

ex-Attorney General and U.S. Senator Robert Kennedy. On the night of his assassination, Kennedy had been with NFWA cofounder Dolores Huerta.

In 1966, following a 300-mile march from Delano to the state capitol in Sacramento, the NFWA negotiated a union contract with Schenley Vineyards. This contract was the historic first in the United States between a grower and agricultural workers. As this long-term strike persisted, AWOC and NFWA merged to form the AFL-CIO affiliated United Farm Workers (UFW). Shortly thereafter, DiGiorgio, another large grape grower, conceded to UFW stipulations and signed a union contract. However, even with individual union victories, Chávez remained firm, and beginning in 1967, the UFW called for a boycott of all California-grown table grapes. Supporters across North America rose in solidarity, boycotting non-union grapes. Artists, musicians, poets, and actors came to the aid of the union. El Teatro Campesino (The Farmworker Theater), organized in 1965 by Luis Valdéz, used Brechtian guerrilla theater as the medium to highlight the plight of the farmworker. Chávez knew the power of the arts in organizing workers and constructing support. As such, Chávez and the NFWA began publishing *El Malcriado*, the union newspaper, in 1965. The newspaper, initially published solely in Spanish, included English and Spanish editions and incorporated artworks by many of the most active Chicano/a artists and muralists of the period. Muralist Antonio Bernal painted a mural on the exterior of a union hall in 1968, and Carlos Almaraz painted a 16- by 24-foot mural for the 1972 UFW convention.

Following in the vein of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., Chávez advocated nonviolence and engaged in fasting as a way to cleanse his soul. As a very spiritual individual, Chávez combined Catholicism with direct action to produce a more just society. Still actively involved in UFW struggles, Chávez died in his sleep on April 29, 1993, at the home of an Arizona farmworker. Posthumously, Chávez was awarded the Medal of Freedom by President Clinton. Much like the spirit of union organizer Joe Hill, César Chávez can be found wherever there are farmworkers struggling to create a more just world.

—Dylan A. T. Miner

See also American Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO); Chicano Movement; Community Organizing; Farmworkers' Movement; Grape Boycotts; Guerrilla Theater; Pacifism

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CHÁVEZ, HUGO (1954–)

Since having been elected president of Venezuela in 1998, Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías has become an extremely contentious and polarizing figure both domestically and internationally. He was a charismatic and personalistic leader who appealed to those who felt as if they never before had had anyone in power who understood them, but he alienated the white power elite of which he was an outsider. To his opponents, his nationalistic and populist rhetoric was seen as authoritarian demagoguery that harmed Venezuela's economic growth and threatened political stability. For the poor, indigenous, and Afro-Venezuelan underclass who formed his base of support, Chávez represented their best hope for re-making a world that responded to their needs.

Chávez was born on July 28, 1954, the child of provincial school teachers. He became a career military officer, one of the few avenues for social advancement available to common people in Latin America, eventually rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In the military barracks, Chávez gained a political consciousness as he observed economic exploitation and racial discrimination. In 1983, with both military and civilian co-conspirators, Chávez formed the MBR-200 (Movimiento Bolivariano Revolucionario 200

[Bolivarian Revolutionary Movement 200]), so named for the birth of Venezuelan independence hero Simón Bolívar, to challenge the existing political system and open the way for social change.

1992 Coup

Chávez first burst on the political scene in Venezuela after a failed February 4, 1992, military-civilian coup d'état against the elected government of Carlos Andrés Pérez. As president in the 1970s and belonging to the left-leaning social-democratic Acción Democrática (AD [Democratic Action]) Party, Pérez nationalized the country's large petroleum industry. In 1989, Pérez returned to power, but this time he implemented draconian International Monetary Fund structural adjustment measures that curtailed social spending and removed price controls on consumer goods. These neoliberal policies disproportionately hurt poor people and on February 27, 1989, triggered massive street riots. Security forces killed hundreds of protesters in the capital city of Caracas in what became known as the *caracazo*.

