionais biocombustíveis sustentável*' ('international biofuels sustainable' – 4); and '*biocombustíveis segunda geração*' ('second generation biofuels' – 4).

<sup>28</sup> The main relevant terms include '*têxteis vestuário*' ('textiles apparel' – 24); '*têxteis aço*' ('textiles steel' – 12); '*acordo têxteis vestuário*' ('agreement textiles apparel' – 10); and '*UE área têxtil*' ('EU area textiles' – 6).

<sup>29</sup> The most relevant expressions include: '*fluxos turismo*' ('tourism flows' – 28); '*turismo comércio*' ('tourism trade' – 20); '*indústrias turismo comércio*' ('industries, tourism, trade' – 16); '*facilita fluxos turismo*' ('smooth tourism flux' – 16); '*turismo américa sul*' ('tourism South America' – 12); '*turismo cultural*' ('cultural tourism' – 10); and '*promoção turismo brasil*' ('promotion tourism Brazil' – 8).



be mentioned (e.g., the agreement of July 14<sup>th</sup>, 2010 on aerial services and civil aviation safety).<sup>30</sup>

It is not surprising to see that the EU member state that ranks first in terms of frequency is Portugal, followed by Spain, Germany, France and Great Britain. The Netherlands ranks as the 8<sup>th</sup> most frequently mentioned EU member state. The first two countries have strong traditional political, economic and cultural ties – not just with Brazil in particular, but with South and Latin America in general, at the occasion of forums enhancing political dialogue (e.g., the Ibero-American Summit). Other countries represent the biggest European economies. Therefore this hierarchy is aligned with Brazil's main focus on economic development.

## China



### ► Main findings

In China's views, the Sino-European relationship is important and promising, even despite some hiccups, and it is mostly evolving within an international context. China appears to see itself as the dominant party in this relationship.

European members are seldom mentioned individually (mostly just Germany). Since 2008, China has been insisting on an interaction with Europe that increases in depth and breadth, from a mostly economic focus towards the inclusion of more cultural and political elements. Interests are mutual, and the relationship should be based on reciprocal endeavors.

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: Europe OR European Union
- Number of sentences: 1
- Number of sentences matched: 2.843
- Number of documents matched: 912
- The query yielded 80.245 results
- Years: 1996, and 2000 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

'China' (5.802) is the main key term, followed by 'Europe' (4.383). Concerning the general trends of two major actors, China and Europe (or EU), they both exhibit similar trends and almost equal frequencies before 2009. After that, China is mentioned more frequently than Europe, and in 2013, the frequency of 'China' became twice as much than 'Europe'. This suggests the dominance of the former in the relations of both parties. **Europe and China**

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<sup>30</sup> Relevant connotations are: '*aviação civil*' ('civil aviation' – 50); '*segurança aviação*' ('aviation safety' – 32); and '*diesel querosene aviação*' ('diesel kerosene aviation' – 8).

are frequently mentioned ('EU China' – 732, 'European Union' – 615, 'Eastern' – 480, 'Central Eastern' – 452, 'relation Europe' – 437, 'cooperation Europe' – 425, 'Relation Europe China' – 396, 'relation EU China' – 302, 'country European' – 299), reflecting the fact that China attaches much attention to this relationship. Furthermore, by closely looking at the 'region-related' terms, specific regions such as 'Eastern Europe' (361), 'Central Eastern Europe' (349) and 'China Central Eastern' (324) have been mentioned rather often, too. Germany ('German' – 288) is the only European country being mentioned within the Top-100 on the list, implying it may be the preferred partner of China compared to other EU member states. Partnership is also quite frequently mentioned ('partnership' – 432, 'partners' – 334, 'respect' – 327 and 'ties' – 326).

'Cooperation' (2.827) and 'developing' (1.891) are among the main key words associated with the EU. Regarding **cooperation**, Chinese documents emphasize ASEM (600), which refers to the Asia-Europe Meeting officially established in 1996 and consisting of the 27 EU member states and 10 members of ASEAN plus China, Japan and the Republic of Korea. By comparing trends of 'EU' and 'Asia' with the trend of 'ASEM', it can be seen that 'ASEM' has a similar but weaker trend compared to 'Asia' rather than 'Europe' in China's MFA context. All of them experience peaks in 2008 and 2012, while 'Asia' and 'ASEM' experience a peak in 2005, and the 'EU' in 2004. The frequency of 'EU' is much less high compared to the other two before 2009 – after which it becomes the most important.

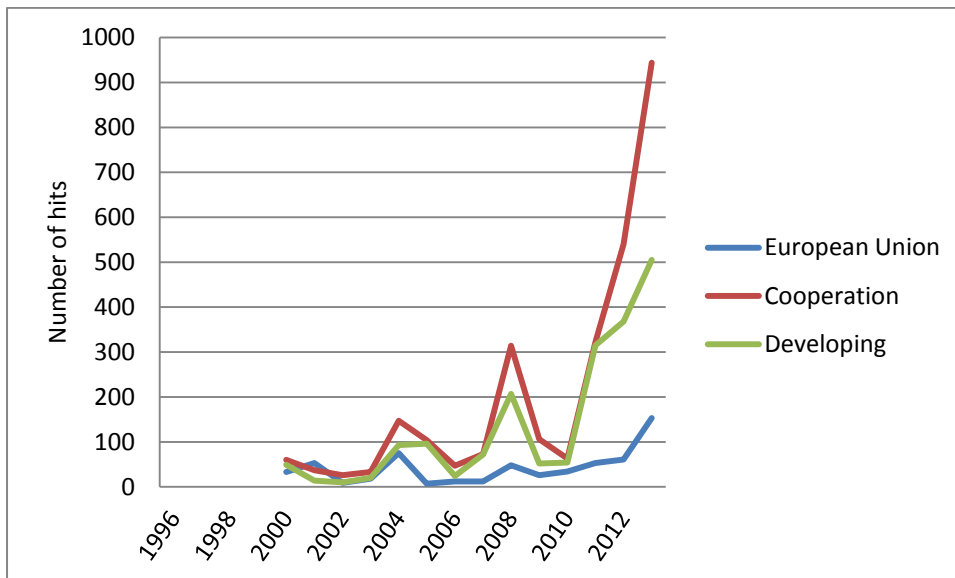


Figure 120. 'European Union', 'Cooperation' and 'Developing' within the topic 'European Union' – China

It is interesting to observe the **description of cooperative relations**. China is optimistic about these, and is actively engaging in such relations with Europe and European countries. This is supported by the emergence and relatively high frequency of words such as 'efforts' (463), 'hopefully' (430), 'highly' (388), 'positive' (334), 'attended' (328) and 'active' (302). Positive and optimistic words are used to connote these relations: 'promotion' (686), 'new' (654), 'supporting' (548), 'strengthen' (430), 'deepening' (335), 'continue' (334), 'comprehensive' (327) and 'enhance' (325). This indicates that China **keeps on deepening**

**and seeking new cooperation opportunities** within this relation. 'Strategic' (443) and 'coordinated' (276) show that cooperation may still be associated with political considerations, and that there are hopes that many differences or conflicts can be reconciled through cooperation. Both words are particularly stressed in 2008 and reiterated after 2011. The emphasis on 'mutual' (665) and 'interests' (327) indicates that reciprocity is essential in the way China considers the EU-China interregional relation. Both 'mutual' and 'benefits' are frequently mentioned after 2011 while 'benefits' is also mentioned in 2008. Similar to many other topics, China's MFA websites widely make use of terms such as '**peacefully**' (380), 'friendly' (338) and 'respect' (327) when describing China's relations with Europe, showing China's wishes of removing potential antagonistic sentiments on both sides, and its peaceful outlook on foreign policies, as well as its desire for a peaceful rise. All relevant key terms were often mentioned in documents from 2004, 2008 and years after 2011.

With respect to **levels of relations and interaction**, the use of 'international' (813) and 'global' (423) imply that China tends to place the Sino-European relationship within an international context. 'Bilateral' (588) and 'regional' (478) are also emphasized across documents, suggesting interactions between China and EU member states, as well as a regional perspective (EU and Asian bloc) which also matters. Trends for 'bilateral', 'regional' and 'international' are in conjunction with each other throughout the timeline, although 'regional' had lost its relative importance.<sup>31</sup> It should also be noted that all three trends experience two slight peaks in 2004 and 2005, two years that are frequently referred to the 'strategic point' of the development of Sino-European relations.<sup>32</sup> And there is a sharp decrease after a peak in 2008, coinciding with a deterioration of China-EU relations as several European leaders 'boycotted' the Olympics opening ceremony in the wake of pro-Tibet protests and French President Sarkozy's plan to meet with the Dalai Lama, which led to the cancellation of the EU-China summit by Beijing at the end of 2008.<sup>33</sup>

**Development** is another important theme worth noticing, based on the high frequencies of terms across relevant discourses such as 'growth' (407, increasing in recent years), 'debt' (363), 'crisis' (344, since 2008) and 'China developing' (340). 'Debt' is only intensively mentioned after 2011. This, however, may imply that China not only emphasizes its own

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<sup>31</sup> The frequency of 'international' has always outweighed the others before 2012, when it starts to decline to become the least frequently mentioned of those terms in 2013 – and while the other two continue to stand out. 'Bilateral' relations was the least important one before 2009 compared to the other two, but is the one that gains more importance after 2010. Its frequency amounts to nearly twice the size of the other two in 2013.

<sup>32</sup> China Daily, *China-EU Relations*, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/cn\\_eu/2013-11/14/content\\_17104573\\_2.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/cn_eu/2013-11/14/content_17104573_2.htm).

<sup>33</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "It takes time, perseverance and patience to bridge gap of understanding between East and West", June 12, 2008, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zwjg/zwbdt/468268.shtml>.

economic growth, but also expresses concerns about the stability of the European economic system especially in recent years.

This ties well into the **strong economic features** that characterize EU-China relations (‘economic’ – 1031, ‘economy’ – 439). Trade relations have been received significant attention (‘exchanges’ – 714, ‘trade’ – 708, ‘investment’– 388) from China. All economic sectors or factors display slightly increasing trends before 2010 with all trends peaking in 2008. After surging and reaching peaks in 2011, all trends start to decrease together that same year. ‘Investment’ is the only key term whose frequency does not drop much in recent years, implying that the economic focus has been turned towards **more investment** for China.

‘Political’ (394) and ‘cultural’ (395) perspectives are also underscored. Politically, the purpose of ‘stability’ (324) is reiterated especially in 2004, 2008 and years after 2011. Comparing frequencies, the ‘**economic**’ focus experiences a major weight and high peaks in 2012. However, it decreases sharply in 2013 while the other two greatly increase in the same period. All three areas exhibit peaks in 2008, implying an increasing interaction between China and Europe in depth and breadth that year. This coincides with many momentous events in China, such as the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games and the Wenchuan earthquake.

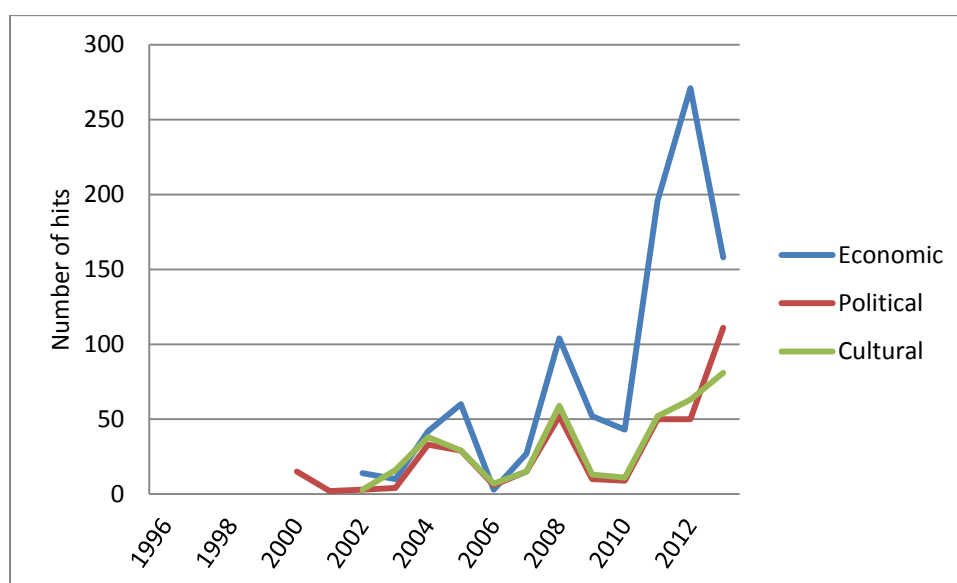


Figure 121. ‘Economic’, ‘Political’ and ‘Cultural’ within the topic ‘European Union’ – China

‘Technology’ (291) receives some attention as well, more so than economic terms before 2004, after which it starts to lose its relative importance.

## India



### ► Main findings

In the Indian perspective, Europe is mostly associated with cooperation in economic areas (trade), but also energy and technology. References to Europe appear next to many other regions or countries, particularly Asia, but also America. Relations with the EU are still envisaged through high-level commitments

from top leaders, but the frequency of related terms (e.g., 'EU' or 'Europe') tends to decrease over time – though with a slight improvement in the most recent years (after 2010). India's focus seems to be mostly directed either towards its own regional context, or a global perspective.

#### ► Statistics

- Query in English: Europe OR European Union
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 2.503
- Number of documents matched: 1.276
- The query yielded 358.049 results
- Years: 1947 to 1973, and from 1999 to 2013.<sup>34</sup>

#### ► Analyses

'Europe' (1.581), 'European' (1.445), and 'European Union' (1.076) stand out, representing a large share overall. But countries and regions that appear among the top results are mostly different from the EU. 'Asia' (739) emerges even in the Top-10, followed by 'China' (398), 'Pakistan' (283), 'Russia' (243), 'America' (240). It is interesting to note that not a single European country or EU member emerges in the Top-100 search. Germany (219) is the only individual EU member that emerges close enough, with 107 hits. This shows that **India's focus is on the multilateral** as opposed to the bilateral. In addition, over time, **the relationship between Europe and India seems to have been a roller-coaster ride**, experiencing steep rises and sharp falls. The EU had attracted considerable attention in the early 2000s, but the occurrence of related references drops after 2004. But it seems like post-2010 ties have been on the mend or at least they haven't dropped any further.

The appearance of China, ranking fairly high within the Top-100 list makes for an interesting observation. This is followed by Pakistan – with 'terrorism' (293) featuring right below, and then Russia and America which appears close to terms such as 'policy' (238) and 'powers' (237). This indicates that while commerce is probably the focus of India-EU ties, **strategic/security concerns that are important to India and also have a global connotation (such as the rise of China or terrorism in Pakistan) also feature prominently** among a search focused on Europe.

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<sup>34</sup> Data for India was available since 1947 until 1973, and from 1999 to 2013. We only considered data from 1999 in the analysis. Yet it is important to note that the difference would have been rather small. The total results for the 1999 to 2013 period reached 352.207, against 358.049 for both periods.

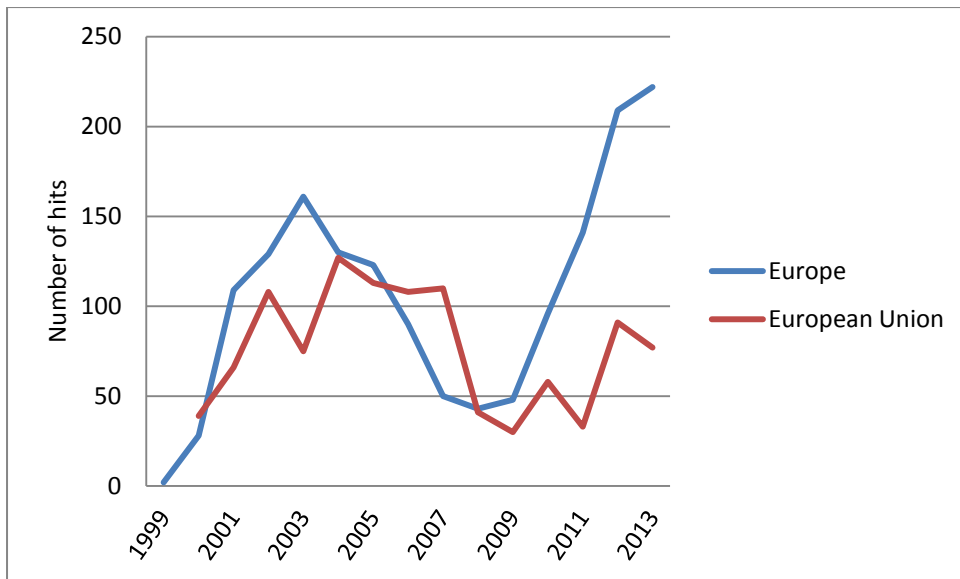


Figure 122. 'Europe' and 'European Union' within the topic 'European Union' – India

The thrust of India-Europe relations is primarily in the economic sphere – several related terms emerge such as 'trade' (767), 'cooperation' (731), 'economic' (723), 'developing' (697), 'investment' (375), 'growth' (259), 'business' (250), or 'market' (250). But 'energy' (367), 'technology' (341), and even 'cultures' (246) are also focal points. Energy actually rises through much of the 2000s, only to slightly drop in 2006 but following an upward trajectory again from 2007 onwards, peaking in 2012 and slightly dropping again in 2013.

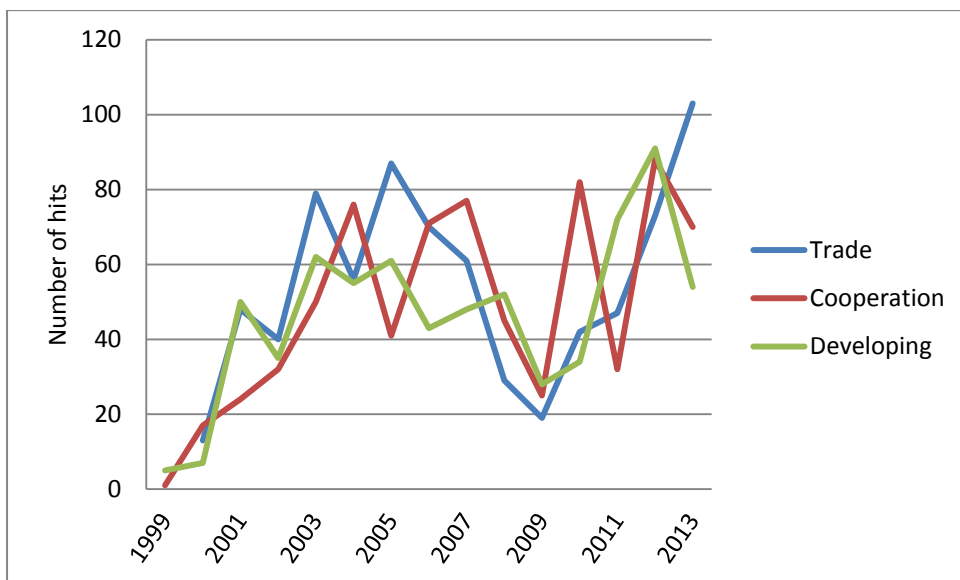


Figure 123. 'Trade', 'Cooperation' and 'Developing' within the topic 'European Union' – India

When viewed alongside the commercial nature of the India-EU relationship, this trajectory somewhat makes sense. India's economic growth was on the rise in the first half of the 2000s decade. Hence, the potential to strengthen trade ties was immense. In the second half of the decade, however, India's growth rate plummeted while the West in general was beset

with its own economic woes. Understandably then this has had an impact on relations between the two.

The websites also reflects a **slew of high-level visits** between India and the EU/European nations as well, as evidenced by the presence of terms such as 'summit' (553), 'international' (521), 'government' (519), 'visit' (503), Prime Minister (482), 'President' (449), 'partnership' (346), etc.

## [Indonesia](#)



### ► Main findings

The relation of Indonesia with Europe is mostly trade-based, and indirect, as mostly dealt with through other parties, such as ASEAN (increasingly). The rise of Asia is typically referred to, as part of this 'deal'. Other areas that define this relationship include democracy and human rights.

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: Europe OR European Union
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 340
- Number of documents matched: 178
- The query yielded 52.979 results
- Years: 2005 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

Indonesia seems to associate the EU with ASEAN. The most frequent terms for the search on Europe are indeed: 'Indonesia' (327), 'ASEAN' (303), 'Asia' (270), and 'Europe' (252). 'ASEAN' and the 'EU' stand out as the most significant in 2007, 2008, and 2010, while 'East Asia' emerges in 2007 and exhibits a significant decrease over time. This suggests that in terms of relations with European countries or the EU itself, Indonesia uses **ASEAN a channel for cooperation** and seeks further engagement to develop ASEAN as a stronger regional community. The appearance of another regional cooperative organization than the EU – ASEAN – for this query, can be explained by two reasons. First, the **priority seems to remain the development of the ASEAN** community. The strategic direction of Indonesia's foreign policy towards the EU is still influenced by how the EU can help or become an example to ASEAN in terms of successful regional cooperation. Second, the EU is also the **biggest investor in ASEAN**. Besides, ASEAN and the EU are also expected to collaborate

more in facing the recession and starting the recovery after global economic crisis, for example through energy cooperation.<sup>35</sup>

The timeline suggests that ASEAN has considerably lost its importance since 2010. Europe follows an upward trend after 2011.

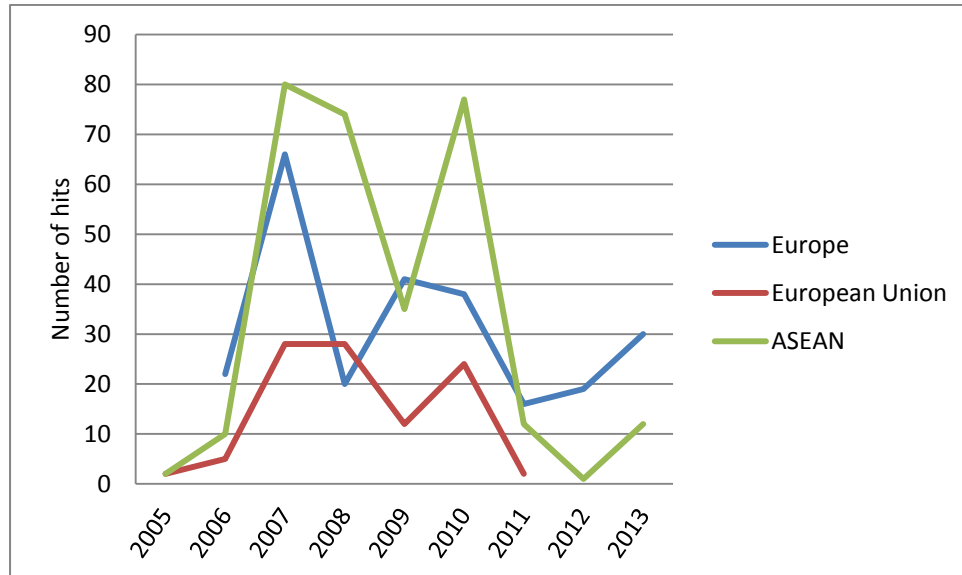


Figure 124. ‘Europe’, ‘European Union’ and ‘ASEAN’ within the topic ‘European Union’ – Indonesia

A number of terms reform to a veritable **platform of cooperation between Indonesia and the EU**: ‘dialogue’, ‘dialogue partners’ (36), ‘interfaith’, interfaith dialogue (34), ‘human rights’ (20), particularly on social and cultural issues. Democracy and human rights – and not only economic development – have become a pillar of the Indonesian-EU relationship.<sup>36</sup>

The presence of ‘East’ (160), ‘Asia’ (270), ‘East Asia’ (107), ‘Asia Europe’ (63), ‘APEC’, ‘ASEM’, ‘Asia Pacific’ (36), ‘Asia summit’ (30) indicates that Indonesia may also seek **beyond Southeast Asia** for cooperation with the EU, reaching out to East Asian countries (China, Japan, and South Korea). Tri-grams such as ‘China Europe relation’ (250) and ‘China EU relation’ (242) become part of the top list, suggesting that the rise of China is a driver of regional dynamism – explaining the important involvement of China in both regions.

<sup>35</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Rabat, “ASEAN and European Union Collaborate to Confront Crisis”, Embassy News, April 27, 2012, <http://www.kemlu.go.id/rabat/Pages/News.aspx?IDP=5581&l=en>.

<sup>36</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Buenos Aires, “Indonesian Ambassador to European Parliament: Towards Indonesia-European Union Strategic Partnership”, Embassy News, December 6, 2010, <http://www.kemlu.go.id/buenosaires/Pages/News.aspx?IDP=4248&l=en>.



According to one source from the MFA website<sup>37</sup> there is a desire to **create better engagement economically and politically as Asia is now rising**. This is also confirmed by the appearance of 'Asia Europe' as bi-grams. 'Trade', 'trade area' (34), 'free trade' (34) show that economic affairs have become the priority, even in recent years, followed by 'security' and 'Middle East' (38). 'Trade' is the most mentioned key term in 2009 – so was 'security' in 2007.

## Mexico



### ► Main findings

Mexico associates the EU with economic matters (particularly trade) and technology, but also human rights and democracy to a lesser extent. Germany stands out as the most frequently cited European member state.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Spanish: *Unión Europea* [English translation: European Union]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 316
- Number of documents matched: 143
- The query yielded 31.791 results
- Years: 2010 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

'*Unión europeos*' appears 354 times and 'Europeans' ('*europeos*'), 468 times. Associated expressions reveal that to Mexico, **the EU can be associated with economic affairs (trade and investments), human rights, but also technologies**.

The first five countries that appear are Germany, Italy, France, Spain and Great Britain. The Netherlands ranks 11<sup>th</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Nairobi, "ASEAN Regional Economic Architecture Dynamics, Cooperation Opportunity with the EU", Embassy News, November 25, 2011, <http://www.kemlu.go.id/nairobi/Pages/News.aspx?IDP=5308&l=en>.

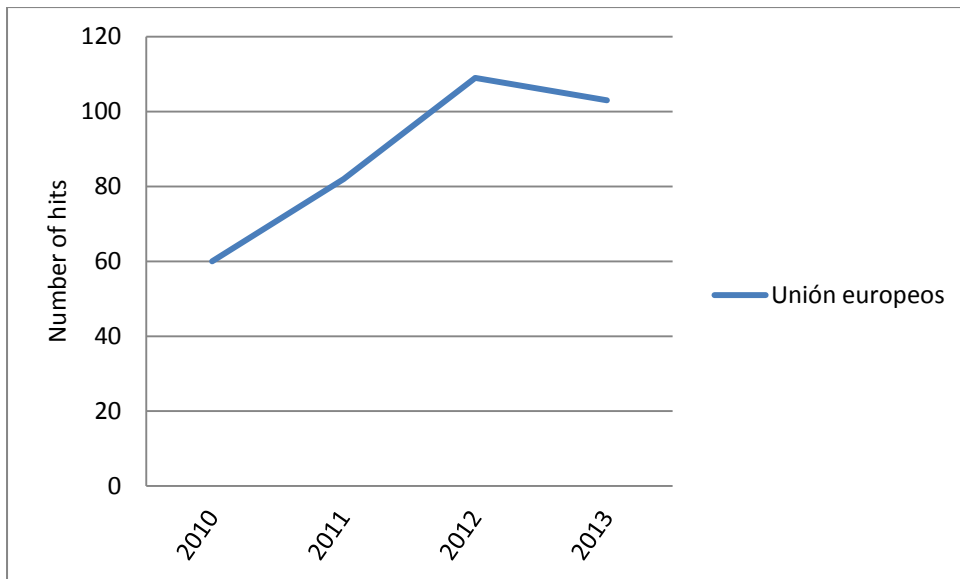


Figure 125. 'European Union' within the topic 'European Union' – Mexico

'Cooperation' (*cooperación*) appears 193 times. International cooperation for development, including with the EU, has relevance for the Mexican policy. A triangular cooperation methodology is often mentioned. Mexico is also interested in developing cooperation policies in the fields of **investment, trade, science and technology**. This is evidenced by the presence of terms such as 'international cooperation' (*cooperación internacionales* – 29); 'cooperation economies' (*cooperación economías* – 13); 'international cooperation development' (*cooperación internacionales desarrollo* – 11); 'cooperation technical and scientific' (*cooperación técnicas científica* – 4); 'economies trade cooperation' (*economías comercial cooperación* – 4); 'technologies union Europeans' (*tecnologías unión europeos* – 3); 'investments cooperation' (*inversiones cooperación* – 3); and 'scientific and technological cooperation' (*cooperación científica tecnologías* – 3).

