Hugo Chavez
Leadership and Legacy on Race
“El no murió, El se multiplico!”

https://youtu.be/U5Hd3ao6dBE

REBEL DIAZ, “WORK LIKE CHAVEZ” PERMISSION GRANTED
About My Context

* IN the crowd: emotion, pain, tears, anger, defiance
* It was like the end of “Camelot” in the US:
  * JFK inaugurated a decade of assassinations in the US
  * loss of effective peace and justice social movements
  * loss of effective peace and justice leadership
* What kind of leadership produces this kind of love?
* What did Hugo Chavez do to evoke these feelings?
* ABOUT the crowd: it looked like me and my family
* About me: I was so moved, I needed to know more
Hugo Chavez: What is his legacy on race?

Research Question
Literature Review

* Hugo Chavez

* Leadership: Transformational versus Charismatic; Transformational; Parrhesia; Race Conscious, including African-Centered and African Political; Resistance

* Race+: Colonialism; Neocolonialism; Globalization; Neoliberalism; Third World; Latin America; Venezuela
Transformational Leadership

* Purposeful and Moral
* Visionary and Mobilizing
* Opportunistic and Risk-Taking
* Revolutionary and Regenerative

(James MacGregor Burns)
Parrhesia

* Tells the Truth Frankly
* Possesses Moral Standing and Privilege to Speak
* Risks Danger to Speak “to the Above from Below”
* Believes Outspokenness is a Duty

(Michel Foucault)
Hugo Chavez
Parrhesiastes?

Race-Conscious Leadership

- Secures the Future by Learning from the Past
- Decolonizes and Creates Nation-Building Institutions
- Seeks liberation beyond state borders
- Improves the status of women and women’s empowerment
- Fights corruption and repression

(Uhuru Hotep and A.B. Assensoh)
Race

- "A ruling class social control formation" where "White" identity is seen as a form of class collaboration

- Racism: "the denial of deserved opportunities or the accordance of undeserved opportunities based on origin"

- "A mode of classification linked specifically to peoples in the colonial situation that magnified differences and led to myths about abilities and behaviors of homogenized racial categories"
Jacques Ranciere

Political Transformational Change is Possible
When the “Un” Dissent from the Consensus
Qualitative Methodology

Primary Sources

* **Participants (25)**
  (Scholars or Activists who knew about race and/or Hugo Chavez’s legacy on race, with Anonymous opt out)

* **Government Documents**
  (Venezuelan government and U.S. government, including Frank Church, Operation Condor, and Family Jewels)

* **Hugo Chavez’s Words**
  (Speeches, Writings, Interviews)
This cable stated the Station’s operational “objective [of] replacing Lumumba with pro Western Group.” Bronson Tweedy, who was Chief of the Africa Division of CIA’s clandestine services, replied that he was seeking State Department approval for the proposed operation based upon “your and our belief Lumumba must be removed if possible.” (CIA Cable, Tweedy to Leopoldville, 8/18/60) On August 19, DDP Richard Bissell, Director of CIA’s covert operations branch, signed a follow-up cable to Leopoldville, saying: “You are authorized proceed with operation.” (CIA Cable, Director to Leopoldville, 8/19/60)

Several days later, the Station Officer reported:

ANTI-LUMUMBA LEADERS APPROACHED KASAVUBU WITH PLAN ASSASSINATE LUMUMBA. ** KASAVUBU REFUSED AGREE SAYING HE RELUCTANT RESORT VIOLENCE AND NO OTHER LEADER SUFFICIENT STATURE REPLACE LUMUMBA. (CIA Cable, Leopoldville to Director, 8/24/60)

On August 25, Director of Central Intelligence, Allen Dulles attended a meeting of the Special Group—the National Security Council subcommittee responsible for the planning of covert operations. In response to the outline of some CIA plans for political actions against Lumumba, such as arranging a vote of no confidence by the Congolese Parliament, Gordon Gray, the Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs reported that the President “had expressed extremely strong feelings about the necessity for very straightforward action in this situation, and he wondered whether the plans as outlined were sufficient to accomplish this.” (Special Group Minutes, 8/25/60)

The Special Group “finally agreed that planning for the Congo would not necessarily rule out ‘consideration’ of any particular kind of activity which might contribute to getting rid of Lumumba.” (Special Group Minutes, 8/25/60)

The next day, Allen Dulles signed a cable 2 to the Leopoldville Station Officer stating:

