



HUGO CHÁVEZ FRÍAS
THE BLUE BOOK

PROLOGUE BY
NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS

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The Blue Book

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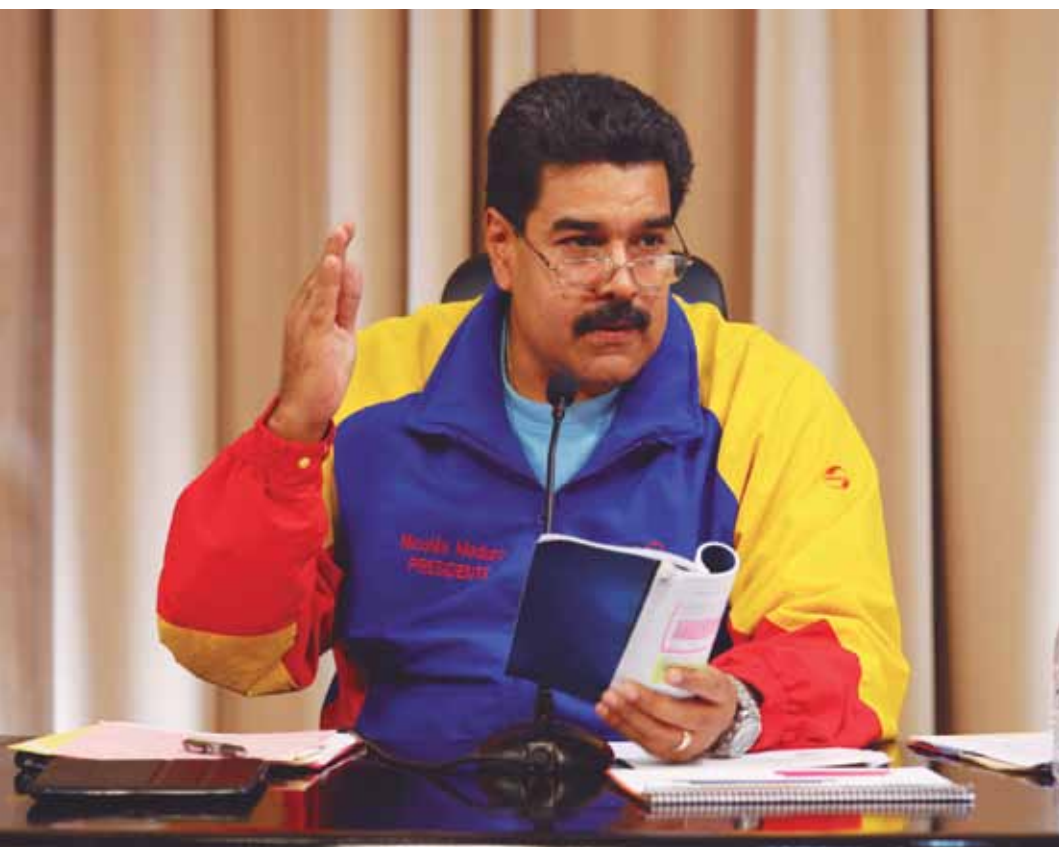


HUGO CHÁVEZ FRÍAS
THE BLUE BOOK

PROLOGUE TO THE BLUE BOOK
NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS

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NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS



PROLOGUE TO THE BLUE BOOK

I

By looking over through the pages of *The Blue Book*, by rereading with the attention they deserve, we immediately warn the reader about the presence of Hugo Chávez, the thinker: a thinker who is entirely free and eternally committed; a thinker in an open war against any kind of dogmatism. *The Blue Book* demonstrates the Commander's powerful conviction throughout his life: to think before acting; to generate freeing thoughts to illuminate the path of prolific praxes.

To understand the entirety of the Giant's thought, *The Blue Book* in its first stage describes: a phase in which already his ideas have acquired singular concision. They are ideas born in the midst of Our People's historic battle, intimately linked to the history of the MBR-200.

In fact, and acknowledging the change of topic, I believe it is time to thoroughly study the MBR-200 movement, and the determinant role it played in Venezuela's contemporary history. I estimate that is a challenge for young historians, for those that joined among military ranks, and for those that accompanied him from the civil standpoint. Even with all its determining historical importance, there is that 4th of February of 1992 to corroborate it, its historic evolution has to be better understood by Our People. If we want to know where we come from, it is necessary to understand the role that MBR-200 played as a powerful trigger factor of our Bolivarian Revolution.

By taking interest in the thought and work of the Commander Hugo Chávez, we warn that everything that took place, answers to a historic doublé condition: to count on a clear purpose and to have a deep understanding of its consequences through time. *The Blue Book* is not the exception; we also found it here, sinking through history in order to trace the philosophical and political horizon that was imagined for our country, which was condensed into The Simón Bolívar National Project.

Only a few times in Venezuelan history, there was such a man able to conceive the idea of the pillars of a political, economic and social system, and also taking charge of making it a reality. Thus, Chávez, since the very moment he warned to dedicate his life as a whole to the res-

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urrection of the Homeland, he knew that a new historic project, worthy of such name, must commence from the ethical and ideological substratum from the unfinished, inherited battle. Only by rescuing the positive character of the Venezuelanism, to say this in a way mentioned by Augusto Mijares, and fighting incessantly for the final victory of all battles from our past, we could only then, truly have a sense of Homeland.

Throughout the 20th century, we had turned into an isolated and orphan Nation, compared to our glorious past, in such a manner that we lost all sorts of recognition. And this was also acknowledged by Chávez with great clarity, and lets us know all about it in its entirety in *The Blue Book*.

We could say that within Hugo Chávez's spirit, when he was writing these pages, he felt the same concerns shared by Don Mario Briceño-Iragorry when he reminded us with such pain:

Distant from living logic that follows within ourselves, namely, in our own national past, the moral substance of our social beings, we have suffered the absence of determining profiles. As corollary, we haven't reached the definition of 'historic nation' that is necessary for the forging of a nationality.¹

¹ Briceño-Iragorry, Mario (1952). *Message without destiny and other essays*. Ayacucho Library. Caracas, 1988, p.75.

Chávez gave this living logic a fruitful concretion. From a project with own roots and taking into consideration the socio-political circumstances of the Venezuela of the late 20th century, the transcendental objective was to foster, once again, the enlightening of that historic nation; the forgotten and real one, the one that so many times was denied of its essence and reasoning: the People that the Giant encouraged to rise again from the ashes so that it can become Revolution, Homeland, a Homeland burning in a sacred flame. Today we completely embody the category of a historic nation, and we have started to collectively achieve the most beautiful process of forging our nationality. And may I repeat: today we have that sense of Homeland like we never have before in our history.

II

Our laws are ill-fated relics from the entire antique and modern despotism, this monstrous structure must be deposed, it must fall, and from its ruins, we must erect the temple of justice and with the support of its holy inspiration, let us dictate a new Code of Venezuelan laws.²

² Bolívar, Simón. *Angostura speech*, February 15th of 1819.

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These were the words from Bolívar, the Father, which never left the mind of the young military officer Hugo Chávez. The Liberator was transmitting him a mandate: it was undeferrable to completely undermine the ruined framework of a whole society that had been claiming for decades for a new and real transformation. It was implicit, within the genius of the Commander, the vision that his Venezuelan People had to grow in gigantic proportions in order to fulfil its destiny, to reach its historic azimuth. This had to take place within a strategy of transformation that should encompass both the phenomenal level, as well as the tangible one, facing and confronting with depth, historical contingency its branches, while they were fully addressed, according to the approach adopted by our Chávez.

In this sense, *The Blue Book* served as a compass, it is, and has been a solid reference that refutes those that have insisted, and keep insisting that our Giant never had a clear a path, or that once he took office in 1998 he betrayed his initial proposals as well as betraying the national project presented to all Venezuelans in our territory, after being released from jail up until the day that he was elected President for the first time. Certainly convinced, long before that February 4th of 1992, about the historical and political need for a national summons to a Constituent Assembly in case that the rebellion succeed. Not in vain, as time passed by, the aforementioned was his only electoral proposal in 1998 and it was the first decision he took after being sworn in with the first national magistracy.

III

For the philosopher Juan David García Bacca, a great scholar of the robinsonian thought, many times cited by Chávez, to define consists in emphasizing the original essence of things (a specific difference), over a common background (forthcoming type) of a reality, as the only way to determine what that thing is doing. *Mutatis Mutandi*, changing what needed to be changed, something similar was presented in the Venezuelan society during the time these pages were written: the terminal crisis announced a heroic outcome, as seen by the courage demonstrated by Our People on that 27th of February of 1989 by putting up against the ropes both the neoliberal thesis, as well as the bragged about “death of ideologies”.