The **economy** (*economías*) is another important domain, of relevance to the EU in the Mexican perspective (mentioned 166 times). Working on international economic cooperation is central in order to assure economic development. This cooperation is pursued mainly based on bilateral relations. This is shown by the following key terms: 'cooperation economies' (*cooperación economías* – 13); 'economies finance' (*economías financieras* – 8); 'mundial economies' (*economías mundial* – 6); 'development economies' (*desarrollo economías* – 6); 'economic relations bilateral' (*relaciones economías bilateral* – 5); 'economic trade cooperation' (*economías comercial cooperación* – 4); 'trade union Europeans' (*comercio unión europeos* – 6); 'trading schemes Europeans' (*esquemas europeos comercio* – 3) and 'European bank investment' (*banco europeos inversiones* – 3).

**Human rights and its promotion** is another important feature attributed to the EU or relations with the EU: *derechos humanos* (94); *rights* (147), *europeos derechos humanos* (6). The defense of such rights is organized both at the multilateral and bilateral levels. This may represent the will of Mexico to demonstrate to its European partners that it is **committed** to solving some human rights challenges, especially those regarding the

treatment of Mexican indigenous groups. Strengthening democracy seems to be the way to insure justice and effective human rights protection.<sup>38</sup>

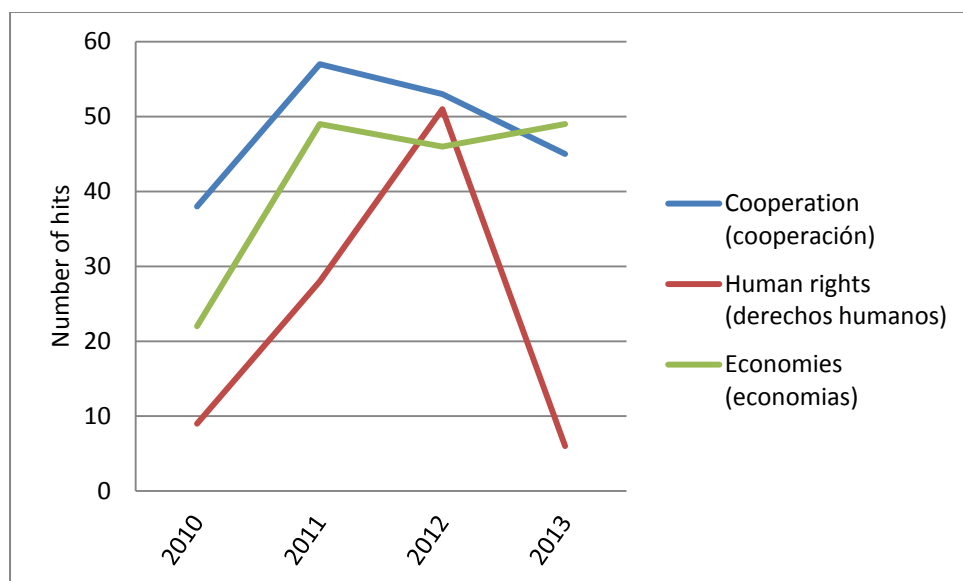


Figure 126. 'Cooperation', 'Human rights' and 'Economies' within the topic 'European Union' – Mexico

## Russia



### ► Main findings

Overall, Russia has increasingly paid attention to Europe, both as a strategic ally, and an economic and security partner, but this is not a stable trend. Russia also includes many other international actors in this relation, such as the OSCE, NATO and the UN, but also the US.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Russian: EC OR Европейский Союз [English translation: EU or European Union]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 6.854
- Number of documents matched: 2.474
- The query yielded 990.810 results
- Years: 2000 to 2013.

<sup>38</sup> Other main expressions are: '*multilateral derechos humanos*' ('multilateral human rights' – 9); '*derechos humanos México*' ('human rights Mexico' – 7); '*unión europeos derechos*' ('European union rights' – 6); '*europeos derechos humanos*' ('Europeans human rights' – 6); '*protección promoción derechos*' ('protection promotion rights' – 5); '*protección derechos humanos*' ('protection human rights' – 4); '*bilateral derechos humanos*' (bilateral human rights' – 3); '*defensores derechos humanos*' ('defenders human rights' – 3); '*democracia derechos humanos*' ('democracy human rights' – 3); '*justicia derechos humanos*' ('justice human rights' – 2); and '*pueblo indígenas derechos*' ('indigenous people rights' – 2).

## ► Analyses

Russia scores first (7.363 hits) followed by closely related terms ('Russian', 3.524; 'Federation' – 1.489; 'Russian Federation' – 1458 hits). The 'EU' follows with 6.132 hits (see also: 'European' – 6.132, and 'Union' – 1.908, 'European Union' – 1.663, 'Europe' – 1.095). 'Russia EU' also appears, further indicating a **great involvement and interest of Russian foreign policy** in the EU, rather than suggesting that Russia would be a distant observer.

This has not always been the case: this interest first decreased in 2002, before increasing substantially in 2005, and decreasing again in 2007. But overall, since then and until 2013, the topic has gained increasing attention from the Russian MFA.

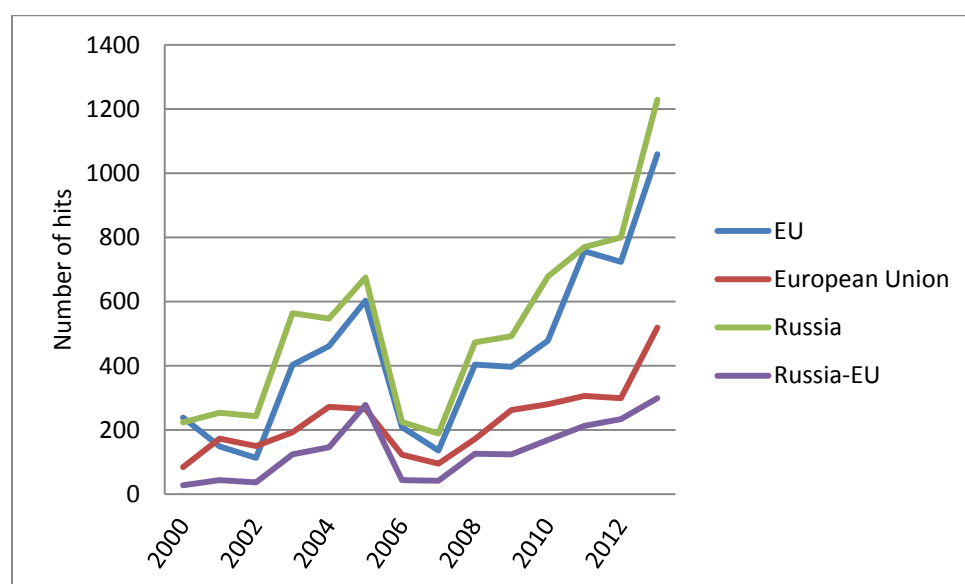


Figure 127. 'EU', 'European Union', 'Russia' and 'Russia-EU' within the topic 'European Union' – Russia

Another interesting finding is the presence of **international actors** other than Russia and the EU in Top-100. The 'UN' ranks 33<sup>rd</sup> with 1.130 hits, the 'US' – 57<sup>th</sup> with 804, 'NATO' – 74<sup>th</sup> with 682, closely followed by the 'OSCE' – 80<sup>th</sup> with 648 hits. Key words defining the status of actors involved are also present among the main results ('countries' – 4<sup>th</sup>, 3.363 hits, 'states' – 1.742, 'ministers' – 1.549, 'parties' – 1.440), as well as the scope (geography) of dialogue associated with the EU ('international' here is mentioned twice as much as regional: 2.536 for 'international', 'regions' – 1.153). This suggests that **Russia-EU relations are not strictly bilateral**, but are considered in the framework of the broader international cooperation.

Regarding **spheres of cooperation**, 'security' is the top priority (1.779 hits); 'development' (1.678) comes next, followed by 'economic' (1.515), 'rights' (1.275), and 'politics' (889).

The analysis of the timeline, however, tends to point to different trends for the two main spheres of interest. 'Economy' used to prevail in 2000, dropped down in 2007 and since then

had been steadily growing. 'Security' had peaked in 2008 and remains highly important since.

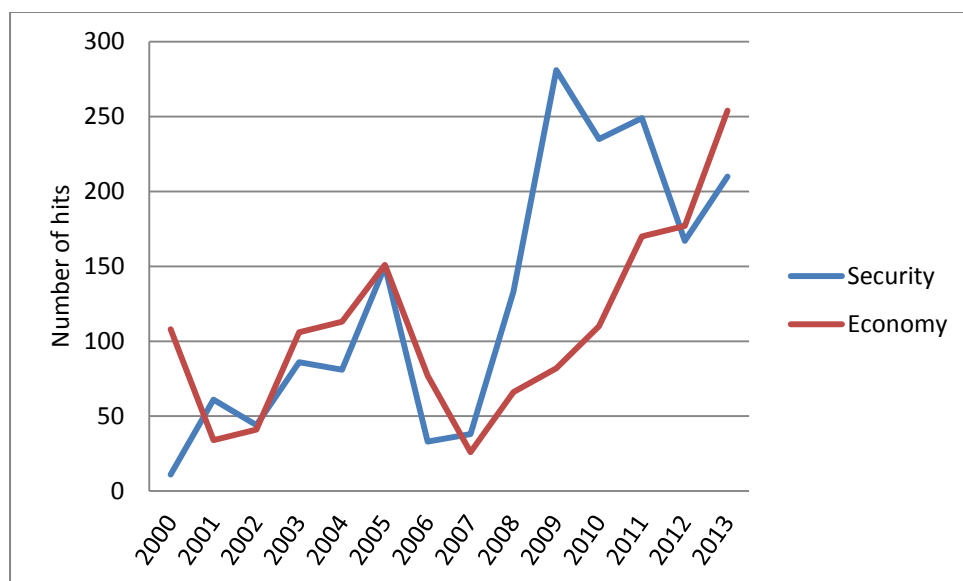


Figure 128. 'Security' and 'Economy' within the topic 'European Union' – Russia

There is some indication as to which tone characterizes these relations. They tend to be **positive, cooperative and result-oriented**, judging from the main results: 'cooperation' (2.706), 'agreements' (1.302), 'decision' (1.108), 'mutual' (970), 'possibilities' (884), 'dialogue' (837), 'partnership' (784), 'negotiations' (774), 'partners' (773). This could be interpreted as sending the signal that Russia considers the EU as a **strategic ally** in the global security dialogue, rather than just a trade partner for regional or bilateral economic development.

## Turkey



### ► Main findings

The EU-Turkey relationship is both political and security-oriented, along with the economic partnership these close neighbors have shared for a long time.

This is explained by the regional issues that tie them together, for instance the Cyprus crisis or the quest of Turkey for European Union membership. Turkey actively promotes its geostrategic influence on the region, and is aware of what this means to the EU. The relations with the EU are not necessarily exclusive, but the vocabulary and the results suggest a strong commitment from Turkey to this partnership.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Turkish: *Avrupa Birliği* [English translation and query: European Union OR Europe OR EU]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 219 [English results: 889]
- Number of documents matched: 61 [English results: 223]

- The query yielded 32.614 results [English results: 93.759]
- Years: 2008 to 2013 [English results: 2007, and 2009 to 2013].

There are only some slight differences compared to the English texts.

### ► Analyses

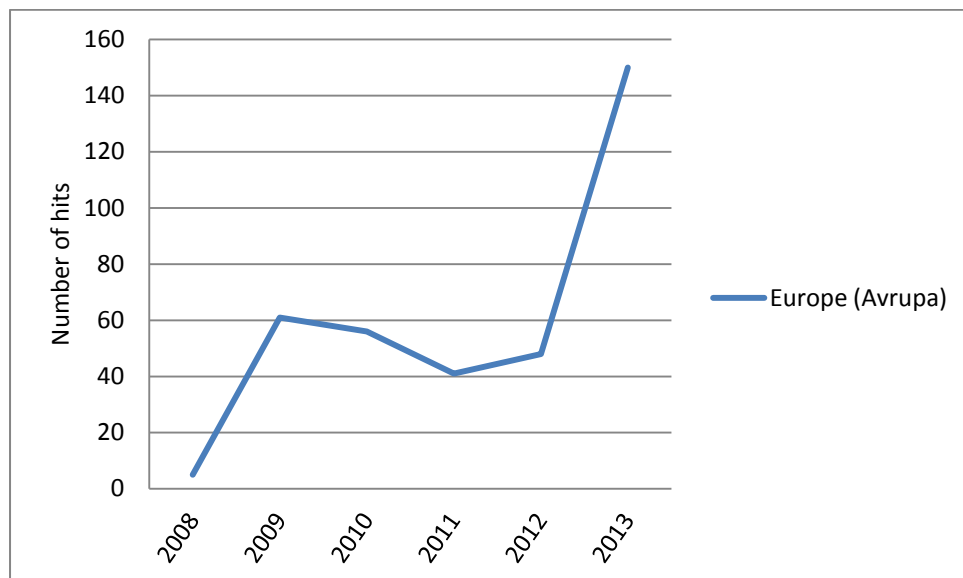


Figure 129. 'Europe' within the topic 'European Union' – Turkey

In line with the title of the query, the most common associations in the texts are **'Europe' and 'the European Union'** ('*Avrupa*' – 361; '*Birliđini*' – 274; '*Avrupa Birliđi*' – 235). Turkey's relations with the EU are the fruit of a long historical 'process' ('*süreçte*' – 103) which started more than fifty years ago with the project of a full 'membership' ('*üyeliđine*' – 61) of Turkey. This partnership has been a 'significant' ('*önemli*' – 68) benchmark in Turkish Foreign Policy. It has international consequences but also profound domestic repercussions. Within this framework, the results for this query can be analyzed under four lenses: the **Cyprus** issue, **security and regional** affairs, the **EU reform process**, and an **economic** dimension.

One of the major relevant political debates in EU-Turkey relations is the **'Cyprus'** (123; in Turkish: '*Kıbrıs*' – 43) issue. As noted in English texts, Turkey's efforts to resolve the problem with the assistance of the UN in 2004 failed due to the veto of the 'Greek' (97) 'Cypriots' (96) to the 'Annan Plan' (through referendum). In addition to the reluctance of the Greek Cypriots to adopt this solution, the Republic of Cyprus was accepted as a EU member state and fully recognized by the EU. This development has been a milestone in EU-Turkey relations. Turkey continues to recognize the Greek Cypriot authorities as exercising authority, control and jurisdiction only in the south territory of the buffer zone, and as not representing the Turkish Cypriot people of the island. This issue remains on the table of EU-Turkey 'negotiations' ('*müzakere*' – 38). Considering the dynamic of the topic over time, the results from both Turkish and English texts show that it has gained more attention from the Turkish MFA in 2009 and 2010. This increase can be associated with the efforts and

mediation of the UN throughout those years to solve the dispute: the Turkish authorities and Greek authorities of the Island were expected to agree upon a comprehensive settlement of the conflict before the end of 2010. This is shown by, for example, a report published on 9 May 2010, "Report of the Secretary-General on his mission of good offices in Cyprus".<sup>39</sup>

A reference to 'region' ('*bölgesinde*' – 30) in the Turkish texts emphasizes **Turkey's regional power and geostrategic location**, which may point to its potential capacity to spread EU values across broader geographies. The 'regional' (269) role of Turkey emerges even more strongly from the English results, particularly with respect to the Mediterranean region and the neighboring Middle East, as a dynamic center which can foster 'stability' (82) and security along with a EU membership. English texts highlight Turkey's capacity to support international and regional peace and stability, and to enhance the universal values to a broader geography and serve common security and welfare.<sup>40</sup>

There is a **security aspect** in this relationship too. Turkey's membership to **NATO** (76) is specifically noted in the English texts, especially NATO's strategic partnership with the EU. The EU and NATO are two main elements of continuity in Turkey's security and foreign policy.<sup>41</sup> The EU is a partner in addressing regional '**crises**' ('*krizler*' – 8 in December 2012 and 7 in November 2012). During the Syrian crisis, Turkey's MFA held meetings to enhance cooperation with the EU ministers of Foreign Affairs.<sup>42</sup>

The query suggests that the EU-Turkey relationship is primarily '**political**' ('*siyasi*' – 40). In this context, the US is shown as a supporter of Turkey's EU membership process. The Turkish texts include references to '**Amerika**' (24), the only country that is mentioned frequently among the results of this topic, consistently so and mostly from 2010 to 2013. This would be due to the decision of the US government to join the 'The Alliance of Civilizations Initiative', launched in 2005 by the Prime Minister of Turkey and Spain, and later adopted by the Secretary General of the UN as a UN initiative. John Kerry's visit to Turkey in March 2013 was also an important step in US-Turkish relations. In all of these discussions, Turkey's bid for the EU membership was underlined.

Turkish-American relations are also significant for the query of 'European Union' from an economic perspective as well. In recent years, the initiation of a free trade agreement

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<sup>39</sup> The document can be found at [www.mfa.gov.tr/data/DISPOLITIKA/KIBRIS/BMGS28Mayisraporu.doc](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/DISPOLITIKA/KIBRIS/BMGS28Mayisraporu.doc).

<sup>40</sup> See Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, "Interview by Mr. Ahmet Davutoğlu published in AUC Cairo Review (Egypt) on 12 March 2012", <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/interview-by-mr-ahmet-davuto%C4%9Flu-published-in-auc-cairo-review-egypt-on-12-march-2012.en.mfa>.

<sup>41</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, "Article by H.E. Ahmet Davutoğlu published in Foreign Policy magazine (USA) on 20 May 2010", [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/article-by-h e -ahmet-davutoglu-published-in-foreign-policy-magazine- usa -on-20-may-2010.en.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/article-by-h-e-ahmet-davutoglu-published-in-foreign-policy-magazine-usa-on-20-may-2010.en.mfa).

<sup>42</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, "Foreign Minister Davutoğlu informed EU foreign ministers on Syria", <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/foreign-minister-davutoglu-informed-eu-foreign-ministers-on-syria.en.mfa>.

between the US and the EU has been a significant matter to the Turkish Foreign Policy, which closely followed the developments then: Turkey is part of the EU Customs Union, but not the EU itself; as a result, this US-EU agreement could negatively affect Turkish trade. The transatlantic commercial and investment agreement and partnership are therefore very important to Turkish interests.

The emphasis on the ‘**economic**’ (41, and ‘trade’ – ‘*ticaret*’, 61) theme clearly stands out in direct relation with EU countries, and increasingly so, as suggested by the Figure below. One source particularly insists on the strong economic and commercial ties between Turkey and European countries.<sup>43</sup> The economic conditions of Europe are also mentioned, along with political challenges such as the Arab Spring, Turkey sees the EU membership as potentially supporting a part of Turkey’s domestic political, social and **economic reform** processes.

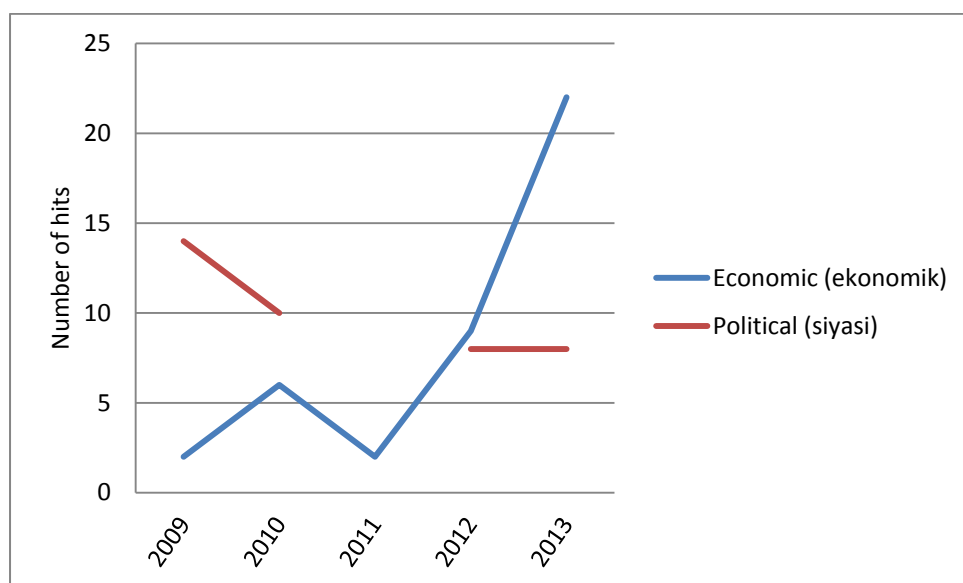


Figure 130. ‘Economic’ and ‘Political’ within the topic ‘European Union’ – Turkey

In fact, ‘**reform**’ (‘*reformlari*’ – 28) is another frequently mentioned term, and seems likely to be the backbone of the relations between EU and Turkey. Annual progress reports, or the regular visits between delegations tend to emphasize the reforms undertaken by the Turkish government. The ‘reforms’ aim at aligning the Turkish legislation with the EU Acquis in order to succeed in membership negotiations. Accordingly, ‘reform packages’, ‘reform process’, ‘ongoing reforms, ‘Reform Monitoring Group’<sup>44</sup> are often mentioned across the English documents too.

In English texts, ‘**cooperation**’ (235) is frequently mentioned. Within this contexts, ‘cooperation with European Institution’, ‘cooperation in security issues’, ‘South East

<sup>43</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, “Relations with European Countries”, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-with-european-countries.en.mfa>.

<sup>44</sup> This group was designed to monitor the reforms that Turkey has made to enter the EU. It is a governmental meeting consisting of the ministers of Foreign Affairs, EU, Justice and Interior Affairs.



European Cooperation Process (SEECP)', the 'Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization', 'regional cooperation' are recurrent. 'Cooperation' associated with the search on 'European Union' increasingly occurs from 10 times in May 2010, to 15 times in November 2012, and 35 times in December 2012: there is a steep increase after 2010.

The term 'cooperation' can be associated with international organizations as well, in particular with economic and political terms. For instance, the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC initiated by Turkey) is one of the most frequently cited international organs. In the English results, 'BSEC' (40) appears in June 2012, and so does 'BSEC' (26) in November 2012. Turkey undertook the chairmanship of the organization between July and December 2012. This platform is relevant to EU matters, as this is where Turkey presents its institutionalized European-rooted policies to the powers of Black Sea Region, discussed in meetings involving BSEC-EU interactions. Among our results, other international organizations or processes relevant to 'cooperation' included NATO-EU cooperation, Southeast European Cooperation Process (SEECP), International Cooperation Platform (ICP). 'MERCOSUR' appeared 6 times in December 2010 (English results), which coincides with its 40<sup>th</sup> Summit.

#### [Cross-country comparison](#)



Europe tends to have remained consistently present across national foreign policy discourses, and to be viewed mostly and above all as a partner, more specifically as an **economic partner**, particularly for **trade**. Some countries like Brazil, Mexico and Indonesia also emphasize aspects of human rights and democracy as important areas of foreign policy relations, as well as technology and science (for Brazil and Mexico).

Russia and China tend to show **positive** expectations and views of these relations.

The EU is usually taken into consideration as **one entity** as a whole. In case some countries are mentioned, **Germany** tends to be the most frequently cited EU member, except in the case of Brazil, which mostly emphasizes Portugal. China, but even more so Turkey, do emphasize some points of disagreement.

Relations with the EU are mainly envisaged as **bilateral**, perhaps with the exception of Russia, which tends to include international organizations to form a 'triangular' bond, or even the US, similarly to Turkey. This may suggest a preference from Russia and Turkey to seek understanding with the EU in a trilateral fashion which can be explained by the nature of their relations (as it includes issues of security policy). In the case of India, the EU seems to have lost the 'bilateral attention' of the MFA over time (which can be linked to the regional focus of India identified in the stream analysis): relations are envisaged in a global, multilateral setting.

China seems to clearly aim at **strengthening its ties** with Europe, by including more **cultural and political** elements in the relationship. But in Russia's view, Europe is also a strategic ally in the global **security** dialogue. Turkey emphasizes many political and security aspects of its relation with the EU. With the other selected countries (which may not yet have acquired the status of 'great powers' and are more regionally focused), relations seem to include broader fields of cooperation, but are less intense, or more superficial.

## Trade agreements

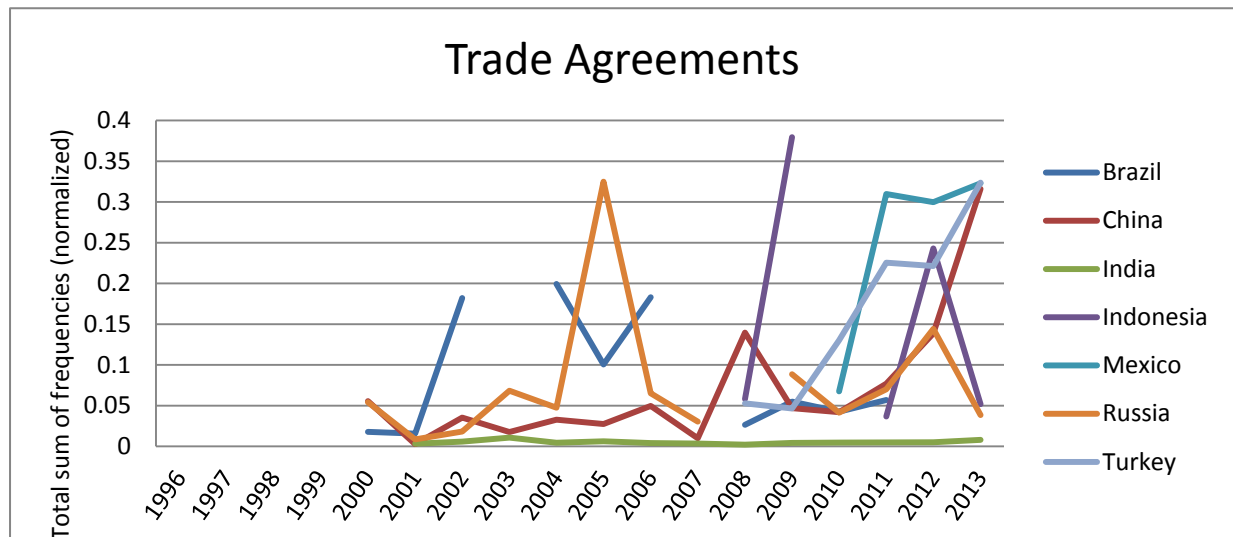


Figure 131. The topic 'Trade agreements', trends over time for all countries

Trade does not seem to be a topic that is consistently emphasized by most countries. Some trends suggest that it has become much more important in foreign relations for China, Mexico or Turkey, and Russia tends to have always included it in its discourse, though with some ups and downs.

