

On the backdrop of the Political Theory behind designed, it is convenient and almost necessary to illustrate other aspect-key to discern with clarity and to value very complex realities that are converging in current Venezuela. They are:

- 1) Leadership. 2) Militarism. 3) Caesarism.
- 4) Populism. 5) Revolution, 6) Socialism.

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Leadership

A general clamor

"For a lot of time it comes being heard through the planet a formidable scream, as ululating of countless dogs toward the stars, requesting that there is somebody or something that drives." This expression of Ortega and Gasset, valid in his time, it is also in ours. To have leaders or drivers has always been a necessity of all society. "The times of crossroads, tribulations, contradictions not easy to solve they usually move in the beginnings or later on for the resolved will of an only man" (J.L. Vethencourt). "The idea that a town can be managed itself and to direct its matters in an anonymous way is the silliest in the absurdities. The humanity doesn't make anything but following the inventors and the drivers (William James)."

But if there is consent on the universal fact of the leadership in the most different times and latitudes, there is not on their possible interpretations.

Explanations

1) It is classic the *individualistic focus*. Already in the fourth century before Christ, while he strolled teaching for the Liceo (of there their nickname of 'peripatetic'), Aristotle sustained that the nature endows certain people with control capacity, with qualities to drive, to govern, to be leaders. And still in last century,

Italian Pareto accepts that some are born to lead and most to be led. Florentine Machiavelli in his manual for rulers (*The Prince*) gives great importance to the individual qualities of those who want to have and to retain the power, such as the anger, the force, the conviction, the pride. To them they should be added today the emotional maturity, the tact, the introspection power, the domain of the word and of the image to subdue listeners' masses and viewers. Inside this focus, we can define the leader like "*he who has for task to take his people of where it is to where it has not been*" (Henry Kissinger). It is, this way, outstanding the leader's personal and excellent paper on his countrymen. Richard Nixon (of the same school of his Secretary of State) underlines this way in his pleasant and interesting book "*Leaders*". So profiles that have forged the recent world parade are: Churchill, De Gaulle, Mao, Sadat, Mac Arthur, Adenauer, Khrushchev, Zhou Enlai, Sukarno, Nehru, Ben Gurion, Meir.

2) The *social current sciences* question and complete the previous focus. They have discovered that many people can, with their same qualities, to be leaders in a class or group while they cannot be it inside another class or group. And they notice that inside oneself group, different types of leaders have been happened to qualities, sometimes, diametrically opposed. It is illustrative to this respect, the study of R.L. Mann on 125 cases of leadership. He compares 750 features of the leaders' personality. He finds that in some groups, the leaders are aggressive, while in others they are patient and self-contained. In some groups, the leaders are sharp in their decisions, while in others they are diplomatic. The leadership cannot be figured only on the individual features or the leaders' personality, but rather the transactions enter in game with directed people. Robinson Crusoe, individually speaking could be very valiant, brilliant of intelligence, innovative, intrepid, adaptable and other things. But it is clear that it could not exercise his role of leadership until Friday enters in his life and scenario.

Frequently the leader begins ideas for the group. And these ideas appear acceptable to the associates. Other times, the group finds that the realization of the plans that feeds facilitates with what the leader says and does. And then the group spreads to be very deferential with the leader. The explanation of the leadership is to look for it in kind of a social transaction that settles down between the human

group and that person to which the group grants him a leadership role. With reason, Piñango observes that

"few seem to notice that, in fact, contrary to the plays whose director or producer selects the actors that must represent the characters, in the real life the social processes in march they make inseparable to actors and characters. The same as in the theater, in the real life, the characters won't be able to make what they want, although the script is not written."

