“We have to elaborate a new plan, and the one that we propose is the communicational and informational hegemony of the state,”

-- Andres Izarra: Venezuelan Minister of Communication, former President of TeleSUR
What is the Political Project?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Representative Democracy</strong></th>
<th><strong>Participatory and Protagonist Democracy</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Legitimacy of government derived from the consent of the governed demonstrated through period elections of representatives</td>
<td>• Legitimacy of government derived from the ongoing approval of the “permanent majorities” demonstrated through constant plebiscites or elections</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Opposition must be nurtured and protected</td>
<td>• Opposition must be destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Separation of powers</td>
<td>• “Separation of powers weakens the state”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Hard (legal) separation between government, party and state</td>
<td>• Blurring of the lines between government, party and state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Political tolerance</td>
<td>• Conflict serves to cement permanent majorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Term limits for the executive</td>
<td>• Presidents for as long as the permanent majority allow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Professional/non-partisan civil service administrating the nation for the benefit of all</td>
<td>• Partisan civil service at the service of the revolution and the permanent majorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Increasingly transparent, decentralized governments more responsive to the people</td>
<td>• Centralized, secretive government</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Approach to Human Rights

### Civil and Political Liberties
- **Nucleus of hard rights:** life, **speech**, assembly, religion, property, fair judicial process
- International treaties serve as guarantors of progressive rights (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, UN Declaration of Human Rights, etc.)
- Rights are universal, progressive, irreversible and un-renounceable

### Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- The right to read is more important than the right to speech, the right of a job is more important than assembly
- International treaties are mechanisms of imperial control by the developed world to maintain their exploitation and domination of the poorest
- Rights are continually dismantled by the will of the permanent majority via referenda
How do you build a permanent majority?
Step 1: Build Communicational Hegemony
DESTROY OPPOSITION’S ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE

• Economic means
  • Tax liens
  • Pulling government advertising
• Verbal attacks
• Physical attacks
• Seizure of air-space
  • Most radio and TV are government concessions
• Tariffs/complications on importing paper (for written media)
• Frivolous lawsuits using co-opted court system
• Offer reprieve for change in editorial line
• Self – Censorship
• Loss of market share
• Economic Ruin
• Prison
When one makes a Revolution, one cannot mark time; one must always go forward -- or go back. He who now talks about the freedom of the press goes backward, and halts our headlong course towards Socialism.

-- Lenin