Although Chávez did not play a role in these protests, it set the stage for his eventual rise to power. It convinced him that Venezuela's political system was fundamentally corrupt. He blamed a 1958 power sharing agreement known as the Pact of Punto Fijo between Pérez's AD and the conservative Social Christian Party COPEI for excluding the vast majority of Venezuelans from participating in the political system. The 1992 coup quickly fell apart, and Chávez made a brief appearance on national television to call for other rebels to give themselves up to prevent further bloodshed. His statement that they had failed for the moment indicated that he would continue the struggle. Taking a stand against corruption and elite rule made him a hero for Venezuela's impoverished masses who had not benefited from the country's economic growth.

After spending 2 years in prison, Chávez received a presidential pardon. He continued his struggle, this time in the electoral arena rather than through military means. In 1997, he founded the Movimiento Quinta República (Fifth Republic Movement), which he rode to power in presidential elections the following year.

President Chávez

Once in office, Chávez began to remake Venezuela's political landscape. He implemented policies that expanded social spending and halted privatization plans, although he never took steps away from the country's extreme dependency on petroleum exports. This led some early observers to comment that Chávez's bark was worse than his bite, that is, that his strident anti-neoliberal rhetoric was not reflected in his economic policies. Building on his support among the poor, however, Chávez did proceed to redraw the country's political structures. This included drafting a new constitution to replace the one in force since 1961. The new constitution increased presidential power while at the same time implementing socioeconomic changes, including expanding access to education and health care. It increased civil rights for women, indigenous peoples, and others marginalized under the old system. It also changed the name of the country from the Republic of Venezuela to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, pointing to an internationalist vision that built on Bolívar's Pan-Latin Americanism.

The new constitution so fundamentally rewrote Venezuela's political structures that it required new elections for the National Assembly and presidency. Chávez handily won reelection in 2000 with about 60% of the vote, a margin of support he consistently enjoyed. Despite earlier involvement in a military coup, Chávez was content to remake the face of Venezuela through the political process and relished the challenges of electoral campaigns.

Missions

With consolidation of his power, Chávez proceeded to implement a series of social programs called "missions," designed to attack endemic poverty that plagued about a third of the population. Often these were named after national heroes. One of the most successful was Plan Robinson, a literacy program named after Bolívar's tutor Samuel Robinson. Similarly, an agrarian reform program carried the name of Ezequiel Zamora, a radical 19th-century peasant leader who advocated a far-reaching land reform program. Barrio

Adentro (To the Neighborhood) brought Cuban doctors to poor neighborhoods that never before had received sufficient medical attention. Other programs provided for subsidized food and education.

Opposition

Everything from Chávez's mannerisms and colloquial speech patterns to his social policies and economic priorities alienated him from Venezuela's small minority that had traditionally held political power. During his first term in office (2000–2006), Chávez faced three significant challenges and overcame each one. The first and most dramatic was an April 11, 2002, coup that removed Chávez from office for 2 days, but a well-spring of popular support from poor neighborhoods brought him back to power. A December 2002 manager and employee strike in the state oil company *Petróleos de Venezuela* (Venezuela Petroleum) significantly damaged the economy but failed to undermine Chávez's popular support. Finally, after failing in these extra-constitutional efforts to remove Chávez, the elite turned to a provision in Chávez's own constitution that allowed for the recall of elected officials midway through their terms. Chávez handily won the August 15, 2004, vote, further strengthening his hold on power. These defeats for the opposition further discredited the traditional political parties AD and COPEI. Facing a complete rout in the 2005 congressional elections, they withdrew, handing Chávez and his allies complete control over the National Assembly.

In the United States, the Bush administration continued to denounce and undermine Chávez through a variety of avenues including the National Endowment for Democracy. Chávez accused the United States of plotting his assassination and condemned U.S. imperialism and neoliberal economic policies. Chávez sought to break dependency on oil exports to the United States by signing agreements with China, India, and other new markets. Chávez presented the *Alternativa Bolivariana para la América* (Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America) as a substitute to the U.S.-sponsored Free Trade Area of the Americas. His demands to put people before capital gained him a good deal of support as it challenged U.S. hegemonic control over the region.

