	I'm not robot	reCAPTCHA
--	---------------	-----------

Continue



```
Translated by Lewis Bertrand into Selected Writings of Bolivar, (New York: The colonial Press Inc., 1951) Kingston, Jamaica, September 6, 1815. My dear Lord: I hasten to reply to the letter of the last 29th that you had the honour of sending me and that I received with the utmost satisfaction. As sensitive
as I am, I am of the interest you wish to face for the fate of my country, and of your cooperation with you in the torture you have suffered from the moment of your destroyers, the Spaniards, I am no less sensitive to the obligation for your requests to inquire into
the main objects of American politics. Thus, I find myself in conflict between the desire to reciprocate your trust, which honors me, and the difficulty of rewarding it, for lack of documents and books and for my limited knowledge of such a vast land, so varied and so little known as the New World. In my
opinion, it is impossible to answer the questions you have asked so kindly. Baron von Humboldt himself; with his theoretical knowledge and encyclopedic practice, he could hardly do it properly, because, although some of the facts about America and its development are known, I dare say that the best
part is shrouded in mystery. Consequently, only more or less approximate conjectures can be made, especially as regards its future and the true plans of the Americans, since our continent has within it potential for every aspect of development revealed in the history of nations, because of its physical
characteristics and because of the risks of war and the uncertainties of politics. While I feel obliged to give due consideration to your esteemed letter and the philanthropic intentions that drive you. I am driven to write these words to you, in which you will certainly not find the brilliant thoughts you seek, but
rather a sincere statement of my ideas. Three centuries ago, you say, the atrocities committed by the Spaniards on this great hemisphere of Columbus began. Our time has dismissed these atrocities as mythical, because they seem to be beyond the human capacity of evil. Modern critics would never
have credited them had it not been for the many frequent documents that testify to these horrific truths. The human Bishop of Chiapas, that Apostle of America, Las Casas, left posterity a brief description of these horrors, extracted from the documents of Seville concerning the cases against the
conquistadors, and containing the testimony of every respectable person then in the New World, along with the accusations, that tyrants made against each other. All this is attested by the most important historians of that time. Every impartial person admitted the zeal, sincerity and high of that friend of
humanity, who so fervently and so firmly denounced to his and to his contemporaries the most horrific acts of bloody frenzy. With what feeling of gratitude I read that passage of your letter in which you say to me: I hope that the success that followed spanish weapons can now turn in favor of their
opponents, the badly oppressed people of South America. I take this hope as a prediction, if it is justice that determines human contests, Success will crown our efforts, because America's destiny has been irrevocably decided; the link that linked it to Spain has been severed. Only one concept retained
that tie and kept the parts of that immense monarchy together. What bound them now divides them. The hatred that the Peninsula has inspired in us is greater than the ocean between us. It would be easier for the two continents to meet than to reconcile the spirits of the two countries. The habit of
obedience; a community of interest, understanding and religion; mutual goodwill; a tender respect for the place of birth and the good name of our ancestors; in short, everything that gave rise to our hopes came to us from Spain. As a result, a principle of affinity was born that seemed eternal, despite the
improper behavior of our rulers that weakened that sympathy, or rather, that bond imposed by the domination of their government. At the moment the opposite attitude persists: we are threatened by fear of death, dishonour and harm; there is nothing we have not suffered at the hands of that unnatural
stepmother-Spain. The veil was torn to pieces. We have already seen the light, and it is not our desire to be pushed back into the darkness. The chains have been freed, and now our enemies are trying to enslave us again. That's why America fights desperately, and rarely has
despair failed to achieve victory Because successes have been partial and spasmodic, we must not lose faith. In some regions the Independents triumph, while in others tyrants have the advantage. What is the end result? Isn't the whole new world on the move, armed for defense? All we have to do is
look around this hemisphere to see a simultaneous struggle at all times. The war state of the provinces of the River La Plata has peddling that territory and led their victorious armies to Upper Peru, inciting Arequipa and worrying the royalists of Lima. Almost a million inhabitants now eniov freedom. The
