

Document #2: "Address at the Congress of Angostura," Simón Bolívar (1819)

VENEZUELA



— A depiction of the Congress of Cúcuta (1821)

The Viceroyalty of New Granada—which included present-day Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, and parts of Ecuador—achieved independence from the Spanish Empire in a slow and uneven process. Under the leadership of the Libertador Simón Bolívar, revolutionary forces repeatedly fought off Spanish attempts to regain control of the region until Bolívar decisively expelled Spanish forces at the battle of Ayacucho in 1824.

In the midst of the battles for independence, Bolívar summoned a congress in the city of Angostura to reassert New Granada's autonomy and to install a political system that he believed would be capable of sustaining a new republic. In the speech, Bolívar lays the foundations for the establishment of democratically governed Gran Colombia that is free from the burden of slavery and racial inequality. However, he implores his audience of 26 representatives to take into account social realities of the former Viceroyalty when writing a new constitution. Mindlessly appropriating the constitutions of other nations, he argued, would lead to Gran Colombia's demise.

We are not Europeans; we are not Indians; we are but a mixed species of aborigines and Spaniards. Americans by birth and Europeans by law, we find ourselves engaged in a dual conflict: we are disputing with the natives for titles of ownership, and at the same time we are struggling to maintain ourselves in the country that gave us birth against the opposition of the invaders. Thus our position is most extraordinary and complicated. But there is more. As our role has always been strictly passive and political existence nil, we find that our quest for liberty is now even more difficult of accomplishment; for we, having been placed in a state lower than slavery, had been robbed not only of our freedom but also of the right to exercise an active domestic tyranny We have been ruled more by deceit than by force, and we have been degraded more by vice than by superstition. Slavery is the daughter of darkness: an ignorant people is a blind instrument of its own destruction. Ambition and intrigue abuses the credulity and experience of men lacking all political, economic, and civic knowledge; they adopt pure illusion as reality; they take license for liberty, treachery for patriotism, and vengeance for justice. If a people, perverted by their training, succeed in achieving their liberty, they will soon lose it, for it would be of no avail to endeavor to explain to them that happiness consists in the practice of virtue; that the rule of law is more powerful than the rule of tyrants, because, as the laws are more inflexible, every one should submit to their beneficent austerity; that proper morals, and not force, are the bases of law; and that to practice justice is to practice liberty.

Although those people [North Americans], so lacking in many respects, are unique in the history of mankind, it is a marvel, I repeat, that so weak and complicated a government as the federal system has managed to govern them in the difficult and trying circumstances of their past. But, regardless of the effectiveness of this form of government with respect to North America, I must say that it has never for a moment entered my mind to compare the position and character of two states as dissimilar as the English-American and the Spanish-American. Would it not be most difficult to apply to Spain the English system of political, civil, and religious liberty: Hence, it would be even more difficult to adapt to Venezuela the laws of North America.

Nothing in our fundamental laws would have to be altered were we to adopt a legislative power similar to that held by the British Parliament. Like the North Americans, we have divided national representation into two chambers: that of Representatives and the Senate. The first is very wisely constituted. It enjoys all its proper functions, and it requires no essential revision, because the Constitution, in creating it, gave it the form and powers which the people deemed necessary in order that they might be legally and properly represented. If the Senate were hereditary rather than elective, it would, in my opinion, be the basis, the tie, the very soul of our republic. In political storms this body would arrest the thunderbolts of the government and would repel any violent popular reaction. Devoted to the government because of a natural interest in its own preservation, a hereditary senate would always oppose any attempt on the part of the people to infringe upon the jurisdiction and authority of their magistrates The creation of a hereditary senate would in no way be a violation of political equality. I do not solicit the establishment of a nobility, for as a celebrated republican has said, that would simultaneously destroy equality and liberty. What I propose is an office for which the candidates must prepare themselves, an office that demands great knowledge and the ability to acquire such knowledge. All should not be left to chance and the outcome of elections. The people are more easily deceived than is Nature perfected by art; and although these senators, it is true, would not be bred in an environment that is all virtue, it is equally true that they would be raised in an atmosphere of enlightened education. The hereditary senate will also serve as a counterweight to both government and people; and as a neutral power it will weaken the mutual attacks of these two eternally rival powers.

The British executive power possesses all the authority properly appertaining to a sovereign, but a triple line of dikes, barriers, and stockades surrounds him. He is the head of government, but his ministers and subordinates rely more upon law than upon his authority, as they are personally responsible; and not even decrees of royal authority can exempt them from this responsibility. The executive is commander in chief of the army and navy; he makes peace and declares war; but Parliament annually determines what sums are to be paid to these military forces. While the courts and judges are dependent on the executive power, the laws originate in and are made by Parliament. Give Venezuela such an executive power in the person of a president chosen by the people or their representatives, and you will have taken a great step toward national happiness. No matter what citizen occupies this office, he will be aided by the Constitution, and therein being authorized to do good, he can do no harm, because his ministers will cooperate with him only insofar as he abides by the law. If he attempts to infringe upon the law, his own ministers will desert him, thereby isolating him from the Republic, and they will even bring charges against him in the Senate. The ministers, being responsible for any transgressions committed, will actually govern, since they must account for their actions.

