

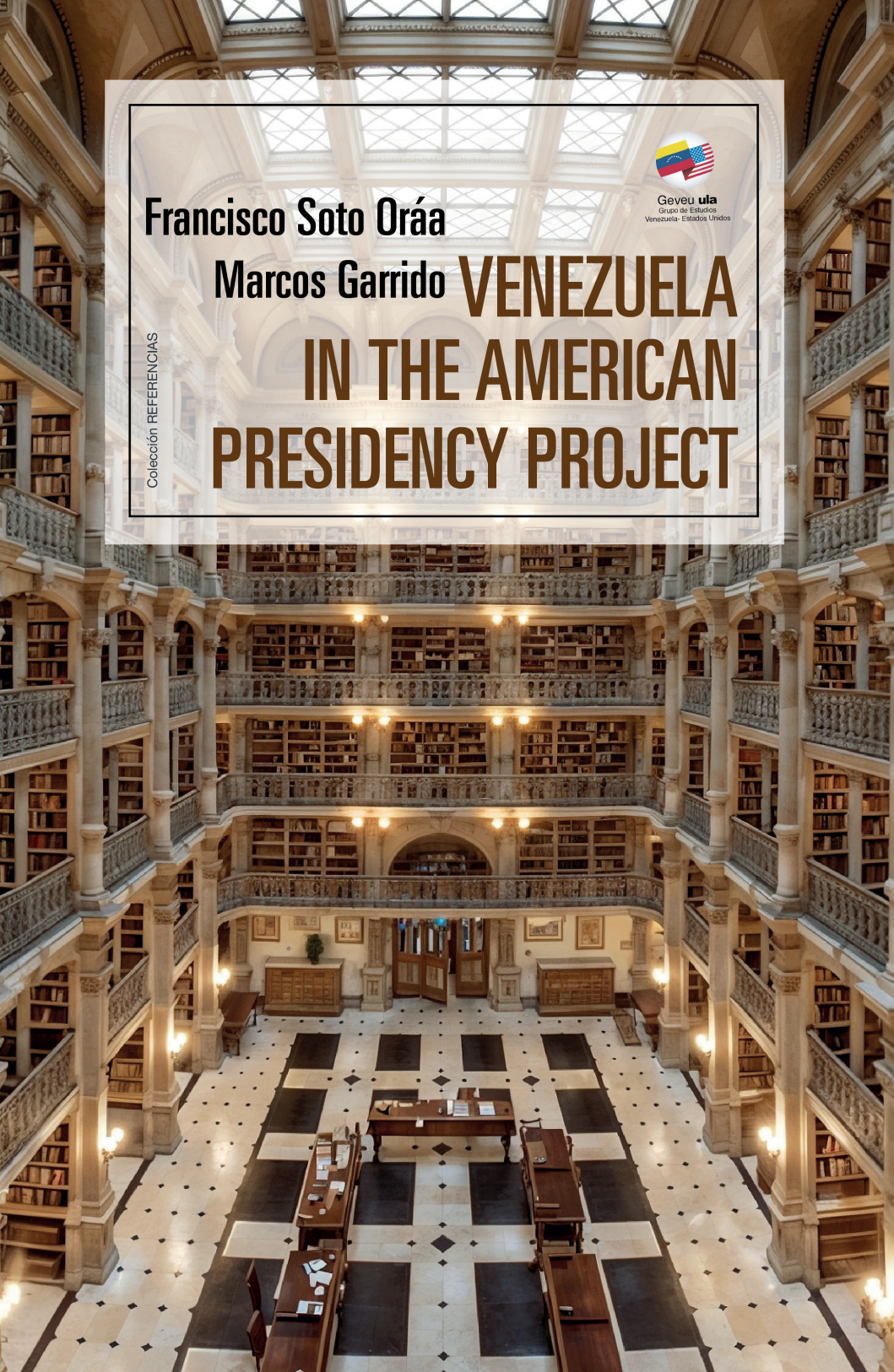


Geveu ula  
Grupo de Estudios  
Venezuela - Estados Unidos

Francisco Soto Orúa

Marcos Garrido **VENEZUELA**  
**IN THE AMERICAN**  
**PRESIDENCY PROJECT**

Colección REFERENCIAS





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VENEZUELA IN THE AMERICAN  
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# VENEZUELA IN THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY PROJECT

Francisco Soto Oráa  
Marcos Garrido

COLECCIÓN REFERENCIAS



**Geveuula**  
Grupo de Estudios  
Venezuela - Estados Unidos



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Para el Centro Venezolano Americano de Mérida (CEVAM) es una importante labor continuar respaldando actividades de difusión como las presentadas por el Grupo de Estudios Venezuela – Estados Unidos (GEVEU) a través de sus distintas publicaciones. Obras que profundizan desde diversos temas los análisis sobre los vínculos entre ambas naciones y que permiten captar el interés de un público más numeroso sobre las relaciones histórico-culturales existentes. Desde el CEVAM nos sentimos motivados con la participación constante en proyectos con estas características, los cuales son relevantes para construir puentes de entendimiento, que fortalezcan y mantengan las relaciones amistosas y recíprocas, que resalten las consideraciones y rasgos comunes de constante comunicación entre los dos países.