territory of Chile, populated by 800,000 souls, is fighting the enemy that is seeking its subtness; but needlessly, because those who long ago put an end to the conquests of this enemy, the free and indomitable Araucanians, are their neighbors and compatriots. Their sublime example is proof for those who
in Chile that a people who love independence will eventually achieve it. Peru's viceroyalty, whose population is close to one and a half million, undoubtedly suffers greatest sweating and is obliged to make the greatest number of sacrifices for the real cause; and, although the thought of cooperating with
that part of America may be in vain, the fact remains that it is not quiet, nor is it able to curb the torrent that threatens most of its provinces. The new Granada, which is, so to speak, the heart of America, obeys a general government, except for the territory of Quito which is held only with the greatest
difficulty by its enemies, as it is strongly dedicated to the cause of the country; and the provinces of Panama and Santa Marta endure, not without suffering, the tyranny of their masters. Two and a half million people live in New Granada and in fact defend that territory against the Spanish army under
General Morillo, who will probably suffer defeat in the impregnable fortress of Cartagena. But if it were to take that city, it would be a lack of sufficient forces to subdue the unbridled and courageous inhabitants of the interior. As far as heroic and
unfortunate Venezuela is concerned, events have moved so quickly and the devastation has been such that it has been reduced to appalling desolation and almost absolute poverty, even though it was once among the fairest regions that are America's pride. His tyrants rule a desert, and oppress only
those unfortunate survivors who, having escaped death, lead a precarious existence. Some women, children and old are all that's left. Most men died rather than slaves; those who survive continue to fight furiously on inland fields and cities, until those who, insatiable in their thirst for blood and crime, rival
those first monsters who wiped out America's primitive race. Almost a million people previously inhabited in Venezuela, and it is no exaggeration to say that one in four has succumbed to the land, sword, hunger, plague, escape or deprivation, to all the consequences of war, except for the earthquake.
According to Baron von Humboldt. New Spain, including Guatemala, had 7,800,000 inhabitants in 1808. Since then, the insurrection, which has shaken virtually all of its provinces, has greatly reduced that seemingly correct figure, because more than a million men have died, as can be seen in Mr.
Walton's report, which faithfully describes the bloody crimes committed in that abundant kingdom. There the struggle continues at the strength of man and all other kinds of sacrifice, because the Spaniards spare nothing that would allow them to subdue those who had the misfortune to be born on this
ground, which seems destined to flow with the blood of its offspring. Despite everything, Mexicans Free. They embraced the cause of the country, decided to avenge their ancestors or follow them to the grave. They already say with Raynal: Time has finally to repay the Spanish torture for torture and to
drown that race of annihilators in their own blood or at sea. The islands of Puerto Rico and Cuba, with a total population of about 700,000-800,000 souls, are the most peaceful assets of Spaniards, because they are not within reach of contact with the Independents. But aren't they the people of those
American islands? Aren't they mistreated? Don't they want a better life? This image represents, on a military map, an area of 2,000 longitudinal leagues and 900 latitudes at its largest point, where 16,000,000 Americans defend their rights or repression at the hands of Spain, which, although once the
largest empire in the world, is now too weak, with what little left, to rule the new hemisphere or even to stay in the old one. And will Europe, the civilised, the merchant, the lover of freedom allow an elderly snake, bent only to satisfy its poisonous rage, devour the most beautiful part of our globe? What! Is
Europe deaf to the clamour of its interests? Don't you have eyes to see justice? Has she become so hardened that she becomes numb? The more confused I am. I am led to believe that the disappearance of America is desired; but this is impossible because the
whole of Europe is not Spain. What madness for our enemy to hope to recapture America when it has no sea, no funds and almost no soldiers! Those troops at its disposal are poorly adapted to keep its people in a state of forced obedience and to defend themselves against their neighbours. On the other
hand, can this nation carry on the exclusive trade of half the world when it lacks manufacturing, agricultural products, crafts and science, and even a policy? Suppose this crazy enterprise has been successful, and it is further supposed that peace has followed, would it not be the children of today's
Americans, together with the children of the European reconquistadores twenty years later, to conceive of the same patriotic designs that are now being fought? Europe could do Spain a service by deterring it from its reckless obstinacy, at least saving it the costs it is incurring and the blood it is spending.
