

Simón Bolívar

Public Lecture Series 2013 - 2018

2013: Alejandro López

2014: Luis Britto García

2015: Josu Landa

2016: Alfredo Toro Hardy

2017: Morella Barreto López

2018: Ibete Fernández and Morella Barreto López

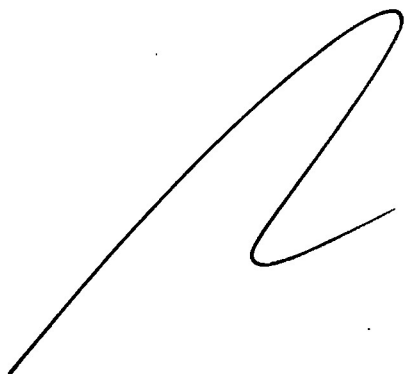
Simón Bolívar

Public Lecture Series 2013 - 2018

The Simón Bolívar Public Lecture Series is an academic space created for the dissemination and reflection on Venezuelan history, culture, thought and present. since 2013, 6 editions have been celebrated uninterrupted, which have had the participation of important speakers: historians, diplomats, philosophers, each one specialized in the area that has been treated.

This book contains the lectures given between 2013 and 2018 and we believe it is an excellent contribution to the knowledge of Venezuela in Malaysia.

25/10/2024
Tom
FOC

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a long, sweeping stroke that curves back and ends in a small loop.



Morella Barreto López
Minister Counsellor
Charge d'Affaires of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela
to Malaysia and Thailand

Simón Bolívar

Public Lecture Series 2013 - 2018

Hi Excellency,

With great pride and pleasure
I send you our first anthology
of the Simon Bolivar Public Lectures,
as a sign of the friendship and
collaboration between Malaysia
and Venezuela

Best regards

Abdullah Fauzi

Kuala Lumpur,
November 18, 2019



Simón Bolívar

Public Lecture Series 2013 - 2018

edited by

Tan Raan Hann | Morella Barreto López



PUSTAKA PERDANA



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Last but not least, to Dr. Sufian Jusoh, Dr. Andrew Kam Jia Yi and everyone at IKMAS that have put much effort in making this book a success.

Morella Barreto López

Charge d'Affaires

Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in Malaysia



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Preface

The Simón Bolívar Lecture Series was the maiden public lecture that aimed at creating a multidisciplinary platform for Latin American scholars to engage with the Malaysian society. It was a concerted effort between the Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in Malaysia and IKMAS (iKAL) of the National University of Malaysia to introduce the contributions, discourses, contestations and reflections from this towering Latin American figure into the limelight. Over the years, this platform has been used to discuss issues such as regional integration, nation building, historical interpretations, multipolarity, among others. Ageing into its sixth year, this public lecture is a manifestation of the friendship formed between Venezuela and Malaysia; and demonstrates that knowledge and cultural proximity can be close despite geographical distances.

This year, the Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in Malaysia and IKMAS (iKAL) of the National University of Malaysia have embarked on a new milestone – to etch the trajectories of this six-year journey into a book. Throughout history, scholars and intellectuals are harnessing on the significances left by Simón Bolívar. This book will serve as an intellectual collection of his legacy. This book will be suitable for all readers who would like to capture history with a wide-angle lens for contributors draw inspiration from their diverse backgrounds as university professors, diplomats, playwrights, poets, novelists, etc. Simón Bolívar once said *out of the most secure things, the most secure is to doubt*. Doubt also makes one questions and seek validation of a notion or interpretation. This book will invoke that spirit and allow readers to question and pique their curiosity into history; after all, we are all its student.

I would like give my utmost appreciation to the editors of the book Dr. Morella Barreto López and Dr. Tan Raan Hann for their dedication on this endeavour. Special thanks to the former Director of IKMAS Prof. Dato Dr. Rashila Ramli and the former Venezuelan Ambassador to Malaysia, H.E Manuel Guzman for their vision in laying the foundations for this Lecture Series. Also to my predecessor, Associate Professor Dr. Zarina Othman for building the pillars that made the lecture series so successful to date. I thank Prof. Sufian Jusoh, current Director of IKMAS for the support and the team in iKAL Ms. Farizan Nur 'Izzati Mohamed Khatib and Mr. Mohd Firdaus Abdul Jabbar for their excellent assistance in the publication process. I would also like to acknowledge the support from Projek Arus Perdana AP-2017-003/1 and the Grand Challenge (GC) programme GC003C-17SBS.