### Brazil



#### ► Main findings

Brazil's trade affairs are geographically dispersed across the globe and different actors (from Latin America to Africa, from Europe to Asia, from regions and nations to trade organizations) and tend to include many different areas (from transport to energy, from agriculture to mining).

#### ► Statistics

- Query in Portuguese: *Acordo comercial* [English translation: trade agreement]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 71
- Number of documents matched: 65
- The query yielded 6.467 results
- Years: 1998, 2000 to 2002, 2004 to 2006, 2008 to 2011 and 2013.

## ► Analyses

Organizations and forums are frequently mentioned, showing that trade is envisaged in an **institutional, global and regional perspective**. The first institution that appears is 'MERCOSUL', with 86 hits. It has an active role promoting trade arrangements between its members and other countries. It is followed by 'SACU' (24 hits, i.e., Southern African Customs Union including South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland), 'European Union' (17); 'ALCA' (11, i.e., Free Trade Area for the Americas or FTAA).

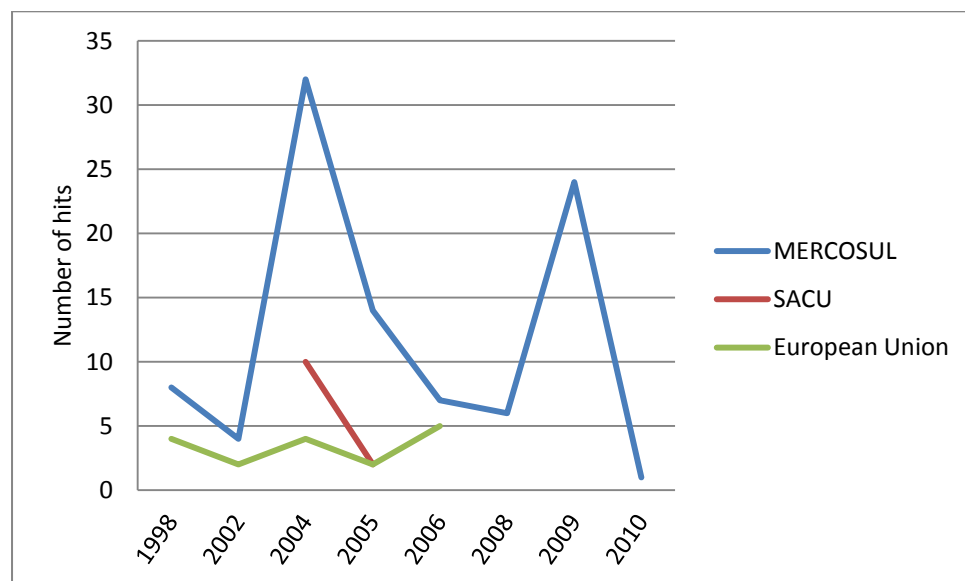


Figure 132. 'MERCOSUL', 'SACU' and 'European Union' within the topic 'Trade agreements' – Brazil

There are not many **countries** that emerge among the Top-100 results, but the geographical spread is worth noting: it includes one European country, 'Poland' (22) and Asian countries, like 'Korea' (22) and 'Indonesia' (14), but also 'South Africa' (4). Other BRIC members do appear, though 'India' is only mentioned 11 times, followed by 'China' (8).

Many major **trade organizations** appear: 'WTO' (7); 'IBAS' (2); 'ALC' (2 hits, i.e., Latin America and Caribbean), and 'BCIE' (1, i.e., *Banco Centro-americano de Integração Econômica* or Central-American Bank of Economic Integration).

**Areas relevant for trade** in the Brazilian perspective are broad and include transportation, maritime and aerial transport, energy, nuclear energy, agriculture, mining, biotechnology and farming. This is evidenced by the following key terms: 'aerial transport' (4); 'maritime transport' (4); '*energia*' (5) 'nuclear energy' (2); 'biomass' (2); 'biofuel' (1); '*agricultura*' (6); '*mineração*' (3); '*biotecnologia*' (2); and '*agropecuária*' (2).

## China



### ► Main findings

The importance of trade has boomed, especially with respect to exports, industries and goods, although China is becoming more open to services in the most recent years. Trade is more and more a priority for China. There is a clear ambition to renew, re-energize, reinforce trade relations, expand and deepen trade areas. Those areas mostly include energy (increasingly so, and mainly with Australia), resources, agriculture, technology. As for many other topics, China wishes for all to seek mutual benefits in trade, and state actors (a broad diversity of them) are more emphasized than trade institutions.

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: Trade agreement
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 304
- Number of documents matched: 239
- The query yielded 60.835 results
- Years: 2000 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

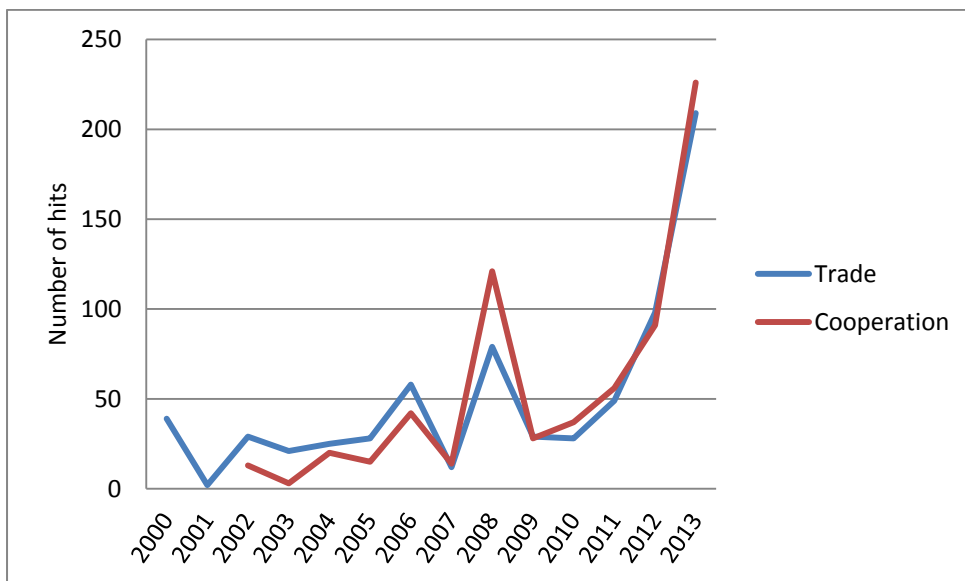


Figure 133. 'Trade' and 'Cooperation' within the topic 'Trade agreements' – China

'Trade' (706) is the most frequently mentioned term, following 'China' (852) and 'cooperation' (687). All three key words, with slight peaks in 2008, start to surge from 2010 and reach record peaks in 2013. **Free trade** ('free' – 317, 'free trade' – 311, 'free trade agreement' – 267) is a central topic for 'trade agreement'. Trends of relevant words exhibit slight peaks in 2008 and start to **increase from 2010 onwards**. 'Developing' (309) and 'new' (242) are frequently mentioned across the MFA website as well, inferring that China is willing:

- to develop new or develop further previous **trade relationships**, or
- to develop **new trade fields** with partners, or

- inferring that its trade focus still rests on a **purpose of ‘development’**.

There is some evidence that helps describe the pattern of trade relations: they have become increasingly ‘bilateral’ (329) over time, and (must) involve reciprocal benefits (‘mutual’ – 213, and ‘benefits’ – 74). This stands out more than terms connoting regionalism and multilateralism, such as ‘international’ (94) and ‘multilaterally’ (31, which has been seldom mentioned over time).<sup>45</sup>

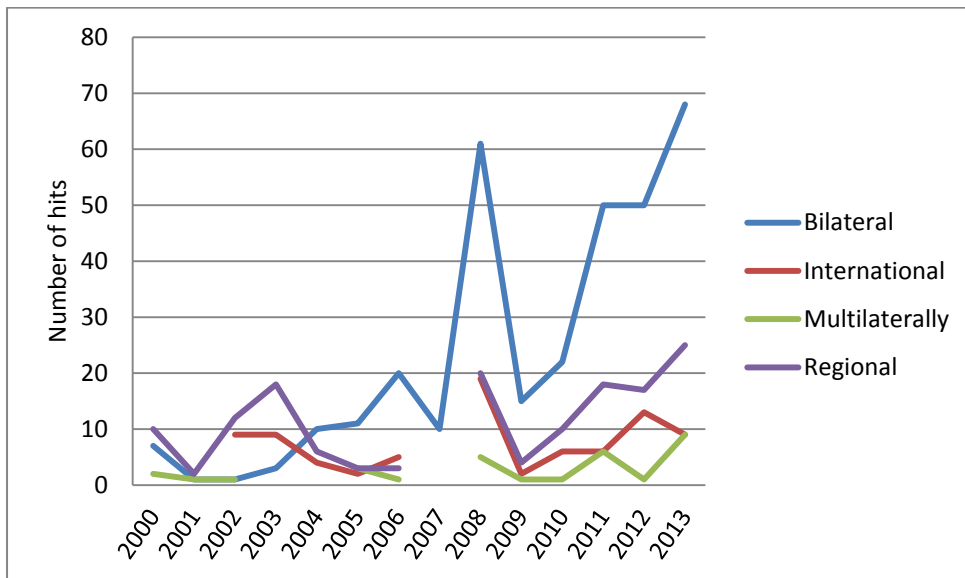


Figure 134. ‘Bilateral’, ‘International’, ‘Multilaterally’ and ‘Regional’ within the topic ‘Trade agreements’ – China

Progressive action words like ‘signing’ (149), ‘importance’ (132), ‘promotion’ (123), ‘ties’ (114), ‘negotiations’ (100), ‘expanding’ (95), ‘strengthen’ (94), ‘implemented’ (82), ‘deepening’ (80), ‘push’ (72), ‘enhance’ (70), ‘active’ (60), ‘coordinated’ (60) and ‘reach’ (53) all demonstrate the trend of a **concrete and active trade** cooperation between a committed China and its trade partners.

<sup>45</sup> It is interesting to compare trade agreement discourses relevant to levels of analysis. Comparatively, ‘bilateral’, though it gains less attention before 2004 and is even absent in 2002, has been well above the frequency trends of both ‘regional’ and ‘international’ since 2005. ‘International’ has been least mentioned compared to the other two and its frequency is absent in the year 2001 and 2007.

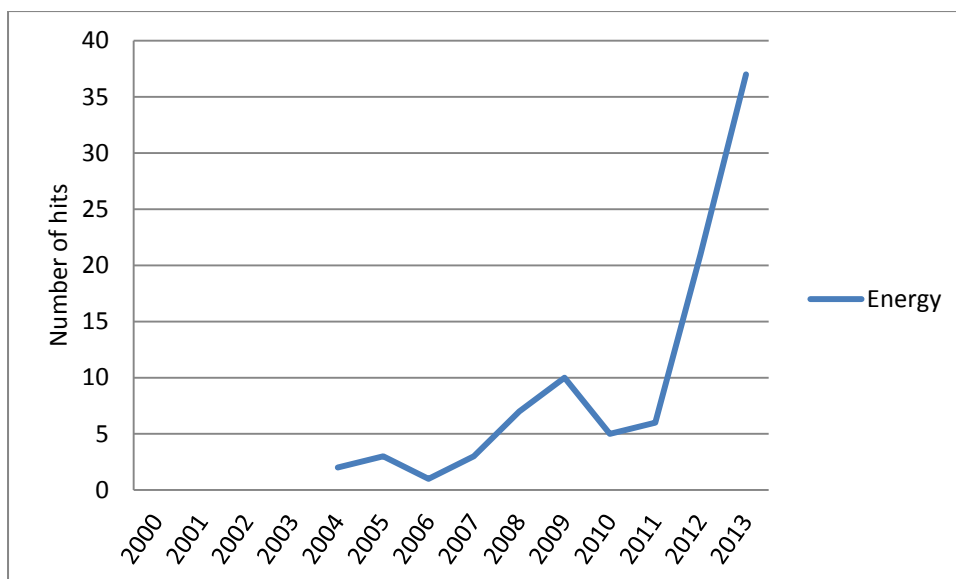


Figure 135. 'Energy' within the topic 'Trade agreements' – China

The main fields or 'strategic' (75) areas in which China emphasizes trade include: 'energy' (98), with a stable trend of its frequency over time and well above the others between 2010 and 2012; 'technology' (59), 'agriculture' (48) and 'resources' (47) and follow. The trend of 'energy' coincides with that 'Australia' (the country is mentioned below). 'Technology' is mentioned in 2000, 2003 and 2004, and was absent between 2005 and 2007. It starts to be mentioned since 2008 with a generally increasing trend. 'Resource' has been mentioned frequently after 2008 with a declining trend before 2011, and starts to increase again since then. Its trend interestingly coincides with that of Chile and New Zealand, especially between 2008 and 2012. 'Agriculture' starts to be mentioned in 2008, and after a decrease in the following years, it gains importance in 2013. There is a focus on pure **economic trade flows**, too. 'Investment' (149) has been frequently mentioned too, together with a relatively high frequency of 'enterprises' (51). This indicates a focus on relevant topics such as FDIs – China has been enjoying a persistent current account surplus in recent decades.

Regarding the actual 'content' (type or nature) of trade, 'exchanges' (174) or 'market' (55), 'goods' (78) still represent a larger share (in terms of frequency) compared to 'enterprises' (51) or 'services' (29), implying **China has been more open to liberalizing goods market compared to services or financial markets**. 'Exchanges' has been mentioned very frequently since the very beginning (2000), particularly in 2008. 'Goods' was emphasized between 2006 and 2009 with a relatively high frequency of occurrence. It regains its importance in the year 2012 and reaches its peak in 2013. 'Service' was mentioned the least frequently compared to the others over time, but emphasized much more in recent years.

'Export' (39, including 'importance export' – 12) was mentioned quite often in the early 2000s, 2012 and 2013, yet with a frequent occurrence in 2008 too, while there are no N-grams related to 'import' on the list, coinciding with **China's export-led growth**. 'People' (165) has also been widely mentioned, which can refer to 'people exchange', to the PRC, or

assert a message that people's benefits were taken seriously into consideration when the Chinese government is dealing with its trade relations.

'Country' (338) and 'government' (108) appear often, suggesting that **states are still treated as the major actor in trade relations**. The role of Chinese **leadership** has been emphasized much, supported by the frequent occurrence of 'President' (84), 'Premier' (68), 'Hu' (58), 'Xi' (56), coinciding with words pointing to high-level communications such as 'meeting' (91), 'talk' (61) and 'visit' (59). 'Australia' (135) was frequently mentioned on China's MFA website (and increasingly since 2008), coinciding with the strong trade relationship that exists between both countries and their fruitful commerce negotiations on their Free Trade Agreement. Next, New Zealand ('New Zealand' – 121, 'Zealand' – 120) or Asian countries follow, although 'Pakistan' (67) and 'Singapore' (65) appear only in 2008, 2010 and 2011. Among Latin American partners, next to Peru (60), Chile was mentioned rather often ('Chile' – 97, 'China Chile' – 54), especially between 2004 and 2006 and reaching a peak in 2008, but lost its importance since then in spite of some occurrences in recent years (2010 and 2012). Only one European country 'Switzerland' (90) appears in the Top-100, and is only frequently mentioned in 2013. Germany does not appear.

'Regional' is another characteristic (148, 20<sup>th</sup>) of China's trade focus. China's MFA website emphasizes the **regional influence on trade agreements**, as evidenced by the presence of 'Asia' (67), 'Pacific' (45), 'ASEAN' (43) and 'APEC' (41). 'APEC' emerges in five years (2001, 2004, 2005, 2011 and 2013). 'ASEAN' was only mentioned in 2002 and 2006 before 2008, but exhibits consistent occurrences since 2009. Although the trend is slightly decreasing from 2009 to 2011, coinciding with a worldwide economic slowdown, it starts to increase again in 2011 and reaches a record high in 2013.

It should be noted that '**strategic**' (75) and **cultural** ('cultures' – 64) considerations are taken into account when dealing with trade agreements.

## [India](#)



### ► Main findings

With respect to trade, India engages in bilateral, regional types of relations. It has strong trade links with the ASEAN as evidenced by the ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement. Interestingly, no individual ASEAN nation was noted among the main key terms, even though India does a lot of trade with Malaysia and Thailand, for example. Similarly, the absence of China, another important trading partner, is also conspicuous. However, while SAARC as a grouping is less prominent than ASEAN, SAARC member nations – Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and even Pakistan – are present individually.

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: Trade agreement
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 1.013

- Number of documents matched: 691
- The query yielded 197.315 results
- Years: 2001 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

'Free' (590) and 'free trade' (577) are mentioned in the Top-10, followed by 'Free Trade Agreement' (499) and its acronym, 'FTA' (153). This shows that **FTAs** are the preferred tool in India's trading strategies.

**Clusters made of regions or regional organizations** seem to stand out as preferred partners: 'ASEAN' (406) is the first international group to be featured on the list. A related query, 'India ASEAN', yields 179 hits. 'SAARC' (138) is second but its importance is all relative as it is not part of the Top-100. 'Cooperation' (436), 'regional' (359), and 'Asia' (152) also feature prominently.

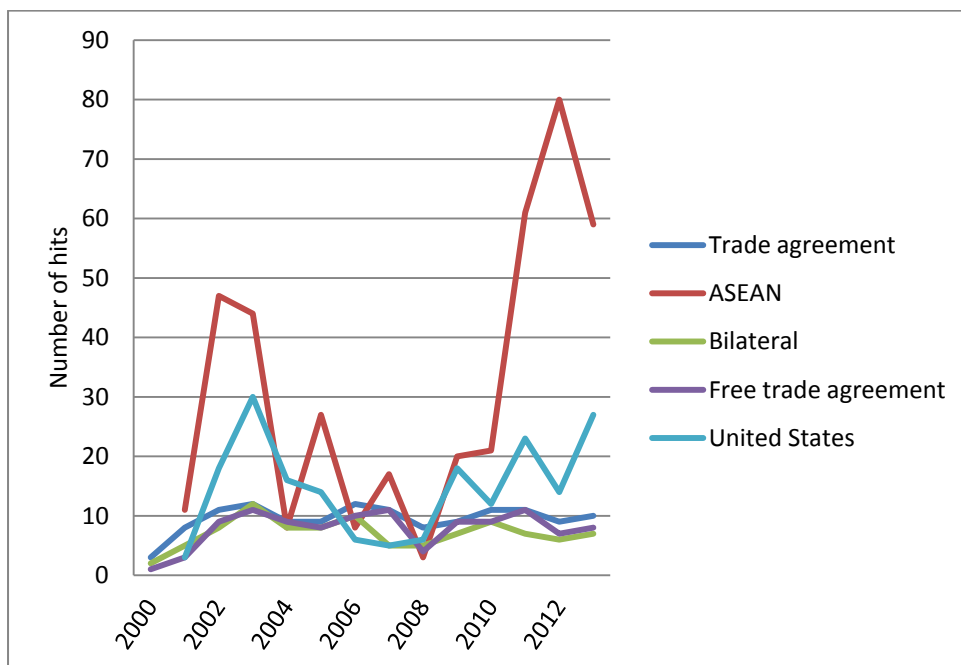


Figure 136. 'Trade agreement', 'ASEAN', 'Bilateral', 'Free trade agreement' and 'United States' within the topic 'Trade agreements' – India

**Trading partners** include countries in the Top-100 – 'US' (216) and 'Sri Lanka' (202). 'Bangladesh' (141) and even 'Pakistan' (123) appear closely after.

There is some evidence that helps in defining the **nature of trade**: it is mostly 'export'-oriented (368, and 'importance export' – 203), 'goods' (360) rather than 'services' (156), based on 'bilateral' relations (356 and 'bilateral trade' – 125), and involves 'investment' (307), 'contracts' (252), 'negotiations' (250).

### Indonesia





### ► Main findings

ASEAN is still Indonesia's priority when dealing with trade. India or Pakistan are also mentioned, as well as developed countries such as Australia. The establishment of free trade cooperation suggests that this is a feature or strategic direction of Indonesia's trade objectives.

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: Trade agreements
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 33
- Number of documents matched: 23
- The query yielded 5.843 results
- Years: 2006, 2008, 2009, and 2011 to 2013. Generally, all key terms are mostly mentioned in 2009.

### ► Analyses

**Indonesia seems to rely much on ASEAN as far as trade matters are concerned.** Next to the term 'trade' (89), ASEAN (88) is the most frequently mentioned term. It appears mostly in 2009 (33) and 2012 (20). ASEAN has been Indonesia's priority regarding trade matters, as shown by one source of the MFA website which describes the Indonesian foreign policy, its vision and its mission.<sup>46</sup> The presence of 'summit leaders ASEAN' (6) suggests that Indonesia wants to improve Indonesia's role and leadership in trade within ASEAN and the establishment of ASEAN Community 2015. ASEAN thus became a pillar in every single aspect of foreign affairs, including in trade relations. Trade is still focused on the region ('intra trade' – 6).

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<sup>46</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, "Foreign Policy, Vision and Mission. Direction of Indonesian Foreign Policy", September 6, 2009, <http://www.deplu.go.id/Pages/Polugri.aspx?IDP=21&l=en>.

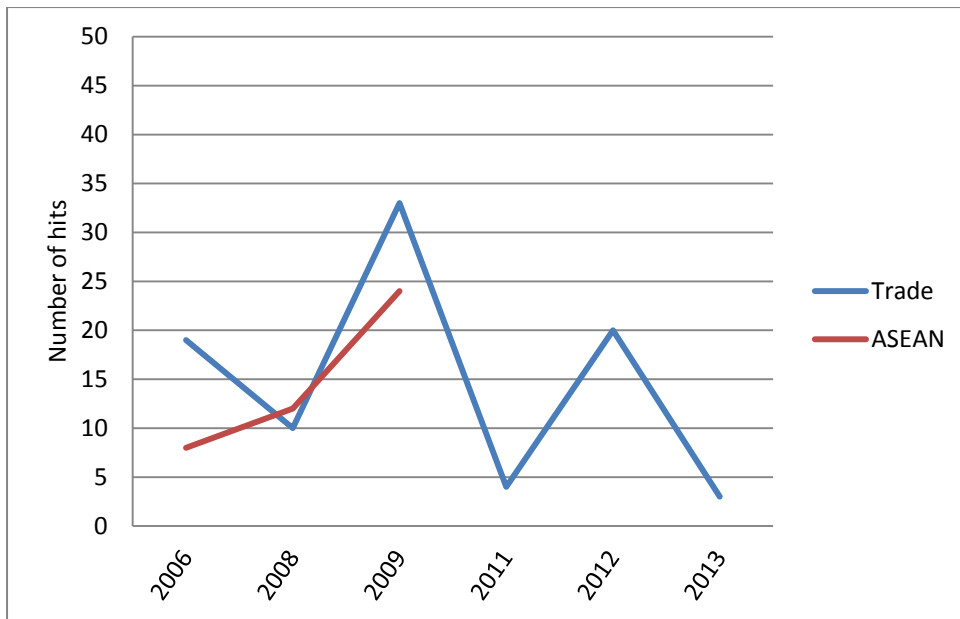


Figure 137. 'Trade' and 'ASEAN' within the topic 'Trade agreements' – Indonesia

**India**, and **Australia** and **New Zealand** also occur, suggesting that Indonesia and ASEAN's trade priorities are also directed towards non-member states: 'ASEAN India' (22), 'leaders ASEAN India' (8), 'trade ASEAN India' (6), 'New Zealand' (16, although it only appears in 2009), 'free trade' (19), 'business community' (8). 'India' and 'ASEAN India' are mentioned in 2006 and peak in 2012. In South Asia, Indonesia also cooperates with **Pakistan**, as suggested by the appearance of 'Pakistan business community' (6) and 'Pakistani business community' (4).

Trade relations are thus not only exclusive. Further, 'free trade agreement' (15), 'preferential trade agreement' (5), 'comprehensive economic partnership' (6), 'administrative assistance customs' (4) adds to the definition of the nature of trade relations Indonesia seeks. 'Free trade' and 'free trade agreements' become more significant in 2009 but decrease in the following years.

### Mexico



#### ► Main findings

Although Mexico does not seem to include the BRICS in its trade discourse, there is a strong regional focus (on South American countries, particularly), and MERCOSUR is an important part of this topic. Mexico shows commitment towards global trade institutions (e.g., WTO), perceived as facilitators of commercial interactions.

#### ► Statistics

- Query in Spanish: *Acuerdo comercial* [English translation: trade agreement]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 16

- Number of documents matched: 13
- The query yielded 2.346 results
- Years: 2010 to 2013.

► Analyses

'Trade agreement' ('*acuerdo comercial*') only appears 16 times. Main results include 'trading' ('*comercial*' - 24); 'economies' ('*economías*' - 23); 'trade' ('*comercio*' - 21); 'business' ('*negócios*' - 15); 'free trade' ('*libro comercio*' - 9); and 'investments' ('*inversiones*' - 9).

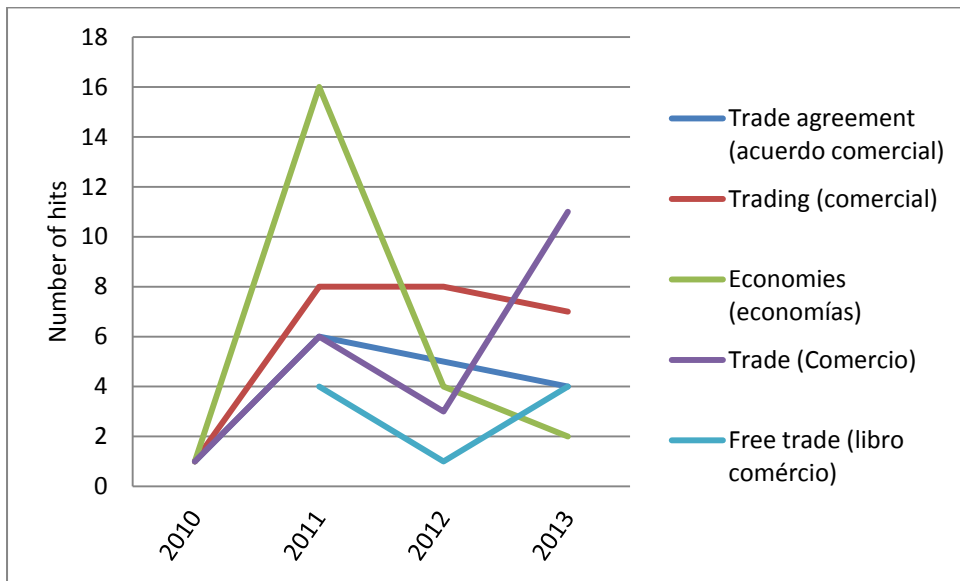


Figure 138. 'Trade agreement', 'Trading', 'Economies', 'Trade' and 'Free trade' within the topic 'Trade agreements' - Mexico

As observed in the results of the global governance topic, the **institutional dimension** that trade organizations and forums represent is central in the Mexican perspective: 'OMC' (WTO - 7); '*alianza pacífico*' (Pacific Alliance - Chile, Columbia, Mexico and Peru - 4); 'MERCOSUR' (2) and '*Unión europeos*' (2).