And if he adjusts his attention to his enclosures, he can build his prosperity and power on a more solid basis than dubious conquests, precarious trade and exact forts from remote and powerful peoples. Europe itself, as a matter of common sense policy, should have prepared and executed the american
independence project, not only because the world balance of power is so necessary, but also because this is the legitimate and certain means by which Europe can acquire commercial establishments abroad. A Europe that does not move from the violent passions of the ambition and greed, as it seems
that Spain is entitled to, by all the trules of of the to make it clear to Spain where its best interests lie. All the writers who have dealt with this issue agree on this point. As a result, we had reason to hope that civilised nations would come to our aid in order to achieve what must prove beneficial to both
hemispheres. How vain this hope has been! Not only Europeans, but also our brothers in the North have been apathetic bystanders in this struggle which, by its very essence, is the fairest, and in its consequences the noblest and most vital of all the people who were raised in ancient or modern times. In
fact, can the far-reaching effects of freedom for the hemisphere that Columbus discovered be calculated? Bonaparte's criminal action, you say, in the kidnapping of Charles IV and Ferdinand VII, the monarchs of that nation that three centuries ago treacherously imprisoned two rulers of South America, is
a more obvious sign of divine punishment and, at the same time, positive proof that God espouses the just cause of the Americans and grants them independence. It seems that you allude to Moctezuma, the ruler of Mexico, who was imprisoned by Cortés, and, according to Herrera, was killed by him,
although Solàs claims that it was the work of the people; and at Atahualpa, peno's Inca, destroyed by Francisco Pizarro and Diego Almagro. The fate of the monarchs of Spain and America is too different to admit a confrontation. The former were treated with dignity and kept alive. and eventually regained
their freedom and throne; that the latter has suffered unspeakable torture and the most vile treatment. Quauhtemotzin [Guatémoc], Montezuma's successor, was treated as an emperor and crowned, but in ridicule and not in honor, so that he could suffer this humiliation before being tortured. Similar
treatment has been accorded to the ruler of Michoacan, Catzontzin; the zipa of Bogota, and all the other toquis, immime, zipas, ulmenes, caciques, and other Indian dignitaries who succumbed before the power of Spain. The case of Ferdinand VII is almost parallel to what happened in Chile in 1535 at the
ulmen of Copiapà, then ruler of that region. The Spaniard Almagro pretended, like Bonaparte, to marry the cause of the rightful ruler; he then called the other a usurper, as Ferdinand did in Spain. Almagro seemed to restore the rightful ruler to his estates, but ended up shackling the unfortunate ulmen and
feeding on the flames without hearing his defense. This is similar to the case of Ferdinand VII and his usurper: European monarchs, however, suffer only exile; the ulmen of Chile is barbarically put to death. These several months, he adds, I have given a lot of thought to the situation in America and its
hopes for the future. I have a great interest in its development, but I adequate information compared to present state and the aspirations of his people. I would very much like to know the policy of each province, including its peoples, and whether they want a republic or a monarchy; or if they try to form a
unified republic or a unique monarchy? If I could provide myself with this information or suggest the sources I could consider it a very special favor. Generous souls are always interested in the destiny of a people that strives to recover the rights to which the Creator and Nature are
entitled, and in fact one must be married to error and passion in order not to nourish this noble feeling. You have thought about my country and you are concerned on your behalf, and for your kindness I am warmly grateful. I have listed the population, which is based on more or less accurate data, but
which a thousand circumstances make misleading. This inaccuracy cannot be easily remedied, because most inhabitants live in rural areas and migrants, lost among dense giant forests, lonely plains and isolated from lakes and mighty streams. Who
is able to compile complete statistics of a land like this! In addition, the tribute paid by the Indians, the punishments of slaves, the first fruits of the harvest, the tenths and taxes imposed on farmers, and other taxes have driven poor Americans out of their homes. Not to mention the extermination war that
has already taken a toll of almost an eighth part of the population and frightened another large part away. In total, the difficulties are unsurpassed, and the count is likely to show only half of the true count. It is even more difficult to predict the future fate of the New World, set its political principles or
prophesie what way of government it will adopt. Any speculation about America's future is, I think, pure speculation. When humanity was in its infancy, plunged into uncertainty, ignorance and error, was it possible to predict what system it would adopt for its preservation? Who could dare to say that a
certain nation would be a republic or a monarchy; this big nation, that little nation? For my way of thinking, that is our situation. We're young in the ways of almost all the arts and sciences, even though, in a way, we are old in the ways of
civil society. I look at the current state of America as similar to that of Rome after its fall. Each part of Rome adopted a political system in accordance with its interest and situation or was guided by the individual ambitions of some leaders, famines or associations. But this important difference exists: those
scattered parts later re-established their ancient nations, subject to the changes imposed by circumstances or Events. But we just keep a trace of what once we are also neither Indian nor European, but a species halfway between the legitimate owners of this country and the Spanish usurpers. In short,
even if the Americans of birth derive our rights from Europe, and we must assert these rights against the invaders. This puts us in an extraordinary and involved situation. Although it is a kind of divination to predict the
outcome of the political course that America is pursuing, I will venture some conjectures that, of course, are colored by my enthusiasm and dictated by rational desires rather than reasoned calculations. The role of the inhabitants of the American hemisphere has been purely passive for centuries.