Michele Lee de León

CENTRO VENEZOLANO AMERICANO DE MÉRIDA

[www.cevam.org](http://www.cevam.org)



GLEASON HISTORICAL STUDIES

Con gran orgullo y gratitud presentamos a un nuevo colaborador que se suma al apoyo del Grupo de Estudios Venezuela - Estados Unidos (GEVEU). En esta oportunidad contamos con el apoyo del Gleason Historical Studies (GHS), que está ubicado en 118 South Front Street en Dardanelle, Arkansas, y que abrió sus puertas en junio de 2017. La instalación alberga registros históricos locales, materiales de investigación, fotografías, ejemplos de historia material local y materiales de archivo. La instalación también sirve como base de operaciones para la Dra. Diane Gleason y sus colegas de investigación en sus escritos e investigaciones sobre diversos temas históricos. Entre las publicaciones recientes de GHS se encuentra la edición reimpressa de 2023 de *A Pictorial History: Dardanelle and the Bottoms, 1880s-1980s* de Diane Gleason y Joe Grimes. Expresamos nuestro agradecimiento por su contar con su apoyo.

# SOBRE EL ORIGEN Y PROPÓSITO DEL PROYECTO PRESIDENCIAL

FRANCISCO SOTO ORAA

MARCOS GARRIDO

**E**L PROYECTO DE LA PRESIDENCIA ESTADOUNIDENSE (APP por sus siglas en inglés *The American Presidency Project*) es un archivo en línea gratuito y de búsqueda que ha compilado los mensajes, documentos y papeles de los presidentes de los Estados Unidos desde 1789 hasta el presente, cuya dirección web es <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>. De igual manera, se ha enfocado en la recopilación de estadísticas básicas e información relacionada con el estudio de la Presidencia. La APP, lanzada por los profesores John Woolley y Gerhard Peters en 1999, es asistida por la Universidad de California en Santa Bárbara (UCSB) y cuenta con el apoyo de entidades de la UCSB y con otros entes donantes. La base de datos de la APP contiene:

- Documentación tanto de comunicaciones escritas como de declaraciones, conferencias de prensa, órdenes, memorandos y proclamaciones.
- Documentos sobre los comentarios de los candidatos, debates electorales e información publicada

por la Oficina del Secretario de Prensa de la Casa Blanca.

- Archivo de datos y cartografía y archivo multimedia
- Ensayos de antecedentes para ayudar a los lectores a comprender y utilizar las comunicaciones presidenciales documentadas.
- Análisis y comentarios

El sitio web cuenta con una función de búsqueda que toma las palabras o frases definidas por el usuario y admite parámetros como: el nombre del presidente; tipos de documentos y fechas; y rangos de fechas. A través de estos motores se facilita en gran medida las búsquedas y las hace muy específicas. A partir de 2024, la web informa que cuenta con poco más 163,161 registros presidenciales y no presidenciales, lo cual muestra una de las virtudes de la misma, su capacidad para mantenerse actualizada.

El proyecto presidencial inició sus actividades en el año 1999, en la Universidad de Santa Barbara, California, cuando el entonces estudiante de posgrado Gerhard Peters se unió a John Woolley con la finalidad de desarrollar recursos para los estudiantes que cursaban la unidad curricular *Ciencias Políticas 157, La presidencia estadounidense*. A medida que se fueron ampliando los recursos en el sitio web del curso, se hizo evidente para los creadores que una variedad de usuarios generales fuera de la Universidad estaba accediendo a él. Según lo exponen sus propios creadores, el objetivo actual del proyecto es ser reconocidos como la fuente en línea fidedigna y no partidista de documentos públicos presidenciales, capaz de brindar un acceso fácil a información útil, buscando con

ello, promover una ciudadanía más informada de los Estados Unidos a través de la documentación generada por la cabeza del poder Ejecutivo, análisis académicos y de los medios de comunicación de alta calidad, para una mejor comprensión de la Democracia estadounidense en todo el mundo.

John Woolley es profesor de Ciencias Políticas en la Universidad de California en Santa Bárbara. Durante años, la investigación del profesor Woolley se ha centrado en dos temas importantes: la Presidencia estadounidense y la política monetaria y la regulación financiera en los Estados Unidos.