Socialism

Chávez initially denied that he intended to implement a socialist agenda in Venezuela, instead emphasizing a nationalistic Bolivarian Revolution that followed in Bolívar's footsteps. As Chávez consolidated power, however, he increasingly embraced a socialist discourse. He pointed to the failures of savage capitalism and argued that capitalism can only be transcended with socialism through democracy. In 2006, the World Social Forum moved to Caracas where Chávez presented an even stronger statement that the world faces two choices: socialism or death, because capitalism was destroying life on earth. He also consistently utilized religious language.

Since Chávez first won the presidency in 1998, Latin America has taken a significant shift leftward with the election of labor leader Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in Brazil, Néstor Kirchner in Argentina, Tabaré Vázquez in Uruguay, Michelle Bachelet in Chile, and most significantly the socialist indigenous leader Evo Morales in Bolivia. Critics began to speak of two lefts: (1) a more moderate trend, represented by Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, which was willing to work within the confines of existing market economies; and (2) a "crazy" left, led by Fidel Castro in Cuba and joined by Venezuela and Bolivia. Opponents condemned these radicals for returning to allegedly discredited nationalist, clientelist, and statist models of governance.

Populism

Chávez will leave a historical legacy for Venezuela, but as of the time of this writing, it is not clear exactly what that might be. He is often called a populist, and in a Latin American context, *populist* has negative connotations of following the authoritarian and corporatist legacy of Getúlio Vargas in Brazil and Juan Perón in Argentina. Populists often opportunistically appeal to the impoverished masses for support but implement policies designed to secure their hold on power rather than remaking state structures with the goal of realizing social justice for the dispossessed. Detractors complained that Chávez used skyrocketing petroleum prices to fund social programs to shore up his base, while supporters noted that these were the

same policies he had always embraced. Chávez is sometimes called a left-populist, indicating that he uses rhetoric to appeal to the poor but also implements concrete policies to shift wealth and power away from the elite. It is his potential for success that gives so much hope to his supporters and apprehension to his opponents.

—Marc Becker

See also Anti-Colonial Movements, Latin America; Castro, Fidel; Morales, Evo

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CHICAGO, JUDY

See PERFORMANCE ART, POLITICAL

CHICAGO DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION DEMONSTRATIONS, 1968

Originally numbering eight, the Chicago Seven were a group of radical protest leaders arrested at the Democratic National Convention (DNC) in Chicago, Illinois, in 1968. Members of the group were charged

with conspiracy, crossing state lines with the intent to incite a riot, obstructing justice, and promoting the use of incendiary devices (stink bombs) during an act of civil disobedience that drew thousands of protestors to the city.

The demonstration, initially conceived as a nonviolent disruption of the DNC, was intended to express opposition to the war in Vietnam and to mock the electoral process represented by the convention. Protestors spoofed the convention by staging a carnivalesque “Festival of Life”—music, poetry, and a guerrilla theater performance in which demonstrators announced the candidacy of a pig, Pigasus the Immortal, for president. As the demonstrators resisted police intervention, the protest escalated to a significant component of one of the most controversial riots in American history.

Tensions around the convention were high, as Chicago became a focal point for radical activist groups and their supporters planning massive demonstrations. In response, the city’s mayor, Richard Daley, issued severe statements about maintaining order and summoned more than 5,000 National Guardsmen to support Chicago’s police force. Clashes between demonstrators and police grew increasingly violent in response to curfew and other restrictions and antagonism from both sides. The climax was reached when protestors marching on the convention hall were met with sanctioned, excessive force by the police, and several hundred were injured and arrested. Key among these were the Chicago Eight.

The original Chicago Eight were Abbott (Abbie) Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, founders of the Youth International Party (Yippies); peace activist and chairman of the National Mobilization Against War, David Dellinger; Rennie Davis, national director of the community organizing program of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS); SDS founding member, Tom Hayden; SDS member and founder of the Radical Science Information Service, John Froines; Lee Weiner, local organizer and activist; and Bobby Seale, founding member of the Black Panther Party. The Eight became the Chicago Seven when Seale’s case was severed from the rest, after receiving 16 citations for contempt for repeated inflammatory outbursts. Seale was ordered bound and gagged in the