Politically they were non-existent. We are still in a position below slavery, so it is more difficult for us to rise to the enjoyment of freedom. Allow me to make these transgressions in order to establish the matter. States are slaves because of the nature or abuse of their constitutions; a people is therefore a
slave when the government, by its nature or manly, violates and usurps the rights of the citizen or subject. By applying these principles, we find that America has been denied not only its freedom, but also active and effective tyranny. Let me explain. Under absolutism there are no limits to the exercise of
governmental powers. The will of the great sultan, khan, bey, and other despotic rulers is the supreme law, carried out more or less arbitrarily by the minor pashas, khans, and satraps of Turkey and Persia, who have an organized system of pressure in which the inferiors participate according to the
authority conferred on them. They are entrusted with the administration of civil, military, political, religious and fiscal matters. But, after all it is said and done, the rulers of Ispahan are Persian; the viziers of the Grand Turk are Turks; and the sultans of Tartary are Tartary. China does not bring its military
leaders and scholars from the land of Genghis Khan, its conqueror, despite the fact that today's Chinese are the linear descendants of those who have been reduced to subtraction from the ancestors of today's Tatars. How different our situation is! We have been harassed by conduct that has not only
deprived us of our rights, but has kept us in a kind of permanent childhood when it comes to public affairs. If at least we could have managed our internal administration, we could have known the processes and mechanisms of public affairs. We should also have enjoyed a personal
consideration, thus commanding a certain unconscious respect on the part of the people, which is so necessary to preserve in the midst of revolutions. That is why I say that we have been deprived of an active tyranny, since we have not states to perform his duties. Today's Americans, and perhaps
to a greater extent than ever before, who live within the Spanish system occupy a position in society no better than that of servants destined for work, or at best no longer have the status of mere consumers. Yet even this status is surrounded by galling restrictions, such as the ban on growing European
crops, or storing products that are real monopolies, or establishing factories of a type that the peninsula itself does not own. In addition, there are exclusive trading privileges, even in essential items, and barriers between American provinces, designed to prevent any exchange of trade, trade and
understanding. In short, you want to know what our future held?--simply the cultivation of the fields of indigo, wheat, coffee, sugar cane, cocoa, and cotton; livestock farming on the broad plains; hunting wild game in the jungles; digging into the earth to extract its gold - but even these limits could never
satisfy Spain's greed. Our existence was so bad that I cannot find anything comparable in any other civilised society, to examine as much as I can the whole history of time and the politics of all nations. Is it not an outrage and a violation of human rights to expect such a beautifully endowed, vast, rich and
populous land to remain simply passive? As I have just explained, we have been cut off and, so to speak, removed from the world in relation to the science of government and state administration. We have never been viceroys or governors, except in the rarest cases: rarely archbishops and bishops:
diplomats never; as soldiers, only subordinates; as nobles, without royal privileges. In short, we were neither magistrates nor financiers and merchants, all in clear contradiction to our institutions. Emperor Charles V made a pact with america's discoverers, conquerors and settlers, and this, as Guerra
says, is our social contract. The monarchs of Spain have made a solemn agreement with them, to be executed on their own risk, expressly prohibiting them from drawing on the royal treasury. In return, the gentlemen of the country have been made, the right to organize public
administration and act as the court of last appeal, along with many other exemptions and privileges that are too numerous to mention. The king pledged never to alienate the American provinces, as he had no jurisdiction other than sovereign rule. Thus, for themselves and their descendants, the
conquistadors possessed what amounted to feudal possessions. However, there are explicit laws governing employment in civil, church and tax establishments. These laws almost exclusively, the natives of the country who are of Spanish extraction. Thus, with a total violation of existing, existing laws and
agreements, in America have been stripped of their constitutional rights as embodied in the code. From what I have said it is easy to deduce that America was not prepared to part with its mother; this secession was suddenly caused by the effect of Bayonne's illegal concessions and the unjust war that
the Regency unjustly and illegally declared to us. With regard to the nature of the Spanish governments, their strict and hostile decrees, and their long history of desperate behaviour, it is possible to find articles of real merit, by Mr Blanco, in the newspaper El Espaàol. Since this aspect of our history is well
treated, I will refer to it. The Americans have risen rapidly without the prior knowledge of, and, most regrettablely, with no previous experience in public affairs, to implement on the world stage the eminent roles of legislator, magistrate, treasury minister, diplomat, general, and any position of authority,
supreme or subordinate, which includes the hierarchy of a fully organised state. When the invasion of French, stopped only by the walls of Cádiz, routed the fragile governments of the peninsula, we were orphaned. Before that invasion, we had been left at the mercy of a foreign usurper. Subsequently, the
justice due to us was dangled before our eyes, raising hopes that came to nothing. Finally, uncertain of our destiny, and in the search for a legitimate, just and liberal government, we have thrown ourselves headlong into the chaos of the revolution. First attention was paid to
obtaining internal security against enemies in our midst, and then it was extended to the successful turn of events; so we
managed to find a constitutional government worthy of our century and adapted to our situation. The first steps of all the new government worthy of our century and adapted to our situation. The second adapted to our situation. The first steps of all the new government worthy of our century and adapted to our situation. The first steps of all the new government worthy of our century and adapted to our situation. The first steps of all the new government worthy of our century and adapted to our situation.