Por su parte, Gerhard Peters es profesor de Ciencias Políticas en el Citrus College, donde enseña a tiempo completo desde 2007. Se ha desempeñado como instructor principal en programas de estudios en el extranjero desde 2012, enriqueciendo a los estudiantes con experiencias académicas únicas.

Los autores del proyecto presidencial fundamentan su trabajo en torno a los siguientes principios de investigación:

*Precisión:* Se hace hincapié en la reproducción fiel de las fuentes originales de los documentos publicados, incluso cuando estos contienen errores. Agregando notas aclaratorias o explicativas cuando es pertinente para señalar errores en el documento publicado.

*Categorías:* Los documentos están etiquetados con información descriptiva que ayuda a localizar tipos o categorías similares.

*Búsqueda:* Los usuarios pueden buscar usando palabras o frases definidas, con referencias específicas en cuanto a presidente, fechas y atributos de los documentos. A partir de finales de 2018, estas búsquedas pueden ser bastante largas y complejas debido a la diversidad de documentos. Los usuarios también pueden navegar por períodos de tiempo.

*Inclusivo:* El objetivo fundamental busca incluir todos los documentos presidenciales públicos, documentos históricos clave relacionados y estadísticas básicas necesarias para estudiar la Presidencia.

*Analítico:* El proyecto ofrece ensayos introductorios sobre diversos temas con antecedentes históricos, descripciones de las tendencias principales y advertencias sobre la interpretación de los datos.

Es importante señalar que las fuentes de este proyecto y según explican sus propios creadores incluyen casi todos los documentos de dos colecciones canónicas de documentos presidenciales: *Messages and Papers of the Presidents of the United States* (“Richardson”) y *The Public Papers of the Presidents*. Esta base de datos está en constante actualización pues se siguen incorporando nuevos documentos presidenciales, a partir de los materiales proporcionados por la oficina de medios de la Casa Blanca, la Oficina de Imprenta del Gobierno y los Archivos Nacionales (NARA). Estos incluyen textos de documentos presidenciales como Declaraciones y Comentarios; Conferencias de prensa; Órdenes Ejecutivas; (algunos) Memorandos; y Proclamaciones. También incluyen conferencias de prensa diarias, declaraciones de la Oficina del Secretario de Prensa e

informes de medios impresos. Prácticamente todas las tipologías documentales indicadas se publican como parte de la colección. Dichos documentos los han cotejado con otras fuentes como la *Daily Compilation of Presidential Documents* y, finalmente, los *Public Papers*. Cualquier discrepancia se resuelve en última instancia a favor de la versión proporcionada en los llamados *Public Papers*.

Revisando la documentación pudimos determinar que el proyecto ofrece una distinción fundamental entre los documentos que representan eventos originalmente hablados en voz alta (la mayoría de los discursos, comentarios, conferencias de prensa, entrevistas, etc.) y las comunicaciones escritas del presidente (declaraciones, mensajes, órdenes, memorandos, cartas, etc.). Esto obedece a que, en algunas coyunturas, un presidente puede dirigirse al mismo momento tanto oralmente como por escrito. Por ejemplo, en el momento de firmar un proyecto de ley, el presidente puede hacer comentarios hablados (a veces llamados “una declaración”) y también emitir algo por escrito (casi siempre llamado “declaración”).

En los eventos hablados se hace una distinción en el portal para diferenciarlos entre aquellos en los que el presidente es el único orador y aquellos en los que también hablan otras personas. Entre los casos en los que el presidente es el único orador, no existe una regla de clasificación estricta y rápida que la Casa Blanca aplique de manera consistente. En algunos casos, y así lo explican los autores del proyecto, un discurso breve e informal se llama «Discurso», estos eventos son clasificados como «comentarios», que es además el tipo más común de discurso presidencial. Además, sostiene que:

“Como regla general, restringimos el término “discurso” a los discursos presidenciales preparados de antemano, pronunciados en un entorno formal y sin preguntas ni respuestas. En la era de los medios electrónicos, el discurso puede estar dirigido “a la nación”, prácticamente sin audiencia en vivo. Lo más común es que un discurso se dirija a una audiencia en vivo, a veces una sesión conjunta del Congreso, generalmente precedida por algún tipo de declaración “oficial” de bienvenida o introducción. Un “discurso” puede centrarse principalmente en un sólo tema urgente o tocar muchos asuntos”.