A republican magistrate is an individual set apart from society, charged with checking the impulse of the people toward license and the propensity of judges and administrators toward abuse of the laws. He is directly subject to the legislative body, the senate, and the people: he is the one man who resists the combined pressure of the opinions, interests, and passions of the social state and who, as Carnot states, does little more than struggle constantly with the urge to dominate and the desire to escape domination. A strongly rooted force can only correct this weakness. It should be strongly proportioned to meet the resistance, which the executive must expect from the legislature, from the judiciary, and from the people of a republic. Unless the executive has easy access to all the administrative resources, fixed by a just distribution of powers, he inevitably becomes a nonentity or abuses his authority. By this I mean that the result will be the death of the government, whose heirs are anarchy, usurpation, and tyranny . . . Therefore, let the entire system of government be strengthened, and let the balance of power be drawn up in such a manner that it will be permanent and incapable of decay because of its own tenuity. Precisely because no form of government is so weak as the democratic, its framework must be firmer, and its institutions must be studied to determine their degree of stability...unless this is done, we will have to reckon with an ungovernable, tumultuous, and anarchic society, not with a social order where happiness, peace, and justice prevail.

Sources:

Bolívar, Simón. *An Address of Bolívar at the Congress of Angostura (February 15, 1819)*. Reprint ed., Washington, D.C.: Press of B. S. Adams, 1919.

Scanned by J. S. Arkenberg, Dept. of History, Cal. State Fullerton. Prof. Arkenberg has modernized the text.



(in the shape of a maze that might be placed
on the burial mound at his glorious funeral)
P edro, bright even at death's portic O
E ntomb'd in rays the grave would not forg O
D eceased, though still the grand magnific O
R esplendent as in life not long ag O
O h! how your marble cenotaph gleams s O
M elo, shine on, noble politic O
E xalting virtues death could scarce end O
L ight unto men and moral model to O

Simón Rodríguez (1775–1854, Venezuela)

A philosopher and educator, born in Caracas, Venezuela, Rodríguez was the enlightened mentor of Simón Bolívar. His thought, evolved under the influence of Gabriel Girard and J. J. Rousseau, was oriented toward the liberation of the Americas. In his writing, he created a hybrid of didactic essay and visual poetry through a set of aphorisms, altering typography and fonts in midsentence to highlight the power of the images in a system he called "the art of painting ideas." This creation was a forerunner of the typographical experiments of the European avant-garde at the end of the nineteenth century. According to José Lezama Lima, he instilled in Bolívar an admiration for the Incas as giving potential to the future of the Americas. Widely traveled, he witnessed the mythical moment when Bolívar vowed to liberate South America from Spanish rule. At the end of his life, he went to Bolivia in search of the "center that irradiates the energy of space," but he died in Peru, alone and in total poverty. PRINCIPAL WORK: *Obras completas* (1975)

Social Virtues and Illuminations / Luces y virtudes sociales

Mónica de la Torre, trans.

SHAPE given to DISCOURSE

Painting Elementary ideas into *Paradigm*
Thoughts into *Synopsis*

The TONGUE and the HAND

are humanity's most precious gifts
(notes Buffon)

Hereby understood with regard to the
INTENTION TO INSTRUCT

It concerns not the Importance of the Word
for
none knows it

The Importance of its PAINTING
is well-known by a few
most . . . don't even think of it
nonetheless

One can PAINT without SPEAKING
but not SPEAK without PAINTING

GESTURES are a SKETCH
of what the *hand* for a lack of *means*
cannot draw or of time

GESTURING is painting IN THE AIR

in *spoken* discourse connection of Ideas
as and
in the *written* one connection of Thoughts

The connection of Ideas is *presented* in a PARADIGM
That of thoughts in SYNOPSIS

PARADIGM is . . .

a model of Ideas compared so as to
make their connection felt

SYNOPSIS is . . .

that in which one sees, at a blow,
a painting the connection between several Ideas
forming a thought or many

The sense of a Thought is a *Proposition*
and the formula expressing it is a *Phrase*

A proposition compounded
by other Propositions is a GENERAL IDEA
taken from the elements

of many other divisions
called PARAGRAPHS

Their formula consists of how many Elementary Propositions
are included in the *General Idea*

in Sum

a SYNOPSIS is a compound of PARADIGMS