The Blue Book accurately portrayed not only what the Venezuelan society was going through in body and soul, what at the time was, but also depicted as well the transfinite world of possibilities to which the future was open to; to say this along with García Bacca, who closely followed the master Simón Rodríguez and his immortal phrase to *invent or to err*, this is, the originality as a nodal point of the republics to-build. García Bacca said: “It is therefore highly original type transfinite invention by highly original sequel inventions.”³

³ García Bacca, Juan David. *Infinite. Transfinite. Finite*. Anthropos. Del Hombre Editorial. Barcelona-Spain, 1984, p. 159.

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Hence the genesis of a unique and unprecedented Bolivarian Revolution, and by consequence, the most original constituent and instituting processes that not only gave birth to one very original Magna Carta, but such processes keep defining and transforming the Venezuelan reality in the same way that our men and women have been happily re-appropriating it.

One way for such reappropriation to become effective has been the constant call for the Legislative People, a robinsonian concept, so that the People can give itself a Code of Venezuelan Laws, as requested by Bolívar in Angostura. The Enabling Act against corruption and the Enabling Act to clean up the rules of the economic game have put us up to the inescapable requirement of also legislating new moral codes; they give us certainty that the same Legislative People, now more than ever, is mobilized in the streets, it is the Legislative People as a living and effective expression of the People's Power, participatory and protagonist of the original society to which we aspire.

IV

In *The Blue Book*, Chávez examines the national reality with passion: Bolivarian and Homeland passion that carries within a tremendous burden of anxiety and at the same time, hope. For Chávez, at this stage in which his thinking begins to define itself, transit and transition of the suffering and oppressed country by the puntofijista regime, a generator of distress center, to wards the desired and freed country, necessarily goes through an insurrect and rebellious country. In his vision, closing ranks next to a rebellious and insurrected Nation should be the military to fulfill the mandate of the Liberator to wield their swords in defense of social guarantees, of the rights of the majorities.

When Chávez writes *The Blue Book* in 1991 we can see it in the light of the following words by Michel Foucault, “is the connection between desire and reality (and not its retreat into the forms of representation) that possesses revolutionary force.”⁴ As a thinker and as a military and political leader, Chávez incessantly seeks a fruitful connection between desire and reality, which, incidentally, something that the leftists had renounced to do at that given

⁴ Foucault, Michael. “The anti-Oedipus: an introduction to non-fascist living”. In *Cuadernos de Marcha* (Number 38, Third Age). 1988, pp. 57-61.

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time. Hence, *The Blue Book* keeps intact the revolutionary force that generates and projects itself. In this sense, we must be attentive and vigilant so that the connection between the collective and popular will, and the Venezuelan reality never becomes lost: Our People have every right to complain to those who exercise government labors when it perceives such disconnection from our behalf. Today, having real true revolutionary force to accelerate the transition towards socialism means having the ability to hear the popular interpellation: this is the key to the necessary and indispensable daily relaunching.

For those of us who are chavistas, who have created the Homeland Plan 2013-2019 project as our navigation guide, we are not here to maintain and manage the power, but to continue to make a revolution: a revolution that has the praxis of obediential power as a fundamental cornerstone; to govern in obedience to the people; is the joyous reality of the communities in power, of the Legislating People, of the People's President, of the People's power which is not managed by anyone, but by the Sovereign Nation itself while Constituent and Institutive Power.

If the objective for José Carlos Mariátegui of a project of national liberation in his land was based on the principle of Peruanize Perú, it is possible to verify that Chávez, in *The Blue Book* has a similar objective, to Venezuelanize Venezuela. To such transcendent goal, the creation of the

Tree with three roots follows, while bold claim and fruitful assumption of a liberating historical memory, full of contemporary and filled with fraught.

V

We will quote the Commander in extenso. Let us hear his word and clear decisions, mapping the path to genuine national liberation, towards our definite Independence:

What is the reason that we are here and currently announcing and promoting profound changes at the beginning of the last decade of this “lost” century?

There may be stated countless causes, large and small, past and present, structural and cyclical, to present the men of this time such reason why. However, all that could be listed here would be tributaries of a same stream, whose channel comes from far away and whose riverbed appears and disappears intermittently in the nooks and turns, often unclear from the homeland history.

Thus, there exists, countrymen, one powerful reason: it is the project of Simón Rodríguez, The master; Simón Bolívar, Leader; and Ezequiel Zamora, Sovereign General of the People; truly valid and relevant reference to the socio-historical nature of

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being Venezuelan, that claims again for space to be planted in the national soul and drive its way to the twenty first century.

The outcry is unstoppable on the roads of Venezuela. It approaches, it becomes torrent and is confused among the shudder of the Venezuelan people.

This project has been reborn from the rubble, and it now stands at the end of the twentieth century, supported by a theoretical and political model that encapsulates the determinant conceptual elements of the thoughts from these three illustrious Venezuelans, which shall be known henceforth as EBR, Tree of Three Roots: E from Ezequiel Zamora, B from Bolívar and R, Robinson. Such a project, always defeated until now, has a pending meeting with victory.

We will simply cause such inevitable encounter.⁵

By carefully re-reading these words, I would like to remind the readers something already said: a lot of us, our children, their collaborators, Chávez took us all out of the exogenous alienation that unfortunately marked part of the history of the Venezuelan leftist spectrum, and he distanced it away inevitably from the feel and the throb of the People. Chávez was a real teacher, an unmatched

⁵ Pages 43-44 of this edition.

pedagogue when it comes to showing the urgent and undeniable need for caring and directing our consciousness to our history, to know our selves and to feel like successors, like heirs of all our struggles. Through his teachings, the Liberator, the Master and the Sovereign General of the People became our largest and contemporary examples; he has literally made them fight alongside with us. Chávez put us in reality; in order to bring us into reality, he reopened the lost paths of historical memory, its power and its potential; he summoned us to seek and find the codes that give us meaning and purpose as Venezuelans.

Chávez rescued our original sources: Simón Rodríguez, Ezequiel Zamora and Simón Bolívar, Tree of Three Roots strategies for the foundation of the Republic.

VI

Walking through the pages of *The Blue Book* once again, I have reconfirmed one certainty: Chávez is not only the largest defender and reclamer of Bolívar, but also of the figure and thought of Simón Rodríguez.

What a marvelous way to discover the foundational value of Robinson's ideas, to reveal the critical importance of the original robinsonian. For Chávez, Robinson is not inspired, but instead the one who inspires through the concrete utopia that projects in its thinking. That is

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why the Commander defends the bold Robinson, the revolutionary Robinson, the Robinson who does decolonization of consciences, mentalities, the Robinson that planted the inescapable existential and political dilemma of inventing or erring, the Robinson that put all the emphasis on the urgent need to create a way of governing that stops looking at itself in foreign mirrors and begins to look at ourselves. In fact, and truthfully, Chávez extracted all the emancipatory power of his thought.

Robinson embodies Chávez when he says the following:

Men are not in society to tell themselves that they have needs, or to be advised on how to remedy them, nor to exhort themselves to be patient, but instead to consult themselves on the means to satisfy their desires, because to not satisfy them, is to endure.⁶

It is, then, about a Robinson who thinks of the Revolution from desire's point of view, and this makes the Chávez that follows, who is inspired by Robinson, to stay away from any dogmatic temptation, from any form of dogmatism.

I would dare to freely develop an intuition: in many different ways, Robinson is for us more important than Karl Marx, and it is because he thought our reality, taking root

⁶ Rodríguez, Simón (1828). *American Societies*. Ayacucho Library. Caracas, 1990, p. 71.

thought, assimilating all the ideas that had to be assimilated from Europe, but thinking from our Latin-American point of view, non-European, having the courage to formulate own ideas, de-colonizing himself when forging concepts, decolonizing in thinking and doing. No wonder the Master of Professors of our great Homeland wrote these lines that still defy us, that challenge us: “It’s more important to understand a native Indian, than Ovidio.”⁷ Those who only understand Ovidio, and do not care to understand an indian, have colonialism in their head and will act accordingly with no sense of belonging. It is what happens to the colonized Venezuelan opposition: mental colonialism makes them despise our People and that means despise the Homeland that saw their births, the Homeland that they do not feel, that they do not love.

The Blue Book establishes itself singularly and fully in the historical, philosophical and political stream of contemporary Bolivarianism: it is about Bolivarianism for the XXI century, according to the joyous expression from the Commander himself. Certainly, within the Liberator we can all find ourselves; Bolívar gives us meaning and challenges us, his thinking is a permanently open invitation to rethink everything. Thus: from Bolívar we come

⁷ Rodríguez, Simón (1845). “Friendly advice given to the Latacunga College”. In *Complete works*, Vol II. Ediciones de la Presidencia de la República. Caracas, 2001, p. 35.

from, and to Bolívar we will go. This Revolution would not have been the same and, moreover, would not have been possible were it not Bolivarian.