IN HIGH QUARTERS HERE IT IS THE CLEAR-CUT CONCLUSION THAT IF (LUMUMBA) CONTINUES TO HOLD HIGH OFFICE, THE INEVITABLE RESULT WILL AT BEST BE CHAOS AND AT WORST PAVE THE WAY TO COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF THE CONGO WITH DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE PRESTIGE OF THE UN AND FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE FREE WORLD GENERALLY. CONSEQUENTLY WE CONCLUDE THAT HIS REMOVAL MUST BE AN URGENT AND PRIME OBJECTIVE AND THAT UNDER EXISTING CONDITIONS THIS SHOULD BE A HIGH PRIORITY OF OUR COVERT ACTION. (CIA Cable, Dulles to Station Officer, 8/26/60)
Chavez Gives Obama African Pride Advice!

During a speech, while in Libya, Hugo Chavez said that President Obama should rise to the heights of his African blood!

Chavez Won’t Shoot Venezuelans!

Despite destabilization efforts that resulted in the deaths of four police officers, Chavez’s military refused to be provoked into using anything stronger than water cannons and tear gas! He refused to allow his military to shoot at Venezuelan people!

Media Cooperated in U.S. Efforts to Undermine Chavez in Venezuela, the Region, and Internationally!

Nigeria and South Africa Agreed to Restrict Criticism of the United States at Chavez’s Africa South America Summit!
Unprecedented

https://youtu.be/f5H1LAV8A2A

MARGARET PRESCOR, “INTERVIEW OF HUGO CHAVEZ” PERMISSION GRANTED
Unprecedented

https://youtu.be/knA0yUsrQ6s

PALE CHO TV HAITI, "HUGO CHAVEZ SPEECH BEFORE VENEZUELAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY" PERMISSION GRANTED
“This is a different Venezuela, where the “wretched of the Earth” know that they can free themselves from their past. And this is a different Latin America.”

Hugo Chavez, Using the Language of Frantz Fanon, 2005
"A Letter to Africa"
by Hugo Chavez

"South America and Africa are one single people."

¡Viva la unión suramericana y africana!
¡Viva el ASA!
¡Hasta la victoria siempre!
¡Viviremos y venceremos!

Hugo Chávez Frías

GOVERNMENT OF VENEZUELA, HUGO CHAVEZ SIGNATURE ON LETTER TO AFRICA
Amilcar Cabral

Dr. Mpiana, "Homage to Patrice Lumumba" Permission Granted
Carspecken's Methodology

(a five-step process to minimize researcher positionality on the research project)

Take a walk up to the balcony to see the bigger picture

Or, what is the system that is at work?
James Wolfensohn Describes the Global Context of Chavez’s Leadership and Legacy on Race

An 80 - 20 world becomes 35 - 65!

PREMIER LEGEND “BIG SHIFT COMING” PERMISSION GRANTED

https://youtu.be/gACjpQNZmWE
Hugo Chavez was leading change on a local and global scale

* He had a compelling **motive** to lead change: he was fighting European domination

* He had oil wealth which gave him the **means** to finance the change that he was leading

* As President of Venezuela, he had the **opportunity** to implement his ideas
Africa South America Summit

Cerrando brechas, abriendo...

PETROCARIBE LOGO

ALBA LOGO
His Leadership and Legacy Evolved with His Identity
And An Awakening

HUGO CHAVEZ IN BAHIA, BRAZIL  CC
BERNARDO LONDON, “ALO PRESIDENTE CON LOS DEPORTISTAS” CC
Resulting In A Solid Record of Public Policy for All the People

* The 1999 Constitution that declared Venezuela a multicultural society

* Creation of social service Missions that target poverty reduction

* According to the 2013 - 2014 CIA World Factbook, poverty during the Chavez years (to 2011) was cut from 50% to 27% and further poverty reductions depend on oil revenues

* Recognized by the United Nations in 2014 for meeting Millennium Goals in reducing inequality, children’s education, and children’s rights
* Praised by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2013 for pioneering in technical literacy by distributing laptops to all elementary and high school students


* Over 700,000 new houses built by mobilized workers

* Encouragement of Voter Registration among the poor and marginalized

* Election of Afro-Venezuelans to local and national offices
(*) Creation of a post to handle Afro-Descendant Affairs in the Ministry of Culture

(*) Designation of an Africa Chair in the Bolivarian University System

(*) Designation of a Vice Minister for African Affairs and opening new embassies in Africa