It is interesting to look at the **regions and countries** of predilection for Mexican trade: **Latin America and the Caribbean** are the only regions that emerge from the Top-100. And as for countries, only **Peru** is mentioned. This is evidenced by the emergence of terms such as '*América Latina*' (9); '*Caribbean*' ('*Caribe*' - 8); '*América Latina Caribe*' (6); and '*Perú*' (5). **None of the BRIC countries appears.**

Russia



► Main findings

Russia's trade agreements are region-oriented, particularly towards the former Republics of the Soviet Union - a trend that even seems to have increased in recent years. Some institutional and global perspective is

included, with the presence of WTO and APEC.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Russian: торговое соглашение [English translation: trade agreement]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 106
- Number of documents matched: 94
- The query yielded 24.598 results
- Years: 2000 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

The main key words include 'agreements' (320) and 'trade' (146 and 81). 'Trade agreements' (102) closely follow. These terms have remained frequently mentioned, as well as the general number of mentioning for this query, throughout the period researched, with peak years in 2005 and 2012.

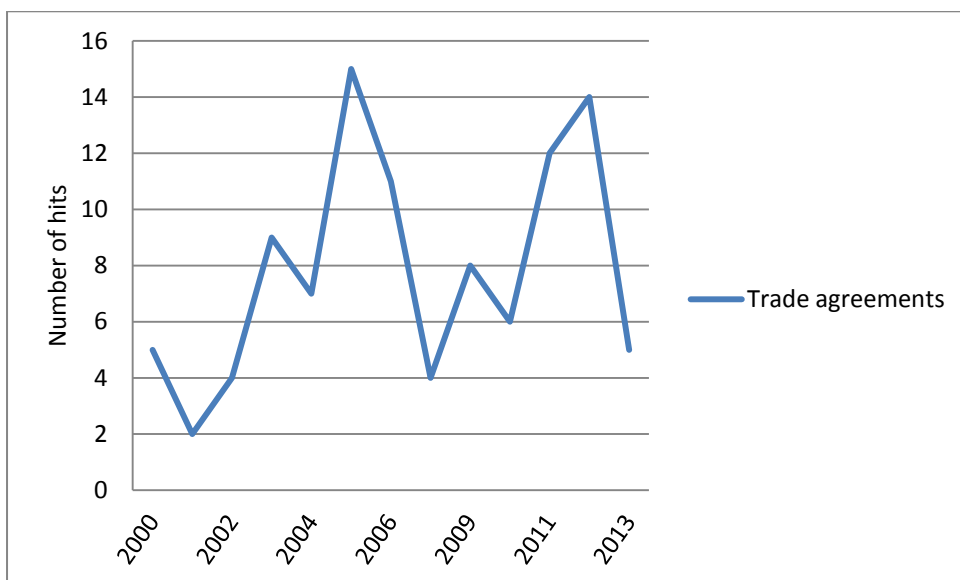


Figure 139. 'Trade agreements' as a key word within the topic 'Trade agreements' – Russia

The most surprising finding is probably the **frequent and broad references to the Soviet past and its close trade interconnections**. 'Republics' gets 206 hits, 'Soviet' – 136, 'USSR' – 96, 'Union' – 93, 'Socialist republic' – 88, 'Socialist' – 87, 'Union of Soviet' – 85, 'Soviet Socialist' – 82, etc. This finding is quite controversial considering the state of commerce under socialism. However, it reflects the close ties between the economies of the Soviet Union's members and the geographical dispersion of different stages of production (raw material could be produced in one Republic, sold for assembling to another and finally transferred for distribution to a third one). This finding also suggests the important role of Russia, where Moscow had been the central hub of decision-making, including in trade affairs. Finally, the remaining presence of this heritage remains within the MFA discourse

suggests that Russian diplomacy continues to rely on previously close trade relations while constructing modern dialogues with partner states.

One may expect that the frequency of the 'Soviet' topic would decrease over time. But this is not the case, according to our data. The number of mentions follows the general pattern of 'trade agreements', yet with a larger variance. 'Republics' is mentioned only four times in 2011, and then suddenly increases significantly, with 100 mentions in 2012. This suggests there is an official and centralized policy to promote this topic within the Russian foreign policy discourse, probably dictated by certain national or international circumstances.

More 'modern' international trade organizations also emerge from the results. 'WTO' scored 23<sup>rd</sup> with 55 hits, followed by 'APEC' (49<sup>th</sup>) with 39 hits. The word 'international' ranks 50<sup>th</sup> with 38 hits. This suggests that Russia is using these organizations as platforms for **trade negotiations**. Finally, this could reflect a shift from bilateral trade agreements to regional ones.

## [Turkey](#)



### ► Main findings

As observed for other topics, Turkey finds in trade relations another way to assert a regional influence as a geostrategic power. The EU is the most important partner, to which Turkey is committed. But Turkey also insists on the need for less barriers between both parties, and diversifies its focus by keeping an eye on Eur(Asia) through the ECO Trade Agreement (ECOTA) – or even the Americas, with MERCOSUR and the US.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Turkish: *Ticari Anlaşma* OR *Ticaret Anlaşması* [English translation: trade agreement OR trade agreements]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 17 [English results: 14]
- Number of documents matched: 14 [English results: 11]
- The query yielded 2.842 results [English results: 2.206]
- Years: 2008 to 2013 [English results: 2009 to 2013].

### ► Analyses

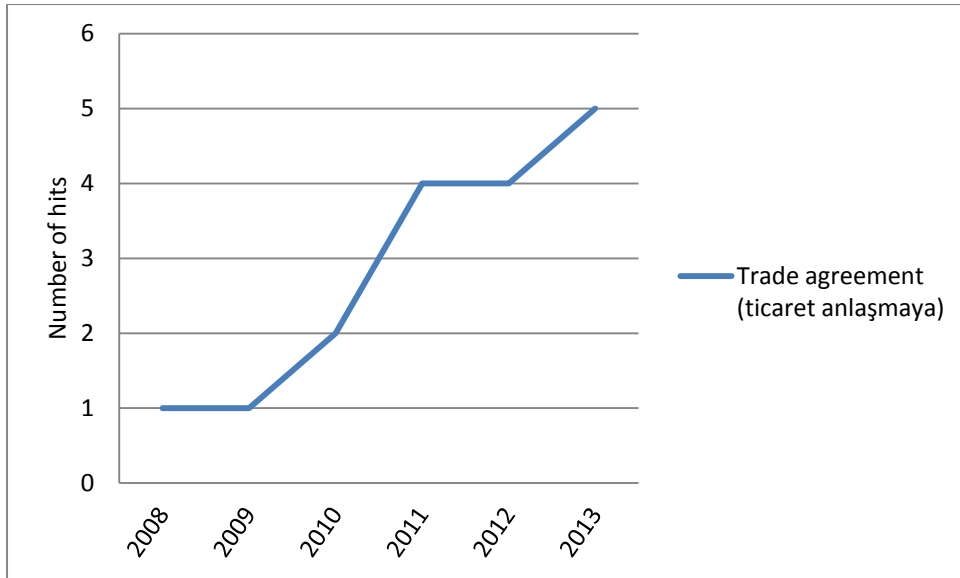


Figure 140. 'Trade agreement' as a key word within the topic 'Trade agreements' – Turkey

Turkey has increasingly opened up to mentioning trade as a topic within foreign relations.

According to the results, **the EU** ('*Avrupa*' – 12, '*Birliğini*' – 12) is emphasized as the main trading partner of Turkey (with 'European' – 9, 'member states' – 8, 'Union' – 7, or 'European Union' – 5 in English texts). But in every single bilateral relation between Turkey and an EU member state, 'trade' (33) volumes are distinctly noted. In most cases, the Turkish MFA drew the attention to the 'visa' (5) liberation and the difficulties encountered in concluding 'free trade agreements' ('*serbest ticaret anlaşmaya*' – 16) with third countries within the regulations of the EU's Customs Union Agreement. Across several texts, Turkish membership to the Customs Union in 1995 was distinctly noted, as the main framework of Turkey's trade with European states.

In English texts, Turkish 'businessmen' (3) and their entrepreneurship are mentioned, as well as the difficulties they face as citizens of a Customs Union member but as a non-EU member. Perhaps as relevant key terms, negotiations process (2) or even 'efforts' (3) point to this need for more flexibility and Turkey's commitment and expectations.

Found as 'free trade' ('*serbest ticaret*' – 18, ranking 4<sup>th</sup>), 'free' ('*serbest*' – 18, ranking 5<sup>th</sup>), 'trade agreement' ('*ticaret anlaşmaya*' – 17) or 'free trade agreements' ('*serbest ticaret anlaşmaya*' – 16 times among Turkish results, and 8 times among English results), **Free Trade Agreements** are also strongly emphasized across EU-related texts. The reason may be that the negotiations tend to be held by the Turkish minister of European Union Affairs. Turkey is also giving support to 'regional' ('*bölgesel*' – 3) trade agreements ranging from small to large scales. For instance, Turkey has been also conducting negotiations for an FTA with **MERCOSUR**. **Turkey's trade vision seeks alternatives as well**. The terms cited such as 'Philippines' ('*Filipinler*' – 4) and '**ASEAN**' (3) seems to reflect the essence of the matter involved.

Another relevant organization in this query worth mentioning is the Economic Cooperation Organization Trade Agreement or 'ECO' (18) 'Trade Agreement' (13, or 'eco trade' – 9). This organization was founded by Iran, Pakistan and Turkey in 1985. Today it includes 10 member states (Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) and one observer state (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus). Turkey sees this **ECO Trade Agreement (ECOTA)** as an opportunity for a unique geo-strategic location, linking the East and the West. On the road towards obtaining the EU membership, Turkey is bound to the Customs Union and seems to regulate the tariffs accordingly in the ECOTA. The ECOTA Cooperation Council was hosted by Turkey in October 2012 ('council held Ankara' – 2). Turkey tends to act as a **balancing force** between the EU and the ECO member states in this context.

The **US** is also mentioned several times under different terms: '*Birleşik*' (5), '*Amerika Birleşik*' (5), '*Amerika*' (5), '*Birleşik Devlet*' (5). These references point the **Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)** and its possible effects on Turkey. Turkey tries to be active and influential in these transatlantic negotiations as a Customs Union member with the non-EU membership.

#### [Cross-country comparison](#)



Most countries conceive trade as based on an institutional perspective. **Global trade institutions** such as the WTO are very much emphasized by Mexico, Russia, Brazil, but much less so by Turkey, Indonesia, India, or even China. Russia mostly seems focused on its **region**, i.e., its former Soviet territory.

**ASEAN** is India and Indonesia's main trade partner, and is also cited by China. These countries include many of their neighbors too, or just many other countries overseas (Pakistan, Australia, Sri Lanka, or Peru for China), and they see **FTAs** as a major tool serving the strategic objectives of trade relations. These are also mentioned as part of China and Turkey's ambitions, as the latter hopes to develop more of those.

India and China, two export- and goods-oriented economies, seem to base trade on **bilateral relations**. Brazil and China tend to promote the most universal distribution among trading nations, by mentioning (in the case of Brazil) EU members such as Poland, Asian countries such as Indonesia, India and China, but also African nations. To a lesser extent, this is also the case of Turkey, which trades with the most influential regional groups such as the EU and ECOTA (for strategic geopolitical reasons), but also more remotely with MERCOSUR, and with countries such as the US (also included in India's findings). In contrast, Indonesia, Mexico and Russia tend to have a more regional focus. In addition, we note that Brazil and China seem to include a broader diversity of **areas** in trade (agriculture, technology, energy, etc.).

Turkey, Brazil and Mexico are the only nations that include both the EU and MERCOSUR as partners. India and Indonesia, but also more surprisingly Russia or China do not include these. China only actually mentions Switzerland, a non-EU member. The US, Australia and New-Zealand seem to be the only 'Western' partners that have some importance. This is disappointing result for Europe. Developing nations seem to trade more with other developing nations or regions, traditional geographic areas, or authoritative international organizations.

The BRICS as a whole entity was not noticed among the results of China, India, or even Mexico and Turkey. According to our findings and the selected information, even BRIC countries seldom mention each other individually: for instance, India does not mention China. Russia is not mentioned by any other country (for Turkey, this may be a surprising finding). Interestingly, and next to its traditional concern for mutually beneficial relations, China takes cultures into consideration.

### (Natural) resources

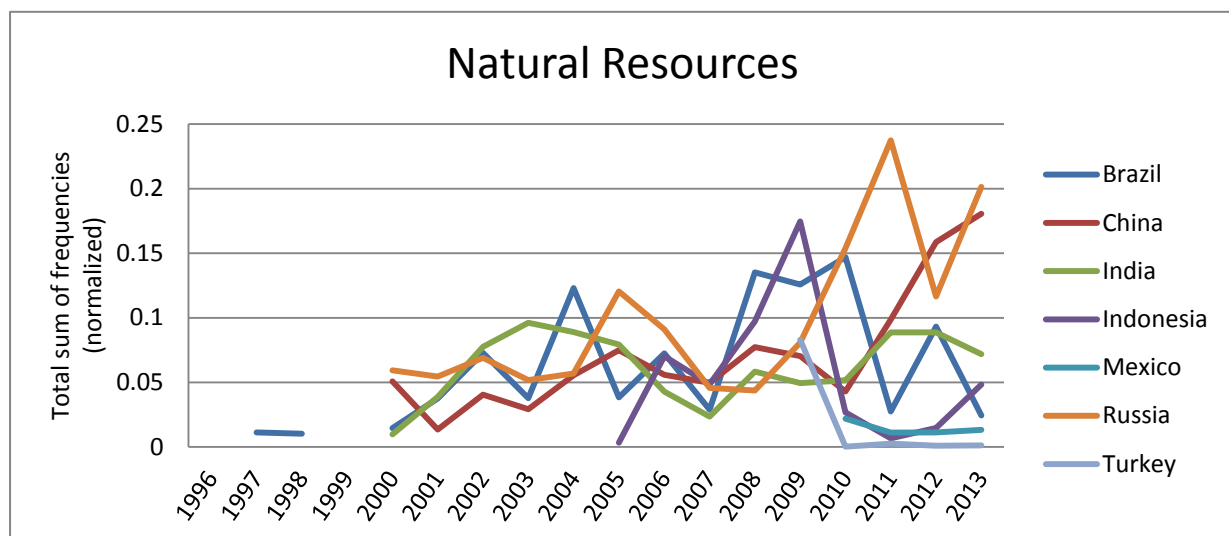


Figure 141. The topic 'Natural resources', trends over time for all countries

As could have been expected given the related challenges increasingly discussed as far as resources are concerned, few are the countries that do not seem to consider it as an important part of their foreign relations discourse – and that have not emphasized it. Over time, India, Russia, China have increasingly discussed it. Mexico and Indonesia may appear as outliers.

### Brazil



#### ► Main findings

As observed for other topics and other countries, cooperation and development are central notions that reflect, respectively and in the views of Brazil, the process and purpose involved in resource issues. As was observed for



its perspective on trade, Brazil includes a broad diversity of resources (e.g., from energy to food) and objectives to consider (from sustainability and human security to economic growth).

### ► Statistics

- Query in Portuguese: *Recurso natural* OR *recursos naturais* [English translation: natural resource OR natural resources]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 384
- Number of documents matched: 285
- The query yielded 36.242 results
- Years: 1997, 1998, and 2000 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

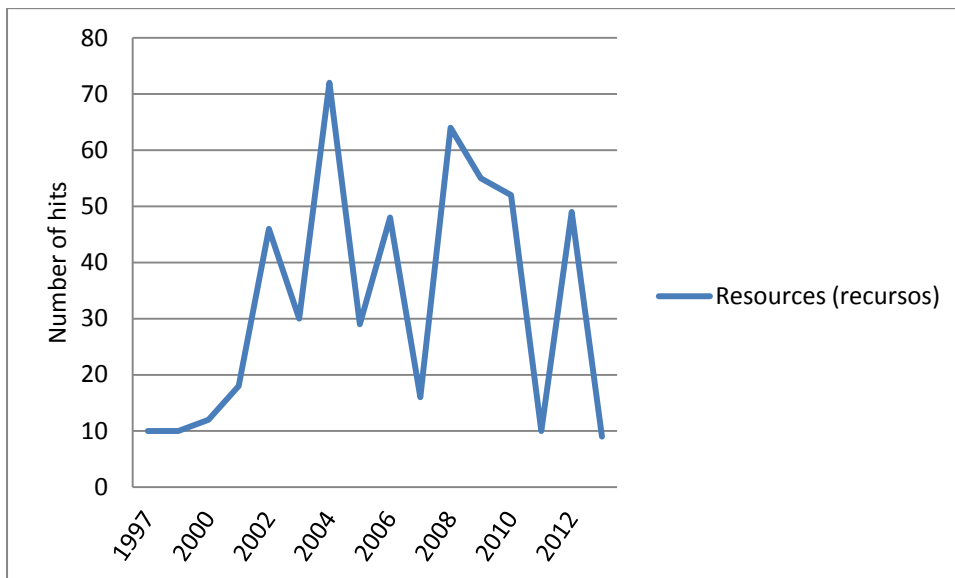


Figure 142. 'Resources' within the topic 'Natural resources' – Brazil

Over time, resources have broadly remained part of the Brazilian discourse in foreign relations. But it seems difficult to identify a clear-cut upward trend.

In issues that involve natural resources, Brazil seems engaged in their **sustainable exploitation**. This approach, based on 'cooperation' ('*cooperação*' – 645), should result in **more economic and social 'development'** ('*desenvolvimento*' – 632). Amazonia ('*Amazônia*' – 168) has always been a relevant area in this respect historically. In 1978, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Peru, Suriname and Venezuela had indeed established the 'Amazônia OTCA' (Amazon ACTO, for Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization – 12), that aims at protecting the Amazon forest. Some of the main key words include 'sustainable development' ('*desenvolvimento sustentável*' – 158); 'economic development' ('*desenvolvimento econômico*' – 42); 'rural development' ('*desenvolvimento rural*' – 32);

'bilateral cooperation' ('*cooperação bilateral*' – 30); 'Amazon cooperation' ('*cooperação Amazônia*' – 24); 'environmental cooperation' ('*cooperação ambiental*' – 10); 'cooperation sustainable development' ('*cooperação desenvolvimento sustentável*' – 8). With 'cooperation scientific and technological' ('*cooperação científico tecnológico*' – 12), Brazil also seems to include a role for **science and technologies**.

'**Energy**' ('*energia*' – 154) and '**agriculture**' ('*agricultura*' – 114) are major economic activities associated with natural resources. **Sustainability** emerges, as well as **food security** ('*energia segurança alimentares*' – 4) and **economic growth**.

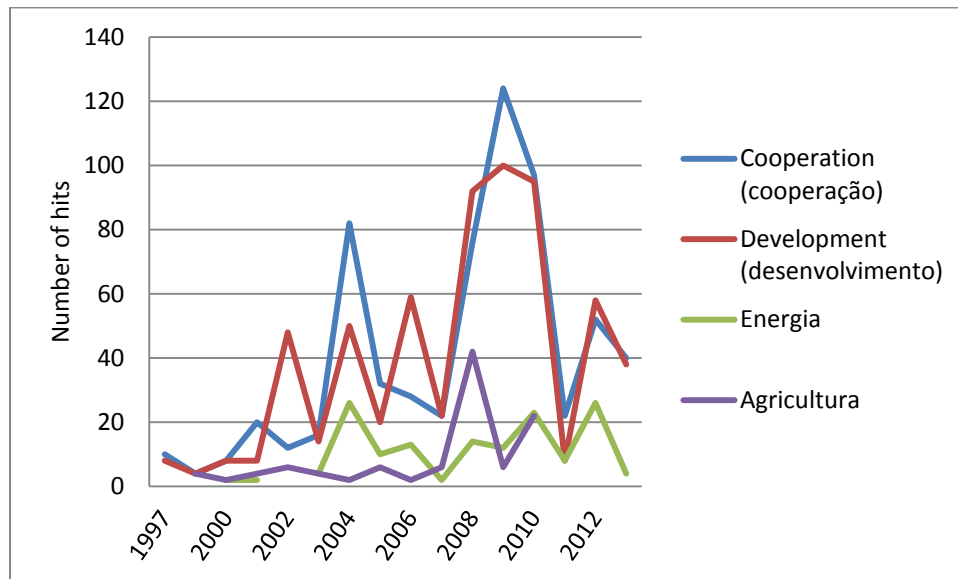


Figure 143. 'Cooperation', 'Development', 'Energy' and 'Agriculture' within the topic 'Natural resources' – Brazil

The **main resources** of concern to Brazil include: 'forests' ('*florestas*' – 85), 'water', 'wood', 'oil', 'gas', 'farming', 'mining', 'fisheries', 'minerals', 'energy' and 'uranium'.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, 'industries' ('*indústrias*') only yielded 44 results.

### China



#### ► Main findings

An increasingly important topic, agricultural, industrial, energy and financial resources have become vital to China's economy (it is frequently associated with trade), and to its national security. Resources are envisaged mostly through an economic lens, but tends to include broader dimensions over time (e.g.,

<sup>47</sup> Key words included: 'águas' ('water' – 38); 'madeiras' ('wood' – 29); '*petróleo*' ('oil' – 28); '*gás*' ('gas' – 24); '*recursos hídricos*' ('water resources' – 22); '*agropecuária*' ('farming' – 15); '*minas*' ('mines' – 18); '*pescaça*' ('fisheries' – 16); '*mineral*' ('mineral' – 10); '*minas energia*' ('mines energy' – 8); '*bioenergia*' ('bioenergy' – 8); '*energia elétricas*' ('electric energy' – 8); '*hidrelétrica*' ('hydroelectric' – 4); and '*urânio*' ('uranium' – 2).

environmental). China includes its focus on Africa in the discussion, suggesting the expansion of ambitions and strategies for future resources.

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: Resources OR natural resources
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 2.529
- Number of documents matched: 1.507
- The query yielded 155.489 results
- Years: 1996, 1998, and 2000 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

‘Cooperation’ (4.821) and ‘developing’ (4.302) are, as always, two important themes which can be here associated with ‘resources’ (2.739). At the same time, resources involve a national or ‘country’ (2.660) and ‘bilateral’ (1.028) perspective more than an ‘international’ (1.140) one. ‘China’ (4.911) was the most frequently mentioned N-gram. Looking at the frequency timeline, we observe that ‘resources’ rises sharply after 2010, and reaches a peak in 2013. All of the other aforementioned terms exhibit similar levels of frequencies – experiencing slight peaks in 2005 and 2008, dropping the following years and starting to emerge again after 2010.

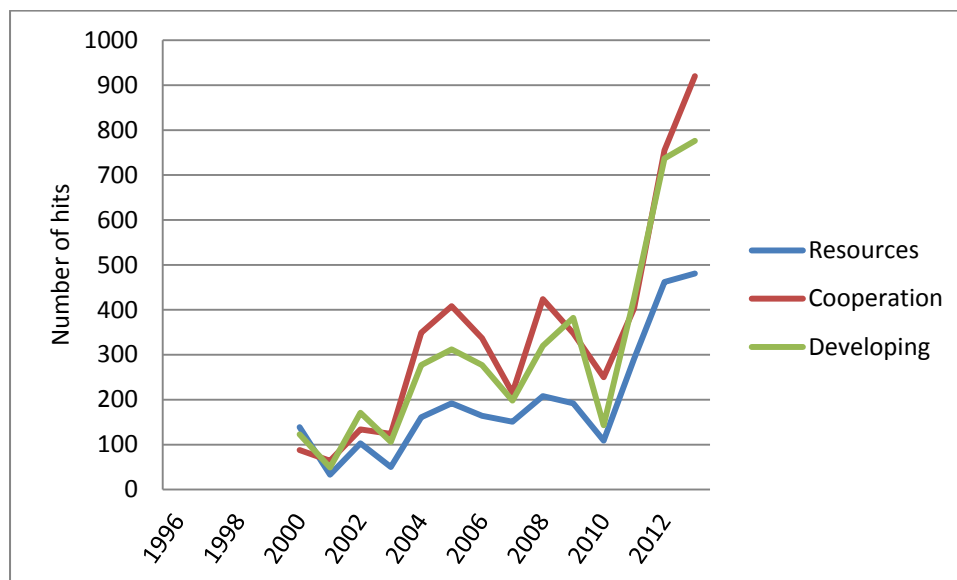


Figure 144. ‘Resources’, ‘Cooperation’ and ‘Developing’ within the topic ‘Natural resources’ – China

China places much emphasis on **cooperation** when resource (or many other) issues are involved. Discourses included terms such as ‘mutual’ (937), ‘joint’ (502), ‘coordinated’ (473), ‘benefits’ (446), ‘common’ (416), ‘interests’ (348) and ‘respect’ (325). Similarly to other topics, China also expects and promotes **benign relations** on those issues. This is suggested by the presence of terms such as ‘peacefully’ (397), ‘friendly’ (490) and ‘hopefully’ (376). The central

role of **state actors and leadership** also stand out, with ‘government’ (907), ‘nations’ (711), ‘developing countries’ (556), ‘minister’ (404), ‘Hu’ (395), and ‘President’ (359).

There is also a ‘**development**’ theme, with discourses including ‘developing’ (4.302), ‘reforms’ (325), ‘assistance’ (395) and ‘sustaining developing’ (372).

‘**Economic**’ (1.747, and ‘economy’ – 699) is the most frequently mentioned area. This theme is further reflected in the presence of N-grams such as ‘**trade**’ (1.391, and ‘exchanges’ (1.096), ‘market’ (438) and ‘economic trade’ (357). ‘Investment’ (770) and ‘infrastructure’ (526) appear much less, which may indicate that resource issues are mostly discussed in association with trade objectives. Looking at the frequency trends, the aforementioned economic activities generally share similar moving patterns, and remain well above ‘investment’ and ‘infrastructure’. All experienced two slight peaks around 2004–2005 and 2008–2009, and reach respective new heights in 2013.

‘Resource’ in China’s context is strongly connected to a ‘**security**’ (622) focus. ‘Political’ (389) and ‘strategic’ (361) also are relevant, to a lesser extent. Over time, and especially since the mid-2000s, resources have become an increasingly ‘strategic’ and ‘security’ issue. This suggests that the **non-economic purpose or significance of resources** have become broadly emphasized in recent years (to a much less strong extent than the economic aspect).