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Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Introduction

Morella Barreto López

Malaysia and Venezuela are two countries that have cultivated a close friendship for more than three decades. The high authorities of both countries have crossed continents and oceans to meet and share projects and dreams. The two nations are a part of important multilateral organizations and share the fundamental principles of cooperation, integration and harmonious diplomatic relations based on the assumption and respect of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. Despite the distance, Malaysia and Venezuela have managed to strengthen their ties that are very much alive today.

Both nations have developed many projects together and the academic activity of formation and diffusion is one of them. The National University of Malaysia (UKM) and the Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in Malaysia had formed a bi-national team to create an academic space for knowledge and dissemination of Venezuelan thinking in this country. This book is the result of one of those projects.

This book made available to the Malaysian public is an anthology of the first six public lectures given at UKM. The Simón Bolívar Public Lecture Series is an academic space created for the dissemination and reflection of Venezuelan history, culture, thought and presence. Since 2013, six editions have been published consecutively with the participation of important speakers consisting of historians, diplomats and philosophers. We believe that this book is an excellent contribution to the knowledge of Venezuela in Malaysia.

The First Simón Bolívar Public Lecture (2013)

The Simón Bolívar Public Lecture Series started in 2013 with the participation of the young historian Alejandro López, who studied in the School of History at the Central University of Venezuela and graduated with a Degree in History. In 2006, he joined the Ministry of the Popular Power for Culture as an Assistant Researcher for the Project “Colombeia Archives of Francisco Miranda” and continues to develop his experience as an Assistant in the National Library for Information Centre of Arab culture in Venezuela and in the Ministry of the Popular Power for Culture for the Department General of International Relations and Department of Strategic Policy. In 2008, he became the Coordinator of Counselling and Special Investigations at the National Centre of History and then, in 2011, the Assistant to the Minister and Coordinator of Presidential Instructions. Presently, he is the overall coordinator at the Casa de Las Primeras Letras Simón Rodríguez, which is an important colonial space for the promotion of cultural and academic activities. His lecture *Two Times, One Revolution* in the historical time of 200 years relates to a single struggle i.e. that of the Venezuelan people in achieving their independence, presented in 3 episodes. As of April 19th, 1810 with the start of Venezuela’s independence revolution, a bloody war for colonial bond ruptured imposed by Spain in the late fifteenth century. Led by Simón Bolívar, those who previously were vassals became citizens of a nation that saw freedom materialized and faced a future of prosperity and justice. The Venezuelan Nation was hence born. With the Liberator’s death, the project of a Nation faded for everyone. The idea of a sovereign Republic was scrapped by the oligarchies that neglected the very people who had fought for independence. The ruler carried out subtle devices of domination, masking injustice and inequality with empty policies, typical of a so-called representative “democracy” model. Given this, the popular insurgency continued, and a new leadership came into being. The people continued resisting with dignity until the situation became untenable; in February 1989, the people went out to the streets and were massacred. In February 1992, hope arose once again when a group of young military officers led by Commander Hugo Chávez responded to the decay of a corrupt and oppressive political system. In 1999, the election victory laid the foundation for a democratic revolution where the presence of Bolívar is still felt through the actions of Chávez who continued the Liberator’s legacy of a truly sovereign country.

The Second Simón Bolívar Public Lecture (2014)

In 2014, we had the participation of Luis Britto Garcia, a Venezuelan writer, playwright and essayist. His two best-known works are *Rajatabla* (1970) and *Abrapalabra* (1979), both winners of the *Casa de Las Americas* Prize. *Rajatabla* is a collection of short stories which are characterized by humor and irony, and refer to political repression and violence. *Abrapalabra* is a novel which explores the cultural and political development of Venezuela in the twentieth century. In 2002, he was accorded Venezuela's National Prize for Literature, a lifetime achievement award. In 2005, he was recognized with the Ezequiel Martínez Estrada honorary award of *Casa de Las Americas* and in April 2012, he received Venezuela's Order of Juan Francisco de León.