Inside this focus, it can be defined the leader like "*he who influences on the activities of an organized group, with an eye toward the fix of goals and to the realization of these* (Stogdill)." The leader, for effective and decisive that he is, appears accompanied by a team and surrounded of other leaders that also influence in the actions and decisions. It is the lesson of the book of B.D. Wolfe: "Three that made a revolution." Several they influenced in the Bolshevik revolution, such as Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Kerensky and Krasin. To this respect, it is interesting the paragon that makes Isaiah Berlin, prize literature Nobel, between two big statesmen, Roosevelt and Churchill. Both are imaginative types, optimists, intrepid, instigators of social progress. But there is a great difference in their relationship with the people. While Roosevelt took its politics without consulting to anybody, transformed into a public figure almost as a like god, Churchill was by nature a political being, with antennas on his real environment and channeled his internal resources on the nation and gave birth jointly a State of heroic spirit.

3) Supplementing the two previous focuses, we can say with Francisco Herrera Luque that the leader, on one hand, he has an individual undeniable role; but, at the same time, he arises of the town and it cannot act without it (he is "only the accoucheur that watches over the childbirth of a town in road") :

The eminent individuals, call you leaders, prophets or rulers can the same as enzymes to hurry, to freeze or to degrade the social processes. Paez stagnated the evolution. Guzman whipped it so that it advanced. Juan Vicente Gomez made it go back. The rulers, like they seem to point out it the facts they are not, because, inert pure practitioners of

the social means that contains them. As well as they can brake it, twist it and to retrograde it; they can point out other courses and illuminate with the action and with the excellence, starting in the social chore.

The commanders don't arise for their free decision, but for the consent of all who allow to drive. If Boves was the commander of the destitute masses of Venezuela, it was because those masses granted him their favors. He had manna - as Jung said, or prestige, personal aura or charisma.

Types of leadership

There are several types of leadership depending on the times, for those that it crosses the town, if they are heroic or relatively normal. The historian Burns has traced a distinction between *transforming leadership* and *transactional leadership*. The leaders transformers, of individual more underlined qualities, are able to drive to the town through fundamental changes of their institutions and societies. "There are times in those that the Presidents have to drift forward and to request sacrifices to the town, instead of making promises. Then it is imperative the transforming leadership". The other one, the negotiating type of leadership, comes to be identified with managerial competition that is very appropriate for times of calm. The leadership here is less individualistic and more of team, of commitment in dialogue

Using elements of a classic work of Paolo Freire, we could conceive the leadership like the "informing stimulus" that it wakes up the consciences to assume postures that the social group thinks about. The leader represents, in his ideals and behavior, an advance of the society to be made. In this sense, it is a promise, an advance. It is like a window open of face to the future. He is a person able to dialogue with the group, with aim to a hope. Before anything is an educator, because he "teaches" to create the word, to develop the values, the society in that one lives to transform. Convinced of the necessity of fighting, as well as of his own reflection and action., the leader is about impelling others to the same fight by means of the same resources that are not others that the reflection

and the action, the vision and the anger. Of here it is deduced that one of the true leader's main attributes is his dialogue capacity with the social group and the mass. This implies total respect to people that commands. A respect that should annul, of root, all kinds of authoritarian impositions, of unilateral sect:

"A revolutionary leadership that is not in dialogue with the masses incurs in one of the two absurdities that decrease to the same one, the one of not being genuinely revolutionary. Indeed, if it maintains the 'shade' of the ruler inside, he is not already liberator neither revolutionary. And if mistakenly he is prey of a spirit of sect unquestionably morbid, neither he is revolutionary" (Freire).

Qualities

The qualities that are required for an authentic leadership are two primordial. But other complementary ones are also recommended.