A medida que el proyecto se ha ampliado y actualizado se han ido incluyendo conjuntos de documentos de búsqueda relevantes adicionales, entre ellos: Declaraciones de política de la administración (SAP); debates de candidatos presidenciales (incluidos los debates de las primarias); declaraciones y comunicados de prensa de candidatos presidenciales; plataformas de partidos políticos; discursos de nominación y aceptación presidenciales de las convenciones de nominación; documentos relacionados con la controversia electoral de Bush contra Gore en el año 2000; documentos públicos relacionados con las transiciones presidenciales y documentos históricos importantes relacionados con la Presidencia; todo ello ha facilitado la labor de los investigadores dentro y fuera de los Estados Unidos.

### Venezuela en los documentos presidenciales

Como hemos explicado anteriormente, la Universidad de Santa Barbara en California cuenta con un grupo de investigación bien afianzado que desde hace más de dos décadas se ha ocupado de la compilación, clasificación y estudio de los

documentos presidenciales a través *The American Presidency Project* desde los orígenes y consolidación como Estado Norteamericano, es decir, son más de 200 años de documentación sobre los diferentes aspectos de la vida de un país que desde su nacimiento ha ejercido una significativa influencia en el resto del continente, participando activamente en la vida política, económica, social, cultural y militar de las naciones del hemisferio. En ese sentido, la recopilación que presentamos está dedicada a la búsqueda de los documentos que sobre Venezuela han emitido los diferentes presidentes de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, con lo que podemos obtener una visión de primera mano y bien sustentada de las diferentes posiciones que han asumido y desarrollado sus mandatarios en relación con nuestro país a lo largo de dos siglos de historia. Durante este período, hemos podido apreciar los altibajos que han tenido las relaciones entre ambas naciones, de allí que la investigación de esta documentación sirva para conocer cómo se han ido construyendo las relaciones entre ambos países.

En tal sentido, presentamos al lector una estructura que sigue el orden cronológico de los períodos presidenciales de los Estados Unidos, comenzado con James Monroe (1817) hasta el presidente Joseph Biden (2025), con lo cual es posible obtener una visión más amplia sobre los diversos temas que se han abordado por los jefes de Estado desde sus discursos de apoyo a la gesta de independentista venezolana, así como la presente coyuntura nacional e internacional que ha puesto en tensión y dificultades la continuidad de tan duraderas relaciones diplomáticas.

Es importante señalar que los documentos sobre Venezuela en los archivos presidenciales que corresponden al siglo

XIX no son numerosos, sin embargo, existen menciones suficientes para ser tomados en cuenta y estudiados como los primeros precedentes de una relación diplomática que se ha construido de forma paulatina a lo largo de dos siglos. En primera instancia dicha documentación esta generalmente relacionada a cuestiones muy puntuales como Tratados Comerciales, situaciones consulares o de migración, salutations en fechas históricas de importancia tales como el nacimiento o fallecimiento del Libertador, la Declaración de la Independencia, y en algunos casos sobre personajes particulares de la vida nacional venezolana que mantenían negocios con ciudadanos americanos.

Como hemos explicado anteriormente, la documentación presidencial en la que se menciona a Venezuela, se inició hace más de dos centurias, la misma ha ido cambiando tanto en su forma como en su contenido (algo propio de la evolución y el desarrollo humano) por lo que podemos encontrarla en formas diversas, pero igualmente válidas como Mensajes Presidenciales Anuales, Órdenes Ejecutivas, Cartas o Mensajes Formales, Cablegramas, Telegramas, Credenciales, Reconocimientos, Discursos Oficiales, Discursos Televisados, Grabados y en los últimos años con la masificación del internet, la aparición y uso de las redes sociales podemos encontrar también el uso frecuente de los medios digitales para emitir declaraciones sobre la situación particular de cada país o región del planeta.

En nuestro caso particular de estudio, se hace evidente que a medida que avanzan los años y tanto los Estados Unidos como Venezuela se consolidaron como estados independien-

tes del colonialismo europeo, manteniendo una relación un poco distante si se quiere durante el siglo XIX. No obstante, en el siglo XX se observa un cierto aumento en la regularidad de las menciones presidenciales estadounidenses sobre nuestro país, sin que sean aún demasiado frecuentes hasta el inicio de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, situación que cambió de forma significativa las relaciones entre ambos países, motivado a la posición geoestratégica de Venezuela y a su creciente producción petrolera de la mano de empresas europeas y norteamericanas, con lo cual adquirió una enorme importancia para los esfuerzos de guerra de los aliados en el frente occidental. De este modo, se hizo cada vez más común la mención de nuestro país por parte del poder Ejecutivo norteamericano, a esto hay que añadirle y como mencionamos anteriormente, el importantísimo papel que han jugado los medios masivos de comunicación e información, puesto que gracias al desarrollo vertiginoso de medios como el telégrafo, la radio, el cine, la televisión y actualmente el internet las noticias y acontecimientos importantes de la vida de nuestra nación se dan a conocer de forma instantánea alrededor del mundo, en especial en el continente americano. De modo que los ocupantes de la Casa Blanca pueden tener una visión en tiempo real de lo que ocurre en Venezuela, lo cual les permite a su vez, el poder pronunciarse de forma inmediata y establecer de este modo su posición al respecto. Evidentemente en los últimos años se ha hecho más frecuente el uso de las redes sociales por parte de los mandatarios norteamericanos para dar sus mensajes respecto a lo que sucede en nuestro país, de allí que estos posts se convierten de un modo menos formal u oficial, pero igualmente importante, en una fuente para el estudio de las relaciones entre ambos países.

