



## Víctor Manuel Rivas: Profile of his cultural legacy

### Víctor Manuel Rivas: Semblanza de su legado cultural

**Vicente Pereda Flores**

pereda.vicente@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9151-9478>

**Universidad Pedagógica Experimental Libertador,  
Caracas, Venezuela**

Essay received date: July 10, 2024 | Reviewed date: August 20, 2024 | Accepted date: October 15, 2024. | Published date: January 3, 2025

<https://doi.org/10.61287/propuestaseducativas.v7i13.3>

#### ABSTRACT

The purpose of the essay is to reveal the cultural contributions of the Venezuelan artist Victor Manuel Rivas. Their visions on art generate a perspective of the importance of teaching the history of dramatic literature for raising awareness of the aesthetic and social perspectives that poets expose. Thus, from a hermeneutic, documentary approach, a link between word and scene is developed as a possibility of learning and what the arts imply in the consolidation of a nation with cultural foundations that leave their mark.

**Keywords:** Art; Poetry; Theater; aesthetic education; Venezuela; Victor Manuel Rivas.

#### RESUMEN

El propósito del ensayo es develar los aportes culturales del artista venezolano Victor Manuel Rivas. Sus visiones sobre el arte generan una perspectiva de la importancia de la enseñanza de la historia de la literatura dramática para la toma de conciencia de las perspectivas estéticas y sociales que exponen los poetas. Se desarrolla así, desde un enfoque hermenéutico, documental, un nexo entre palabra y escena como posibilidad de aprendizaje y de lo que implican las artes en la consolidación de una nación con fundamentos culturales que dejan huella.

**Palabras clave:** Arte; Poesía; Teatro; Educación estética; Venezuela; Victor Manuel Rivas

## INTRODUCTION

### His family and personal life

Víctor Manuel de San José Rivas Montenegro was born in Calabozo, Guárico state, on Thursday, March 11, 1909. He was the legitimate son of Víctor Rivas and Natalia Montenegro. He was baptized in the Cathedral of the colonial city, receiving the

first Christian sacrament by the then Second Bishop of the city, Dr. Neri Sendrea. His godparents are close relatives of his mother, as evidenced in the Baptism Certificate issued by the Archdiocese of Calabozo, as shown in figure 1.

**Figure 1.** *Víctor Manuel Rivas' Baptism Certificate*



His childhood and adolescence took place in his hometown, which in the nineteenth century was a very important city. According to Armas (2013), citing Silva, he notes the following: "Calabozo was the Athens of the Llanos, due to the culture that developed

there and the creative capacity of its children" (paragraph 3). In this sense, Zamora (1974) in the Biographical Cultural Dictionary of the State of Guárico makes several reviews of important people, including the doctor and poet

Francisco Lazo Martí, the talented musicians Raimundo Pereira and Antonio Estévez, and Víctor Manuel Rivas.

From the point of view of the natural environment, the surroundings of the city have famous palm groves, ranches, haciendas, and estates that house large concentrations of animals, iconic characters, and beautiful sunsets. This landscape and other plains states have been a great inspiration for songwriters, poets, and playwrights. As Ochoa (2019) expresses it, quoting Castillo Lara (1975):

Calabozo! A bit of imprisoned plain. A world of stopped sun. A warm throbbing of life surrounded and opened by walls, by houses, by streets and squares! Calabozo, a place that does not close or enclose, that opens and discovers, frees and releases. It is not Calabozo but an adventure of chimeras. Or it will be Calabozo because it grabs dreams. Just as it imprisons men so that they come and go and always come back. It is a Calabozo not of chains but of love, wide as the savannah. (P. 14)

The colonial center of Calabozo is one of the largest in Venezuela and shows the architecture of its old mansions that stand and proudly speak of its lineage and of that time of glory as a city. In the past, it was a cattle-raising town of great relevance and importance for the rest of the country and there lived the wealthiest families of the area. It was one of the most important cities in Venezuela and the former capital of the state of Guárico, by decision of José Tadeo

Monagas. All these historical, political and social situations developed in the plains city provided its inhabitants with a wealth of experiences, which were captured by musicians and writers in their works. Later in regional and local history, one of its offspring, Víctor Manuel Rivas, would capture this feeling masterfully in each of his theatrical works.