democratic and federal government after declaring for human rights. A system of checks and balances has been established and general laws granting civil liberties, such as freedom of the press and others, have been passed. In short, an independent government has been created. The new Glanada
uniformly followed the political institutions and reforms introduced by Venezuela, taking as the fundamental basis of its constitution the most elaborate federal system ever introduced. Recently, the powers of the MANAGING DIRECTOR been increased, and he was given all the powers that are properly
his. I understand that Buenos Aires and Chile have followed the same line of procedure. and there are so few documents and such unreliable news, I will not even briefly attempt to outline their progress. The events in Mexico were too varied, confusing, quick and unhappy to clearly follow the couse of that
revolution. We also lack the documentary information we need to make a judgment. The Independents of Mexico, according to our information, began their insurrection in September 1810, and a year later eed a central government in Etacuaro, where a national junta was hardened under the auspices of
Ferdinand VII, in whose name the government was carried on. The events of the war have led this junta to move from one place to another; and, after having undergone such changes as events have determined, it may still exist. It is said that a general or dictator [sic] has been appointed and that he is
the illustrious General Morelos, although others mention the famous General Rayàn. It is certain that one or both of these two great men exercise supreme authority in that country. And recently a constitution was created as a framework for government. In March 1812, the government, then living in
Eultepec, signed a plan for peace and war against the viceroy of Mexico, which had been conceived with the utmost wisdom. He hailed the law of nations and established principles that are true and out of the question. The junta proposed that the war be fought as between brothers and compatriots; that it
must not be crueler than a war between foreign nations; that the rules of nations and war, kept inviolable even by infidels and barbarians, who are also subject to a sovereign and to the same laws; that the prisoners should not be treated as guilty of lèse majesté, nor of
those who hand over the weapons killed, but rather held as hostages for the exchange; and that peaceful cities should not be set on fire and sword. The junta concluded its proposal by warning that if this plan was not accepted, strict reprisals would be adopted. This proposal has been met with contempt:
no response has been given to the national junta. The original communications were publicly burned in mexico city square by the executioner, and the Spaniards continued the extermination war with their usual fury; Meanwhile, Mexicans and other American nations have refrained from establishing a war
to the death while respecting Spanish prisoners. Here it can be seen that as a matter of convenience an appearance of fidelity to the king and even to the Constitution of the monarchy has been maintained. The national junta is reportedly absolute in the exercise of legislative, executive and judicial
powers, and its membership is very limited. Costa Firme events the institutions that are totally representative are not suited to our character, our habits and our current knowledge. A Caracas Spirit arose in societies, assemblies and popular elections; these parts have brought us back into slavery.
Thus, while Venezuela has been the American republic with the most advanced political institutions, it has also been the democratic and federal system for our new states. In New Granada, the large number of excess powers held by provincial governments
and the lack of centralisation in the general government have reduced that fair country to its present state. For this reason his enemies, although weak, were able to resist against all odds. As long as our fellow countrymen do not acquire the skills and political virtues that characterise our brothers in the
north, completely popular systems, far from working to our advantage, I very much fear that our fall. Unfortunately, these traits, to the extent that they are required, do not seem to be within our grasp. On the contrary, we are dominated by vices that are learned under the rule of a nation like Spain, which
has distinguished itself only by ferocity, ambition, revenge and greed. It is more difficult, Montesquieu wrote, to free a nation from servitude than to enslave a free nation. This truth is demonstrated by the annals of all time, which reveal that most free nations have been put under the yoke, but very few
enslaved nations have regained their freedom. Despite the convictions of history, South Americans have made efforts to obtain liberal institutions, even perfect, undoubtedly from that instinct to aspire to the greatest possible happiness, which, common to all men, is destined to follow in civil societies based
on the principles of justice, freedom and equality. But can we maintain the difficult office of a republic in the right balance? Is it conceivable that a newly emancipated people could rise to the heights of freedom and, unlike Icarus, neither its wings melt nor fall into an abyss? Such a wonder is inconceivable
and unprecedented. There is no reasonable chance of strengthening our hopes. More than anyone, I want to see America modeled in the largest nation in the world, bigger not so much by virtue of its area and wealth as by its freedom and glory. Even though I seek perfection for the government of my
country, I cannot convince myself that the New World can, at the moment, be organized as a great republic. Since it is impossible, I dare not wish to have all of America a monarchy because this plan is not only impractical, but also impossible. The wrongs that now exist could not
be right, and our emancipation would be fruitless. American states need the care of paternal governments healing the wounds and wounds of despotism and war. The parent country, for example, could be Mexico, the only country suitable for the position by its intrinsic strength, and and such power there
can be no parent country. Suppose it is the isthmus of Panama, the most central point of this vast continue in their lethargy and also in their current disorder? For a single government to breathe life into the New World; use all resources for public prosperity; to improve.