Britto Garcia graduated as a lawyer from the Central University of Venezuela in 1962 and obtained a doctorate in law from the same university in 1969. He obtained a diploma in Latin American Studies from the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris in 1982. He began teaching at the faculty of economics and social sciences at the Central University of Venezuela in 1966, and later on becoming a full professor in 1988. His non-fiction work includes several historical studies on Caribbean pirates in the early Spanish Empire such as *Demons of the Sea: Corsairs and Pirates in Venezuela 1528-1727*. In May 2012, he was appointed by President Hugo Chávez to become a member of the Venezuelan Council of State, "the highest circle of advisers to the president" provided for in the Venezuelan Constitution.

In his lecture *Bolívar and Latin American Integration*, Britto makes an excellent and precise historical summary of the Bolivarian project of Latin American integration, reminding us where we came from: colonies founded by two empires in the 16th century, Spanish and Portuguese, and how both American lands were distributed since 1492. Those two monarchies of Europe reserved for themselves the appointment of viceroys and governors of the New World, the monopoly of trade therewith and prohibited the New World from developing their industries.

After three centuries, the situation became untenable. After many muffled pronouncements, the movement of April 19th, 1810 in Caracas irreversibly declared freedom in Latin America and extended trails of insurrection culminating with the establishment of Republics in the remaining American colonies.

Simón Bolívar created the Great Colombia (1815-1830) because to him, “the homeland is America” as he writes: “I want more than anyone else to see in America the formation of the greatest nation in the world, not due to its size and wealth but to its freedom and glory ... I do not want ‘little/tiny governments’”. Never, in any moment that Bolívar forgot about the continental dimension of his project or did he stop in condemning those who wanted to reduce it to a mosaic of tiny fiefdoms.

The Third Simón Bolívar Public Lecture (2015)

Josu Landa has been teaching as a full-time professor in the Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Arts in the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) since 1988. In the field of ethics, he collaborated as a coordinator for the book *Human Values in Mexico* (1998) and the author of short essays about the dead archives and *Human Parks in the World of Insignificance* (1999) and books such as *The Idea Justo Sierra University* (UNAM, 2005) and *Ethical Crisis: Cynicism, Epicureanism, Stoicism* (2012). He is also a notable poet and translator of literary works into Basque such as Octavio Paz’s *Sunstone and Endless Death* by José Gorostiza. He was a member of the Board of the International Committee of the Immanuel Kant Library (2002-2010). He also founded and directed the first seven issues of the journal of philosophy *Íngtima*. For his creative work, he was awarded the Carlos Pellicer Poetry Prize in 1996 and the Order of Andrés Bello in 1997. He has been a fellow of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) in Germany. He is also a member of the National System of Art Creators of Mexico.

In his lecture *Simón Rodríguez: Basis for a Policy of Justice in the Independent America*, he stated that after the independence of the Spanish colonies in America, Simón Rodríguez, teacher of Simón Bolívar, diagnosed the situation of the Americans in this way: “We are independent but not free – We are landowners, but we are not the owner of ourselves”. The lecture focused on the theoretical, ideological, educational and economic basis of a republican policy of justice and freedom in independent America, according to the vision of Simón Rodríguez. It is a utopian project that emerged from the interbreeding of ideas and political ideals that came from European modernity and the libertarian impetus of indigenous people and crossbred of America.

The Fourth Simón Bolívar Public Lecture (2016)

Alfredo Toro Hardy is a former Venezuelan ambassador to Singapore, the United States, the United Kingdom, Spain, Brazil, Ireland, and Chile as well as former Director of the Diplomatic Academy of the Venezuelan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is a member of the Advising Committee of the Diplomatic Academy of London, a Fulbright Scholar, a Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Centre Resident Scholar, a Visiting Professor at the universities of Princeton and Brasilia and an on-line Professor at the University of Barcelona. He was Director of the Centre for North American Studies and Coordinator of the Institute of Higher Latin American Studies at the Simón Bolívar University in Caracas.

His lecture *Latin Americans: Who are we?* posed several questions including: Where does the term Latin America come from? Who are we the Latin Americans? Is Latin America a part of the Western World? What are the similarities and differences between Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking Latin Americans? What are the similarities and differences between the diverse Spanish-speaking Latin American countries? Why do the United States and Latin America take a different path? Can we speak of Latin America and the Caribbean region as a single entity? All these questions aim at providing a general but comprehensive overview of that region of the world.