Chávez understands the Bolivarian ideals of liberty, equality and justice as the primary foundation to embody a republican ethic that can respond to the challenges of our time. Republican ethics in the strictest sense, that is, nothing is above the common good, of the collective welfare, of the supreme social happiness. It is the Liberator showing us the true path of statecraft: "... I always put the community before the individual."⁸ Quite the opposite are what the ruling classes have done since 1830: prioritizing fierce individualism and exercise power against any possibility of community fulfillment.

The project from the oligarchy was none other than to constitute a "Nation" in quotes; not "People", and to keep Venezuela in its colonial status. And with the emergence of black gold, they reduced us to be a Yankee oil colony: a territorial extension without freedom, without sovereignty, without independence. From every point of view, it was necessary for Bolivarianism to resurrect, to bring resurrection of awareness by the Venezuelan People to recover our goods, the good that allows us to reach all other goods: Independence. Chávez will always be with Bolívar in the

⁸ Bolívar, Simón. In the letter to General Antonio José de Sucre from Bogotá, October 28th of 1828.

struggle for independence that we collectively reclaim the XXI century and have not yet completed.

Similarly, Ezequiel Zamora finds in Chávez his historic vindicator. Following the trail left by professor Federico Brito Figueroa in *Time of Ezequiel Zamora*, Chávez brings the Sovereign General of the People to present times to give continuity to social combat in the battle for equality, for a real and truly equal country. Even at this stage of his thought, Chávez thinks and projects the national State from the roots of Zamora's thinking: his proposal at that time was that of a Zamoran federal state. Finally, Zamora embodied in Chávez radically: Zamora is a reason to address the root of social conflict that has determined us since 1830, it is a reason to thoroughly address injustice, exclusion and inequality; it is a reason to return to our original identity that has as foundation, the civil military unity or, if preferred, the People in Arms.

Chávez brings to the present the Zamoran spirit, depending on us to understand the continuity of the struggle between the dispossessed and the oligarchs who seized power, accumulating the grossest privileges. Zamora is the social battle that never ends: the battle for equality.

VII

Today we are facing the challenge of defining and sculpting in the particular subject of our society, how to be supportive, as our Robinson envisioned for our republics:

Not each to do their business, and the one who is not alert to lose, but instead, to think everyone in all, for everyone to think on him. Men are not in the world to selfdestruct their kind, but to help each other.⁹

So it is clear that we are not carving anyway: we are departing from the soul of our society, from the guts of each and every one of us, in perfect integration with the social body, in order to build on solid foundations a real and true Moral Power. This is the most demanding battle we have to fight in our present time: it explains the answers that, as Bolivarian Government we are giving, jointly with our people to the current economic war that foreign factors, along with stateless factors, have declared on our country; we are responding and will continue to strongly respond to the many abuses, the many outrages and crimes against People who want to live in peace.

⁹ Rodríguez, Simón (1828). "American Societies". *Complete works*, Vol II. Edition for the Presidency of the Republic. Caracas, 2001, p. 326.

We must act from the depths of our subjectivity, but in intimate consonance until we form a multiplicity of voices with the feelings of others: we are not allowed any other choice. Not in vain, when facing an unprecedented war against our nation, our responses have been highly original and this shows that we will invoke it: we are People born to conquer and overcome. We will continue on the road to invent, and we will invent in order to save and preserve the beautiful and fruitful life of our Chavista Bolivarian Republic, outlined and luminously designed by the Giant in the pages of *The Blue Book*.

VIII

I know that I have left out a lot in the process of writing these pages, but they have already extended too much so I prefer to leave them here.

I am confident that our people will find many fruitful ideas when reading and re-reading *The Blue Book*, continuing to widen the paths of popular philosophy which will open the Bolivarian Revolution. Actually, these pages continue to write themselves in the Venezuelan reality. Here shines, with its own light, the original plan of the Commander, the project which constitutes us, to which we always must come back, the one from which we must always nurture.

Nicolás Maduro Moros

President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela

November of 2013



CHÁVEZ REGARDING THE BLUE BOOK

“One of our working and logical tools (...) which is a rich part of the history of the Venezuelan process, of the Bolivarian idea and of an ideological model which we have been readjusting and have called *The Blue Book*.”

September 15th of 1999

“Those of us, who were building the Bolivarian Movement leading to the military rebellion of February 4th were designing and looking for ideas. It was when *The Tree of Three Roots* came to be, a product of many discussions, years’ worth of discussions. We had small schools, but schools they were, and work, especially on weekends, early in the morning. It was when it came out, after much discussion, the bolivarian, robinsonian and zamoran school of thought, as a root that today we must take seriously and study in greater depth and greater strength, in order to spread it everywhere.”

September 15th of 2001/ Ideological School, Mérida

“A document that has three parts: the first is an introduction; the second part is the ideological approach, the ideological framework, *The Tree of the Three Roots*: Bolívar, Zamora and Rodríguez; the third part is a very general strategic line of the National Project Simón Bolívar, that later on became the Alternative Bolivarian Agenda and then turned into the Revolutionary Project, which is now largely part of the Constitution and a set of laws, such as the Oil and Gas law for example. The project has been developed (...) That morning I was very happy because I read these notes, humble notes made by a lieutenant colonel, in a rushed manner, at dawn; there was a lieutenant who has typing all these notes onto the computer, studies and memories of collective discussions, but taken to a pill (...) From 1992 onto today, I see the Constitution, it is all here; and I see that the Oil and Gas Law is here; and I see that the government project for 2001-2007 is also here, approved by the National Assembly and underway, with many difficulties, but in motion. Then I say: it was worth it all, even all the pain was worth it (...) these little books were left somewhere. But this one stayed in my briefcase, and only a few officers had them. We made a few copies for security reasons”.

February 9th of 2003
Aló, Presidente, Number 138

THE BLUE BOOK

“The ideology, you see, this little detail that I was remembering on that morning of July 21st, 1992: *The Tree of Three Roots*. We were teaching classes, we divided ourselves to teach, and we would then study the EBR, philosophical and political systems. *The Tree of Three Roots*: Ezequiel Zamora, Simón Rodríguez and Simón Bolívar. And we made this chart, these coordinates to carry a chart representing the thinking of Bolívar and Simón Rodríguez, finding the commonality of the two roots, especially around equality and forms of government. Equality and forms of government. And here we were wondering how to determine the value of each variable. We were moving into deep science, leading these ideas to the mathematical sense”.

April 17th of 2005

Aló, Presidente, Number 219

“We, on February 4th, had what we already called *The Blue Book*. It was a very modest booklet, but in it there were, already explained, the thick lines of what is today and, now, 20 years later, the Simón Bolívar National Project”.

January 22nd of 2012

Interview with José Vicente Rangel

“The Blue Book, this document, this book, a modest work, was developed by us, a group of us, before February 4th, a few months before we made this document. Well, some lines about the project, about economic structure, social structure of the new State, complete with drawings and graphics. Look at this drawing; I remember doing it somewhere in Maracay. They were ideas, many of which are now in full swing, made reality, in a political and economic sense”.

February 2nd of 2012

Celebration for the 13 years of the Bolivarian Revolution

NOTE REGARDING THIS EDITION

This edition is based on the one published in 2007 by the Ministry of the People's Power for Communication and Information. Editing mistakes have been corrected, and some biographical notes have been added with the intention of informing the reader or researcher of the details and the sources cited by the author. These notes, found within the footnotes, are distinguished by brackets, even when their numbering sequence remains unchanged.

THE BLUE BOOK



THOUGHTS

“Where shall we go to find models? the spanish america is original. Their institutions and government have to be original. And original are the means of founding one and others. Either we invent or we err”.

America should not slavishly imitate, but be original.

Rodríguez, Simón [American Societies, 1828]

“You shaped my heart for freedom, for justice, for greatness, for what is beautiful. I followed the path toward which you pointed me”.

*Bolívar, Simón
Pativalca, January 19th of 1824
To Mr. Simón Rodríguez*

“The cause that we uphold, which is none other than the true cause of the people, genuine Republic, the Federation; your heroism must be awarded with the triumph of principles and the consequent overthrow of tyranny. Long live the Federation! Long live the true Republic! And long live forever, the memory of the patriots of our independence, of those from July 5th of 1811, those to whom within the glorious Charter told the people: Federation! Let it be accomplished then, after so many years”.

Zamora, Ezequiel
February 23rd of 1859
[Proclamation in Coro]



PRELIMINARY

Indeed, we live in an era where ideologies seem to be coming to extinction. The “end of ideologies”, as it has been called by many scholars of the time.

The phenomenon takes on greater proportions in the American continent, particularly in Venezuela, where the vast majority of political parties emerged in parallel to the process of industrialization, resulted in organizations of populist standpoint, completely empty of ideological content.

On the other hand, there has been a consistent trend in our contemporary thinkers, to seek and import models from elsewhere and try to implement them in our societies.

