

Caesarism

There is a recurrent topic in the political Venezuelan history, from its beginnings with Gral. José Antonio Páez, until our days with Commanding Hugo Chávez Frías. There is a dialectical relationship among democracy and dictatorship that usually oppose as the civilization and the barbarism in our political literature. But both they are intertwined in some commanders' strong moments that get noticed with their civic-military governments. As writes L.R. Dávila- "the speech and the myth of 'NECESSARY GENDARME' spreads the discursive justifier and legitimating bridge between dictatorship and democracy."

The necessity to get for the Venezuelan nation the order and the stability required to secure their process of difficult integration -fears shared by the Venezuelan intelligentsia of ends of the XIX century and beginnings of the XX one-. It drove to propose the achievement of the unit and the progress of the nation through the action of an "iron surgeon", of a "formidable civilized leader", of a "hegemon", of a "good tyrant", of "a Caesar democratic representative and regulator of the popular sovereignty", of a "Prince", of a "Commander." It arrived, sent by the Providence or the Destination, the "man of the moment (very mounted in their white horse)." A ruler that created the conditions to put an end to the barbarism and the anarchy, a ruler capable of several things: 1) to foresee the wrong; 2) to have the necessary energies to plot him; 3) to possess the enough tact to unify and to use the alive forces of the society achieving the pursued end.

The formulation of the myth of the "necessary gendarme" sinks its roots in Bolívar's same speech, when he affirms as fundamental government's principle:

"The American States has need of the cares of paternal governments that cure the ulcers and the wounds of the despotism and the war [...] to form a stable Government, the base of a national spirit is required".

He proposed the tutelage of the society. That which implied two things: the constitution of a strong State, compactly established whose practical arm would be a

strong Executive; and then, a certain one guides to generate, via the education that must return to the capable society for the exercise of its rights. Given their mood, the Venezuelan Polis has taken this seriously from then on. And the task of forming "a national" spirit has been the vocation of several 'necessary gendarmes': José Antonio Páez, Monagas, Guzmán Blanco; Castro and Juan Vicente Gómez; López Contreras and Medina Angarita; it appeared their face starting from the overthrow of Rómulo Gallegos; he practices it to their way same Betancourt; he makes it expressly Pérez Jimenez, and today Chávez resuscitates it knowingly. All have tried to justify this way the necessary gendarme: "the effective ruler's plantation, of Necessary, Capable Gendarme -for the superiority of his character and of the force of his arm- of to impose the peace and to make progress the society." (Laureano Vallenilla Lanz, *Cesarismo democrático*, Caracas 1919, p. 279).

Partial conclusion

- "More words, less words", we continue in presence of the old positivist dilemma of the fight between civilization and barbarism, with the myth of the 'necessary gendarme', and the justifier speech that continues paying in the political Venezuelan culture the concerning images to the kindness of the dictatorship, the kindness of the strong governments in comparison with the bad habits of the democracy, of the weak governments [...] That eternal one to go and to come from the democracy to the dictatorship and vice versa it is the movement that expresses the fundamental character of the Venezuelan soul that it constitutes the substratum of our deep psyche. The mythology that underlies to our political culture is expressed in him" (L.R. Dávila).

- "The weapons went and they came. Some went forever; others went for a while; still other, those that returned to stay, learned how to be what the first ones could not be in their moment" (L. Castro Leiva).

- What distinguishes the several projects (the democratic one or the caesarist) is the agents in charge of executing them: "their differences reside in the consideration about who duty to be the agents rector of the process (Ocarina Castillo)."