The Fifth Simón Bolívar Public Lecture (2017)

2017 saw the participation of historian Morella Barreto López, a graduate of the Central University of Venezuela, University of Barcelona in Spain (concentrated in History of America) and who had trainings in Bolivia, China, Spain, Romania and Caracas. She was General Manager of the Caracas Science Museum and previously President of the “Science Mission” attached to the Ministry of Science and Technology as well as a Professor in the Venezuelan School in Planning under the Ministry of Popular Power for Planning. Her vast experience includes holding positions such as Head of the Romulo Gallegos Centre of Latin American Studies (CELARG), Researcher for the National Academy of History, the Caracas National Library and also researcher for the National Council for Culture (CONAC). Complementing her academic and professional accomplishments, she is

now the Chargé d'Affaires of the Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in Malaysia, Thailand and Brunei.

She addresses a topic of absolute topicality such as the processes of integration and multipolarity based on the rise of emerging powers on the world geopolitical map. Countries such as China, Russia, India, South Africa, Iran, for example, and the new power blocs compete for the economic and political hegemony of the United States. Her presentation entitled *Integration and Multipolarity, Towards New World Order* tackles the subject of getting out of the crisis of capitalism or out of capitalism in crisis. For the past 500 years, there has been only a single historical system, a world-economy or capitalism, of which main objective is the accumulation of capital. The system initiated had formed powerful and complex historical blocks, constituting governmental and economic frameworks that have given a hegemonic power to secure control over a global economic space in a continuous process of expansion, and to sustain its own hegemony.

The restricted accumulation of capital, the dominance of financial capital over the rest of the economic factors of the system, the accentuation of social exclusion on a planetary scale and war as a dynamic element of the economy are the current characteristics of senile capitalism that tries to survive by redoubling violence. The thesis of the “end of history” that sought to convince humanity of the infallibility of capitalism in its neoliberal expression and to accept the unilateral hegemony of a single country, the United States, was surpassed by reality itself as new blocks of world power were constituted.

The last few decades have witnessed the emergence of a multitude of mechanisms of regional integration in the peripheral countries of world capitalism and the development of multipolarity that challenges US hegemony such as CELAC, UNASUR, ALBA-TCP, PETROCARIBE, CARICOM, MERCOSUR in Latin America; African Union and the Arab League in Africa and the countries of the Middle East; ASEAN and APEC in Asia, as well as the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, the Non-Aligned Movement, among others. The BRICS is an example of the intercontinental alliance of emerging capitalist countries. The lecture helped to discover how integration and multipolarity provide an alternative or even a solution to this crisis.

The Sixth Simón Bolívar Public Lecture (2018)

The Simón Bolívar Public lecture for this year was held in February 2019, celebrating 200 years of the Angostura Statement by the Liberator Simón Bolívar and it featured two speakers, i.e. Ibete Fernández Hernández, the Cuban ambassador to Malaysia and Morella Barreto López, the Chargé d’Affaires of the Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in Malaysia, Thailand and Brunei. Ibete Fernández is a Cuban diplomat with wide experience. She has a Degree in Political International Relations and her diplomatic career has had her represent her country in Guinea, Burkina Faso, South Africa and now Malaysia, the Philippines and Brunei. She spoke about the influence of *Bolívar in Martí and the Cuban Revolution*. She stated that the course of civilizations has shown that revolutions have been carried out by great men. These, as influenced by the political-cultural environment of their time and the threats that surrounded them, led to revolutionary awakenings that changed the scenario of their nations. Such is the case of Simón Bolívar and José Martí. The contemporary history of Latin America cannot be rewritten without referring to these two icons of independence and integration.

The Cuban Revolution had José Martí as its intellectual guide, the most universal of all Cubans who, despite his short but fruitful life (1853-1895), gave an unparalleled boost to the final stage of the independence war initiated by the Mambises which was thwarted by the American intervention in Cuba in 1898. Did the revolution triumph? As Martí learned from the lessons of Simón Bolívar, Fidel Castro demonstrated the validity of the Martian precepts and concluded the work in 1959.

Despite having lived at different times, José Martí had a teacher in Bolívar. He was able to give continuity to Bolívar’s ideas and adapted his own according to the circumstances that he had to live in. In them are the ideals of Latin Americanism, national independence, fulfilment of social duty and the preservation of ethics as fused, without counting the preponderant role that both had granted to education as a means of liberating their people.