Meanwhile, our people have been moving further away from their historical roots, where surely the keys are found to decrypt the terrible enigma that keeps us coming and going through the depths of history, already at the gates of the 21st century.

Ideologies are navigation aids to sail times and space, giving precise directions to societies and nations.

Therefore, it is precisely within this framework stripped, of ideology, the purpose of finding valid resources for our people to advance through such intricate map and complex future, that we have dared to invoke an ideological model which is autochthonous and rooted deeply in our origin and in the historic subconscious of national identity.

At the core of Simón Rodríguez thought is the seed of a project of society based in popular education and creativity. Simón Rodríguez conceives the concrete idea of the Republic and thus, he carves the outline of the National Government, as well as the geohistorical timeframe through the future.



TREE OF THREE ROOTS

What is the reason that we are here and currently announcing and promoting profound changes at the beginning of the last decade of this “lost” century?

Countless causes may be stated: large and small, past and present, structural and cyclical, to provide reasoning to men of this time. However, all that could be listed here would be tributaries of the same stream, whose channel comes from far away and whose riverbed appears and disappears intermittently in the nooks and turns: often unclear from the homeland history.

Thus, there exists, countrymen, one powerful reason: it is the project of Simón Rodríguez, Master; Simón Bolívar, Leader; and Ezequiel Zamora, Sovereign General of the People; it is a truly valid and relevant reference with a socio-historical nature of being Venezuelan, that claims again for space to be planted in the national soul and drive its way to the twenty-first century.

The outcry is unstoppable on the roads of Venezuela. It approaches, becomes a torrent, and is confused among the shudder of the Venezuelan people.

This project has been reborn from the rubble; it now stands at the end of the twentieth century, supported by a theoretical and political model that encapsulates the determinant conceptual elements of the thoughts from these three illustrious Venezuelans, which shall be known henceforth as EBR, The Tree of Three Roots: E from Ezequiel Zamora, B from Bolívar and R, Robinson. Such a project, which had always been defeated until now, is pending a meeting with victory.

We will simply cause such inevitable encounter.



THE EBR SYSTEM

FIRST ROOT: ROBINSONIAN ROOT

The history of Latin America (...) was put aside (...) from that exile, forgotten, intentionally or by mistake in the outlook, we bring this Simón Rodríguez, to whom only history has the authority to legitimize [as] the preceptor of Simón Bolívar.

It comes to us dressed as a passerby from different worlds, (...) “old observer of the revolutions of the century.” It approaches with traces of a misfit, of a different type, lucid and extravagant (...) philosopher (...) informer (...) reiterating full questions (...) dissenting inventor and planner for the day after tomorrow (...) accompanying with up to date reflections per day (...) for the next day. It is the future that he burdens on his shoulders as an impatient and solitary being.

His life is that of a wanderer (...) joyful (...) controversial, excessively excitable (...) enjoys laughter. Knows how to find humor. Knows how to avoid mockery. His joy is not just occasional. It was his method of living and teaching.¹

Dardo Cúneo

In the history of the Venezuelan political philosophy, there exists a primitive theoretical model, which we will call here after the “robinsonian” model, having emerged from the thought and praxis of that fellow who changed his original name of Simón Rodríguez to Samuel Robinson.

The robinsonian model was built in a span of just over half a century, from the time of Robison’s youth, master of the children of Caracas when he writes in 1794 his reflections on the defects which vitiate the School of First Letters of Caracas, as well as the means to achieve its transformation into “a new establishment, until its own old age, when, in 1851, published his Friendly Advice, given to the College of Latacunga.”

The model is based on a system of ideas which can be perfectly framed in a deep existential dilemma, in which

¹ [From the prologue to the work of Simón Rodríguez. *We invent or we err*, Monte Ávila Latinoamericana Editorial, 1980].

a dichotomy within a sweeping movement clearly delimits: “We invent or we err.”

Like any ideological system, the model consists on a set of strongly interconnected elements, which constitute the robinsonian systematic structure.

The study of such model, from its genesis to its development, shows that such a structure remains unchanged and follows the same dilemma of inventing new institutions for the emerging Latin American republics; or falling from the path and falling into simplistic models of copying other times, other attitudes, other men. I mean, if we do not invent, we fatally fall in error.

In *American Societies* (1842), Simón Rodríguez is responsible for delineating the following dilemma:

“Where shall we go to find models? The Spanish America is original. Their institutions and government have to be original. And original are the means of founding one and others. Either we invent or we err.”²

It is within this model, where the deepest root of the EBR system is precisely inserted into the R for robinsonian root.

² Rodríguez, Simón. *American Societies*. Ayacucho Library, 1990, p. 88]

SECOND ROOT: BOLIVARIAN ROOT

That is how Bolívar is in the heavens of America (...) still sitting on the rock of creation, beside the Inca and the bundle of flags at the foot, so he is, still wearing campaign boots, because what he left undone, is still undone until today, because Bolívar has yet to do so in America.

José Martí

The Robinsonian Model transcends, however, the character, the master, to build and form the basis of another larger, not philosophical, but in its historical and geographical scope: The Bolivarian Model. This one is powered on and planted in a large area with the same dichotomous seed: to invent a new society in Spanish America or to err by trying to copy old models, irrelevant to our stage.

The conceptual elements that form the Bolivarian Model are more complicated, but this does not make it impossible to identify a structure perfectly homologous with the robinsonian model. Both are products of an era and result from a process of observation and practice on the same phenomenal situation.

Simón Bolívar, “The Leader”, writes his doctrine in the reiteratively robinsonian dichotomy, since his first

speeches in 1811, when he says: “Are great projects to be prepared in a calm manner! Three hundred years of being calm, is not it enough? (...) Let us not fear to set the cornerstone of South American freedom: to hesitate is to lose ourselves.”³

In his *Address to the Congress of Angostura*, on February 15th of 1819, he said: “Let us remember that our people are not European or North American; rather, we are a compound of Africa and America, not an emanation of Europe.”

Further on delineating the central element of the conceptual structure of the model:

Our laws are ill fated relics from the entire antique and modern despotism, this monstrous structure must be deposed, it must fall, and from its ruins, we must erect the temple of justice and with the support of its holy inspiration, let us dictate a new Code of Venezuelan laws.⁴

This is the second root, whose libertarian apex is feeds on the centuries of the EBR system: the B from the bolivarian side.

³ [Speech at the Patriotic Society in Caracas, on July 3rd of 1811].

⁴ [*Address to the Congress of Angostura*, February 15th of 1819].

THIRD ROOT: ZAMORAN ROOT

Listen up everyone! Raise the flags high! Let the drums resonate and bring by the halter a horse of gunpowder and a storm, because Ezequiel Zamora has awakened! (...) And let the chorus of the winds come! And also from the reddened dawn!

Because Ezequiel Zamora backs the people now, and there is a tempest on its way!

César Rengifo

[What the tempest left, 1961].

It is the model that completes the ideological trilogy of the political project now rising from the bowels of the national history. It consists of a counseling, philosophical synthesis, one that shook the conservative oligarchy, when Ezequiel zamora, “The Sovereign People’s general”, launched its massive federal slogans:

“Free men and land”.

“Popular elections”.

“Horror for the oligarchy”.

Here is the third ideological side that nourishes our political project: The Zamoran Root located closer to the present time and symbolically incorporated into the systematic component, with an E of such terrible name: Ezequiel.

The inspiration for General Zamora comes from the same roots: robinsonian and bolivarian. His speech bears the same stamp of the great existential dilemma. He invented the mechanisms for the peasant uprising of 1846, to err and to reinvent the way in which people drove the Revolution of 1858.

In 1846, he invited his contemporaries to:

Follow through with a compelling need to overthrow the oppression of the oligarchy, so whoever opposes, at any cost, to finally reap the great rewards that were slogans of independence.

Zamora created the Federal State of Barinas, throwing an incendiary statement on the May 21st of 1859⁵:

On top of the ruins of the dictatorship driven by Julian Castro on the past March 5th, with that aged oligarchy, you shall erect the Federal Government that will forever ensure freedom, equality and fraternity; the dogma from the genuine Republic.

⁵ [Statement given at the General Barracks of Barinas].

The conceptual elements of the zamoran ideological model are closely related to the robinsonian invention and grandeur, as well to the geopolitical vision of the bolivarian model. These elements are reflected in the large number of documents produced by The Sovereign People's General. Let us consider as a sample the Protest against foreign consulate citizens residing in Puerto Nutrias, on June 9th, 1859:

The province of Barinas, using its radical sovereignty, has separated from the central government and has been a Federal State to govern itself by its own laws, while the popular convention of the United Provinces of Venezuela comes together. The State of Barinas cannot fail to be recognized as a member of the society of nations, it is governed by positive laws emanating from itself and has established the authorities that manage and represent its members.