However, as a young man, Víctor Manuel Rivas moved to the capital city in search of new dreams and goals, to study and develop as a professional, leaving behind with great nostalgia his hometown, carrying in his heart and soul the historical and cultural heritage of his beloved Calabozo for the rest of the days of his life.

Already in the city of Caracas at the age of 18, he completed four years of studies at the Andrés Bello High School beginning in 1927. At that time, the Director of that institution was Rómulo Gallegos, the most relevant Hispanic American novelist of the 20th century and prominent Venezuelan politician. Gallegos decided that same year to travel to the plains and do research for his novel “Doña Bárbara”, which in some way would later mark the development of Víctor Manuel Rivas’ career as a playwright.

In relation to the curriculum used in Rivas’ time, Valerio (2012) was able to investigate the complexity of the subjects, which are mentioned below:

For the first year: Reasoned Arithmetic, Spanish, French, Latin, Greek Roots, Geography and Universal History, Botany, Drawing.

Second Year: Algebra, Literature, French, Latin and Greek Roots, Geography and Universal History, Geography and History of Venezuela, Geography and History of America, Zoology and Mineral Chemistry.

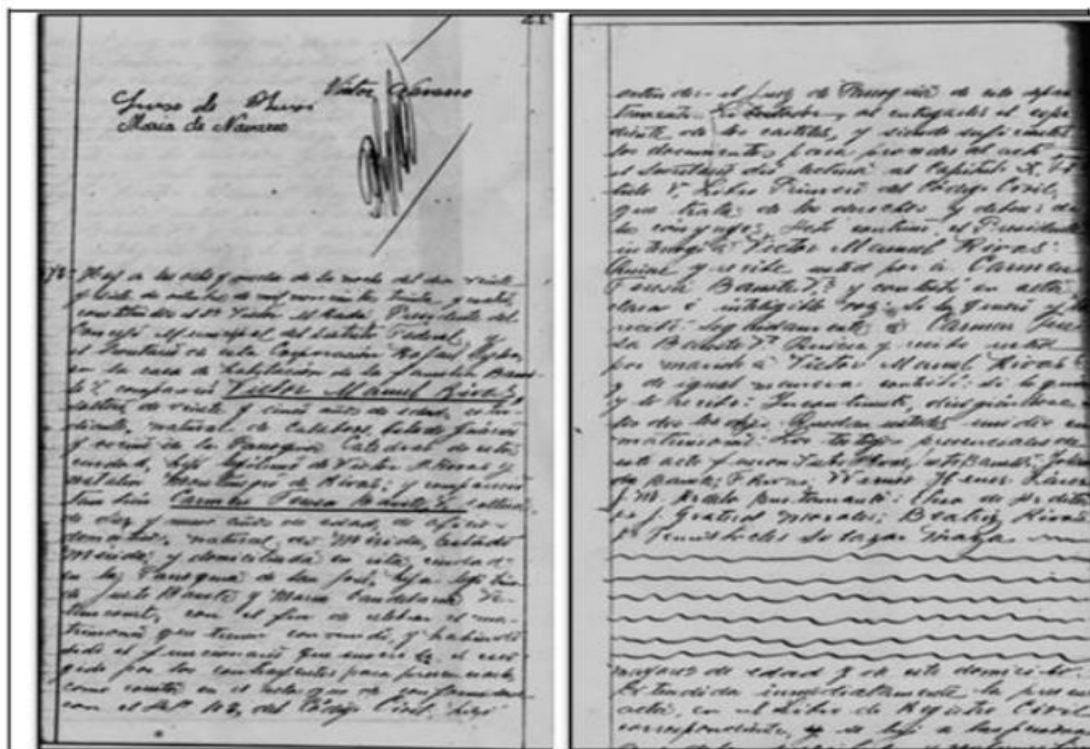
Third Year: Geometry, English, General Literature, Philosophy, Mineralogy and Geology, Organic Chemistry.