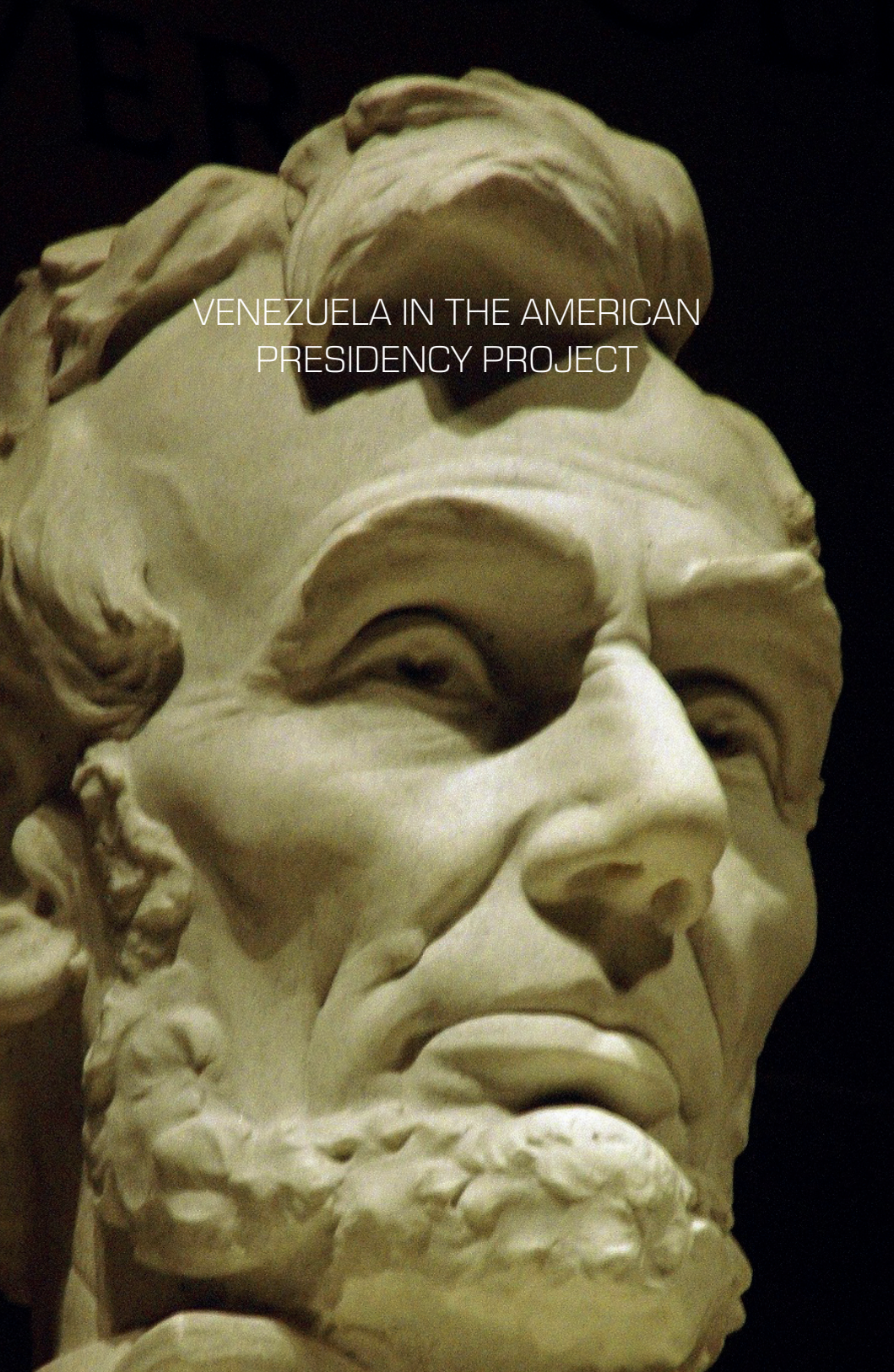
Nuestra recopilación se ha asentado sobre el *The American Presidency Project* y tiene como propósito fundamental constituirse como una fuente de rápida y constante consulta para todo tipo de investigadores interesados en conocer, estudiar, entender y aportar sobre la construcción histórica de la relaciones bilaterales entre Venezuela y los Estados Unidos, bien sean investigadores especializados, profesores o estudiantes, ya que en la presente publicación, el lector podrá encontrar de forma ordenada y cronológica más de 1,400 documentos que han producido cada uno de los presidentes de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica desde James Monroe hasta Joseph Biden, en relación con Venezuela. Sólo este hecho representa un importante aporte en sí, puesto que la mayoría de estos documentos no se encuentran en forma física en un solo espacio, recinto o archivo, de hecho, si un investigador dentro o fuera de los Estados Unidos quisiera consultar los documentos de un determinado presidente, tendría que ir a la biblioteca dedicada a resguardar los documentos del mandatario en particular, cuyas sedes están ubicadas generalmente en puntos geográficos distantes una de la otra, lo cual implica un reto enorme de tiempo y dinero para obtener la información necesaria para una investigación sobre el tema presidencial Norteamericano.