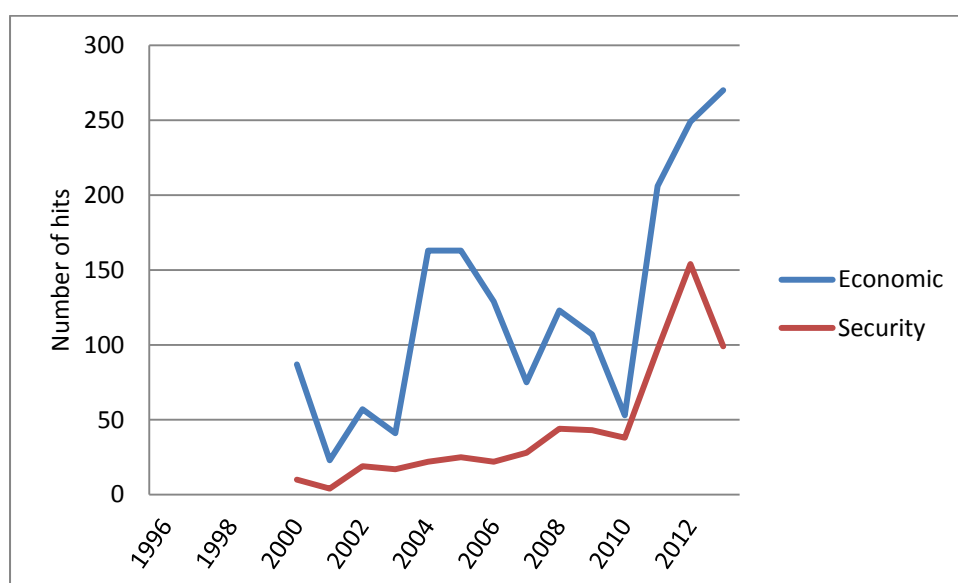


Figure 145. ‘Economic’ and ‘Security’ within the topic ‘Natural resources’ – China

Regarding the different levels of interaction, ‘**international**’ (1.140, followed by ‘global’ – 468), ‘**bilateral**’ (1.028) and ‘**regional**’ (917) stand out. By including two important themes from the main key words – that is, ‘energy’ and ‘trade’, and looking at trends over time, we observe that ‘bilateral’ relations coincides with ‘trade’; ‘regional’ coincides with both terms; ‘international’ is mostly associated with ‘energy’ issues. All peaked in 2005 but dropped in recent years.

Among some of the relevant economic sectors, ‘agriculture’ (511) is the most frequently mentioned term, followed by ‘financial’ (446) and ‘industrial’ (443) with similar weights. Looking at trends over time, ‘agricultural’ experiences a small peak in the year 2003 and keeps declining until 2005. It starts to rise again afterwards – except in 2008, at the start of the financial crisis. The interest for ‘industrial’ only starts to rise sharply after 2010. ‘Financial’ exhibits low numbers of occurrences before 2007; it rises in 2009, drops in 2010, and regains importance in 2012.

When it comes to the different **types of resources**, ‘energy’ (1.178, and ‘energy resources’ – 423) stands out as a large part of the Chinese MFA’s discourses. And it generally follows the trend of ‘resource’ over time, but with a lower magnitude. Both terms have recently become important in China’s rhetoric.

‘Environment’ (535, and ‘environmental’ – 392) is a theme that gathers some attention when resource issues are involved. Although it has been argued that ‘growth’ (565) and ‘environment’ are always part of a **zero-sum game**, their trends over time in the context of resources exhibit a similar pattern. This suggests that they both receive equal attention from the Chinese discourse. It is only in 2007, as the financial crisis burst out, that the frequency of ‘environment’ exceeded ‘growth’. ‘Technology’ (816) has always been well above the other two, which may imply that technology improvement is deemed crucial in the development or use of resource.

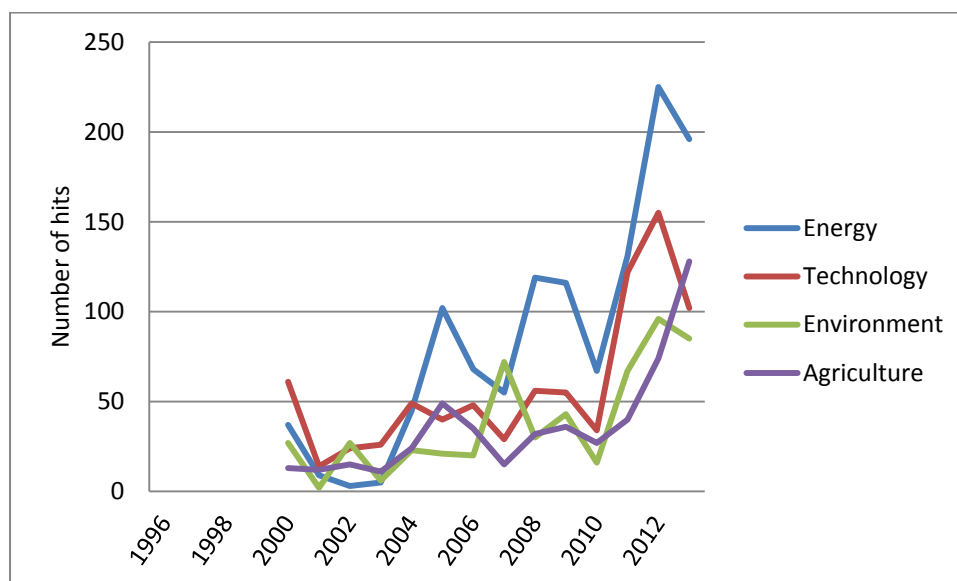


Figure 146. ‘Energy’, ‘Technology’, ‘Environment’ and ‘Agriculture’ within the topic ‘Natural resources’ – China

‘Cultures’ (620) gather more significant attention compared to ‘social’ (473) and ‘educational’ (412), and its importance has been rising since 2008.

Perhaps surprisingly, ‘Africa’ (504) was mentioned rather often across the Chinese MFA webpages, even more than its regional area ‘Asia’ (381), indicating that when resources are involved, China may have increasingly important connections with the African continents. In

terms of trends, 'Africa' rose sharply in recent years; 'Asia' has increasing occurred since 2007 but has not been mentioned since 2011.

## India



### ► Main findings

India, as an energivorous nation with a growing population, places resources as a major concern on its foreign policy agenda. Next such security and geostrategic considerations, economic and technological connotations are involved in this topic. Energy features as the main type of resource.

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: Natural resources
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 356
- Number of documents matched: 302
- The query yielded 79.692 results.
- Years: 2000 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

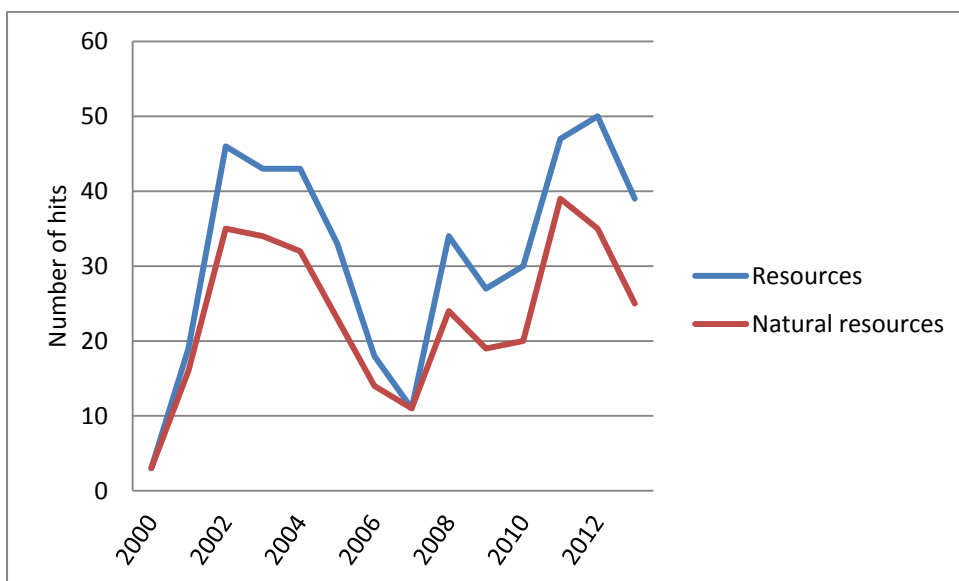


Figure 147. 'Resources' and 'Natural resources' within the topic 'Natural resources' – India

Natural resources (361) preceded by 'resources' (474) form an **important part of India's foreign policy discourse** as evidenced by the presence of terms such as 'cooperation' (272), 'regional' (155), 'international' (105), 'global' (99), and 'government' (95). This topic is defined through a 'bilateral' (56) relationship level as well. India seems to involve 'Asia' (81) and 'ASEAN' (56) significantly.

'Cooperation' goes steady and strong up till 2003 when it peaks, then falls in 2004 which continues over the next four years. In 2008, it rises again and shoots up in 2010. Then, there is the drop to levels registered in the early years.

From a specific foreign policy perspective, China's emergence in the Top-100 (52) along with terms such as 'water' (55) and 'challenges' is interesting. It points to India's longstanding disputes with China over sharing the waters of the Brahmaputra. 'Mining' (51) also seems relevant as it appears with a frequency similar to that of 'China'.

However, India also has similar concerns with Bangladesh and Pakistan but these two countries are absent from the list.

The 'natural resource' discourse is couched within the '**developing**' (359) **nation narrative**. And given its increasing population and economic growth rate, it is no surprise that India has an insatiable appetite for 'energy'.

However, it is also interesting to note that that the '**energy**' **theme is not particularly well-developed**. In fact, apart from the term 'energy' itself, few other related terms appear within the Top-100. 'Gas' (42) and 'Iraq' (42) feature further behind, while terms like 'nuclear' do not even emerge.

In contrast, there is a strong commercial or '**economic**' (189) connotation to this topic, as shown by the presence of 'enterprises', 'trade' (128), 'tax' (95), 'business' (92), 'contracts' (91), 'investment' (87), 'industrial' (79), 'economy' (74), 'goods' (73). This is further supported by 'partnership' (65), 'agreement' (64) and 'exchange' (56).

Overall, the discourse is filled with elements that point to resource issues related to 'agriculture' (74) and 'food' (70), 'educational' (60), 'technology' (172) and 'science' (62), 'territorial' (129) and 'security' (135). Resources are connected to the protection of basic national interests.

'**Technology**' maintains relative stability in the first half of the decade which it begins on a high. It collapses, however, in 2007 but regains momentum soon enough only to lose it again in 2010. Over the next three years, there is the same alternate rise and fall movement.

The presence of **Africa** fairly high in the Top-100 (126) is a little surprising but not entirely unexpected, given India's recent investments to develop African natural resources. This is directly related to India's growing energy needs, but can also be associated with the establishment of commercial relations.

The results do not include resource diversity – except for waters, there is no mention, for instance, of rivers, forests, coal and specific mineral resources or typical resource concerns such as climate change and the environment. These issues may be mostly dealt with by other Ministries such as the Ministry of Environment and Forests, the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy, etc.

Over time, most of the important terms **move in a haphazard manner**. In fact, it often seems like a roller-coaster ride.

## Indonesia



### ► Main findings

Indonesia's reliance on external actors such as ASEAN and Asia as a whole stands out rather strongly. The human perspective, which is often found among our results for Indonesia, can also be identified in resource matters next to a less surprising economic focus. Concerns or challenges in this respect are less emphasized than ambitions for democracy and cooperation seem to be.

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: Resources OR natural resources
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 487
- Number of documents matched: 285
- The query yielded 80.446 results
- Years: 2003, and 2005 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

'Resources' (mentioned 498 times) have clearly gained importance over time, particularly in 2009 and despite a trough in 2011. Most relevant terms have been mentioned rather evenly over time, and most exhibit a peak in 2009-2010, before stabilizing through 2013, back to their previous frequency levels. The peak can be explained by a more active political context in Indonesia (especially internally, though). The topic is strongly associated with a need for **development** ('developing' – 385) and **cooperation** (249).

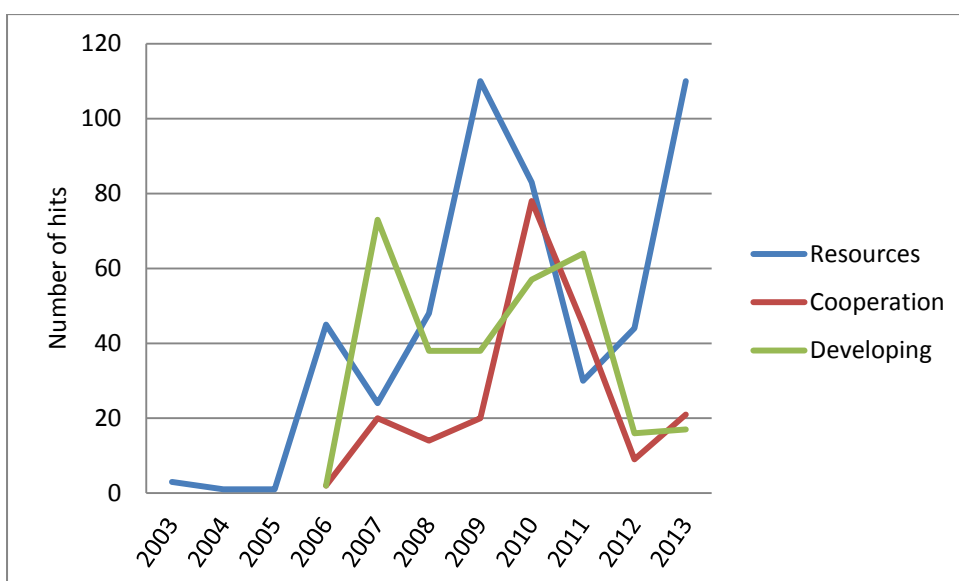


Figure 148. 'Resources', 'Cooperation' and 'Developing' within the topic 'Natural resources' – Indonesia



Their ‘protection’ (84) depends on the influence of external forces (‘foreign’ – 220; ‘regional’ – 176; ‘Asia’ – 96), including ‘ASEAN’ (164) which may be considered – quite unsurprisingly so given the results of our previous topics – as an important actor to rely on for Indonesia (359). ASEAN mostly followed an upward trend through 2010, before stabilizing in recent years. One article particularly refers to the active role of ASEAN as an intermediary, or as an important actor to guide Indonesia in the transformation of its economic structure (due to the limitation of natural resources, diversification is important).<sup>48</sup>

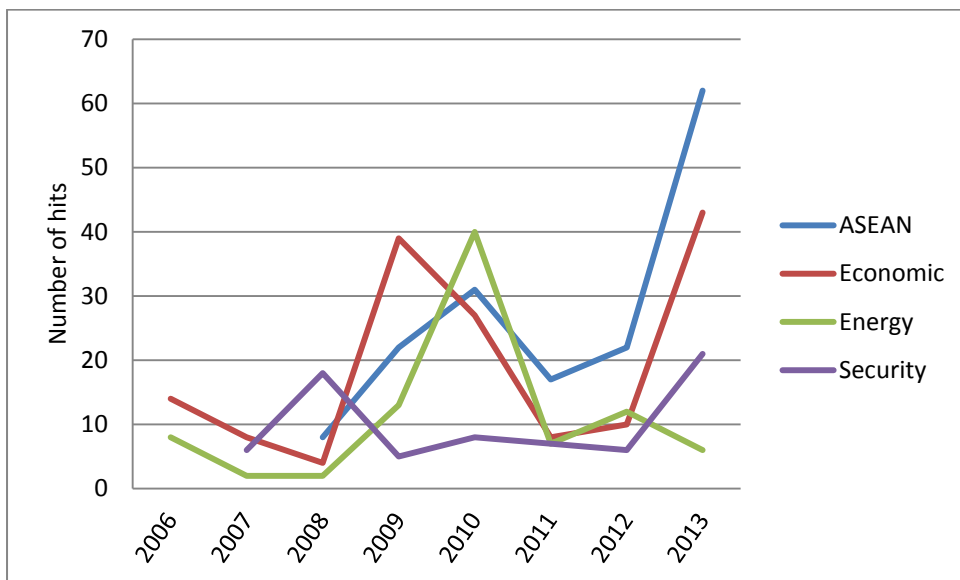


Figure 149. ‘ASEAN’, ‘Economic’, ‘Energy’ and ‘Security’ within the topic ‘Natural resources’ – Indonesia

**Political** leadership can support this, as suggested by the frequent presence of the following terms: ‘ministry’ (178), ‘government’ (132), ‘minister’ (126). In fact, the ‘political’ dimension is emphasized, followed by ‘democracy’ and ‘rights’ (67 and 68) and next to ‘security’ concerns (72). ‘Challenges’ (68) do appear, although they are not one the main key terms.

Resources are also thought in ‘**economic**’ terms (153), but a ‘human’ and ‘people’ perspective (139 and 119) is also injected. The results for this topic not only include references to natural resources, but ‘human resources’ that is, Indonesia’s population.

‘**Energy**’ (90) stands out, slightly above ‘natural’ resources (85, see also ‘natural resources’ – 60). There are also several treaties and Memoranda of Understanding listed on the Ministry’s website, regarding cooperation on development and research for coal and minerals in partnership with India, Korea, and Turkey.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, “Bangka Belitung’s Strategy in Facing ASEAN Community”, December 16, 2013, <http://kemlu.go.id/Pages/NewsKemlu.aspx?IDP=393&l=en>.

<sup>49</sup> The list can be accessed here: [http://treaty.kemlu.go.id/index.php/treaty/index?fullPage=1&Treaty\\_page=183&sort=modified\\_time.desc](http://treaty.kemlu.go.id/index.php/treaty/index?fullPage=1&Treaty_page=183&sort=modified_time.desc).

Interestingly, ‘traditions’ (79) and ‘cultures’ (76) or even ‘civilizations’ (39) are involved in this topic, as well as ‘knowledge’ (66) and ‘educational’ aspects (59). But there is no association with environmental concerns.

Another finding worth mentioning is the presence of ‘Africa’ (46) and ‘Australia’ (39), before ‘China’ (23) further below. But many other countries appear – although much less frequently – such as Brazil and Russia; Europe also features among the results. The importance and sudden appearance of terms relevant to Africa (e.g., ‘Asian African’ – 34; ‘African country’ – 24; ‘Asia Africa’ – 21) can be explained by the Senior Official Meeting of New Asian-African Strategic Partnership (NAASP) which was held in 2009 in Indonesia, which explains the sudden and significant appearance of the term. Another region that is also mentioned is ‘Asia Pacific’ (25) which indicates some cooperation that enhance the management of natural resources between countries, especially under APEC.

## Mexico



### ► Main findings

Including a broad range of resources to its concerns, Mexico tends to commit to a sustainable development perspective, either on a multilateral level (through forums, for climate change) or a bilateral level (for cooperation in energy matters), and taking into consideration food security and social development. Climate change (the effects and the policies to mitigate it) appears quite relevant regarding resource management policies.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Spanish: Recursos naturales [English translation: natural resources]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 96
- Number of documents matched: 72
- The query yielded 13.536 results
- Years: 2010 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

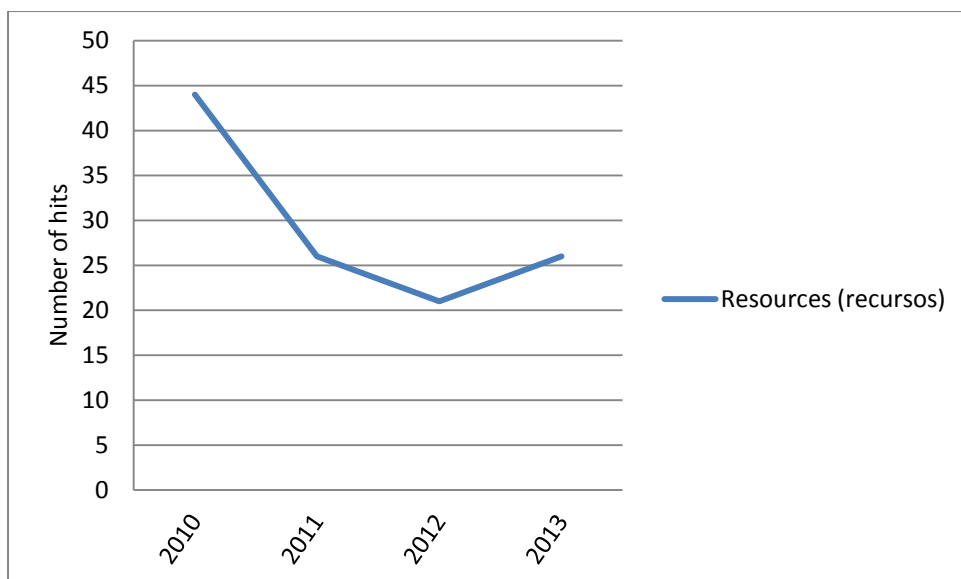


Figure 150. ‘Resources’ within the topic ‘Natural resources’ – Mexico

‘Development’ (*‘desarrollo’* – 115) is one of the main topics associated with natural resources, even in spite of a decreasing trend noticed after 2013 (as shown by the Figure below). It is linked with **sustainable rural development**, including ‘agriculture’ (24), livestock exploration and fisheries (*‘desarrollo rural pesca’* – ‘rural development fisheries’, 13). These activities should assist in **social development** (9) and in ensuring ‘**food security growth**’ (*‘segura alimentaria crecimiento’* – 4).<sup>50</sup>

‘**Climate change**’ (*‘cambios climático’* – 88) is also a topic of significant importance as far as resource issues are involved. Mexico’s commitment in **international** forums addressing climate change is perceptible, with the presence of N-grams such as: ‘United climate change’ (*‘unidas cambios climático’* – 17); ‘conference climate change’ (*‘conferencia cambios climático’* – 17); and ‘*cambios climático CMNUCC*’ (climate change UNFCCC – United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change – 4).

There are some concerns over **energy** resources with ‘energy’ (*‘energía’* – 56). In this respect, clean energies and energy efficiency are emphasized, with terms such as ‘clean energies’ (*‘energía limpias’* – 7); ‘energy efficiency’ (*‘eficientes energía’* – 6) and ‘efficient use energy’ (*‘uso eficientes energía’* – 4). The economic value of these energy sources is also discussed, and is also linked with the environment and climate change. This is suggested by the presence of N-grams such as: ‘economies energy climate’ (*‘economías energía clima’* – 5); ‘energy climate’ (*‘energía clima’* – 5) and ‘economy energy’ (*‘economías energía’* – 5). ‘Geothermal energy’ (*‘energía geotérmica’* – 4) is the only type of energy that emerges. **Other major resources** that emerge include ‘fisheries’ (*‘pesca’* –

<sup>50</sup> Relevant expressions include: *‘desarrollo rural’* (rural development – 16); *‘agricultura ganadería desarrollo’* (agriculture livestock development – 12); *‘desarrollo sostenido’* (sustainable development – 9).

19); 'forest' ('*florestal*' – 10); 'water' ('*agua*' – 9); 'oil' ('*petróleo*' – 1); and 'minerals' ('*minero*' – 1).

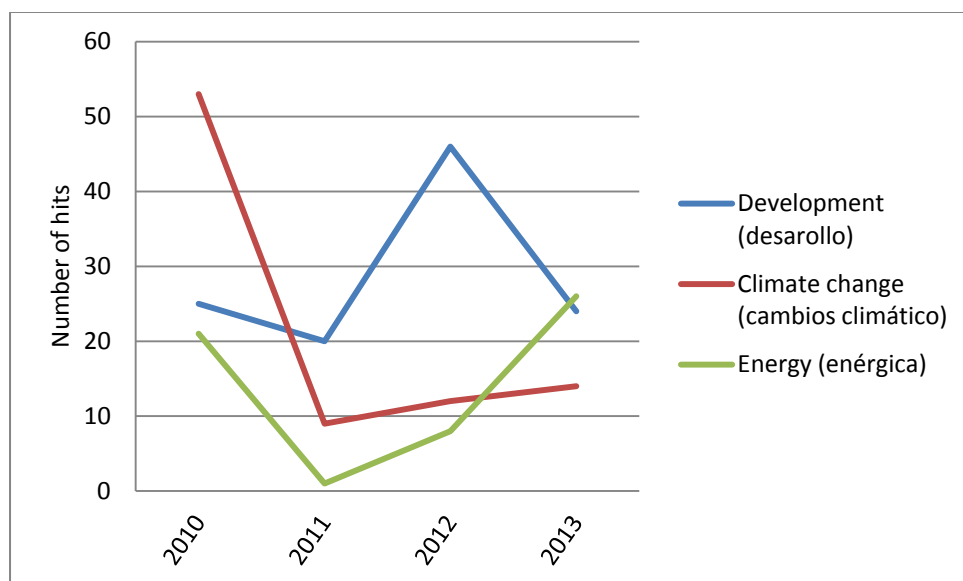


Figure 151. 'Development', 'Climate change' and 'Energy' within the topic 'Natural resources' – Mexico

Cooperation within this field is processed at a **bilateral level**: 'bilateral' ('*bilateral*' – 16); 'bilateral cooperation' ('*cooperación bilateral*' – 6); 'bilateral clean energy' ('*bilateral energética limpias*' – 3); and 'bilateral cooperation energy' ('*cooperación bilateral energética*' – 2).

## Russia



### ► Main findings

Our findings for Russia suggest that the topic of natural resources and their efficient use has been consistently a priority on the agenda of Russian policymaking over the last decade, as well as for relations with Russian international partners, particularly states but also organizations such as the UN. It has never lost importance, and even reached a peak in 2011. Energy seems to be the main resource for Russia's interests. Interestingly, the environmental concern can also be found within the discourse.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Russian: ресурсы OR природне ресурсы [English translation: resources or natural resources]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 3.483
- Number of documents matched: 1.918
- The query yielded 853.125 results
- Years: 2000 to 2013.

## ► Analyses

'Resources' scores first, with 3.817 references. 'Natural' (803) and 'natural resources' (587) follow. These terms are evenly mentioned between 2000 and 2013, with a peak in 2011 (though followed by a trough in 2012), suggesting this topic has gained special importance in the Russian foreign policy discourse.

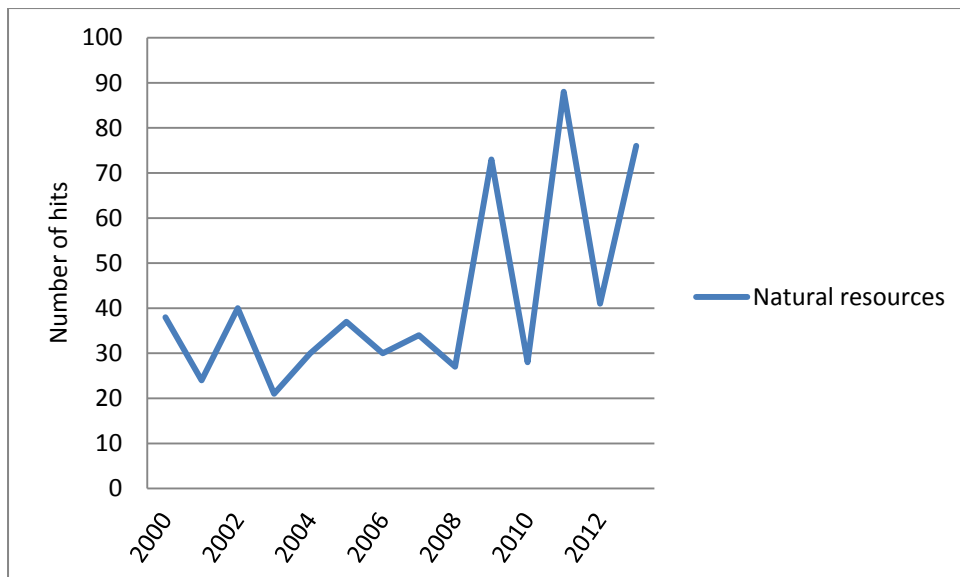


Figure 152. 'Natural resources' as a key word within the topic 'Natural resources' – Russia

'Energy' is mentioned 629 times, followed by 'energetics' (361). This term is more frequently mentioned than other resources, and increasingly so from 2002 onwards, although its frequency decreases sharply afterwards, to regain some importance in 2013.