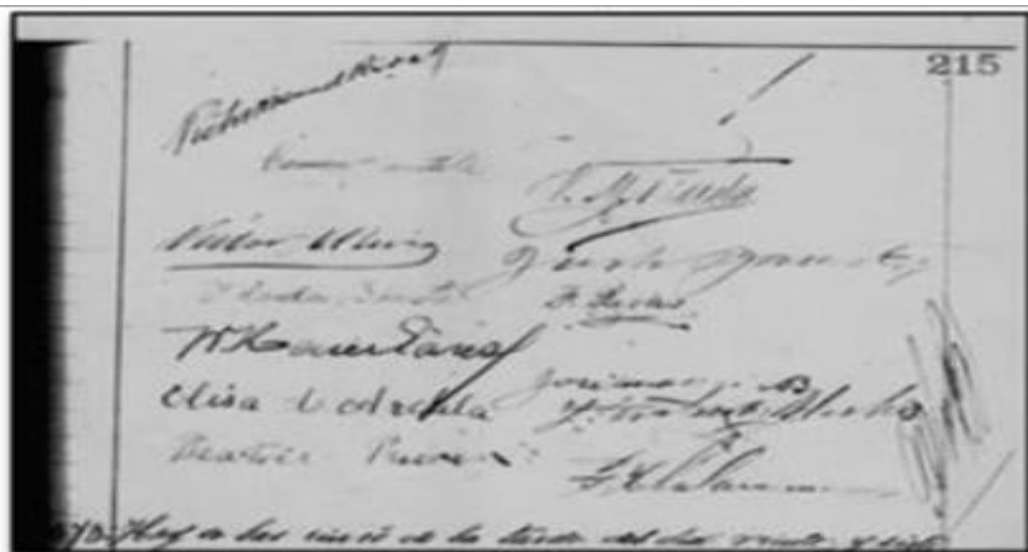
Fourth Year: Trigonometry and Typography, English, Philosophy, Biology, Cosmography and Chronology, Physics; in addition to courses in Commerce and Agronomy.

He graduated in 1931, when Américo Briceño Valero, director of the Andrés Bello High School, from Trujillo, conferred on him the title of Bachelor in Philosophy and Letters, consolidating his moral, intellectual, civic, humanistic and civic education, fundamental bases for his future career in Philosophy, Political Science, as well as as a Diplomat, Novelist and playwright.

In 1934, Victor Manuel Rivas, at the age of 25, married in the city of Caracas the distinguished Miss Carmen Teresa Baute Vetancourt, aged 19, born in Mérida and residing in the parish of San José. The civil marriage took place in the home of the Baute Vetancourt family on the night of October 27, as shown in the figure.

**Figure 2.** Civil marriage certificate





That same day, October 27, 1934, Victor Manuel Rivas and Carmen Baute were married in the Church of the San José Parish in Caracas. (Figure 3). They received the holy sacrament from Monsignor Jesús María Pellín, who was considered the best ecclesiastical historian in America in

philosophy, theology and canon law, an eloquent priest with a convincing word. Pellín was Parish Priest of San José de Chacao at the age of 26. However, he was in charge of the San José Parish for two years from 1933 to 1935.

**Figure 3.** Ecclesiastical marriage certificate



Regarding the personal data issued by the Administrative Service of Immigration and Foreigners (SAIME), Rivas was issued an identity card as a Venezuelan citizen on March 13, 1944 with the number V-43030, coinciding with the year in which he was appointed Consul General of Venezuela in the United States. (Chart 4)

In the personal data record, the full name, date of birth 03/11/1909, marital status, and other data such as skin color, nationality and sex can be seen. While the following signs can be distinguished in the technical data: his first identity card was issued in the Plaza

Caracas Office on 03/13/1944, as it will be remembered that the first identity card in Venezuela was obtained in 1942 by President Medina Angarita, until then Rivas would not have needed the identity document, even for the celebration of his civil marriage in 1934, this document was not used because the process of identity card did not exist in the country. He had to obtain an identity card to work as Consul in the United States. It can also be distinguished in the document that he has no criminal record and was not requested by the judicial authorities.