(*) Afro-Venezuelan Day designated as May 10

(*) Inclusion of “Afro-Descendant” on the Census

(*) Enactment of the 2011 Law Against Racial Discrimination

(*) Placing Pedro Camejo (Negro Primero) on the currency
And He Gave the People Hope
HUGO CHAVEZ
Unprecedented

* Challenged European domination in Venezuela, the region, and in The Global South

* Affirmed his own *Africanness* and the Africanness of the Venezuelan Identity

* Promoted domestic and foreign policies that encouraged unity with Africa and pride in African heritage
Distraught Venezuelans Visit the Resting Place of Hugo Chavez

GOVERNMENT OF VENEZUELA, SADNESS ENVELOPS CHAVEZ MOURNERS CC; FERNANDO VELASQUEZ, AUDIO OF MOURNERS PERMISSION GRANTED
Why is Research on Hugo Chavez’s Leadership and Legacy on Race Unique?

This research makes a unique contribution to our understanding of Hugo Chavez as a leader with researcher positionality clearly stated while exploring the views of under-heard voices and occupies a sure place in any conversation about Hugo Chavez.
LEFT, RICARDO ACEVEDO BERNAL, SIMÓN BOLÍVAR CC; ABOVE 100LATINO “CHÁVEZ FOREVER” CC; BELOW, CYNTHIA MCKINNEY CARACAS PHOTO

MUSIC BY ERIC SAYWARD PERMISSION GRANTED
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* Image Number 5, Slide 8: Randal Sheppard, “Hugo Chavez and Fidel Castro at Museo Casa de Ernesto Che Guevara, Alta Gracia Argentina 19 April 2012 located at [https://www.flickr.com/photos/25222005@N08/6948950342/in/photolist-5zuk9w-7MCNuL-6RoEwr-5XY4bq-6RoEzV-bVsb81-6RsHz6-46uZse-bNXSNa-jAWfCp-jAWgue-bA4bQE-kJmmuZ-kJtBmY-kJxrvg-34fccp- dKsMVR-jAWhMz-4Q2b23-jAWfmn](https://www.flickr.com/photos/25222005@N08/6948950342/in/photolist-5zuk9w-7MCNuL-6RoEwr-5XY4bq-6RoEzV-bVsb81-6RsHz6-46uZse-bNXSNa-jAWfCp-jAWgue-bA4bQE-kJmmuZ-kJtBmY-kJxrvg-34fccp-dKsMVR-jAWhMz-4Q2b23-jAWfmn) with license at [https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/legalcode](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/legalcode) accessed on 6 January 2015.


* Image Number 8, Slide 14: Interview of Hugo Chavez by Margaret Prescod, Permission Granted.

* Image Number 9, Slide 15: Hugo Chavez Speech Before Venezuela National Assembly on why Haiti is poor, (with French caption) TelesurTV and Pale Cho TV. Permission Granted.


* Image Number 11, Slide 18: “Homage a Patrice Lumumba” a photo taken at the home of Dr. Mpiana, Montreal, Canada and sent to me for this use. Permission granted.

* Image Number 12, Slide 18: “Amilcar Cabral,” posted 25 August 2007 located at https://www.flickr.com/photos/caboindex/1232991052/in/photolist-4CNxY8-hiUWrK-wvzNx-wvzNu-wvzNs-wvzNp-gVuHJ-gVvmA-a63FCj-2SXphq-4oGt1E-cmdanS-63C9Wp-rPsH5-hGyeQC-8vrYww-8voUKD-hGxkiV-hGxknT-hGxkxc with license at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/legalcode accessed on 7 January 2015.


* Image Number 24, Slide 32: Bernardo Londoy, “Compatriota Militante, Contamos Contigo,” 14 February 2009 located at https://www.flickr.com/photos/quecomunismo/3279339757/in/photolist-5P8tRG-46uZse-4TnDq3-64eNaT-4eITef-5ZMtsD-4ywdaC-6162Me-5zuk9w-5VTeyH-PDtwx-83vdq9-616St3-3vr1m-9k269S-61Ywum-5ZSDzP-64eMXR-cDyawS-e1vb1-5-4wBrak-7MCNul-5VbB3g-5VbB32-9rFBMB-6UkyWB-64EyM8-56C6Gv-5Srte3E-5YtCFV-5VbB38-9nX6ft-6leVns-64eMTR-e3yZu2-5Yy6bj-HyZYK-7i1QPt-4FDrzk-e12vds-tVdYK-49Ytky-49YAI9-e19tbu-e13SAH-ikRn2h-CLCgo-cCTSCS-riaqv-64j2Md with license at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.0/legalcode accessed on 7 January 2015.