He keeps inventing by ordering the application of measures destined to benefit the poor majorities:

1. Five hours length squared in distance, contained in the four cardinal points, are to be destined for common use of each town or villa.

2. Elimination of the lease payment system for the use of land for agricultural or livestock purposes.
3. Fix the wages of the laborers according to their work.
4. The landowners must permanently supply ten cows to the common land so as to supply daily, free of cost, a bottle of milk to poor households.



THE SIMÓN BOLÍVAR NATIONAL PROJECT

The project is conceived as a chained series of situations within an evolutionary process that has a profound transformative characteristic.

Let us describe as the initial situation the terrible reality into which the current Venezuelan Nation has fallen, marked by an unprecedented historic crisis, generalized into all the structural components:

- Socio-economic substructure.
- Political-legal substructure.
- Ideological substructure.

This structural crisis is reflected daily in all aspects at the phenomenal level of the situation: in the social, economic, political, militaristic, religious, moral, environmental, technological, etc.

The transformation strategy of the project should therefore cover both the phenomenal, as well as tangible level, facing all the components of the situation, and viewed in a holistic manner.

Let us now describe as a strategic objective to the future situation of the national reality, which will be reached as a result of the historic process of global transformation, where structural forms are completely different from those prevailing in the initial situation. The strategic objective is conceivable and achievable within a temporarily defined horizon.

The Simón Bolívar National Project proposes setting a maximum horizon time of twenty years from the start of the transformative actions of the initial situation, so that the actors and actions are located in their strategic objective. However, the project supports the existence of a feasible region beyond the defined horizon of maximum time, in other words, located beyond the strategic objective and constituting the “absolutely certainty” of the process. We shall call this region-scenario the concrete robinsonian utopia.

“Concrete utopia” because it is part of a dream which can be turned into a reality, achievable from the view of situational transformation laws.

And “robinsonian” because it was envisioned by the master Simón Rodríguez in his writings of the last century: “It is not a dream nor delirium, but philosophy; not

even the place where this is made will be imaginary, such as the one Tomás Moro figured; his utopia will be, in reality, the America.”⁶

CONCRETE ROBINSONIAN UTOPIA

Humans, those being of nerves, blood and reason, must transcend the limits of their own individual miseries and settle in the fertile field of social relations and solidarity, with deep doses of rationality, as noted by the master Simón Rodríguez in *American Societies* (1842), consistent with the most advanced thought of his time, and still current among us:

Societies gravitate to a very different way of living which they have had and are intended to have. The men of recent times (...) want to govern because it is the authority of nature. Reason is an abstract figure (...) of thinking.⁷

The master defines in his deep thoughts “the purpose of society” with a deeply humanistic theological vision: “Men are not in society to tell themselves that they have needs, or to be advised (...) on how to remedy them, nor

⁶ Rodríguez, Simón. *American Societies* [Cw. Cit. pp. 200-201].

⁷ Rodríguez, Simón. *We invent or we err*, pp. 128-129 [Monte Ávila Latino-americana Editorial, 1980].

to exhort themselves to be patient, but instead to consult themselves on the means to satisfy their desires, because to not satisfy them, is to endure”.

There they are the basic lines of the concrete robinsonian utopia, as part of a type of society that is caring, where the human being is the key element to the aforementioned social significance.

Elaborating on the thought of the master, we try to point out a level beyond the strategic objective of Simón Bolívar National Project, a level where the rationale of the process is found: a higher stage of society where humans can “consult themselves on the means to satisfy their desires” and avoid individual and social suffering. Such a situation cannot be imagined outside the scope of a deeply democratic and caring society.

Let us focus more accurately on the concepts from the master to define as clearly as possible the concrete robinsonian utopia:

- a) The idea of the people consulting themselves is completely democratic, with a deep, participatory understanding of the term:

To address their welfare, consultants must not be lost, nor the means to consult, each person excluded from the council is one less

vote, and one setback, because he must be thought of so that it does not offend, and for him for when he is needed.⁸

- b) The supreme goal of society is to “fulfill the desires” of men but with the condition of preliminary general consultation on how to achieve this objective. Elaborating on the concept, we know that the action of satisfying desires implies “paying its cost entirely “ and the desire is given by an energetic movement of the will towards knowledge, possession or enjoyment of a thing. And the will lies in “the power of the soul, which motivates to do or not do something.”⁹

In other words, society exists to open mankind’s runway to the release of internal forces, in such a manner that the outcome is merely individual, in order to enhance their ability to think, to invent and create their own ways of existing, in consistent interaction and solidarity with their peers.

⁸ Textual transcript from the work of Simón Rodríguez [“American Societies in 1828”. In *Complete Works*. First Volume. University of Simón Rodríguez, 1975, p.324]

⁹ [Rodríguez, Simón. *To invent or to err*. Cw. Cit., p. 130].

Developing creativity allows a person, in this future idea of society, to understand himself and boost his own culture, on which the terrains of rationality are settled, in the quest for an existential purpose.

The concrete robinsonian utopia comprises the furthest scenario, from the perspective of strategic trajectory of transformation. For this reason, its surroundings, its situational components, can barely be glimpsed, extending the projection beyond the horizon.

While the project advances towards the targeted situation, and plans begin to transform into history, concrete utopia could be defined with increasing clarity as a result of the vision of the actors and the effectiveness of actions.

In the current situation, the concrete robinsonian utopia allows Venezuelans to take on the historical azimuth, to define the coordinates and begin the corresponding long journey that will lead to a higher destiny.

THE TARGETED SITUATION

THE “ORIGINAL” SOCIETY MODEL AND THE “SUPPORTIVE” WAY OF LIFE

The Simón Bolívar National Project displays the targeted situation in a twenty year maximum horizon, based on

the long term situation, which implies strategies of micro-politic transformation.

The targeted situation at the same time constitutes a global reality, a comprehensive scenario: the original society model and the supportive way of life, to which the national efforts will be directed. “Original” was the term used by master Simón Rodríguez to define the model of society that Latin America should pursue: “Where shall we go to find models? The Spanish America is original. Their institutions and government have to be original. And original are the means of founding one and others. Either we invent or we err.”¹⁰

Thus, solidarity was the key because that is how he, the Master, conceptualized it, the way of life to be lived by men in society. Let us consider the accuracy of his project:

Not each to do their business, and the one who isn't alert to lose, but instead, to think of everyone in all, for everyone to think on him. Men are not in the world to self-destruct their kind, but to help each other.¹¹

¹⁰ Rodríguez, Simón. “Lights and social virtues”. [“American Societies in 1828”. In *Complete Works*. First Volume. University of Simón Rodríguez Edition, 1975, p. 343].

¹¹ Rodríguez, Simón. Cw. Cit, p. 132 [*We invent or we err*].

THE “SUPPORTIVE” WAY OF LIFE

“The way of life is defined by the deep and persistent social tendencies that let us classify daily occurrences and give them meaning”¹²

“To study the way of life means to acknowledge the sociology of family, of education, about usage of free time, of culture and work.”¹³

As well as:

“The way of life is the sum of society, such as it is lived concretely”¹⁴.

This definition represents the way of life as an extremely complex task. The Simón Bolívar National Project faces such proposal at a level of great generalization, with the intention of opening up the routes for participation of the Venezuelan civil society during the difficult process of defining and building a supportive way of life.

¹² Naumont, H.

¹³ Duplex, Marc Maurice and Dolomenie, and Pichón P.

¹⁴ Fornier J. and N. Questiaux, p. 41.

The supporting way of life is the social product resulting from the original society model, and during its construction, three fields of determining conditions must be looked at:

1. Economic determinations
(Living and working conditions).
2. Ideological determinations
(System of sociocultural standards).
3. Political determinations
(System of economic-political decision)¹⁵.

THE ORIGINAL SOCIETY MODEL

The model structure is determined by the situational elements and the interaction between them.

Situational strategic elements that interact to define the model of society in a global view are the following:

- a) The social system.
- b) Culture.
- c) Individual factors.

¹⁵ Taken from the theoretical approach by E. Maurice, D. Delomenie, Pichón, in: "Work, way of life", cited by Víctor Córdova in: *The way of life*, p. 17.

The social system, even though it carries a heavy load for determining the model of society, it does not extend across the whole spectrum. Basically, it consists of the economic social structure and the political legal structure.

Beyond the social system, culture exists as a strategic element of the model of society, understood in a highly dynamic level of conceptualization that transcends the mere patrimonial inventive and cognitive notion, in order to encompass the ideological structure of the social body.

As a broader and deeper picture, still, the National Simón Bolívar Project assigns culture a transforming and an eminently revolutionary role, through the promotion and development of free creativity, taken from the robinsonian existential dichotomy: “We invent or we err”.

The concrete individual is a result of the interaction between both situational components previously identified a process in which the social structure determines to a large degree the individual characters.