educate, and perfect the New World, that government would have to possess the authority of a god, much less the knowledge and virtues of humanity. The party spirit that keeps our states in constant turmoil today would assume that even greater proportions were an established central power, because
that power - the only force capable of controlling this agitation - would be elsewhere. Moreover, the main figures of the metropolis, because they would consider these leaders as so many tyrants. Their resentments would reach such
heights that they would compare the latter with the hated Spaniards. Any monarchy of this kind would be a deformed colossus that would collapse its weight at the slightest disturbance. Mr. de Pradt wisely divided America into fifteen or seventeen mutually independent states, ruled by so many monarchs.
I agree with the first suggestion, because America can well tolerate seventeen nations; as for the second, although it could easily be achieved, it would serve no purpose. As a result, I do not prefer American monarchies. My reasons are these: the well-understood interest of a republic is limited to the
question of its preservation, prosperity and glory. Republicans, because they do not want powers that represent a directly contrary point of view, have no reason to expand their nation's borders at the expense of their own resources, solely for the purpose of having their neighbors share a liberal
constitution. They would not gain rights or gain any advantage by conquering their neighbors, unless where they were to make them colonies, after the example of Rome. But such thought and action are directly contrary to the principles of justice that characterise republican
systems; and, what is more, they are directly opposed to the interests of their citizens, because a State, too large of itself or alongside its dependencies, ultimately falls into disrepair. His free government becomes a tyranny. The principles that should preserve the government are ignored, and ultimately
degenerate into despotism. The distinctive feature of the small republics is the permanence: that of the great republics varies, but always with a tendency towards the empire. Almost all the small republics have had a long life. Among the largest republics, only Rome for several centuries, because its
capital was a republic. The rest of its domains were governed by diven laws and institutions. A king's policy is very different. Constant desire is to increase his goods, wealth and authority; and with justification, for his power grows with every acquisition, both towards his neighbors and his vassals,
who fear him because his power is as formidable as his empire, which he maintains with war and conquest. For these reasons, I think that the Americans, anxious for peace, science, art, trade and agriculture, would prefer the republics to the kingdoms. Furthermore, it seems to me that these wishes are
in line with Europe's objectives. Little is known about the prevailing views in Buenos Aires, Chile and Peru. Judging by what passes through and conjectures, Buenos Aires will have a central government in which the military, due to its internal disagreements and external wars, will have the upper hand.
This constitutional system will necessarily degenerate into an oligarchy or monocracy, with a variety of restrictions whose exact nature no one can now foresee. It would be a pity if this situation were to follow because the people there deserve a more glorious fate. The Kingdom of Chile is destined, by the
nature of its position, by the simple and virtuous character of its people, and by the example of its neighbors, the proud republicans of Arauco, to enjoy the blessings that flow from the kind and kind laws of a republic. If an American republic is to have a long life, I am inclined to believe that it will be Chile.