Although Bolívar and Martí made praiseworthy contributions to the independence of their countries, the common dream of achieving integration as an instrument to stop the domination of the powerful has been thwarted. It is still a pending task for those who today have not let their ideas die.

Morella Barreto López talked about *The Validity of the Angostura Statement by Simón Bolívar, 200 Years Later*, and she broke down the speech of the Liberator taking some key concepts. The Angostura Congress, inaugurated on February 15th, 1819 by the Liberator Simón Bolívar in Angostura (today Ciudad Bolívar), represents the second Constituent Congress of the Republic of Venezuela. It was elaborated in the context of the war of Independence of Venezuela and the Independence of New Granada. On February 15th, 1819, six months before the Boyacá Battle, 26 representatives out of the 30 elected representatives met in Angostura, representing the Provinces of Caracas, Cumaná, Trujillo, Margarita, Barinas, Barcelona, Guayana of Venezuela, and Casanare of Colombia. After the invasion of New Granada led by Bolívar, the Liberator wanted delegates to be sent from this region. A short time later, Bolívar arranged for the region administered by Quito, still under Spanish rule, to be included in the union along with Venezuela and New Granada to form between the three States what is called the “Great Colombia”. The Congress was installed to formulate what historically has been called the “Fundamental Law” or Constitution.

Bolívar makes a sociological analysis of Venezuelans; pronounces itself against slavery and for the education of the people; defends democracy and its preference for centralism instead of federalism of the State, and raises the Moral Power to prevent administrative corruption. In his words: “*The most perfect system of government is that which produces the greatest possible amount of happiness, the greatest amount of social security and the greatest amount of political stability.*”

• • •

Finally, we have completed the first part of the Simón Bolívar Public Lecture Series that we proudly close celebrating the 200 years of the Angostura Statement of the Liberator.

Since 2010, Venezuela has been celebrating its “Bicentennial Cycle of Independence” that will end in 2030. It began with the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence which happened on April 19th, 1810 and will culminate with the commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the death of Liberator Simón Bolívar which happened on December 17th, 1830.

We will continue thinking and speaking about the history of a people that deeply believes in the freedom, equality and fraternity of human beings, as underscored by Latin Americanist and the 1982 Literature Nobel Winner, Gabriel Garcia Marquez:

“The interpretation of our reality with alien schemes only contributes to making us more and more unknown, less and less free, and lonelier. Solidarity with our dreams would not make us feel less alone, if it does not materialize with acts of legitimate support for the peoples that assume the illusion of having a life of their own in the sharing of the world. Latin America does not want nor must be a bishop without will, nor does it have anything chimerical that its designs of independence and originality become a Western aspiration.

Why is the originality that is admitted without reservations in literature denied us with all kinds of suspicions in our difficult attempts at social change? Why think that the social justice that advanced Europeans try to impose in their countries cannot also be a Latin American objective with different methods under different conditions?

The inventors of fables that believe everything, we feel we have the right to believe that it is not too late to undertake the creation of the opposite utopia. A new and devastating utopia of life, where nobody can decide for others until the form of dying, where love is truly true and happiness is possible, and where the strains condemned to a hundred years of solitude have forever and finally a second chance on earth.”

THE FIRST SIMÓN BOLÍVAR PUBLIC LECTURE

Two Times, One Revolution

Alejandro López

In 1810 when the revolution for independence began in Venezuela, our country was just another colonial interest to spread the Spaniard Empire in America. Unlike other American regions like Mexico and Peru, land instead of gold and silver mines, belonged to several creole white families. Land was the biggest source of wealth because of the growing export of sugar cane, indigo blue, cotton and cacao, mainly. More than three hundred years had passed since the first Iberian invaders began their cruel process of occupation and devastation. Despite the tenacious and brave resistance by the native people who lived in the region that would later become Venezuela, the Spaniards thronged the land with their guns and crosses, ending the natives' culture and villages and taking away their history.