The individual as a social actor exercises, however, influence of varying variable significance over the social system. The original partnership model should enhance the creative capacity and its relative autonomy within the situation.

Within the above framework, the Simón Bolívar National Project addresses the original society model, with a wholly defined focus on the interaction of the culture’s

social system as well as individual factors, viewing in perspective, the targeted objective of the process of transformation at a principled level, in which the general criteria will be defined, making each strategic element of the model, in other words, the social system, culture and individual factors.

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

The political-legal structure

All the contained and active forces in society shape the social power. Moreover, the Social Power becomes, through the Constitution, State Power. Therefore, the Constitution holds a rank of first order in the political legal, structural elements of a concrete State.

The National Constitution of the original society model should be relevant and perfectly compatible with the other components of the state and social structure, especially in the economic, social, cultural and geopolitical structure.

This can only be achieved through a National Constituent Assembly with plenipotentiary character, which should draw a Magna Carta in a provisional status, in the context of deep involvement from the civil society, through various mechanisms of direct democracy.

1. THE STATE

The Federal State responds to various needs (...): First, it facilitates the rational political organization of large spaces under the assumption of parity relations between the component parts.

...

It can also respond to a principle of state organization that has as its objective the maximum autonomy of the composing units, be it for reasons of technical nature (better functioning of the organization) (...) be it for reasons of axiological nature, such as recognition and respect for local entities, and as a means to realize, the ideal of freedom; from which the landscape of an individual person now shifts to collective personalities, even if they don't constitute cultural nations.¹⁶

The internal geopolitical needs of the twentieth century Venezuela require a balanced and polycentric power structure. The state functions as a "unit of power." Unit should not be confused with concentration. And this "power" needs to be developed, exercised harmoniously and well distributed throughout the national territory.

¹⁶ García-Pelayo, Manuel. *Compared constitutional law*, pp. 216-217 [Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1984].

The constituted Federal State will be called Zamorano Federal State, in homage to General of the Sovereign People Ezequiel Zamora, whose Federation bill was misrepresented by those who betrayed the principles of the Federal Revolution.

The Zamoran Federal State will feature the following legal structure:

1. The Constitution, sovereign as of itself, as well as fundamental norm for the constitutions of the member states.
2. Legal norms of wide scope and of federal jurisdiction.
3. The constitutions of the states comprising the Federation, framed and limited by the National Constitution.

The full, independent and sovereign unity of the nation, will reside in the dialectical synthesis of the national and state field. In other words, the whole simply transcends the sum of its parts.

2. THE POWERS OF THE STATE

The worst enemy of freedom, according to Montesquieu, is power, because “it is an eternal experience that every man who has power, tends to abuse it”

but, as power is needed, there is only one way to guarantee freedom, namely: to find a “disposition of things” in which “the power stops power”, and this can only be achieved by its according division.¹⁷

The division of the powers of the State is found within a process of rationalization that is twofold:

- a) Technical rationality, which provides a high level of coordination and operation efficacy to the components and actions of the Estate.
- b) Axiological rationality, that is to say, the conscious search of a coherent system of values.

The Simón Bolívar National Project gathers the doctrine of division from the bolivarian concept of State and society:

Therefore, there will be a balance, and there will not be a clash which impregnates the progress of the State, nor will there be that complication that obstructs, instead of assembling society.¹⁸

In fact, the harmonious division of powers is an essential mean to guarantee “supreme social liberty”.

¹⁷ Cw. Cit. p.155.

¹⁸ Bolívar, Simón. *Angostura Speech*, February 15th of 1819.

The bolivarian root of such project reawakens the structure proposed by The Liberator in Angostura (1819); and in Bolivia (1826).

Thus, the Zamoran Federal state will be constituted by five public powers:

1. Executive Power.
2. Legislative Power.
3. Judicial Power.
4. Electoral Power.
5. Moral Power.

The definitions of the structures and attributions of each power will be a result of deliberations; and they will produce, in accordance with the Nation, the National Constituent Assembly during the transition phase.

The Revolutionary Bolivarian Movement-200 proposes, in order to invite historical discussion, some of the elements that could be part of the defining guidelines or general framework for the Electoral and Moral powers, extracted from the Bolivarian concept of the State.

THE ELECTORAL POWER

The Electoral [Power] has received abilities that were not identified in other governments, and these

governments who considered themselves. These attributions are very similar to those of the federal system. I thought it was not only convenient and useful, but also easy, to give immediate representatives of the people privileges that could be desired by the citizens of each department, province or region. Nothing is more important to a citizen than to choose their own legislators, magistrates, judges and ministers. The Electoral Colleges in each province represent the needs and interests of each entity, and could be complaint to about violations of laws, and abuses of judges. I would dare to say with some certainty that such representation will be part of the rights enjoyed by individual governments of the Federated States. Thus, it has become a new counterweight in the balance against the Executive, and the government will have acquired more guarantees, more popularity and new titles, in order stand out among even the most democratic.¹⁹

The Electoral Power of the Federal State will be the political and legal component that allows citizens to be authentic repositories of sovereignty, whose execution really is, then, in the hands of the people.

¹⁹ Bolívar, Simón. *Message to the Constituent Congress of Bolivia*, May 25th of 1826.

The Electoral Power shall extend throughout the sociopolitical system of the nation, establishing channels for true polycentric distribution of power, shifting forces towards periphery and increasing the capacity of decisions and autonomy in communities and municipalities.

The Electoral Power shall be exercised by the people directly through the electoral assemblies, in which all Venezuelans of voting age (voters) could participate.

The Municipal Electoral Assembly shall elect the members of the Electoral Council from the municipality, in proportion to the each municipality's population.

The elected councils of each municipality will gather to form the Electoral Council of a State.

The Electoral Council of each State shall elect their representatives to the Federal Electoral Council, a body that has nation wide jurisdiction.

Citizens that integrate different electoral councils will be totally truly independent from political parties.

Electoral councils will have all the responsibility inherent to the electoral processes, as local, state, and national levels. At the same time, the performance of officials elected by the people will be permanently regulated, and they could initiate, promote and decide direct popular consultations (referendums, plebiscites, etc.) in order to revoke or approve positions and/or national and/or local public events according to their jurisdiction.

The Electoral power will allow all Venezuelan voters to choose public officials of the Executive, Legislative, Judicial and Moral powers, from a local level to a national one.

This choice should be uninominal, universal, direct and secret.

THE MORAL POWER

Let us constitute this areopagus so that it can be worthwhile regarding matters that include children's education on rational instruction, to purify what has corrupted the Republic; which accuses ingratitude, selfishness, coldness of love for the Homeland, idleness, neglect of citizens to judge the crimes of corruption, of pernicious examples; we must correct customs with moral sanctions, just as laws punish offenses with afflictive sanctions, and not only what conflicts with it, but also what mocks it, not only what attacks it, but what weakens the laws, not only what violates the Constitution, but what violates public respect.

...

Meditating on an effective way to regenerate the character and habits that tyranny and war have given us, I have felt within the audacity to invent a Moral Power, taken from the bottom of dark an-

tiquity and from those forgotten laws that kept for some time virtue among the Greeks and Romans. It may be seen as a naive delusion, but it is not impossible, and I am flattered that you don't completely dismiss a thought that, enhanced by experience and enlightenment, could be very effective.²⁰

The Moral Power, jointly with the Electoral, configures the constitutional instance of a fourth "Neutral" power. A doctrine announced by Benjamin Constant (*Pouvoir Neutre*).

This Neutral Power, in the Zamoran Federal State, will provide adequate levels of technical rationality to the classic powers, ensuring their fair and accurate performance in pushing society towards its objective. In such manner, the political legal structure maintains its internal balance and provides stability to the social system.

The Moral Power will have as its fundamental mission to ensure the proper functioning of the rule of law, where law and reason are imposed as fundamental principles in the relationship between individuals, society and the State.

The Moral Power will function as a guarantee of rights and for this, it will rely on the necessary mechanisms to fulfill its supervisory functions: attention, protection, defense and the safeguarding of individual and social rights and of the public patrimony.

²⁰ Bolívar, Simón. *Angostura Speech*, February 15th of 1819.

The structural components of the Moral Power will be:

- a) Federal Prosecutor's office of the Republic.
- b) Federal Attorney's office of the Republic.
- c) Comptroller General's office of the Republic.

Each of these bodies will have its corresponding regional entity (state and municipal) which will be autonomous in their organization and functioning, regulated by their corresponding state constitutions.

The Moral Power's components, including the highest national, state and local officials, shall be elected in an uninominal, universal, direct and secret manner for Venezuelan voters, as established by their respective constitutions and electoral laws.

The federal prosecutor, federal attorney and federal comptroller will constitute the Moral Council of the Nation; totally independent from the other institutions of the Public Power, they will have the constitutional duty to oversee and facilitate the proper functioning of the other powers.