**Water** (specifically, sea) resources seems to be second most important type of resource – 'sea' shows up 774 times (400 as a noun and 374 as an adjective) and 'water' (as an adjective), 398 times. 'Water resources' appears as well, with 161 references. The timeline reveals an increasing number of references for this group of terms, although their distribution across the years included remains highly uneven. The notable exception is the unexpected peak of 'water' mentioned in 2002, followed by sharp decrease the following year.

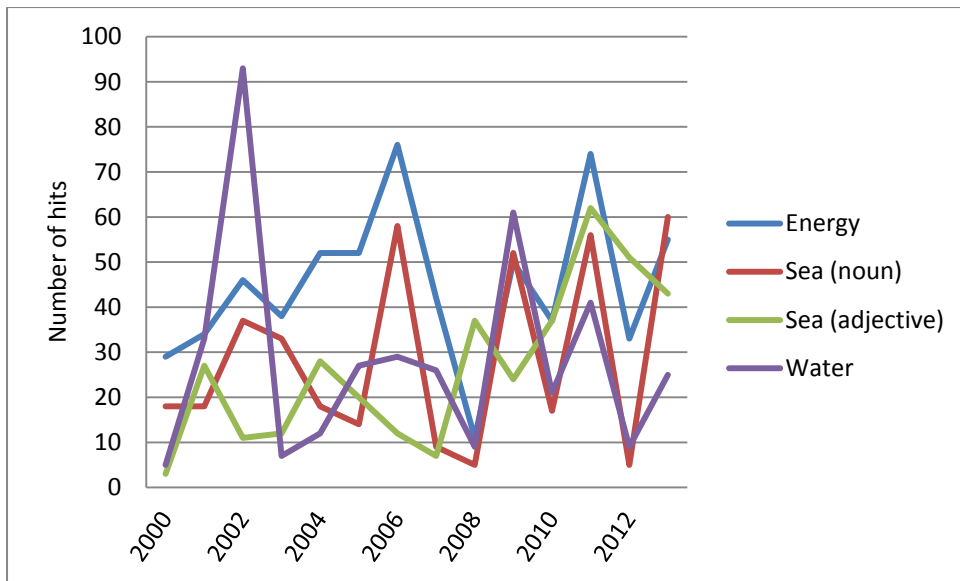


Figure 153. 'Energy', 'Sea' and 'Water' within the topic 'Natural resources' – Russia

Specific types of resources are not mentioned within the Top-200, but are identified further below. 'Gas', for example, with 237 references, or 'oil' with 236 references (but these two terms are probably included in the 'energy' theme). 'Minerals' follow (126).

The issue of the **sustainable use** of resources and its potential harm to **the environment** can also be traced, with terms such as 'sustainable' (403), 'preservation' (336), 'natural environment' (335), and 'ecology' (332). Their occurrence has increased over time, suggesting the environmental concern has gained some attention from the Russian MFA. All peak in 2011, which coincides with the results of 'energy' and 'natural resources'.

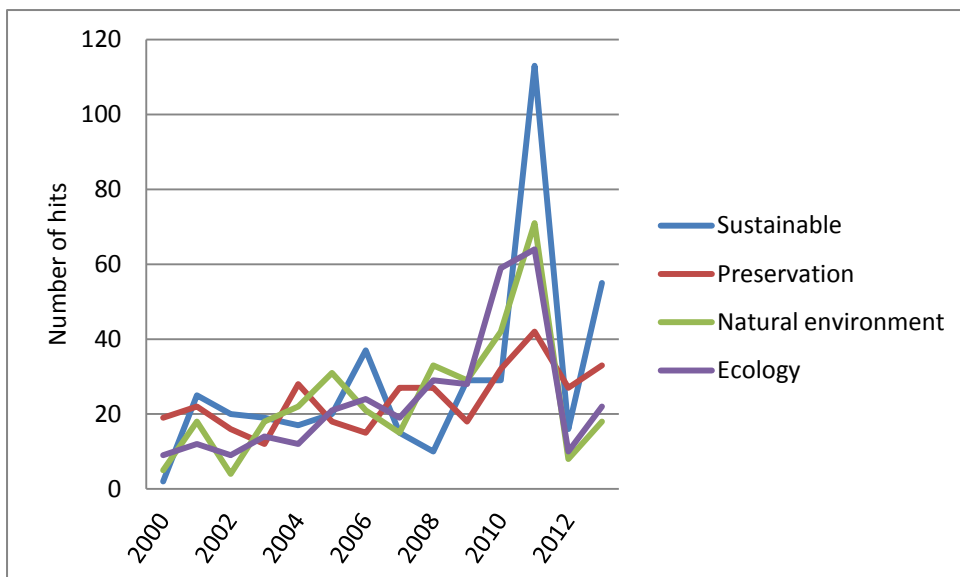


Figure 154. 'Sustainable', 'Preservation', 'Natural environment' and 'Ecology': the environmental dimension within the topic 'Natural resources' – Russia

A number of **key actors** are involved in the 'resource dialogue': Russia comes first ('Russian' – 3609; 'Russia' – 2.674; 'federation' – 2.211; 'Russian Federation' – 2.095). The

other actors include ‘countries’ (2.317) and ‘states’ (1.847), ‘areas’ (1.484) and ‘regions’ (1.124), but also ‘organizations’ (though much less mentioned – 1.473 times). The presence of organizations among key actors may indicate that organizations (vs. states) play an increasingly important role in discussions on resources, or that they are seen, at least, as the main interlocutor. Specific examples include the ‘UN’ – with 1.028 references, and the Cooperation of Independent states (‘CIS’ – 490). Over time, the UN has always been an important actor in this area with the slight exception of 2007, creating a ‘gap’ in references for the 2005–2009 period. The CIS has its ups (2003–2005 and 2006–2009) and downs (2001–2003 and 2005–2006) in terms of number of references, which suggests there might have been continuous cooperation processes in terms of resources (e.g., launched and continued projects).

There are many highly **bureaucratic** connotations emerging from the results, which in itself is an interesting finding. For example, terms like ‘questions’ (1.346), ‘activity’ (1.210), ‘ensuring’ (1.152), ‘work’ (1.093), ‘projects’ (1.058), ‘program’ (1.019) are typical in bureaucratic jargon.

## Turkey



### ► Main findings

The analysis generated for Turkey reveals that resources are crucial to the country’s sovereignty, and to its national interests more generally. This is identified through a focus on the disputes with Cyprus, which dominates most of the information gathered. The regional, geopolitical perspective is therefore prominently featured.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Turkish: *Doğal kaynağı* [English translation: natural resources]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 18 [English results: 28]
- Number of documents matched: 15 [English results: 21]
- The query yielded 2.709 results [English results: 5.713]
- Years: 2009 to 2013 [English results: identical].

### ► Analyses

‘Resource’ (‘*kaynağı*’ – 29) scores first, followed by ‘natural’ (‘*doğal*’ – 20) and ‘natural resource’ (‘*doğal kaynağı*’ – 18). ‘*Yoğun*’, which means ‘rich in’, gets 16 hits (‘rich in resources’ and ‘rich natural resources’ come up respectively 6 and 4 times too) and ‘*bölgesinde*’ (‘in the region of’) – 11. The topic has gained importance over time, as suggested by the Figure below.

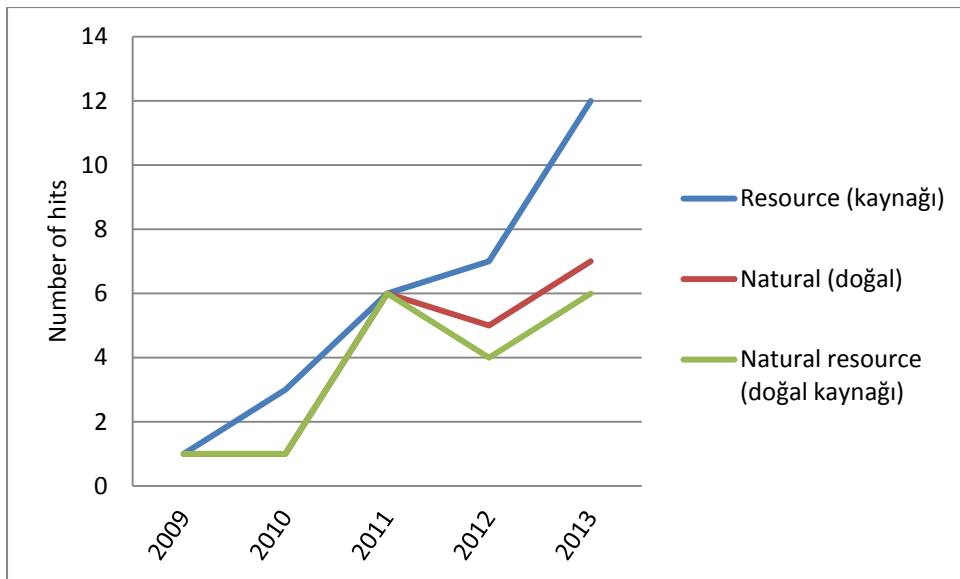


Figure 155. 'Resource', 'Natural' and 'Natural resource' within the topic 'Natural resources' – Turkey

There is a significant focus on the 'Cyprus issue' within this topic, as suggested by the presence of terms such as 'Cyprus' ('*Kıbrıs*' – 22), 'islands' ('*ada'nın*' – 6), 'Greeks' ('*rumlar*' – 5), and 'natural resources of the island' ('*ada'nın doğal kaynağı*' – 3). The 'political' ('*siyasi*' – 3), sovereignty disputes with Cyprus have impacted the Mediterranean Sea. The 'exploration' ('*araştırma*' – 3) of oil by the Greek Cypriots in the Mediterranean Sea around the island in 2011 has indeed led Turkish officials to claim their own sovereignty rights in response and with respect to such existing resources. The potential of Cyprus to become an energy hub has become more visible in recent years. The UN (BM – 4) stands out as an important mediator in the Cyprus issue. A possible UN 'peace' ('*barış*' – 4), 'force' ('*gücü*' – 4) is also negotiated, to seek a 'solution' ('*çözüm*' – 3) in the future. The sovereignty issue with Cyprus is also identified among English results ('sovereign rights' – 5; 'Cypriots' – 9, 'island' – 6, 'Greek' – 5, 'Greek Cypriots' – 5), next to the focus on the 'Eastern Mediterranean' region (8).

The Turkish MFA discourse reveals that Turkey depends on two resources: 'oil' ('*petrolleri*' – 3) and 'natural gas' ('*doğalgaz*' – 3). English texts include 'energy' (13) and 'agriculture' (12), as well as 'maritime' (6) and 'hydrocarbon' (5).

A number of countries appear. From the Turkish results, we identify 'Libya', which point to the Turkish National Oil Exploration Company's activities in this country. English texts reveal a focus on Iraq, which can be associated with Turkey's energy needs supported by Iraqi hinterlands ('Iraq' – 12, 'Iraqi' – 11, 'Iraqi Prime' – 8, 'Iraqi Prime Minister' – 8).

As observed across the Turkish texts, the main focus emerging from the English results is the 'Mediterranean' (8) issue too, that is, the Cyprus issue. Other relevant key terms include 'TRNC' (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus – 8), 'continental' (6), 'shelf' (6), and 'continental shelf' (6) which refers to sea beds with sovereignty rights, adjacent to the shores of a particular country to which it belongs.



English results also suggest that resources are thought from an **economic** perspective ('economy' – 10; 'business' – 4) and are associated with 'interests' (8). They also require **development** (16), 'partnership' (6), and 'cooperation' (9).

The most frequently cited terms are repeated only three to four times per year. Our data does not suggest meaningful changes over time. Even during the 2011 Cyprus crisis, when oil explorations were carried out. The reason could be that formal texts tend to include more political terminology that refers to sovereignty rights rather than to natural resources. The statistics generated for the English query 'natural resources' are similar to the Turkish ones, with the exception of the year 2013 during which the Cyprus issue along with relevant claims on natural resources became visible (as the frequency of relevant key terms increased). This increase is due to the fact that in 2013, the Greek Cypriot administration started its second drilling activity to explore hydrocarbon resources within its Exclusive Economic Zone, on which Turkey claimed sovereignty rights.

#### [Cross-country comparison](#)



A broad range of *natural* resources are covered, particularly by Brazil and Mexico, but they also include diverse sectors in China's view (from natural to – mostly – industrial and financial). Russia has always placed natural resources as a priority on its policy agenda since 2000, mostly insisting on energy (similarly to China, Mexico, Indonesia and Turkey, as well as India to a lesser extent), sea resources (like Brazil and Mexico to a lesser extent) and on the role of states and organizations as interlocutors. India and Turkey more narrowly defined resources from a geopolitical perspective and barely touched upon resource diversity – according to our results.

Regarding close areas or dimensions, science and technology are mentioned by Brazil and India, but even more emphasized by China. Indeed, China estimates the future potential of resources to be well reflected by advances in this domain, and attributes a more loose connection between resources and the environmental dimension (this was not noticed in the Indian, Indonesian and Turkish perspectives, but stronger within the Russian discourse).

Development in general is mentioned by China. But concerns for both sustainable and social development are rather and mostly expressed by Mexico (though they tend to be shared by Brazil, too) e.g., through the reference to climate change or to ambitions for energy efficiency. Human security, and particularly food security is a focus that emerges from the results of Brazil and Mexico. This latter finding is related to the fact that some policies to track global change impact on the ability of populations to survive (e.g., biofuels production). Indonesia emphasizes significantly the human dimension as well (and even culture). While Turkey rather emphasizes (geo)politics, China seems to mostly insist on the economic

aspects and implications of resource issues, and so do India and Indonesia, to a lesser extent. The notion of development was not clearly identified among the Russian results. The results for India and Indonesia do not include development, cooperation (like China and Turkey) and security concerns in the context of this topic, but for India or Turkey, there is little to suggest that human safety is part of the discussion.

Although the topic has gathered increasing attention over time, the 'resource issue' seems particularly pressing for China. China include strategic geographic areas such as Africa in the discussion (similarly to India), and insists on the development of friendly relations and the importance of leadership (which is a usual tone or discourse in China's perspective, when its crucial interests are at stake). As a result, China's view on resources tends to be related to the nation, in terms of ownership or focus. Mexico has a more universal approach in this respect, and just as India, recognizes the importance of either international or bilateral commitment to resource issues. Indonesia's results show that the country recognizes its dependence *vis-à-vis* other actors, a sensible element that is not found explicitly among other countries. Turkey insists on its area of influence – the Eastern Mediterranean region, while India and Indonesia involve ASEAN in this topic.

## BRICS

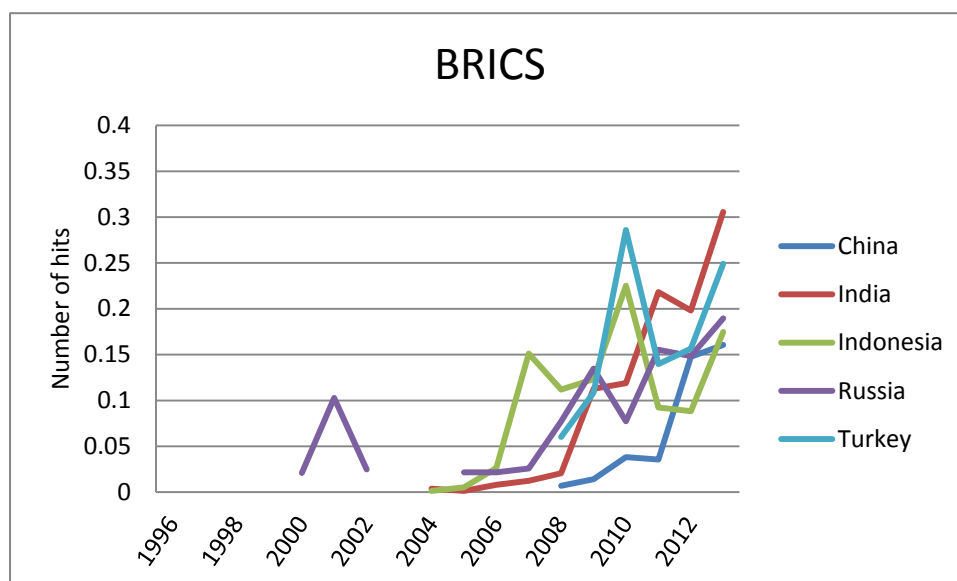


Figure 156. The topic 'BRICS', trends over time for all countries. Note: due to data disparity, the results for Brazil and Mexico do not appear on this chart.

The BRICS are clearly cemented in foreign relations and relevant discussions. Many members refer to the organization they are a part of, in order to assert a number of positions. The other countries are either geographically close, and/or include the BRICS as an important interlocutor.

### Brazil



### ► Main findings

As encountered in most of the topics' results, the BRICS form an entity whose process and purpose is based on cooperation and development. The BRICS are afforded a role not just in economic and industrial, but also technological, scientific and military areas, as well as social development. It seems that Brazil's approach is based on bilateral relations as far as the BRIC members are concerned, and these are characterized with different themes depending on which member is concerned: economic by nature with China, business-oriented and cultural with Russia, and business-oriented and technological with India.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Portuguese: BRICS OR BRIC OR *IBAS* OR *BASIC* OR *Rússia* OR *Índia* OR *China* OR *África do Sul* [English translation: BRICS OR BRIC OR IBAS OR Basic OR Russia OR India OR China OR South Africa]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 11.187
- Number of documents matched: 2.674
- The query yielded 358.170 results
- Years: 1997 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

The acronym **BRICS** appears 3.207 times, by contrast the simpler acronym BRIC only shows up 709 times. Together they generate 1.729 associated results. Brazil is the first country in terms of frequency of occurrence, i.e., 17.872 times; China 7.953; India 5.889; Russia 4.922; and South Africa 2.611. Despite exhibiting relatively low results, South Africa has some significance presence since the acronym IBAS shows 3.355 times which is a greater number than, for example, 'BRIC' (709).

The regular meetings that take place between the BRIC countries aim to promote inter-BRIC **cooperation and sustainable development**, for more 'economic development' ('*econômico desenvolvimento*' – 340), 'social development' ('*social desenvolvimento*' – 262) and 'industrial and trade development' ('*desenvolvimento indústrias comércio*' – 235).

The word '**bilateral**' shows 2.420 times, and is associated with **economic, scientific, technological and military** cooperation. '**Multilateral**' stands out much less (699) and in the context of other subjects such as international economic and trade system, and energy. At the bilateral level, it is possible to identify several similarities and differences of Brazil's **approach towards the other BRIC countries**. Financial and economic matters are at the center of these relations, but in the case of India, technological and cultural issues also play an important role, and with Russia, culture appears to be a topic of importance as well.

Brazil seems to emphasize relations with – in order of priority – **India**, then Russia, and lastly China.

**'China Brasil'** appears 1.354 times. When Brazil talks about China, **financial and economic issues** dominate. Exportations are key, as shown with the bi-gram 'export China' (*'China exportadora'* – 135). Brazil's exportation of sugar to China is also mentioned (6 times). Additional clusters of words that indicate such commercial and financial bond are: 'china development bank' (49); 'financial Brazil China' (*'financeira Brasil China'* – 42); 'business China Brazil' (*'empresarial China Brasil'* – 38); 'bilateral China Brazil' (*'bilateral China Brasil'* – 29); 'trade China Brazil' (*'comércio China Brasil'* – 22); 'investments China Brazil' (*'investimentos China Brasil'* – 16).

**'Brasil Índia'** is even more frequently mentioned (1.747 times, and the bi-gram *'Índia Brasil'* appears 19 times). **Cultural and technological issues** appear alongside trade and business themes, revealing a more comprehensive approach between India and Brazil. The main terms associated with 'Brazil India' include: 'cultural India Brazil' (*'cultural Índia Brasil'* – 48); 'trade India Brazil' (*'comércio Índia Brasil'* – 36); 'scientific Brazil India' (*'científico Brasil Índia'* – 18); 'technological Brazil India' (*'tecnológico Brasil Índia'* – 14); and 'business India Brazil' (*'empresarial Índia Brasil'* – 6).

**'Rússia Brasil'** shows 1.373 times. **Business and cultural transactions** seem to be the core of both countries' interaction. On the business side, goods such as meat and aircrafts are emphasized, and music suggests a relation based on culture too. Associating both terms, we identify the following terms: 'business Russia Brazil' (*'empresarial Rússia Brasil'* – 77); 'culture Russia Brazil' (*'cultura Rússia Brasil'* – 50); 'trade Russia Brazil' (*'comércio Rússia Brasil'* – 38); 'meat Russia Brazil' (*'carnes Rússia Brasil'* – 17); 'music Russia Brazil' (*'música Rússia Brasil'* – 8); and 'aircrafts Russia Brazil' (*'aeronaves Rússia Brasil'* – 8).

**'África Sul Brasil'** ('South Africa Brazil') appears 1.066 times. But considering the limitation of tri-grams, similar connotations and iterations as for the other countries is more difficult to formulate.

## China



### ► Main findings

The BRICS have gained increasing attention from the Chinese MFA in recent years, particularly as an economic instrument. To a lesser extent, the BRICS are part of security affairs, but are certainly much less part of the political scene. These different dimensions have all progressively broadened over time, but the BRICS, though it *is* a global actor, remains primarily the reflection of an economic strategic partnership. China emphasizes mostly South Africa than any other member, probably due to its increasing interests on the African continent. Our results suggest that China clearly shows its preference when it comes to the BRICS: an interesting instrument, as long as it is involved where economic interests lie.

## ► Statistics

- Query in English: BRIC OR BRICS
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 899
- Number of documents matched: 247
- The query yielded 106.411 results
- Years: 2008 to 2013. All main key words have gradually and significantly gained in importance since 2010 in terms of frequency of occurrence.

## ► Analyses

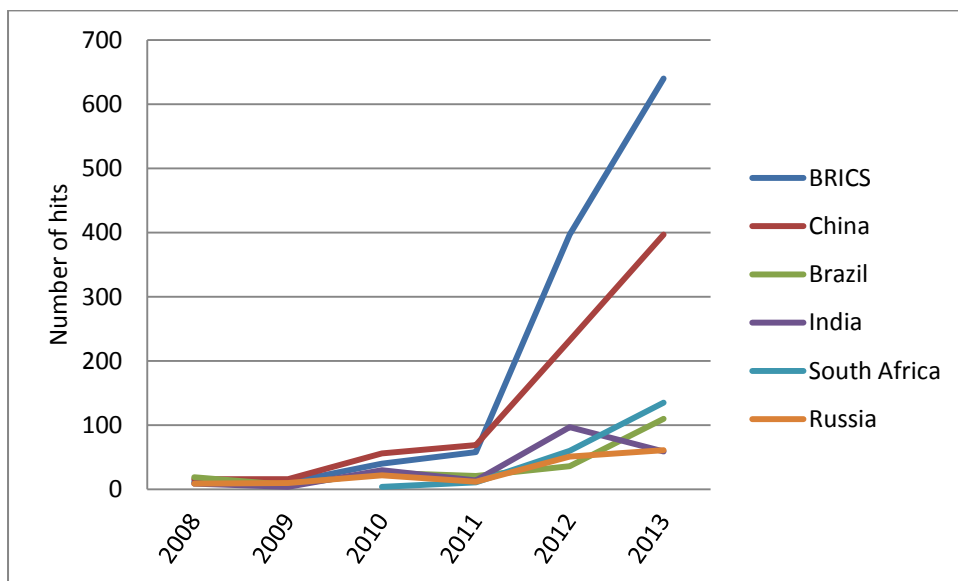


Figure 157. The BRICS and its member states within the topic 'BRICS' – China

'BRICS' (1.158) comes first in the Top-10, and exhibits a generally **upward trend over time** especially from 2010 onwards. Concerning specific country member countries, '**China**' (786, as well as 'Chinese' – 198) was mentioned the most, followed by '**Africa**' (347) and '**South Africa**' (210) implying that China has substantive interests in partnering with (particularly South) Africa. '**Brazil**' (219), '**India**' (213), '**Russia**' (165) follow further down the list. The fact that Russia appears less frequently suggests that **Sino-Russian relations are not pivotal within the BRICS**, that such specific bond is downplayed, or mostly established outside this bloc.

'**Cooperation**' is next (1.002), suggesting that the BRICS are 'where' such attitude is promoted and discussed. The presence of 'country' (924), 'developing' (794), and 'developing country' (182) suggests that the development of BRIC countries is an important theme (and even objective), as '**development**' is a theme that is often found in the Chinese language domain. The BRICS are seen as the most progressive and considerable **achievement** of a cooperation effort or 'partnership' (148) among developing countries, or the 'South' (310). This is evidenced by the presence of terms such as 'major' (169) and 'important' (148).

Terms like ‘coordinated’ (271), ‘common’ (204), ‘joint’ (148), ‘mutual’ (123) and ‘consensus’ (88) can suggest China recognizes and continuously seeks **multilateral consensus and collective efforts** within the BRICS. In addition, a number of verbs connote China’s willingness to **actively and continuously accompany and promote** the block’s role: ‘promotion’ (265), ‘strengthen’ (250), ‘continue’ (192), ‘positive’ (154), ‘enhance’ (144), ‘supporting’ (138), ‘push’ (115), ‘forward’ (114), ‘building’ (106), ‘achieve’ (96), ‘sustaining’ (84).

Developing the BRICS seems to be mainly – and increasingly – envisaged through an **‘economic’ perspective** (313), including relevant areas covering ‘financial’ (240), ‘trade’ (171), ‘economy’ (164), ‘market’ (140), ‘growth’ (139), ‘emerging market’ (87) and ‘bank’ (80).

**‘Security’** (225), in spite of a decline in 2013, remains another important concern that seems relevant to the BRICS in the Chinese perspective, while the term ‘peacefully’ (186) suggest China still upholds and promotes a stable and peaceful international environment.

**‘Political’** (97) issues emerge less strongly compared to economic and security concerns, meaning that they are relatively downplayed in the BRICS’ multilateral cooperation. But they are rising over time.