Como ya hemos mencionado anteriormente en esta obra le ofrecemos al lector la posibilidad de ahondar en diversas temáticas de estudio que permitan comprender mejor la historia de las relaciones diplomáticas entre Venezuela y los Estados Unidos, desde la perspectiva presidencial, es decir haciendo uso de una fuente inédita y de primer orden, que gracias a la Universidad de California en Santa Bárbara, al gru-

po *The American Presidency Project* y a los investigadores que lo integran, hoy podemos consultar en línea, de forma gratuita y sin mayores restricciones que el uso debido de las fuentes para llevar a cabo cualquier investigación sobre los documentos presidenciales norteamericanos, de allí que sea además un ejemplo a seguir, por cuanto este esfuerzo académico ha permitido la democratización de una fuente de investigación que puede ser invaluable para cualquier estudioso de la historia.

Finalmente, esperamos que esta compilación documental se convierta en una herramienta útil para los estudios sobre las relaciones históricas que han sostenido Venezuela y los Estados Unidos por más de 200 años, tanto dentro como fuera de nuestras fronteras, siendo necesario reconocer que es gracias a la creación de estos espacios digitales que se establecen mecanismos de difusión masiva de la información, los cuales han abarcado cada aspecto de nuestras vidas y han modificado considerablemente la forma en cómo se conciben y desarrollan hoy día las investigaciones científicas a lo largo y ancho del planeta, constituyendo un avance significativo y valioso en el campo de los estudios históricos. En este sentido, destacamos la oportunidad de contar con información de fuentes diversas, cuyo acceso en otros períodos sólo habría sido posible de forma presencial, lo que a su vez implicaba en muchos casos, una inversión de tiempo y recursos que no siempre están disponibles. También es necesario enfatizar que el avance de la tecnología y su uso en investigaciones científicas no debe implicar en forma alguna, el abandono o relajación de las de normas, prácticas y la ética que debe poseer todo proceso de estudio que procure ser un aporte al desarrollo del conocimiento humano, se trata de hacer el mayor y mejor uso

posible de la tecnología, poniéndola al servicio del rescate y preservación de la memoria histórica de nuestro país.



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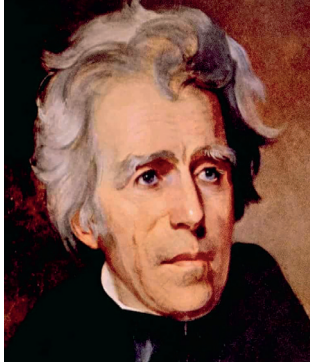


## JAMES MONROE

### 5th President of the United States: 1817 - 1825

1. James Monroe, *Special Message*. January 13, 1818. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/206561>
2. James Monroe, *Second Annual Message*. November 16, 1818. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/205598>
3. James Monroe, *Third Annual Message*. December 07, 1819. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/205633>
4. James Monroe, *Fourth Annual Message*. November 14, 1820. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/205662>



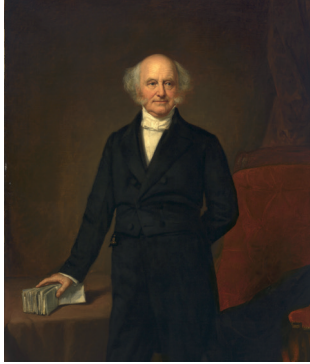


## ANDREW JACKSON

7th President of the United States: 1829 - 1837

5. Andrew Jackson, *Fifth Annual Message*. December 03, 1833. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/200846>
6. Andrew Jackson, *Sixth Annual Message*. December 01, 1834. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/200854>
7. Andrew Jackson, *Seventh Annual Message*. December 08, 1835. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/200865>
8. Andrew Jackson, *Special Message*. March 07, 1836. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/201234>
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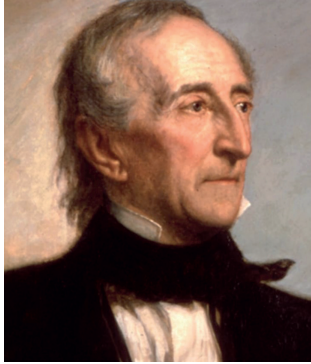