The State Moral Council will operate in each state of the Republic; each municipality will have its Municipal Moral Council, constituted by the prosecutor, the attorney and the comptroller of each corresponding instance.

3. SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

PARTICIPATIVE AND PROTAGONIC DEMOCRACY

Politics deals with Harold Laswell's classic questions: "Who obtains what, when, how?" The government deals with the question: "Who controls what, when, how?"

Karl Deutsch

Politics corresponds with defining goals and purposes of society. The government corresponds with the creation of policies, namely, making decisions that affect society. Therefore, the system of government should have the mechanisms and channels, agencies and procedures, to enable the national majorities to exert control, to participate and star in the political decision making. And not only for the majorities; but in the same way, for minorities, which precisely constitutes an inseparable feature of democratic society.

The model of the original society of 21st century Venezuela is conceived with the criterion of a system of government that opens the necessary spaces with unlimited amplitude, for the people, the popular masses, to deploy creatively and efficiently, as well as gain control of power to make decisions that both affect their daily lives and historical destiny.

It is, therefore, about a true and genuine democratic system, whose institutions and procedures greatly transcend disability

and survival status to which populist governments brought democracy in Latin America. “All power to the people” is a perfectly valid slogan that should guide the democratizer process towards the projected society in the objective horizon.

From this perspective, the so called “representative democracy” has been merely a device through which our people have been dominated. As explained by the Liberator: “We have been dominated more by deceit than by force.”

The Simón Bolívar National Project must break the limits of the representative sham, in order to advance towards the conquest of new spaces for participation in the first phase of its development.

However, the strategic objective should be popular Bolivarian democracy as a system of government. Even yet, as an expression of economic, social and cultural life of the original Robinsonian society model.

THE POPULAR BOLIVARIAN DEMOCRACY PROTAGONISM AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

From the point of view of formal democracies governed by populist governments, participation has been rendered ideological and used by the dominant sectors as bait, through which the small efforts of the transforming intention lose direction.

Indeed, governments and populist parties preach participation with the concept of “leftovers”, in such a way

that it is condemned to be its own demise, with such narrow and rigid boundaries that prevent civil society to become involved in making political decisions: “who gets what, when, how.” As a result, the people cannot take part in the design and / or selection of plans and projects which mark its historic march.

Thus, our people have been sentenced to “participate” in their own destruction, to manage their growing misery, in “control” of the famine and disease that afflicts nearly 300 million Latin-Americans. They have participated in digging the historical grave in which the dominant sectors aim to bury the hopes of the Brown skinned America.

The bolivarian popular democracy breaks this pattern of deception and vassalage, in order to bring the limits of action up to the level of starring in decisionmaking.

Protagonism, says Víctor Martín, “implies stronger liberty, and autonomous capacity regarding change, including the very own initial rules”. In other words, the people as a concrete repository of sovereignty must maintain its potential strength so that it is ready to be used at any time and in any segment of the political fabric; in order to promptly repair damage, in order to reinforce an imbalance or to produce transformations which allow the advancement of the social body in a selfimposed, strategic direction.

For this, the political system must equip the necessary channels locally, regionally and nationally. Channels

through which the starring popular power, can flow.

In this sense, communities, neighborhoods, towns and cities must have mechanisms and power to be governed by a system of self-government that allows them to decide on their internal affairs by themselves, through processes and structures generated by their own.

That is, the people must rely on channels with sufficient information, as well as institutions of decision-making within their anatomy, that allows them to select their goals or objectives, to make corrections to the course on which they are when it has sidetracked and, finally, to produce changes in their internal composition, as required by historic processes.

The popular bolivarian democracy will be conceived in the communities, and their benefactor sap will spread throughout the social body of the Nation, nourishing with egalitarian, libertarian and supportive vigor the Zamoran Federal State. And its foliage shall cover the structures of the Robinsonian society model.

It shall become the new Venezuelan era under the sign of Tree of Three Roots. It is already strongly foreshadowed on the horizon of the Venezuelan and Latin American 21st century.



THE EBR IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEM

1. ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE: MODEL OF SOCIETY

Flying through the coming ages, my imagination is set in future centuries, and watching from there, in awe and amazement, the prosperity, the splendor, the life that has received this vast region, I feel robbed and I think I already see it in the heart of the universe, extending over his wide castes among those oceans which nature had separated, and that our Homeland receives with prolonged and broad channels. I see it serving as lariat, as center, as emporium to the human family; and I can already see it sending to all of Earth's precincts, treasures that will open their mountains of silver and gold; I can already see it distributing, through its divine plants, health and life to the bereaved men in the ancient

Universe. I can already see it communicating its precious secrets to the wise who ignore how superior the sum of the lights is to the sum of the riches, which nature has lavished. I already see it sitting on the throne of freedom, wielding the scepter of Justice, crowned by glory; showing the ancient world the majesty of the modern world.

Bolívar, Simón
Speech before the Angostura Congress
February 15th of 1819

Within the bolivarian thought, a teleological vision holds a relevant place, namely, of longrange, whose approach transcends time and is located within the ultimate goal of conquering a different model of society to the one at the time.

Bolívar speaks of “the coming age”, “future centuries.” He plays with time and places the “old world” and the “ancient universe” at the other pole of his vision.

Here is the first trace of a Venezuelan National Project. Bolívar departs from the focus of reality around him (the old world) and draws from a distant horizon the image of the future situation or the longed society “prosperity, splendor, Emporium to the human family”, a society under the rule of “freedom, justice, glory and majesty.”

This vision becomes a common philosophical element, also present in the thought of Rodríguez, around which the ideological and robinsonian system conforms.

Contained within *American Societies* (1842), the master drafts the terrible prevailing reality:

Let us imagine watching from afar, the society in which we live: we would not know where to begin looking. Time will vanish while we choose among the outstanding characters, the ones who stand out, and the ones that excel, and, they all excel at some point, because everything is an externality - general trust affects all classes - they are feared between one and other, unable to determine the cause, and it is none other than selfishness, part of the ignorance that lies in millions of men, by the misconception they have that society has a lucky few who has made them govern it.²¹

Like Bolívar, Rodríguez gives men of his time the idea of a national project, through which societies should reach higher stages of life: “The merit of projects is in the preparation. Where there is no preparation, there is no merit.”²²

²¹ Rodríguez, Simón. *American Societies* [*In Complete Works*] Volume 1. University of Simón Rodríguez Edition, 1975, p. 331].

²² [Cw. Cit., p. 321]

The compatibility of his project with the bolivarian idea is pinpointed by himself when he identifies with the utmost transformative politic:

Napoleon wanted to govern the human kind, Bolívar wanted them to govern themselves, and I want them to learn how to self govern.²³

In the future society, the Professor says, along with the bolivarian concept, the political idea of selfgovernance, placing education as a mean to obtain self governance, through his Project of Popular Education: “Let us not be beguiled: without popular education, there will not be a true society.”²⁴

With his vision of a builder, Rodríguez models characteristics of American societies and their reason to be:

Men are not in society to tell themselves that they have needs, or to be advised on how to remedy them, nor to exhort themselves to be patient, but instead to consult themselves on the means to satisfy their desires, because to not satisfy them, is to endure.²⁵

²³ [Cw. Cit., p. 313]

²⁴ [Cw. Cit., p. 333]

²⁵ [Cw. Cit., p. 324].

The projection of his thought, however, goes even further by assigning a profound humanistic trait to the ultimate goal of society:

Societies tend to live in a way of existing that is very different from the ones they have had, and from the one they pretend to have. Men in these times (...) do not want to have masters, nor tutors; they want to be the owners of their own beings, of their goods and will.²⁶

With the same teleological imagination as Bolívar, he preconceives “the vast region sitting on the throne of liberty, holding the scepter.”

Both thinkers transcend far beyond the focus, much more recently, in which a society project must seek “developmental” goals, subject to simple econometric measurements.

Bolívar and Rodríguez envision achieving the utopia to be attainable in the field of human reason; from the embodiment of the creative forces of men and his culture:

We will be seen agreeing to cultivate the virtues and talents that lead to glory; then we will keep the majestic march to wards the great prosperities that Southern America is destined; then the arts and

²⁶ [Cw. Cit., p. 322].

sciences that were born in the East, and have enlightened Europe, will set Colombia free and they will be invited by Colombia in the form of asylum.²⁷ Men come together and help themselves; but self-help to acquire things is not a social objective. Self-help to provide means to acquire social order is not either. Wealth projects, of dominance, of wisdom, of aggrandizement, anyone can put them together and propose them; but they are not social projects. Enlightening! Civilization!²⁸

In the thoughts of the Sovereign General of the People, Ezequiel Zamora, the same elements are found, at which the ultimate objective of the Ideological Bolivarian System, Robinsonian and Zamoran thoughts converge.