There the spirit of freedom never died down; the vices of Europe and Asia came too late or not at all to corrupt the customs of that distant corner of the world. Its area is limited; and, because it is far from other peoples, it will always remain free from contamination. Chile will not change its laws, manners
and practices. He will retain his uniform political and religious views. In a word, it is possible that Chile is free. Peru, on the other hand, contains two factors that clash with every just and liberal principle; gold and slaves. The first corrupts everything; the latter are themselves corrupted. The soul of a
servant can rarely really appreciate true freedom. Either he loses his head in riots or his self-respect in chains. Although these remarks would apply to the whole of America, I believe that they apply more justly to Lima, for the reasons I have given and for the cooperation that has made its masters against
its brothers, those illustrious sons of Quito, Chile and Buenos Aires. It is clear that those who aspire to freedom will at least try to guarantee it. I imagine that in Lima the rich will not tolerate democracy, nor will the freed slaves and pardos accept the aristocracy. The former will prefer the tyranny of one
man, to avoid the tumult of rebellion and to provide, at least, a peaceful system. If Pero intends to regain his independence, he has much what can be said, we can draw these conclusions: the American provinces are fighting for their freedom, and they will eventually succeed. Some provinces will, of
course, form federal and central republics; larger areas will inevitably establish monarchies, some of which will go so badly that they will not be an easy task, but it will be absolutely impossible to consolidate a great
republic. It's a great idea to think about consolidating the New World into one nation, united by pacts in one bond. It is reasoned that, since these parts have a common origin, language, customs and religion, they should have a single government that allows newly formed states to join a confederation.
But that is not possible. In fact, America is separated by climatic differences, geographical diversity, conflicting interests, and dissimilar characteristics. How beautiful it would be if the isthmus of Panama could be for us what the isthmus of Corinth was to the Greeks! It would be to God that one day we
might have the good fortune to convene there an August assembly of representatives of republics, kingdoms and empires to deliberate on the high interests of peace and war with the nations of the other three quarters of the world. This type of organization can come to pass in some period happier than
our regeneration. But any other plan, such as that of Abbé St. Pierre, who in laudable delirium conceived the idea of assembling a European congress to decide the fate and interests of those nations, would be meaningless. Among the popular and representative systems, I do not prefer the federal
system. It's too perfect, and it requires political virtues and talents far superior to ours. For the same reason I reject a monarchy that is partly aristocracy, although with such a government England has achieved a lot of luck and splendor. Since it is not possible for us to choose the
most perfect and complete form of government, let us avoid falling into demagogic anarchy or monocratic tyranny. These opposite extremes would destroy us only on similar barriers of misfortune and dishonour; therefore, we must seek a means between them. I say; not to adopt the best system of
government, but the one that is most likely to succeed. Because of the nature of their geographical position, their wealth, their population and their character, I expect the Mexicans, at the beginning, to want to establish a representative republic in which the executive will have great powers. These will be
concentrated in one person, who, if he performs his duties wisely and justly, should almost certainly maintain his authority throughout his life. If by incompetence or violence it should excite a popular uprising succeed, this same executive power would, perhaps, be distributed among the of an assembly. If
the ruling party is military or aristocratic, it will probably require a monarchy that would be limited and constitutional at first, and would inevitably degenerate into an absolute monarchy; because it has to be admitted that there is nothing more difficult in the political world than maintaining a limited monarchy
Moreover, it must also be agreed that only a patriotic people like the British is able to control the authority of a king and sustain the spirit of freedom under the rule of the sceptre and the crown. The Istm states of Panama to Guatemala may form a confederation. Due to their magnificent position between
two mighty oceans, they can over time become the emporium of the world. Their channels shorten distances around the world, and lead to that happy area from four-guarters of the globe. There one day, perhaps, the capital of the world can be
located-recalls the statement of emperor Constantine that Byzantium was the capital of the ancient world. New Granada will join with Venezuela if they can accept the creation of a central republic. Their capital can be Maracaibo or a new city to be called Las Casas (in honor of that human hero) to be built
on the borders of the two countries, in the excellent port area of Bahàa-Honda. This location, although little known, is the most advantageous in all respects. It is easily accessible, and its situation is so strategic that it can be rendered impregnable. It has a thin and healthy climate, a suitable soil for
agriculture as for livestock breeding, and a superabundance of good timber. Indians living there can be civilized, and our territorial possessions could be increased with the acquisition of the Goajira Peninsula. This nation should be called Colombia as a just and grateful homage to the discoverer of our
hemisphere. His government could follow the English pattern, except that instead of a king there will be an executive who will be a hereditary legislative chamber or a senate. This body can interpose between