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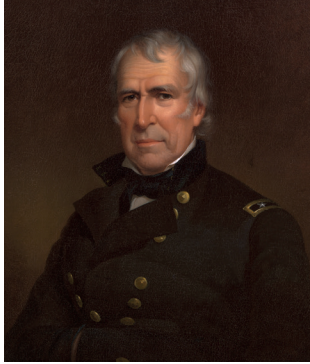


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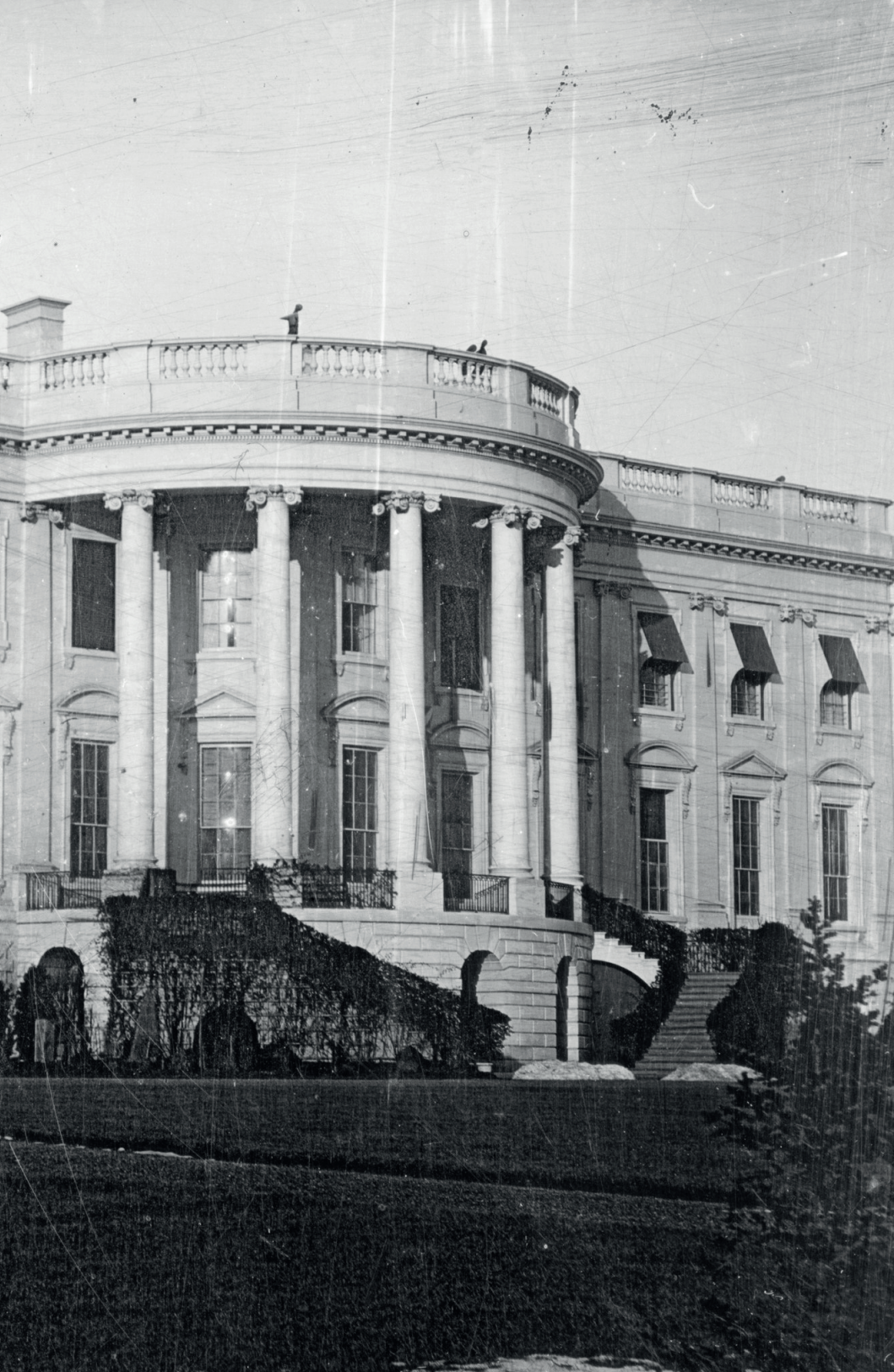