In May of 1859, Zamora takes on the objective-situation of the revolutionary efforts:

You shall erect a Federal Government that will eternally safeguard freedom, equality, fraternity, dogma of the genuine republic, which was proclaimed by the patriarchs of your independence.²⁹

²⁷ Bolívar, Simón. *Letter of Jamaica*, 1815.

²⁸ Rodríguez, Simón. *American Societies*. [In *Complete Works*] Volume 1. University of Simón Rodríguez Edition, 1975, p. 228].

²⁹ Zamora, E. *To the people of Barinas and Apure*, May 21st of 1859.

And you shall see opened: the new era of the Colombian federation; that were the last votes of our Liberator, the Great Bolívar.³⁰

Despite the stunning pace of war and countless duties and activities to be served as a military commander, Zamora does not lose the strategic and political approach of the revolutionary goal to radically transform society. In June 1859, from Barinas, he said:

They have opened the era of this people's own government, so that it can depend on itself in terms of direction and handle their own interests; they are well-deserved of their Homeland.

Along with Bolívar and Rodríguez, he invokes time as a determining factor for the emancipating movement of the people:

For the time that looks at the past, looks at the future, and the present passes by his hand, it will mislead you in the abysm of eternity, and only the memory of compassion of those that participated in the movement destined by God for regeneration and progress of my people, shall remain.

³⁰ Illegible words, original, p.36 [Letter for Benito Urdaneta. Given at the General Barracks of Barinas, May 19th of 1859].

The trilogy of thoughts becomes evident, conforming a coherent being, a doctrinarian component, perfectly defined and homogenous, that identifies the ultimate objective of the EBR Ideological System: to reach a new model of society (participative, protagonist, and supportive).

2. REVOLUTION AS A MEAN TO REACH THE NEW MODEL OF SOCIETY

Another common element in the ideological structure of these three men is the solid conviction regarding the revolutionary process as a necessary step to achieve the transformations from the old society.

Tradition historiography has been dominated by a reactionary tendency of noting Bolívar primarily as a pragmatic man, before the thinker and a revolutionary actor.

For example, John Lynch places him under “reformism”:

His own policy was not revolutionary. The abolishment of slavery and the distribution of land were reformist measures that could have modified, but not transformed the existent structures.

In 1811, the young colonel points out: Three hundred years of being calm, is not it enough? (...) Let us not fear

to set the cornerstone of South American freedom: to hesitate is to lose ourselves.”³¹

Political theory notes two determining actions of any revolutionary process: the movement and the change of structures.

The willingness to break out from three centuries of domination, and to lay the foundation for the construction of the first building, already carries a significant burden of movement and action towards the achievement of profound structural changes.

From there on, he will start to radicalize, aware of unrestrained and immanent process:

It is malignant stupidity to attribute public men the vicissitudes that the order of things produces in the States, not being in the sphere of the powers of a general or judge, to contain in a time of turbulence, of shock, and divergence of opinions, the stream of human passions that, agitated by the movement of revolutions, are increased because of the force that resists them.³²

And his philosophy is impregnated with the teachings of his master to frame the revolutionary effort in an exis-

³¹ [Speech at the Patriotic Society in Caracas, on July 3rd of 1811].

³² [Bolívar, Simón. *Manifest of Carúpano*, September 7th of 1814].

tential robinsonian dichotomy “we invent or we err” as a way to dominate “The irresistible force of nature:”

Everything was foreign in this land. Religion, laws, customs, food, clothing, they were from Europe, nothing we should imitate. As passive beings, our destination was limited to meekly carry the bit that our owners handled with violence and rigor. Comparable to wild beasts, the irresistible force of nature has not been able to reinstate us in the field of men; and although the reason is still weak, we have already begun the attempts of the journey to which we are destined.³³

From Kingston, Jamaica, on September 6th of 1815, he notes the necessity to lead “our revolution” towards the transformation of the political and judicial structures from the “spanish system that is in effect”:

Finally, uncertain of our destination, and threatened by anarchy, due to the lack of a legitimate, just and liberal government, we fall into the chaos of the revolution. Authorities were established, which

³³ [Bolívar, Simón. Speech for the inauguration of the government of the United Provinces of Nueva Granada, January 23rd of 1815, Bogotá].

replaced the ones we just deposed, responsible for directing the course of our revolution, and taking advantage of the joyous situation in which was possible to establish a Constitutional Government worthy of this century and adapted to our situation.

In Angostura (1819), he ratified his awareness of the process and his structure-changing project:

A man and a man like me! What kind of dam could oppose the momentum of these devastations? Amidst this sea of troubles, I have been nothing but a vile toy, in the revolutionary hurricane that snatched me as weak straw. Moreover, your tasks, being the creation of a political body, and even the creation of a whole society, surrounded by all the inconveniences that the situation presents, the most singular and difficult; maybe the outcry of a citizen could warn about a concealed or hidden danger.

And in Bolivia (1825) he gathers his lively distress in a warning message to his entire contemporary:

Legislators! Your duty calls to resist the clash of two monstrous enemies that reciprocally fight each other, both at the same time, tyranny and anarchy

make up a huge ocean of oppression that surrounds the small island of liberty, constantly afflicted by the violence of the waves and hurricanes, which tries incessantly to submerge it. Take a look at the sea you are about to navigate in a fragile boat, whose pilot is just as inexperienced.³⁴

To propose strategies oriented towards structural metamorphosis, both in the judicial and political spectrum, as well as in the economic and social:

The most perfect guarantees have been established: civil freedom is true freedom; the others are nominal or of little influence in regards to the citizens. Personal security has been guaranteed, which is the goal of society, and from which others emanate. As for the property, it depends on the Civil Code that your wisdom should compose later, for the sake of your citizens. I have kept intact the law of laws equality without it, all guarantees and all rights would perish. To it, we must make all our sacrifices. At its base I have placed, covered in humiliation, the infamous slavery.

In the model of Bolívar's thought, the components of the robinsonian Ideological System of the three roots fit. In 1830,

³⁴ Speech before the Constituent Congress of Bolivia.

from Arequipa, The Professor emerges to defend his pupil, embedding his thought with the same revolutionary profile:

The Spanish America clamored for two revolutions at the same time; public and economic. The difficulties presented in the former were large; the General Bolívar has defeated them, has taught or excited others to defeat them as well. The obstacles that oppose the latter one are enormous. General Bolívar undertakes their removal, and some individuals, on behalf of the People, resist rather than help.³⁵

There is no other way, the Professor maintains, to build republics and societies, than to carry on with a broad and advanced revolutionary process. He understood the revolution in the broad sense of the term and left it pending in his concrete utopia:

A political revolution claims for an economic revolution.

...

If Americans want a political revolution, may the weight of what has been done and may the protected circumstances, bring them goods; start an economic revolution, and start it in the countryside.³⁶

³⁵ [Rodríguez, Simón. "Defense for Bolívar" (1830). In *Completed Works*. Volume 2. University of Simón Rodríguez, 1975, p. 206].

³⁶ [Rodríguez, Simón. "American Societies". Cw. Cit., V1. p. 469].

He brings in his mind, as well, the idea of the social architect. In 1850, when Ezequiel Zamora walked the plains of Venezuela, invoking the betrayed Bolivarian Revolution, the old Simón wrote in Latacunga: “Let us build the social building, starting from the foundation, not the top; as advise by most: children are the building stones.”

In fact, already in 1846, Ezequiel Zamora was the leader of the peasants’ insurrection against the government of Carlos Soublette, profiling himself as an authentic revolutionary:

Since we know that you are defending the same cause that we are, you have valiant patriotism and desire to remove the Homeland from the wild and brutal domination to which the Spaniard oligarchs have subjected it, supported by thieving and partisan government of Soublette. From there, we will proudly say: Long live freedom, long live the sovereign people, popular election, horror to the oligarchy, free land and men.³⁷

Simón Rodríguez invoked the economic revolution as a need to color the political revolution led by Simón Bolívar. The first did not even get started. The achievements of

³⁷ [Zamora, Ezequiel. Greater State, September 19th of 1846].

the second were promptly canceled by the action of the oligarchic governments. Ezequiel Zamora, heading the peasant masses, continued the revolutionary process. His ideas employ principles of the EBR philosophical system, feeding social ingredients to Tree of Three Roots:

Brothers in arms: you have tested your devotion and sublime heroism, and defended that only the people want their own good and own luck, and that from now on, Venezuela will be no longer patrimony for any family or person, such being the greatest reward of victories achieved against centralism; the establishment of the Federal Government that gives all goods emanating from such magnificent institution, rewards the good and faithful servants. So let us make the last effort that could be needed of us, to render fulfilled the great mission entrusted to us, and you shall see the new era of the Colombian Federation opened, the last votes of our Liberator, the Great Bolívar.³⁸

³⁸ [Zamora, Ezequiel. General Barracks of Barinas. May 19th of 1859].



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Nicolás Maduro Moros

President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela

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