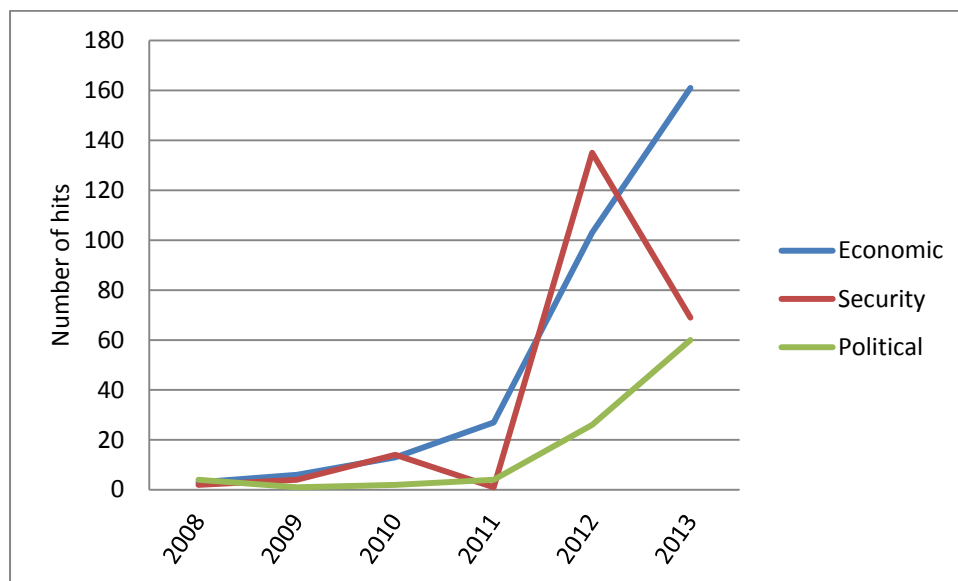


Figure 158. ‘Economic’, ‘Security’ and ‘Political’ within the topic ‘BRICS’ – China

These political- and security-related topics, including ‘strategic’, ‘peacefully’, ‘political’, ‘strategic partnership’, and ‘stability’, have generally gathered increasing attention from 2008 to 2013.

‘International’ (539) and ‘global’ (274) were much more mentioned than ‘regional’ (145), implying that cooperation areas in which the BRICs operate, or the purpose of this organization can be associated with **an interest for the international community** and are more geographically dispersed, while regional influences or interests are relatively downplayed in this group.

**High-level meetings and institutions** seem important in generating consensus and maintaining cooperation within the BRICS, as suggested by terms like 'meeting' (442), 'summit' (404), 'President' (388), 'leaders' (290), 'Xi' (Jinping) (250), 'Jinping' (289), 'exchanges' (214), 'Hu' (207), 'government' (171), 'BRICS leaders' (139), 'visit' (183), 'BRICS summit' (156), etc.

## India



### ► Main findings

India affords an economic and political role to the BRICS, especially through its potential as a driver of global growth, and as a driver of reforms within global governance institutions. Although considerable attention has been gained over time regarding each BRIC member, India particularly emphasizes its neighbor China.

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: BRIC OR BRICS
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 1.209
- Number of documents matched: 296
- The query yielded 122.714 results
- Years: 2004 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

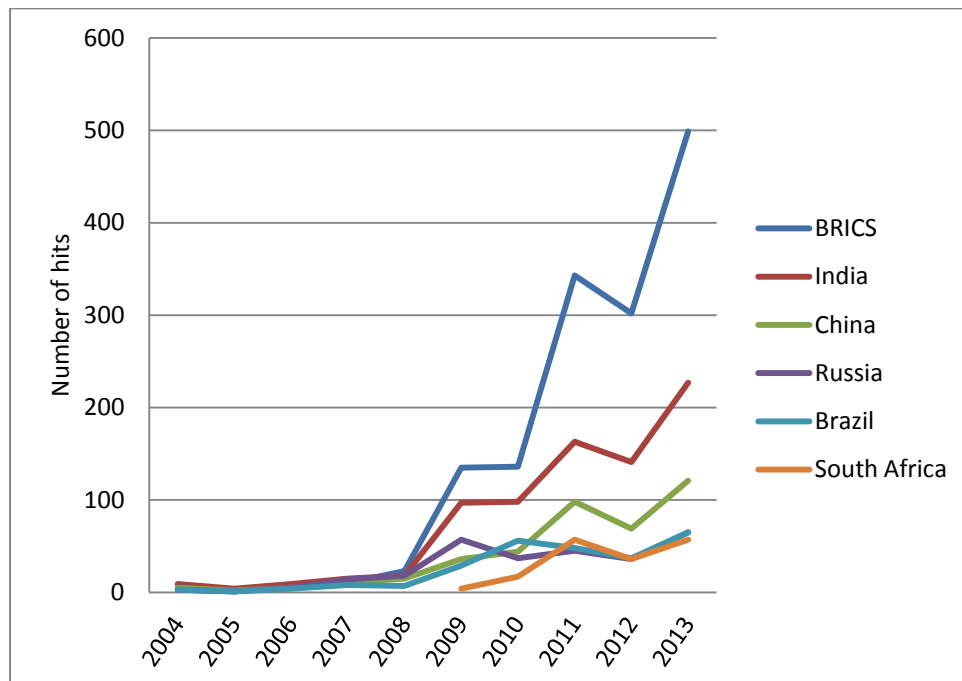


Figure 159. The BRICS and its member states within the topic 'BRICS' – India

The main key terms include 'BRICS' (1.459), 'India' (781), 'summit' (632), 'developing' (443), 'issues' (426), and 'cooperation' (424). They all exhibit an upward trend over time.

**China** (406) is part of the Top-10, and is the first BRIC member mentioned after **India**, followed by 'Russia' (281) and 'Brazil' (258). 'Africa' (249) also makes it to the list which also features 'India China' (171), 'Russia India' (135) and 'Russia India China' (99). 'Brazil Russia' (88) seems to be the least prominent 'pair', and features out of the Top-100.

All BRICS-related terms exhibit a major peak in **2009** – the first BRICS summit was held that year, in Russia. In fact, the high frequency of the terms 'summit' (632), alongside 'meeting' (629) and 'minister' (629), points to the consistent political engagement of India and the other BRIC members. 'BRICS' registers the largest rise over time. The 2009 momentum is maintained in 2010 and 2011, followed by a drop in 2012, and then another increase in 2013. This is also the case for 'China' and 'India'.

International organizations are mentioned as well, such as the 'IBSA' Dialogue Forum (121) which includes India, Brazil and South Africa and is quite similar to the BRICS, followed by the 'UN' (86) whose importance is all relative.

The BRICS are associated with a 'regional' (131) focus, but also quite strongly with the **global economy**, as suggested by terms such as 'global' (383), 'economic' (343), 'international' (310), 'economy' (205), 'trade' (172), 'bank' (168), 'financial' (154), 'growth' (132). The BRICS clearly has come to occupy an increasingly important position in India's foreign policy considerations. It is a tool to further the interests of emerging market economies.

Another theme that seems to emerge can be associated with 'reforms' (108) that need to be undertaken 'multilaterally' (108). There seems to be a focus on reforming the UN and its Security Council, using the influence of BRIC members reforms ('security' and 'council' – 296 and 104).

## Indonesia



### ► Main findings

As an enthusiastic observer, Indonesia sees the potential of the BRICS as a driver of the world economy and a factor of prosperity, but focuses on the role of regional members.

### ► Statistics

- Query in English: BRIC OR BRICS
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 4
- Number of documents matched: 4
- The query yielded 404 results
- Only one year available: 2013.



## ► Analyses

The results generated for this query are not broad and only include the year 2013, but the main key words demonstrate the strong potential Indonesia attributes to the BRICS, and the sense that it is a **different, ambitious** project on which all must work. The BRICS are a driver of or contributor to a 'positive growth' (4), with a 'different dynamic'(4), an organ that has achieved a lot already, and has overcome many challenges: 'experienced recovery' (4), 'large trade deficits' (4), 'economy experienced' (4), 'global growth' (4), 'growth show' (4), 'positive growth emerging' (4). Indonesia emphasizes the need to keep on **cooperating**: 'needs work together', 'harder' (8), 'achieve sharing prosperous', 'work together' (4).

The BRICS are defined mainly through an **economic** perspective, as shown by 'economy', 'economies' or 'capital flights', 'trade' and 'recovery' (4) but also 'positive growth' (4).

The N-gram 'emerging economies – including BRICS' (4) associated the BRICS with the developing world. In addition, the presence of 'BRICS economies – are face slowdown' (4) indicates that in spite of a positive growth, BRIC members are still undergoing economic challenges.

It is interesting to emphasize the absence of 'Indonesia' itself, which may suggest that in spite of a willingness to 'work together' with the BRICS Indonesia does not necessarily show its ambitions to be the 'i' of the BRICS.

To further complement this analysis, another query was generated. This yielded more results.

## ► Statistics

- Query in English: BRIC OR BRICS OR Brazil OR Russia OR India OR China OR South Africa
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 1.285
- Number of documents matched: 364
- The query yielded 165.862 results
- Years: 2004 to 2013.

## ► Analyses

**ASEAN** appears as the first player and key term (1.113), largely before **Indonesia** (857) and **China** (848). **India** is the next country to appear (513). Russia is much less important than other members (189), similarly to South Africa (115). Overall, Indonesia seems to focus on its **region** ('Asia' – 488; 'regional' – 459; 'East' – 353; 'South China Sea' – 274).

The idea of '**cooperation**' (549) and the '**economic**' perspective (266) stand out here again.

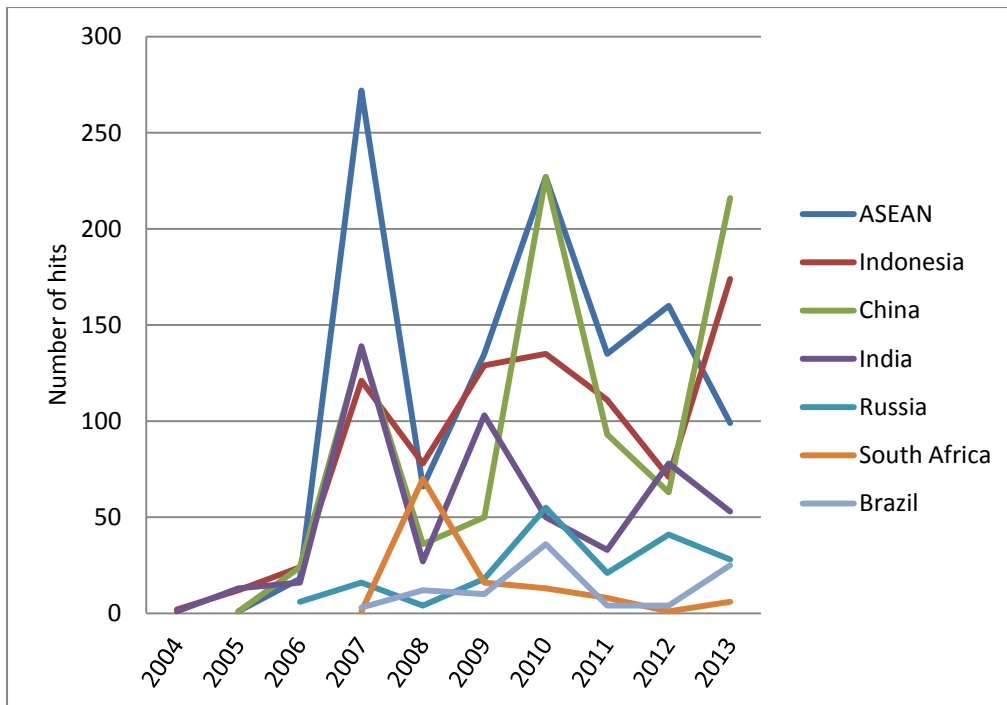


Figure 160. 'ASEAN', 'Indonesia' and the BRIC member states within the topic 'BRICS' – Indonesia

## Mexico



### ► Main findings

Mexico's foreign policy emphasizes China in a broad range of cooperation fields (from economic to cultural and scientific). Quite strikingly, the relations with all the other members seem to be strictly economic (Russia and India) in the BRIC context, or procedural (e.g., with Brazil).

### ► Statistics

- Query in Spanish: BRICS OR BRIC OR *Brasil* OR *Rusia* OR *India* OR *China* OR *Sudáfrica* [English translation: BRICS OR BRIC OR Brazil OR Russia OR India OR China OR South Africa]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 1.124
- Number of documents matched: 463
- The query yielded 88.739 results
- Years: 2010 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

'BRIC' only appears 2 times, while 'BRICS' is not mentioned. But individually, BRIC members appear rather frequently, with China (1.700) followed by Brazil (490), Russia (462), India (309) and South Africa (270). These figures clearly show that, between 2010 and 2013, **China** is the

main country emphasized by Mexico's foreign policy, relative to other BRIC members. In fact the sum of frequency of all other BRIC countries is lower than that of China alone.

The relations between **China and Mexico** ('*China México*' – 427) have been quite intense over the last three years. This is reflected by an intense commitment of each country towards the other (this is verified by the presence of expressions such as 'working visit China' ('*visita trabajo China*' – 21). And this commitment is broad. These visits are not only about **commerce or economic** cooperation, but also are about **culture, health, technology and education**. In terms of culture, there is an interest in increasing mutual cultural knowledge and encouraging agreements on art protection. The 2012 Mexican jade collection exhibition in China is an example of these cultural exchanges. The teaching of Chinese language in Mexico, and of Spanish in China is also connected with culture, education and business. Student exchanges between both countries are also part of these talks. There are scholarships awarded for Mexico students in China, with Chinese language, martial arts, Chinese traditional medicine and business as main subjects. Regarding business relations, **agriculture** is the first sector that appears, which can be associated with the exportations of pork meat from Mexico to China (and China is exporting poultry to Mexico). **Tourism and technologies** also seem relevant. The main N-grams include: 'art china' ('*arte china*' – 28); 'traditional medicine China' ('*medicina tradicional China*' – 22); 'languages China' ('*idiomas China*' – 18); 'culture China' ('*cultura China*' – 16); 'China entrepreneurs' ('*China empresarios*' – 16); 'investments China' ('*inversiones China*' – 11); 'China tourism' ('*China turismo*' – 11); 'institutions China teach' ('*instituciones China enseñarles*' – 10); 'technologies China' ('*tecnologías China*' – 9).

The relation '**Brasil México**' (126) points to **investments**. In addition, **tourism and the facilitation of human flows between both countries** more generally seems to be an important area in which agreements are made since, in 2013, Brazil and Mexico eliminated the need for short-term visas. The most meaningful expressions are: 'working visit Brazil' ('*visita trabajo Brasil*' – 12); 'investments Brazil Mexico' ('*inversiones Brasil México*' – 9); 'Brazil suppression visas' ('*Brasil supresión visas*' – 6).

The relations between **Russia and Mexico** ('*Rusia México*' – 80) are systematically related to **trade**. The main expressions are: 'Russian businessman' ('*Rusia empresarios*' – 8); 'trade Russia' ('*comercio Rusia*' – 6); 'economies Russia' ('*economías Rusia*' – 5); 'WTO Russia' ('*OMC Rusia*' – 4); and 'increase trade Russia' ('*intensificar comercio Rusia*' – 3).

'**India México**' (66) is mostly connected with 'administrative' or financial N-grams. The only meaningful expressions include: 'cooperation Mexico India' ('*cooperación México India*' – 6); 'business India' ('*negocios India*' – 4); 'commercial financial India' ('*comercial financiero India*'). This indicates the significance of economic matters as a marker of the relations between the two countries.

'**Sudáfrica México**' ('*South Africa Mexico*' – 51). Apart from regular administrative occurrences or events such as the 2010 World Football Cup, 'world football South Africa' ('*mundial fútbol Sudáfrica*' – 8), there are no meaningful associations worth noting.

## Russia



### ► Main findings

The BRICS are clearly becoming more important to Russia, which recognizes this organization's great demographic and territorial scale, and ambitions to play a greater leadership role in this organization. In line with our findings for global governance, the BRICS are mostly envisaged through an economic perspective, and in interaction with or as an alternative to other major international organizations such as the UN or the G20 (usual triangular associations by Russia, as observed with the EU topic).

### ► Statistics

- Query in Russian: БРИКС OR БРИК [English translation: BRICS OR BRIC]
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 1.545
- Number of documents matched: 327
- The query yielded 167.088 results
- Years: 2000 to 2002, and 2005 to 2013.

### ► Analyses

The query tops with results related to BRICS and its member states: 'BRICS' scores second with 958 references, 'BRIC' – 4<sup>th</sup>, with 714 references, 'BRICS countries' (177) and BRIC countries' (163). 'Countries' ranks first (998), followed by 'states' (343). 'Russia' ranks third with 744 references, followed by 'Russian' (8<sup>th</sup>, 430 references). This might indicate both the importance of the BRICS in Russian foreign policy discourse, as well as the leading role Russia self-assumingly plays in this organization. Data analysis over time reveals an **increase** in total number of references for the main query, especially after 2007. Not to mention that no references were found for this query for the 2002–2005 period.

Names of country members also appear: 'India' (386) and 'Brazil' (336) come first, and 'China' is behind, surprisingly (193). 'SAR' (South Africa) is the last among member states – 107<sup>th</sup> with only 99 references. However, with the query 'BRICS' (as this acronym includes South Africa), 'SAR' ranked 64<sup>th</sup>, with 85 references and was followed by 'Africa' (75); 'African' (54); and 'South' (54), which represent a higher number altogether than China. This suggests the low priority of and/or activities with China in this type of relations in the view of the Russian MFA – which may be compensated through other formats.

There has been a decrease in the number of hits for 'BRIC' but a sharp increase in those of 'BRICS' over the last three years, after South Africa joined the club as a new member. At the same time, 'South Africa' has gained importance across the MFA webpages as an individual term and country. The occurrence of references concerning other member states increases over time, with the exception of Brazil, which peaked in 2011 but lost its position the very next year.

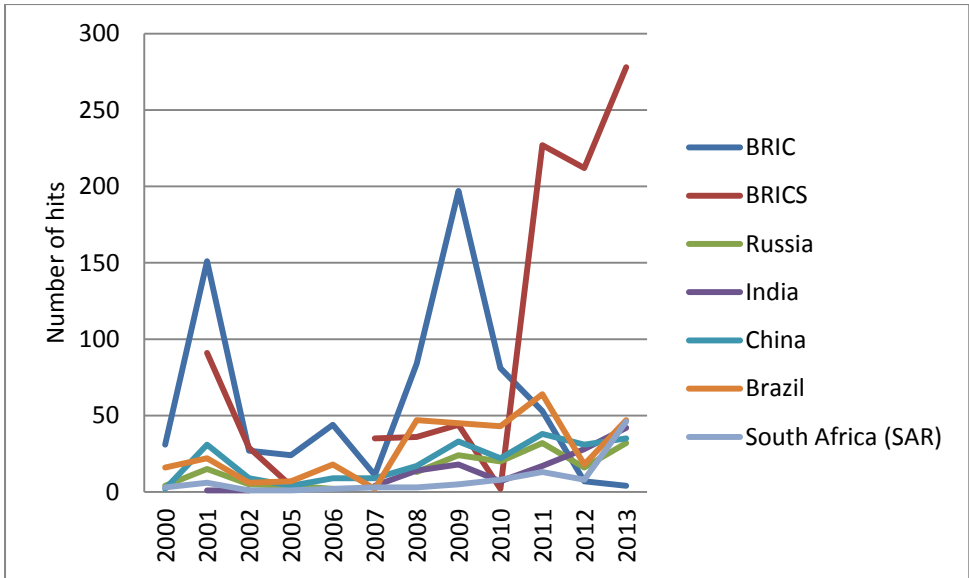


Figure 161. 'Russia', the BRICS and its member states within the topic 'BRICS' – Russia

To the Russian MFA, the BRICS are an effective **tool to promote economic cooperation**. This is supported by the frequency of terms that can be associated with cooperation and economic issues. 'Development' scores 6<sup>th</sup> with 429 references, followed by 'economy' (306), and 'financial' (229), thus substantially overweighting other spheres of possible cooperation: 'political' ranks 28<sup>th</sup> with 237 references and 'security' comes next with 215 hits.

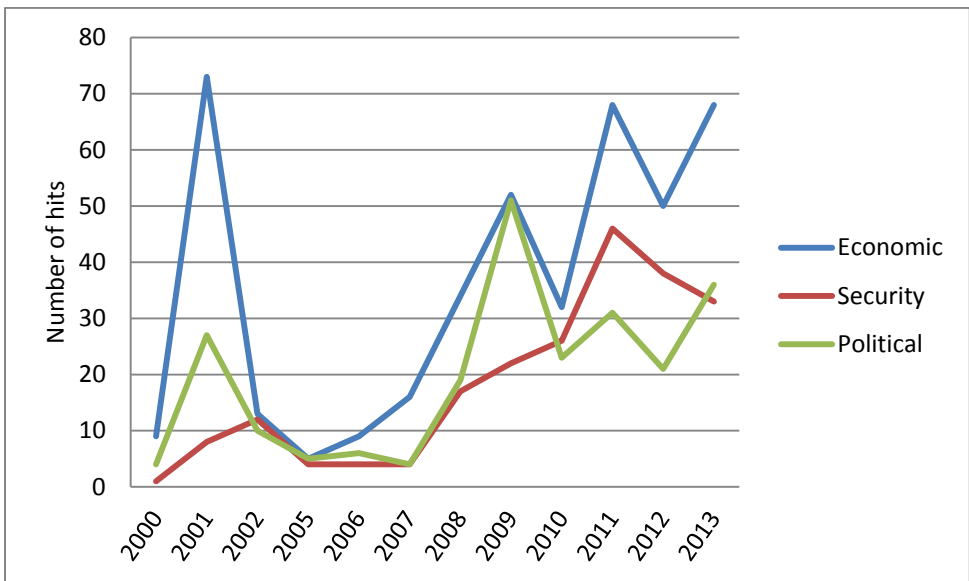


Figure 162. 'Economic', 'Security' and 'Political' within the topic 'BRICS' – Russia

Time wise analysis reveals an interesting trend: '**economic**' remains dominant over time, as the major arena associated with the BRICS. Its importance is increasing over time, too (although its highest peak was in 2001). The perception of the BRICS as a political tool also remains uneven, looking at the timeline – it peaked in 2009, the year before South Africa joined the group, probably reflecting the political deals and debates of that time. It seems to have lost its importance since then.

**Other institutions** are emphasized, too. And the frequency of associated terms increases over time. Overall, the 'UN' ranks 19<sup>th</sup> with 269 references, and G20 also scores surprisingly high (termed 'the group of twenty' – 161, or 'the group' – 199, and 'of twenty' – 153). The presence of these terms within two sentences next to 'BRICS' suggests that Russia is using G20 as leverage in wider international relations.

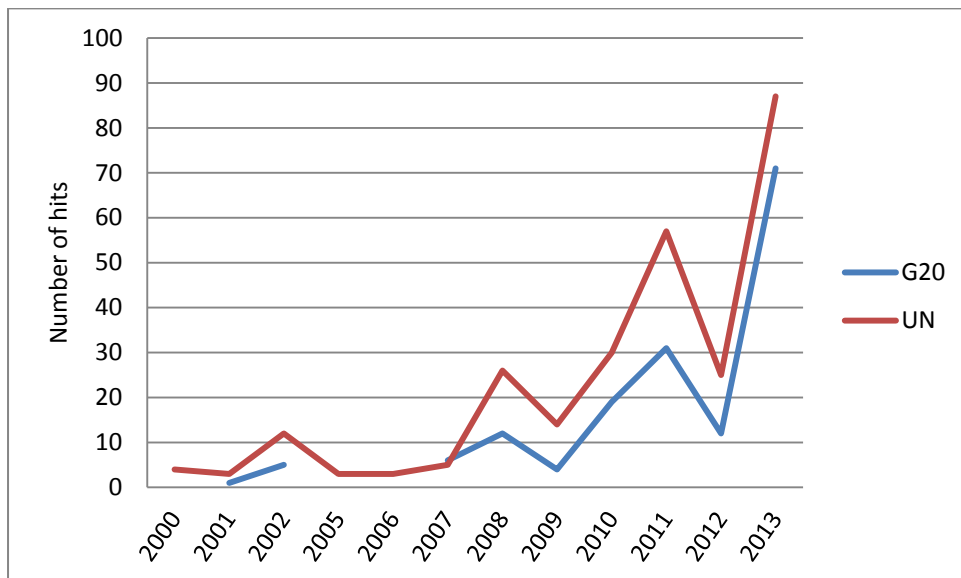


Figure 163. The G20 and the UN within the topic 'BRICS' – Russia

Another interesting finding is the presence of terms related to the **global ambitions** of the organization in the Top-50: 'world' (adjective) ranks 14<sup>th</sup> with 338 references, 'global' comes in the 22<sup>nd</sup> position with 260 references, 'world' (noun) is 33<sup>rd</sup> (214). This may imply that Russia insists on the **demographic and territorial weight** – therefore, power – of the BRICS: it only consists of five members, but still represents a considerable share of the global territory and population. It is considered by its members as a global economic project, rather than as a trade club. The number of references for the terms 'world' and 'global' peaked in 2009 (as South Africa was about to join) and seems to have lost importance since.

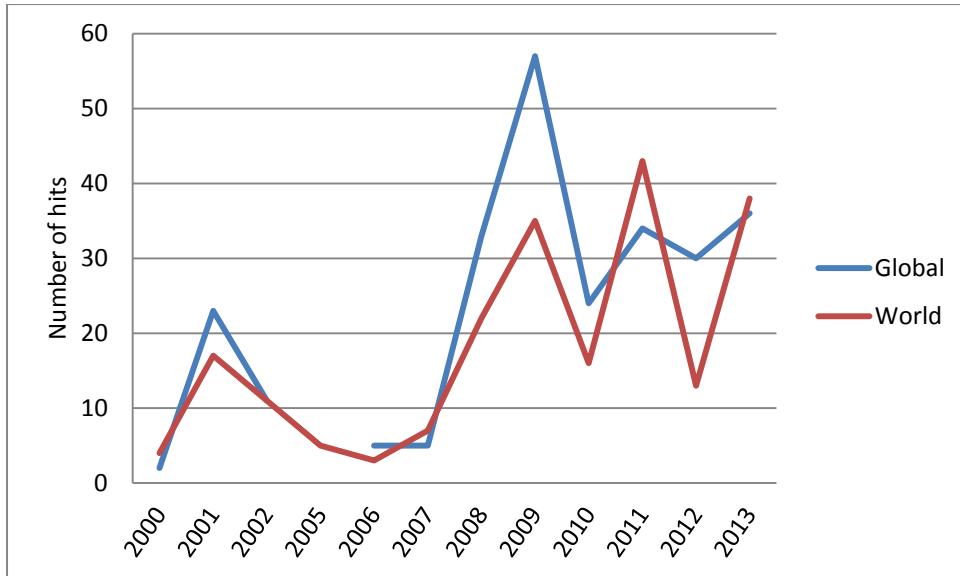


Figure 164. 'Global' and 'World' within the topic 'BRICS' – Russia

## Turkey



### ► Main findings

BRICS as an acronym rarely stands out from the MFA's webpages. However, its individual members are mentioned, mainly Russia. Turkey does show its ambitions for the BRICS, or at least its awareness of being an important player involved in the economic and security aspects of a cooperation with the BRICS.

### ► Statistics

- Query in Turkish: BRICS OR *Brezilya* OR *Rusya* OR *Hindistan* OR *Çin* OR *Güney Afrika cumhuriyeti* [English translation: BRICS OR Brazil OR Russia OR India OR China OR South African Republic]<sup>51</sup>
- Number of sentences: 2
- Number of sentences matched: 391 [English results: 126]
- Number of documents matched: 114 [English results: 69]
- The query yielded 54.603 results [English results: 18.499]
- Years: 2008 to 2013 [English results: 2007 to 2013].