1) Vision. Conductive, his task is to take the town of where it is to where it has not been. Above all he should know to where he drives. The town, in general, doesn't know it. The leader should can to manage the alchemy of a great vision. He should can to show the road. And of course, he should go at least a step ahead. Because he says "Yes" to the big vision that levies it, the leader can say "No" to the society that surrounds it or to the unjust or corrupt system that is sent to pick up. Having a vision and a faith makes possible a statement of life of the driver. And that faith and that vision are contagious for the town. The leader's statement is moving masses. After nights of insomnias full with queries and of wait, the leader has to arrive to a summit of clear vision for him and where he stops his followers. "Unfortunately it should reach that point without return, that wonderful crest of the hill from where it is continued seeing what was behind, while he opens up to the washed eyes and new the panorama of another reality, of a goal finally perceptible and reachable (Julio Cortazar)"

2) *Anger*. The task of driving is not only intelligence matter, but also of will, of ability, of character, of persistence. The vision points to the goal and it points out the road to travel. But the one on the way to a new existence, of a better society, is not an automatic stairway, neither a gangplank flanked by tranquility and security. It is necessary to traffic throughout a painful tangle of hesitations, of dead points, of obstacles of all gender. The road is difficult and it is necessary to travel it. And it doesn't travel the driver and his hosts but with a great value, with a deep conviction, with patience and voluntarism. Great Alexander, the son of the dream, arrived this way through the sands of Amon, until the confines of the old world. Anibal overcame this way Alps to fall on the gentle plains of Italy. This way Bolivar climbed up the Andes to slip with their 'llaneros' (countrymen of the 'llanos') for the fields of Boyacá until Santafé of Bogotá. For Kissinger, "the most important quality in a leader is the anger. He should act in risky situations trusting his own trial. He has a responsibility regarding the society: not of knocking down the factory for too much pressure, but yes of pushing it until its passable limits. He should define that margin that allows him to influence in the events. If it exceeds of that margin, he can make collapse the structure. But if it is below the margin, the leader can become irrelevant." In synthesis, the leader should reconcile rational qualities and volunteer qualities. He should show stubbornness before the facts and contagious being of optimism and he thrills before what is to make.

3) *Other qualities* are the proposals for the American journalist Michel Korda. They are three aspects that should differ to the driver of the driven mass. That is: a) Capacity to offer a coherent message that all understand and all remember (for example that of "bread and freedom" of Fidel Castro). b) Capacity to stand out on the common of people, with their own stamp, not borrowed neither of simple appearance. c) Capacity to appear before the masses like sure and confident. "Leader is the one that interprets what the mass is dreaming explicit or somnambulistically (Otto Morales Benítez)."

A suggestive article, picks up of several authors, qualities that usually accompany these men of the history to who we call leaders. According to their reading, for Carlyle, they have the I bewitch of a mystic influence, because they have "a sharp one felt by the qualitative thing before for the quantitative thing;

kind of a direct approach to the things, before a capacity to describe, to calculate or to infer." For Ortega it is characteristic their "impulsiveness, turbulence, histrionics, poverty of intimacy, skin hardness". For Burckhardt they are important aspects the sense of the moment and a contempt for the personal ambition or for the fame: They "always discover the real situation of the things and of the possible resources of the power." Hence, they are not allowed to blind for the simple appearances neither to stun for the din of the moment."

The biographies of big men of the past continue being the favorite reading of those who feel in their interior the call to the leadership. Reading also very advisable and useful for the political analysts. Bolivar always admired Great Alejandro. Washington appreciated a lot the admiral Vernon. Napoleon III had like I model Julio Caesar. Stalin had a fascination for Ivan the Terrible one. Kennedy's favorite book was the biography of Melbourne, the queen's great prime minister Victoria from England. Nixon read several times the biography of Disraeli, written by Robert Blake. For Truman the favorite reading was the "Parallel Lives" of Plutarco, written in the emperor's time Traiano on the most remarkable Greek and Roman. A Colombian president, Belisario Betancur, put in fashion as best seller "The memoirs of Adriano" of Margarita Yourcenar. From their first presidential campaign, Clinton found a treasure in the biography of Lincoln by the writer Phillips. And they are many who inspire by Roosevelt or by Churchill of Isaiah Berlin.

For Hegel, in his work summit, "The Philosophy of the Right", "the big man is that who knows how to express in words the will of his time, to tell which his desires are, and to get them. What he makes is heart and essence of his time, giving this way it reality."