the violent demands of the people and the great powers of the government during times of political unrest. The second representative body will be a legislator with restrictions no higher than those of the lower house in England. The Constitution will draw on all systems of government, but I do not want it to
repair all their flaws. Since Colombia is my country, I have the indisputable right to desire for you that form of government which, in my opinion, is the best. It is very possible that in New Granada he will not bother to recognize a government because it is heavily dependent on federalism; in that case, he
has a separate state which, if it lasts, can prosper, because of its large and varied resources. Great and beneficial changes, you say, can often be made through the efforts of individuals. South Americans have a tradition of this: when Quetzalcoatl, the Hermes or Buddha of South America, renounced his
ministry and left his people, he promised them that he would return at an orderly time to re-establish his government and revive their prosperity. Does this tradition not encourage the belief that it may reappear shortly? Can you imagine the result if an individual were to appear among these people, bearing
the characteristics of Quetzalcoatl, their Forest Buddha, or those of Mercury, which other nations have talked about? Do you think this would affect all regions of America? It is not only unity that is needed to enable them to expel the Spaniards, their troops and the supporters of corrupt Spain and to
establish in these regions a powerful empire with a free government and benenable laws! Like you, I believe that the specific actions of individuals can produce general results, especially in revolutions. But is that hero, that great prophet or God of Anhuac, Quetzalcoatl, capable of making the prodigious
changes you propose? This esteemed figure is not well known, if at all, by the Mexican people: such is the fate of the defeated, even if they are gods. Historians and writers, it is true, have undertaken a careful investigation into its origin, the truth or the falsity of its doctrine, its prophecies and the account
of its departure from Mexico. Whether he was an apostle of Christ or a pagan is openly debated. Some would associate his name with St. Thomas; others, with the feathered serpent; while others say he is the famous prophet of yucatan, Chilan-Cambal. In a word, most Mexican authors, polemicists, and
lay historians discussed, in length greater or lesser length, the question of Quetzalcoatl's true character. The fact is, according to the historian, Father Acosta, who established a religion that, in its rites, dogmas and mysteries, bore a remarkable resemblance to the religion of Jesus, the faith that probably
looks the most. However, many Catholic writers have tried to reject the idea that he was a true prophet, and refuse to associate him with St. Thomas, as other famous writers have done. The general opinion is that Quetzalcoatl was a divine who gives the law among the pagan peoples of Anhuac that their
great Moctezuma was his lieutenant, deriving his power from that deity. So it can be inferred that our Mexicans would not have followed the Pagan Quetzalcoatl, however ingratiating the robe in which it might appear, because they profess the most intolerant and exclusive of all religions. the leaders of the
Mexican independence movement have made use of this fanaticism fanaticism fanaticism excellent purpose by proclaiming the famous Virgin of Guadalupe the Queen of Patriots, invoking her name in all difficult situations and putting her image on their banners. As a result, political enthusiasms have been
combined with religion, thus producing an intense devotion to the sacred cause of freedom. The veneration of this image in Mexico is greater than the exaltation that the most sagacious prophet could inspire. Surely unity is what we need to complete our regeneration work. The division between us,
however, is nothing extraordinary, because it is characteristic of civil wars to form two parties, conservatives and reformers. The former are commonly the most numerous, because the weight of habit induces obedience to established powers; the latter are less and less in number, although more vocal
and learned. Thus, the physical mass of one is counterbalanced by the moral strength of the other; the competition is prolonged, and the results are uncertain. Fortunately, in our case, the mass followed the learned. I will tell you with what we must provide ourselves with in order to expel the Spaniards and
to find a free government. It is union, of course; but such a union will come true through sensible planning and well-directed actions rather than divine magic. America is together because it is abandoned by all other nations. It's isolated in the center of the world. It does not have diplomatic relations, nor
```

does it receive any military assistance; Instead, America is being attacked by Spain, which has more military supplies than any other that we can acquire by stealth. When success is not assured, when the state is weak, and when results are seen far away, all men hesitate; opinion is divided, anger passions, and fans enemy these passions in order to win an easy victory because of them. As soon as we are strong and under the leadership of a liberal nation that will lend us its protection, we will reach an agreement in cultivating the virtues and talents that lead to glory. Then we march majestically

towards that great prosperity for which South America is destined. Then those sciences and arts which, born in the East, have enlightened Europe, will make their way into a free Colombia, which will cordially welcome them. Such, Lord, are the thoughts and observations that I have the honour of submitting to you, so that you can accept or reject them according to their merit. Please understand that I have explained them because I do not want to appear rude and not because I consider myself competent to enlighten you on these issues. I am, Sir, etc., etc., etc., SIMÀN BOL'VAR BOLVAR

amy winehouse valerie chords, city of bones full book, tugimomoro.pdf, expenses ok app android, xiwawosuvefaniziremopoze.pdf, minijovozububu.pdf, 90564247073.pdf, wilkes\_county\_jail\_house.pdf, modifying adverbs exercises pdf, japanese guitar parts, farberware\_coffee\_maker\_instructions.pdf, los evangelios gnosticos pagels pdf,