* Image Number 28, Slide 35: 100Latino, “Chavez Forever,” 5 March 2013 located at [http://100latino.deviantart.com/art/Chavez-Forever-357928220](http://100latino.deviantart.com/art/Chavez-Forever-357928220) with license at [http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/legalcode](http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/legalcode) accessed on 7 January 2015.

* Image Number 29, Slide 35: Photograph taken by Cynthia McKinney while in Caracas, 2013.

* Audio File, “Hot Piano,” Slide 35 created by Eric Sayward and BAP Nation for this Research Project.
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Image #1, Slide 1: Rebel Diaz, "Work Like Chavez"

To: Cynthia McKinney <cmckinney@antioch.edu>

Hi Cynthia...
We would be honored that you use our song for your dissertation. You have permission to use the song "Work Like Chavez" by Rebel Diaz. Produced by Agent of Change. Please stay in contact would love to build more about the work we are doing here in The South Bronx...
Saludos
RodStarrz de Rebel Diaz

Image #2, Slide 5: Victor Soares, "Hugo Chavez in Porto Alegre, Brazil"
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:HugoChavez1823.jpeg with creative commons license at: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/br/legalcode


Image Number 5, Slide 8: Randal Sheppard, "Hugo Chavez and Fidel Castro at Museo Casa de Ernesto Che Guevara, Alta Gracia Argentina 19 April 2012 located at https://www.flickr.com/photos/25222005@N08/6948950342/in/photolist-5zuk9w-7MCNuL-6RoEwr-5Xy4bq-6RoEzV-bDsb81-6RsHzG-46uZse-bNXSNa-jAWICp-jAWgue-b4bQE-kjmmuz-kjtbMv-kjxrvg-34fccp-dKsMVR-jAWlMz-4Q2b23-jAWfmm/ with license at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/legalcode accessed on 6 January 2015.


Image Number 8, Slide 14: Interview of Hugo Chavez by Margaret Prescod, Permission Granted.

I sent u an email this mom a text on Friday not sure what else I can do. Yes u hv my permission. Margaret prescod

Sent from my iPhone

Cynthia McKinney cynthia.northsouth.edu@gmail.com
Feb 9

Thank you very much! I don't receive texts on any number. I didn't receive the e-mail, but I'm glad to receive this message which allows me to use your very important video in my Dissertation. Thank you very much.

Greetings Honorable:
Cynthia McKinney,

My name is Wilgeens "Will" Rosenberg the founder of "Sovereign Haiti Initiative" aka S.H.I NATION and we concur as we are much obliged to give permission allowing you to use our video at will, as you wish, and desire.

Give thanks - ayibobo!

Sovereign Haiti Initiative - (S.H.I Nation).
General: Wilgeens "AfroLatina" Rosenberg.
(404) 480-3604
SovereignHaitiGeneral@gmail.com
Twitter: @SovereignGen

"STAND FOR HAITI'S TRUE SOVEREIGNTY, NOT RUSES OF DEPENDENCY AND OCCUPANCY!"


Image Number 11, Slide 18: “Homage a Patrice Lumumba” a photo taken at the home of Dr. Mpiana, Montreal, Canada and sent to me for this use. Permission granted.

Bonjour très cher leader Cynthia McKinney

Je t’écris en ce jour sacré du 17 janvier qui avait vu l’assassinat du premier Premier Ministre congolais Patrice Lumumba par un terrorisme des Etats de ces pays occidentaux connus qui ont choisi des Noirs africains dans ce crime politique et crime contre l’humanité en tant de conflit armé. C’est pour te mettre en contact avec le Congolais Djamba Yohé, un ami-frère qui est très important dans ma vie.
Merci d’être en contact avec lui.
Image Number 12, Slide 18: “Amilcar Cabral,” posted 25 August 2007 located at https://www.flickr.com/photos/caboindex/1232991052/in/photolist-4CNxY8-hiUWrK-wvzNx-wvzNu-wvzNs-wvzNp-gVuHJ-gVvmA-a63FCj-2SXphq-4oGt1E-cmdanS-63C9Wp-rPsH5-hGyeQC-8vrYww-8voUKD-hGxkV-hGxknT-hGxkxc with license at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/legalcode accessed on 7 January 2015.


Image Number 17, Slide 22: “Emblem of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas” by Enigmaticland - Own work. Licensed under Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons - https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Emblem_of_the_Bolivarian_Alliance_for_the_Americas.png


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References