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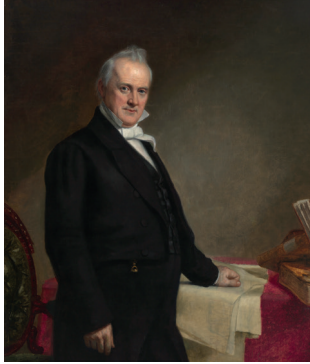


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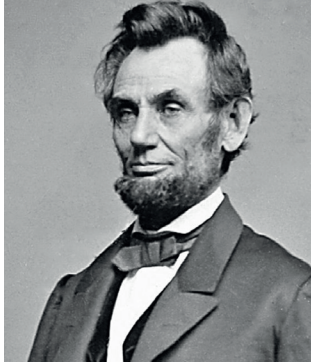


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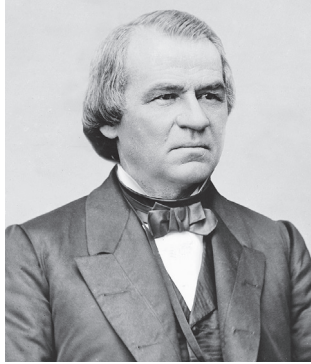


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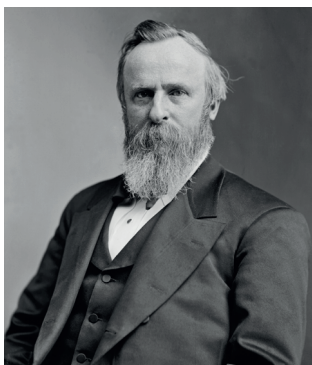


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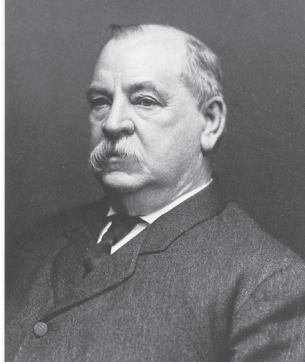


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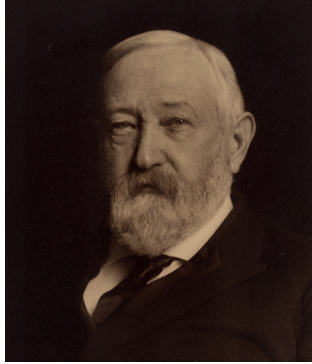


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22nd President of the United States: 1885 - 1889

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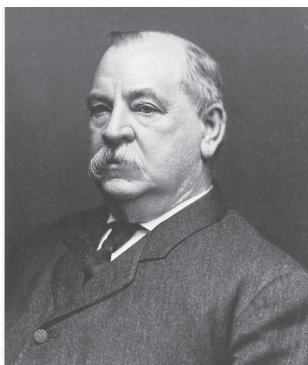


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23rd President of the United States: 1889 - 1893

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25th President of the United States: 1897 - 1901

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### 27th President of the United States: 1909 - 1913

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29th President of the United States: 1921 - 1923

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30th President of the United States: 1923 - 1929

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31st President of the United States: 1929 - 1933

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### 32nd President of the United States: 1933 - 1945

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33rd President of the United States: 1945 - 1953

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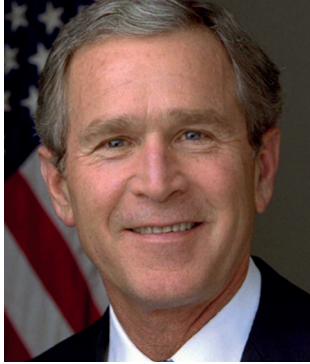
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## JOSEPH R. BIDEN

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IN MEMORY OF THE  
OFFICERS, SEAMEN AND MARINES  
OF THE  
**UNITED STATES** NAVY  
WHO FELL IN DEFENSE OF THE  
UNION AND LIBERTY OF THEIR COUNTRY  
1861-1865



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**N**uestra recopilación se ha asentado sobre el *The American Presidency Project* y tiene como propósito fundamental constituirse como una fuente de rápida y constante consulta para todo tipo de investigadores interesados en conocer, estudiar, entender y aportar sobre la construcción histórica de la relaciones bilaterales entre Venezuela y los Estados Unidos, bien sean investigadores especializados, profesores o estudiantes, ya que en la presente publicación, el lector podrá encontrar de forma ordenada y cronológica más de 1,400 documentos que han producido cada uno de los presidentes de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica desde James Monroe hasta Joseph Biden, en relación con Venezuela.

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