### ► Analyses

'Our country' ('*ülkemizin*' – 296), that is, **Turkey**, is the most frequently mentioned key term, next to '*Türkiye*' (169) itself. Turkey seems to be strongly aware its role of 'satellite' within the BRICS – perhaps even asserting itself as a potential future member.

<sup>51</sup> The query including the sole acronym did not yield sufficient results, as the acronym is not often used in the Turkish language domain.

With respect to member states, **Russia** ('*Rusya Federasyonu*' – 'Russian Federation', 78) clearly gathers most of the attention from the Turkish MFA, particularly in 2010 – but seems to have lost importance in recent years while the other members continue to be increasingly emphasized. **China** ('*Çin*') comes next, followed by 'Brazil' ('*Brezilya*' – 60, especially in 2013) and 'India' ('*Hindistan*' – 47). Only South Africa does not appear. English texts suggest a different hierarchy, with India ranking before China.

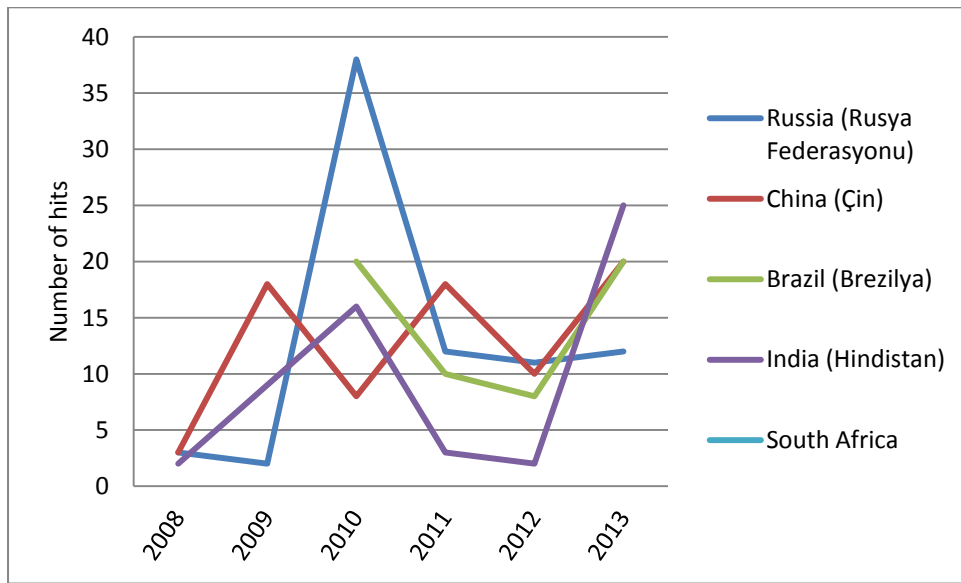


Figure 165. The BRICS and its member states within the topic 'BRICS' – Turkey

English texts provide rather different results from the Turkish ones. Russia does not appear within the Top-100. But in both Turkish and English texts, India was the most frequently mentioned country in 2013.

The BRICS are seen as an **economic** 'potential' – '*potansiyel*', 2 – , as suggested by the presence of the terms '*ekonomik*' (47), or 'trade' (40), 'direct investments' – '*dış yatırımlar*', 2 – or '*yatırımlar*' – 'investment', 2.

We noted that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ('*dışişleri*' – 'foreign'; '*bakanı*' – 'minister', 126) calls for '**cooperation**' ('*işbirliği*' – 133), a key term that repeatedly occurs in the texts under the terms. This emphasis can also be identified among the results generated from the English texts.

In English texts, the '**CICA**' (Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building measures in Asia – 34) stands out as the one of the leading **institutional mechanism** to provide



cooperation with the BRICS. As a founding member, Turkey declares itself as one of the most active nations that are part of this organization, along with its founding membership.<sup>52</sup>

'NATO' (40 in the Turkish texts, 55 in the English ones) seems particularly relevant within this topic. And the presence of 'nükleer' (44) and 'İran' (42), but also 'terrorism' (English results), further suggests that **security issues** are considered in the relations with the BRICS.

MERCOSUR stands out on top of the list in 2010, as its 40<sup>th</sup> Summit took place and a Memorandum for the Establishment of a Political Dialogue and Cooperation Mechanism between Turkey and the South Common Market was signed. Through this initiative, Turkey aims to diversify and intensify its political and economic relations in Latin America and the Caribbean region.<sup>53</sup>

### [Cross-country comparison](#)



Unsurprisingly, the BRICS have gained increasing attention overall in recent years and most see great potential in it. Russia and China insist on the importance of the block's ambitions, support its multilateral efforts, and want to show that they believe in its potential. Yet China, Russia, India, Turkey or even Indonesia envisage this organization as mostly working towards economic prosperity. Russia, though, tends to also include organizations involved in world politics and security such as the UN or even G20, suggesting they are the BRICS' direct homologues. India also includes other such institutions, perhaps more to show that the BRICS can help in reforming them. Brazil affords a broader role than other countries to the BRICS, i.e., in economic, industrial, but also social development areas. It should be noted that Turkey also associated the BRICS with security issues. Brazil, and to a lesser extent Mexico and India seem to engage in bilateral relations whose nature is even different depending on the member with which it interacts (e.g., for Brazil, economic with China, cultural with Russia, etc.).

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<sup>52</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, "Relations between Turkey and the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA)", <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-conference-on-interaction-and-confidence-building-measures-in-asia.en.mfa>. The CICA is seen as the 'OSCE of Asia' as declared by the President Abdullah Gül in a related speech. Source: Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, "President Gül Lays Emphasis on Importance of AWACS Aircraft for Turkish Aeronautical Capability", <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/sayfa/ziyaretler/cica-ozel/>.

<sup>53</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, "16 December 2010, Press Release Regarding the 40<sup>th</sup> Summit of the MERCOSUR Nations", [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no\\_-285\\_-16-december-2010\\_-press-release-regarding-the-40th-summit-of-the-mercosur-nations.en.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-285_-16-december-2010_-press-release-regarding-the-40th-summit-of-the-mercosur-nations.en.mfa).

Our results suggest that China and Brazil tend to be more emphasized by their co-members, except by Russia which mostly mentions India. Brazil talks more frequently about India and Russia than China, while China first mentions Africa and South Africa, and Turkey, quite unsurprisingly, focuses on Russia.

## Conclusions

The background of this exploratory project was quite straightforward. We all realize that there is an overwhelming and exponentially growing amount of digital information publicly available. There is an overwhelming and exponentially growing amount of both numerical and text-based digital information publicly available – including in the international relations field. Our ability to condense these massive digitalized information flows into focused and actionable knowledge is improving more slowly, but also exponentially. Under the label ‘business intelligence’, the private sector is currently jumping on these new twin opportunities (more data and better data analysis tools) with a vengeance. The public sector has, by and large, lagged behind. In some – mostly ‘domestic’ – public policy areas, the availability of new (big and often publicly funded) datasets and the discovery of new patterns in those data are starting to assist us in improving public policy in ways that would have been unimaginable even just 10 years ago. Public policy areas like the life sciences, which are awash with both public and private funding, have leaped far ahead of policy areas such as diplomacy, global development or international security, where funding levels are immeasurably more modest.

And yet foreign policy remains a critically important public policy field. Its relevance may be less immediately tangible to most people than issues of domestic policy like education, health care or taxation. But in an ever more interdependent world it nevertheless affects the security and prosperity of every single individual in ever more fundamental and far-reaching ways. It therefore stands to reason that this area deserves and requires an applied analytical effort that is commensurate with the one we now afford ourselves in the key domestic policy areas. This would mean endowing our foreign policy decision-makers with a similarly thorough evidence- and knowledge-base from which they could start designing more evidence-based foreign policies. But is this even possible? Are such datasets available in the field of foreign policy? Can new data- and text-mining tools be applied to them? And what would the results from such an effort look like?

The main purpose of this project was to explore these questions. HCSS set out to demonstrate as a ‘proof of concept’ that it has now become possible to tap into a number of new (electronically available) data sources with a set of innovative (semi-automated and automated) analytical tools that offer unprecedented promise to improve the quality of our analyses of what is going on around the world. HCSS decided, in close coordination with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), to select the official MFA websites of various countries as the source for this exercise. There are clear disadvantages to this choice. These websites only reflect their countries’ declaratory stance on issues of international relations, which often bears little resemblance to their factual behavior in this area<sup>54</sup>. In many countries – in some even more than in others – MFA websites tend to be quite ‘heavy’ on

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<sup>54</sup> On this issue, see Stephan De Spiegeleire et al., *Assessing Assertions of Assertiveness. The Chinese and Russian Cases* (HCSS, 2014).

legal, administrative and consular issues and much 'lighter' on the more substantive policy issues. Depending on a country's governmental structure, important foreign policy statements may also be posted on the website of the Head of State or Government.<sup>55</sup> Many government leaders at the top of the MFAs are also starting to use social media to communicate with their publics and the world at large – and HCSS is also examining how we could tap into these new data sources.<sup>56</sup> But while imperfect, we still maintain that the content of these official MFA websites remains the single most useful corpus of reference for analyzing a countries' (declaratory) foreign policy. These websites are also one of the very few text-based ones that currently do not appear to have any copyright limitations attached to them.

The international HCSS team developed and combined a number of tools in order to download and textmine these websites, and to then present and visualize the results. We then proceeded with our preliminary analysis of the data. We pursued two different research tracks: one in which we let the websites speak for themselves ('inside-out'), and another in which we asked the websites some targeted question ('outside-in'). Both approaches yielded some fascinating results that would have been impossible to obtain in any other way.

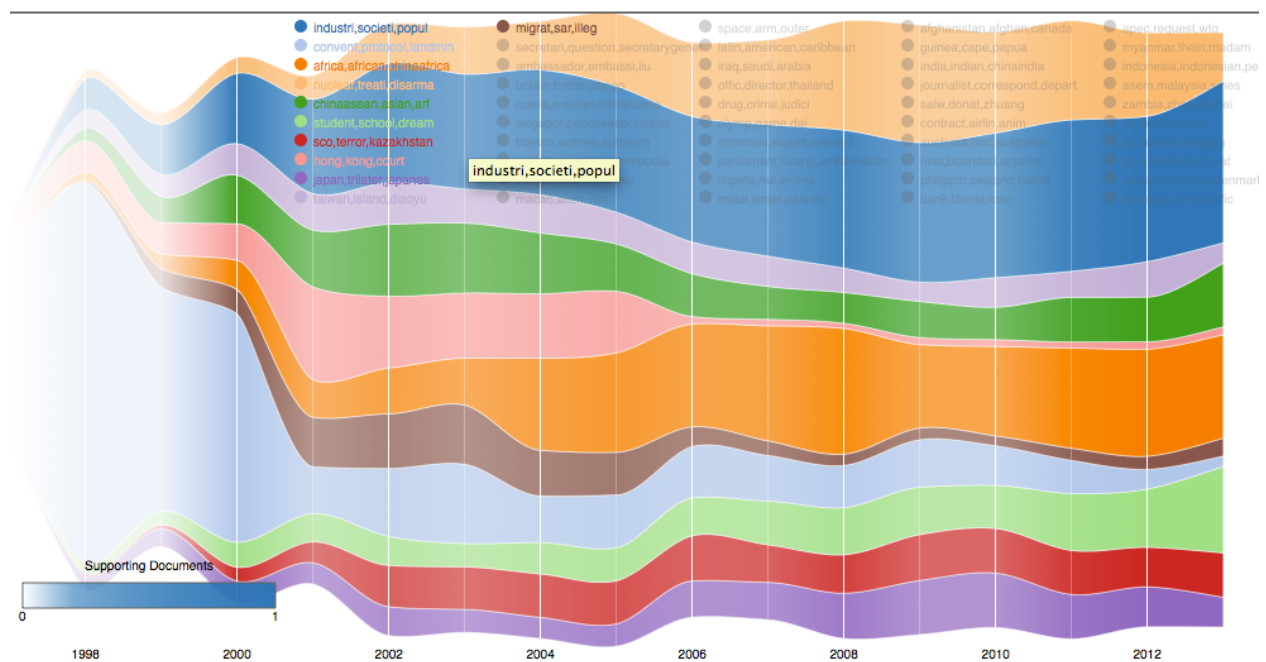


Figure 166. Sample of a streamgraph

The streamgraphs (for an example, see Figure 1) that were automatically generated from the websites are based on an underlying technique called 'topic-modelling'. This provides the reader with a 'bird's eye'-view of the main topics that are discussed on that country's

<sup>55</sup> Although even in those countries, the substantive policy priorities can still be expected to be reflected in the MFA websites as well.

<sup>56</sup> Early findings from this effort indicate, however, that the value of this data source lies more in their immediacy than in their authoritativeness.

MFA website and how those topics have waxed and waned over time. From our discussion with Dutch MFA staffers, we found that some of these tended to confirm their own (or the generally accepted) impressions, but that some were also found to be intriguing and deserving of closer analysis than this ‘proof of concept’ allowed for. The same applies for the outside-in approach in which we asked some questions to these websites. This was based on N-gram analysis, and it yielded visuals like the following one.

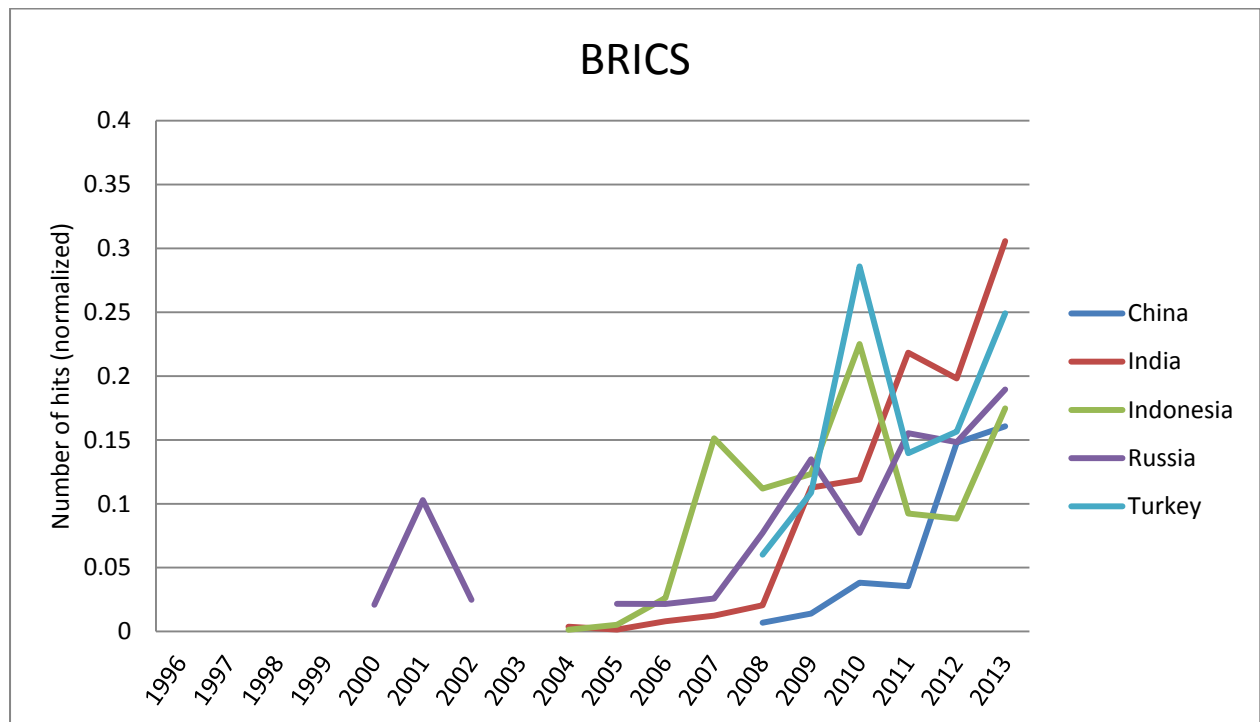


Figure 167. Sample of an N-gram analysis, visualized for the topic ‘BRICS’

The line chart in Figure 2 shows how (relatively) important the unigram ‘BRICS’ is on the websites of these different countries across time (whereby it is already striking that it is not mentioned at all in Mexico).<sup>57</sup> It is hard to imagine any other current research tool that would allow for such systematic comparisons across countries and across time. The N-gram analysis enabled us to generate line charts like the following one.

<sup>57</sup> Due to data disparity and comparability problems, as explained further on the Rizzoma topic online, data for Brazil could not be included in this chart. These issues do not, however, affect the analysis.

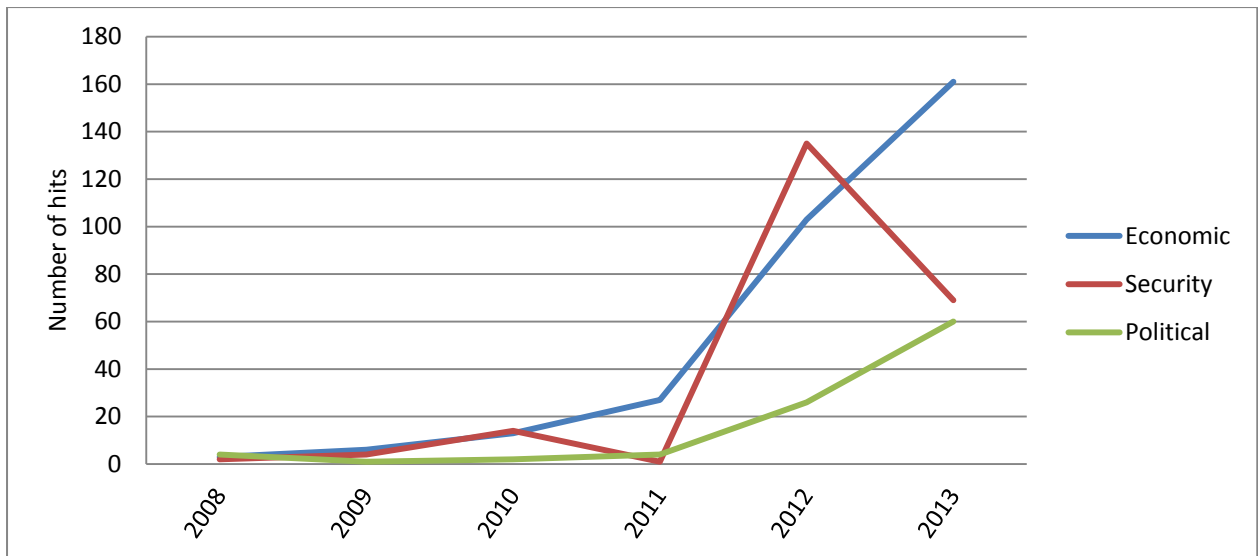


Figure 168. Sample of key terms generated from China’s results

Figure 3 shows the relative importance of economic, political and security considerations whenever China talks about the BRICS on its website. As we already suggested, this more systematic *and* detailed analysis of the treatment of these issues on the various MFA websites would be extremely hard – if not impossible – to achieve or replicate in any way other than impressionistic. There may be biases in this analysis as well. But at any rate, these biases are not primarily the ones of the analyst looking at these documents, but of the (authoritative) people who decided to put this wording in this sequence on these webpages (and maybe of the tools that were used – in which case they would still be more ‘technical’ than ‘substantive’ or ‘political’).

Across the two different research tracks, we also identified some quite interesting take-aways. Some of these are outlined below.

- **Cooperation, development and coordination** within international relations strongly emerge in both research tracks: not only in the topic modelling, but also for most topics investigated in the N-gram analysis. Many countries wish to foster such processes, associated with global governance, their relations with the EU or resources (especially for Brazil, China and India for the latter).

1. Topic modelling (inside-out)

- The **economic** dimension is less strong emphasized in the Russian and Turkish samples for the topic modelling. It seems more evident within the discourse of all the other selected countries.
- ‘Hard’ security topics particularly characterize the Russian and Chinese samples, judging by the topic modelling results. But human security also stands out, through notions of development, cooperation, human rights and democracy.

- **Russia** seems to focus less and less on ‘hard’ security topics (nuclear and terrorism, for instance) over time, and increasingly on ‘soft’ security issues (e.g., culture). **China** has expanded the range of interests and themes associated with foreign affairs, and often emphasizes cooperation, as well as the cultural element. Our **Indonesian** sample also reveals an emphasis on ‘soft’ elements of foreign affairs, such as democracy and its promotion. Similarly, for **Mexico**, cultural dimensions and human rights are underlined as topics of interest in foreign affairs and interactions. **Brazil** typically insists on cooperation and energy. **India** appears less involved in global affairs rather than in its neighborhood’s issues. A somewhat similar observation could be made for **Turkey**.
- In the topic modelling, **Europe** does not stand out evidently as a strong strategic region. In particular, it is not a key actor across Indian official webpages, and it appears that it has even lost some importance in the Turkish or Mexican perspectives over time. Rather than the EU, Mexico mostly includes the US in its discourse.
- Overall, countries insist on their own role in a broad way, that is, by expressing their willingness to extend their influence on the international scene.
- Asia and particularly **Africa** have become more important to most countries over time, perhaps except for Russia. Most countries seem to be creating specific spheres of influence, towards which they focus their foreign policy discourse.

## 2. N-gram (outside-in)

- In general, and with respect to global governance for some countries like China, Brazil, or Indonesia in particular, **development and cooperation** are an important focus.
- In addition, **culture** sporadically emerges from the N-gram analysis in relation to some of the selected topics – for instance, as seen for Turkey with global governance, India with the EU, China with trade agreements, Indonesia with natural resources, and Brazil with the BRICS.
- The N-gram analysis also suggests that hard security is not as emphasized as ‘softer’ connotations seem to be.
- **The BRICS, the EU or even global governance** include many **economic** associations.
- The first topic, **global governance**, has gained importance over time, more clearly so than the EU. Yet the results compare with a forum involving broad discussions: there is a diversity of economic, geopolitical and security ties with Europe on which many countries continue to insist.

- Similarly to India, Russia and Turkey, Brazil insists on the institutions of global governance such as the UN, and the multilateral aspects of global governance. Human rights is an important topic to Brazil as well within this topic. Human rights and democracy are valued by Indonesia, particularly in terms of global governance. China underlines the economic dimensions of global governance, as well as nuclear, energy and climate issues.
- **Energy** is highlighted as a concern for Brazil, China and India in the context of global governance issues. It is also part of the discussions involving the EU – for Brazil, India, Indonesia – or trade – Brazil, China.
- **The EU** is mostly seen as an economic partner, though not only.
- Brazil affords an important role to the EU in the sense that many branches of cooperation are explored or suggested. For Brazil, trade is an important channel for cooperation with the EU, similarly to our findings for the Indonesian and Mexican discourse. At the same time, relationships between Brazil and the EU are somewhat chaotic due to conflicts of interest. Mexico and Indonesia emphasize the EU as a partner in the promotion of human rights and democracy. China's way to promote cooperation with the EU suggests that it is not just about economic opportunities. Reciprocity matters, although China sees itself as the 'dominant party'. Turkey is very committed to the partnership with the EU. Russia's perspective on the importance of the EU fluctuates over time.
- **Trade** represents a priority for China, and many possibilities (i.e., fields) for Brazil. China intends to renew trade relations, and to make them beneficial for both parties. This country considers energy as an important area for trade cooperation. The regional preference is perceptible, looking at Mexico and Russia's discourses. In the views of Turkey, the main actor involved in trade affairs is the EU.
- Results for the topic '**(Natural) resources**' reveal concerns of economic and 'human' nature.
- Brazil and Indonesia mention the human challenges behind resources as a topic, as well as human development. China envisages this as a more strategic issue, and, similarly to Russia, particularly through the economic lens - though some elements of the environmental dimension are included. Within this topic, energy is almost always systematically emphasized and often reflects the countries' strong interests and/or dependency or concerns in this domain.
- For Turkey, national interests are at stake as far as resources and their limits are concerned.



- **The BRICS** remain mostly an economic actor, but depending on each country, they tend to be afforded a broader role, too.
- For China, the BRICS have taken on an economic role, and the member most commonly emphasized seems to be South Africa - perhaps surprisingly given its relatively lower degree of influence (economically, politically) compared to other members. Brazil sees the role of the BRICS as growing beyond that of an economic actor. For India, the BRICS have the potential to trigger reforms at the global level. In the views of Mexico and India, China seems to be the most influential member. For instance, Mexico 'displays' its relations with China as rather broad, while those with other member states seem strictly economic.

The bottom line here is that if we as foreign policy practitioners, analysts or scholars want to develop more systematic and fine-tuned sensors to pick up patterns and trends in countries' shifting stated<sup>58</sup> foreign policy priorities, there is currently not a single source that is more suitable for this than the MFA websites. They are publicly available in electronic format. In all of these countries, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs are the official custodians of foreign policy. Their websites remain the main vehicle through which they communicate with the outside world. Most of the texts that appear on these websites were drafted by civil servants. Those that were not were at least approved by them – typically through formal procedures that determine what ultimately ends up (or does not end up) on their websites. This corpus of texts can therefore be considered the single most authoritative content collection in the area of foreign policy. This may – in fact is even be likely to – change over time, but at this moment in time, social media cannot yet really compete with the official websites.

This report has provided some 'proof of concept' that these websites now can be analyzed in a semi-automated way, yielding results that would be difficult or even outright impossible to generate otherwise. None of the tools that were used in this report were commercial or proprietary. They were either public domain (such as Zotero, Mallet and Papermachines) or they were developed for this project based on algorithms that are once again in the public domain (our N-gram-analysis). The findings we obtained from these semi-automated tools – typically raw data with some visualization of those data – were then interpreted by HCSS analysts from across the world. These analyses are described in this report in more detail to illustrate the types of substantive findings this approach could yield. We want to emphasize, however, that while this report demonstrates that this approach has now become technologically feasible, it has not provided a validation method for the accuracy and/or usefulness of its findings or of the interpretations that were given to those. This would require additional work in close cooperation with experts in these different areas within and outside of the MFA.

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<sup>58</sup> Note the comment in footnote 2.

Most analyses of contemporary foreign policy are based on a regrettably – some might argue unacceptably – ‘thin’ and often selective evidence base. To buttress their arguments, foreign policy analysts of course do generally try to piece together evidence from a number of different sources. These sources include high-level policy documents; international agreements; policy and/or press statements by authoritative politicians, civil servants or spokesmen; the frequency and level visits to certain countries; budgetary priorities; the relative scope and/or character of the diplomatic representation in certain countries, etc. Analysts then typically make a fairly limited (and often untraceable) selection out of all of these potentially available sources – a selection, the representativeness of which cannot readily be ascertained. HCSS has always been surprised that the field (at least that part of the field that works in the public domain) has not made a bigger effort to remedy these glaring empirical deficiencies.<sup>59</sup> We submit this report as a modest attempt to demonstrate that these flaws can be remedied and some ways in which this could be achieved.

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<sup>59</sup> At HCSS we have therefore, in our own work, tried to make at least some progress in this area. See Stephan De Spiegeleire et al., *De Toekomst in Alle Staten. HCSS Strategic Monitor 2013. [The Future in All Its States]*, vol. 20, HCSS Report (The Hague: HCSS, 2013); Joris Van Esch et al., *Strategic Monitor 2014. Four Strategic Challenges* (The Hague: HCSS, 2014).

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