There was no room for freedom in Venezuela at that time. In the 15th century the invaders accomplished, with gunpowder and gospel, to be the masters, judges and executioners. In the beginning, the Spaniards observed the chaotic judicial instrument called the Indian Laws. Under that law, they imposed their manners and beliefs. After a few decades, they introduced the whip, the gold and white faces as the sound values of a newborn society. Any person of native or African heritage was forced to put themselves behind invisible but solid bars whilst the honor, an undoubted value, laid in having a direct bond with the first invaders. To be a direct descendant of murderers was not a shame; on the contrary, it was a revered symbol of social status. Then, it began a slow but unfortunately effective process of introducing new ideas that resulted in a diverse but strongly exclusive and racist society.

Several white Spaniards were in charge of the most important administrative, ecclesiastical and military offices. Following them was a

group of elite white Creoles with minimum political participation, but who owned land and slaves. Further down were the *pardos*¹ who had various occupations and who were growing in numbers and interests as well as being 'superior' to the increasingly ignored group of natives. Finally, there were also the descendants of the African slaves whose pain enabled the functioning of the whole system that was based on inequality. The oppression they experienced was silenced and the initiation of a revolution was the only way to make their voices heard. In the east, the center and the west of the occupied land, the natives resisted until their last breath.

Ultimately, many ancient towns were extinguished. Those who were brought from Africa and put into slavery, with the mark of the iron on their skin, joined the rebellion. The invaders neither submitted entirely to the newborn people nor knew how to administrate what they had robbed and plundered. In the middle of the 18th century, the Spaniard crown who was incompetent, realized that it was not able to win battles in Europe, and in order to pay its debts, increased the controls for covering the general shortage. At this very moment, the route to liberation began and would not stop. Displays of dissatisfaction rolled into action. In Venezuela, popular movements against the colonial authorities were established such as the movement of Juan Francisco Leon in Caracas in 1749, Jose Leonardo Chirino in the mountains of Coro in 1795, Manuel Gual y Jose Maria España in the Port of La Guaira and Francisco Javier Pirela at Maracaibo, both in 1799.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the power of the monarchies no longer existed in the United States of North America, France and Haiti. The idea of freedom had become stronger across Europe and in America. A revolution was imminent as anticipated by Francisco de Miranda. Since he was young he had fought the wars of independence of the North American and French people, so he knew that the time for Venezuela and America had come. The man from Caracas known as 'the Precursor' accomplished an expedition of freedom in 1806. When they landed in la Vela de Coro, he faced the fear of the people who mistook him as a foreigner. Miranda did not insist and returned home, frustrated but with hope.

The Spaniard Crown was alert. The crisis in the American Colonies had become a situation that they could not control anymore. Besides that, the

1 In Venezuela, persons of mixed African, European, and Indian ancestry

environment in Europe had become hostile. The French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte had threatened to expand his domain. In 1807, he spread out his troupes all over Spain with the intent of invading Portugal which was a faithful ally to the most important enemy of the French empire: England. This was a masterly move. Napoleon dethroned the King of Portugal and named his brother, Jose Bonaparte as King of Spain. It created a profound political crisis in Spain that opened the door to the American Revolution.

Victory and Homeland

When the news about Spain reached Caracas, a group of white creoles began to think about the possibility of Venezuela taking a different direction from the monarchy. Among this group of people was Simón Bolívar. He was a young man that belonged to one of the richest families of the country. He was convinced that Venezuela needed to break away from all bonds with the king. He was soon involved in several secret meetings that were on the pretense of conforming to the government. It was at the end of 1808 that the authorities were informed and the meetings were put to an end with the attendants incarcerated.

Simón Bolívar was confined in Los Valles del Tuy. He was at this house when he heard the news about what had happened in Caracas on April 19, 1810. It was on that day that the revolution began. Although independence was not yet proclaimed, the General Captainship of the Province i.e. the highest authority of the Spaniard Crown in Venezuela had been expelled and a council of government had been installed. This council not only directed the inner organization, but also sent diplomatic delegations to foreign countries seeking for support. The war against Spain was imminent and England was the perfect ally. Immediately, Bolívar was sent to London where he bought weapons and met Miranda. Miranda went back to Venezuela at the end of the year to join the revolutionaries.

While the First Congress of Venezuela was discussing about whether the country should be faithful to the monarchy or set up a Republic, inside the Patriotic Society i.e. a radical organization, Bolívar led a group of people demanding immediate independence which was finally declared on July 5, 1811. From then on, Bolívar dedicated his life to make Venezuela a free country. Bolívar was a man with a strong will and a strategist with strong ethics. In order to understand him as a military man and a politician, there

is a need to look into the three moments in his life that led to the liberation of Venezuela.

The first important moment was when he was in Cartagena after the fall of the First Republic in 1812. The second one was when he was exiled in Jamaica in 1815 after the second intent to establish a Republican System in Venezuela by the patriots. And the third one was when he participated in the Second Congress of Angostura in 1819. That was the beginning of the last stage of the Independence of Venezuela. However, declaring independence was not enough. As expected, Spain initiated a war against the late General Captainship of Venezuela who was inexperienced at war and was economically very fragile. The situation was discouraging as the soldiers were not trained, there was no unity, ports were blockaded and most of the people did not understand what they were fighting for.

The first Venezuelan Republic endured less than a year and in 1812, the main leaders were either dead or exiled. Bolívar together with a group of companions settled in Cartagena of Indias in the neighboring country. At that time, New Granada had succeeded in maintaining its liberty. Bolívar immediately planned a strategy to reclaim Venezuela. During that period, he wrote a brilliant political analysis known as the 'Manifesto of Cartagena'. In this Manifesto, Bolívar exposed details of the political errors they made. He criticized the federal system which had divided the political and military efforts, the poor administration of the public income, and the weakness of the laws that were unsuitable for the reality of the country. It was in Cartagena where he showed his will that would later identify him. Bolívar organized an army, against all possibilities and predictions. In less than three months, his troops defeated the Spaniard enemy in what is known as the Admirable Campaign. He reclaimed the country in 1813, thus gaining him the status of a Liberator.

In spite of the victory, the siege did not stop. Jose Tomas Boves, from the Venezuelan Plains gathered a group of slaves, natives and *pardos* who fought for the Spaniard crown. This was a way to face the white government who had not made freedom a value and a right for all of them. The galloping of horses and the blades of lances soon came over Caracas. In spite of the patriots' efforts, this group was unstoppable and caused the downfall of the Republic again, in 1814. Bolívar had to leave the country and went to Jamaica. He became a more isolated person, in bankruptcy but never defeated. His political talent was tested and he proved to be a noted strategist.

He then wrote a new piece, the 'Jamaica Letter'. This writing was about an accurate judgment of the patriot's fights in America since 1810. He came to the conclusion that Spain would be defeated only if the people unite against the crown.

Bolívar eventually received support from Haiti. He went back to Venezuela in 1817 and settled down in the east. This spot was a key location because it gave him control over the Orinoco River and the pathway to the Caribbean Sea. The patriots were not going to be expelled from their homeland again. The defeat of the Spaniard enemy was imminent. The strategy made him a Liberator. Once Angostura was controlled, the independence of Venezuela was assured. In 1818, the patriots succeeded in consolidating a course of actions that enabled them to spread their troops over almost the entire territory where there were people fighting against the king's army. Also, there was the opportunity of regaining control over the political affairs and reorganizing the Republic. A Second Congress was later convoked.

On February 15, 1819, the Congress was installed. Bolívar made a speech, his famous 'Angostura Address'. It was an ethical calling to the congressmen. He spoke in favor of the creation of a law system of their own which is different from those of foreign countries. Bolívar proposed to create the 'Moral Power' and included it in the traditional system which was formed by the Executive Power, the Legislative Power and the Juridical Power. Bolívar kept the idea of creating a democratic system as a way to govern based on people's sovereignty. He asked for the abolition of privileges and slavery, and for the administration of public education. Finally, he proposed to unite New Granada and Venezuela as a single nation. This idea became a reality when they founded the Colombian Republic at the end of that year. The ethic made him a Liberator.

Bolívar continued his endeavors and did not rest. While the congressmen were working, he reunified his troops and moved forward to New Granada. He set it free after achieving victory in the Battle of Boyaca. However, a major part of the Venezuelan territory was still under the control of the Spaniards. In 1820, the Liberator became highly aware of the risk he had taken and thus gathered his troops and began a campaign for the definitive independence of Venezuela. He made it possible with his victory in the Battle of Carabobo on June 24, 1821. Together with Antonio Jose de Sucre, he went on to defeat the last troops that were faithful to the king in the Battles

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