**Figure 4.** *Filiation data*

| Cédula  | Primer Nombre | Segundo Nombre | Primer Apellido | Segundo Apellido | Sexo | Fecha      |
|---------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|------|------------|
| V-43030 | Victor        | Manuel         | Rivas           | Montenegro       | M    | 11/03/1909 |

Página: 1  
Resultados: 1-1 en 1 registros. << Anterior Siguiente >>

**Datos Personales**

|                                 |                              |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Cédula e documento: V-43030     | Segundo Nombre: Manuel       |
| Primer Nombre: Victor           | Segundo Apellido: Montenegro |
| Primer Apellido: Rivas          | Estado Civil: Casado         |
| Fecha de Nacimiento: 11/03/1909 | Color de Cabello: Castaño    |
| País: Blanca                    | Sexo: M                      |
| Color Ojos: Marrón              |                              |
| País: Venezuela                 |                              |

**Datos Técnicos**

|   |                            |
|---|----------------------------|
| Oficina Original: CARACAS (PLAZA CARACAS) | Fecha Original: 13/03/1944 |
| Antecedentes: No tiene antecedentes       |                            |
| Objetos: Cédula sin problemas             |                            |
| Documentos: Cédula sin problemas          |                            |
| Solicitador: No                           |                            |

## Professional training in the city of Caracas

University of Venezuela (UCV) from 1931 to January 1, 1936, obtaining a degree in Philosophy, which allowed him to address fundamental problems such as existence, knowledge, truth, morality, beauty, mind and language, skills necessary to address his role in the Diplomatic Service of Venezuela.

In this sense, he completed his Diplomatic Career studies at the UCV, concerning the provisions of the Organic Law of the Diplomatic Service, according to the Official Gazette No. 15,104 dated October 9, 1923, which establishes the Diplomatic Career as a discipline belonging to the special chair attached to the School of Political Sciences, which subjects are: History of International Law and especially International Law in America, Commercial Policy, Analysis of Public Treaties of Venezuela, Diplomatic Style, Drafting of Dispatches, Notes and other documents and Laws of Diplomatic and Consular Service, Public International Law, Private International Law, Constitutional Law, Principles of Finance and Treasury Laws of Venezuela and the languages French and English in all cases German or Italian, at the candidate's choice, the latter being taken at the School of Commerce and Modern Languages. It is important to note that the School of Political Sciences of the Central University of Venezuela is today the Robinsoniana Santos Michelena Technical Commercial School.

## His Career as a Diplomat

Regarding Rivas' diplomatic career, by order of the Congress of the United States of Venezuela and based on the Organic Law of the Diplomatic Service of 1923, the position of Legation of the United States of Venezuela was created. In the aforementioned Law, in its article 5 it establishes that if the performance of a Diplomat is satisfactory for the country in the representation and defense of the people of Venezuela, the Executive may "grant them their definitive entry into the diplomatic career with the category of Secretary", considering it convenient to the international interests of the nation.

By 1936, Victor Manuel Rivas lived one of his most longed-for dreams as a diplomat. On March 10 of that same year, he began working in the Foreign Service of the Republic, serving as Secretary of the Legation of Venezuela in Spain and Portugal, being ratified for two consecutive years in accordance to the Organic Law of Diplomatic Service, a position he held in a competent and satisfactory manner until July 1938. While serving as a diplomat, he continued his studies at the Central University of Madrid from April to June 1936. On August 22, 1938, by presidential decree, he was transferred to Panama with the same rank, continuing his studies at the National University of Panama, where he graduated as a Doctor of Political Science in

December of that same year, remaining in the Central American nation until July 1941 as a diplomat. During that period he remained as Chargé d'Affaires Ad Interim (During the period), accredited to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Panama, there he performed the functions commended to him from Venezuela, being accredited to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Head of State in Panama from December 1938 to September 1939 and subsequently from February 1940 to July 1941 when he returned to Venezuela.

Rivas served as Secretary of the Venezuelan Delegation at the First Meeting of Consultation of Members of Foreign Affairs of the “American Republics according to the Agreements of Buenos Aires and Lima,” held in Panama City on September 23, 1939, as recorded in the final minutes of such meeting dated October 3, 1939.

Later, on July 22, 1944, President Isaías Medina Angarita appointed him along with other diplomats to form an Organizing Committee for the Third National and Pan-American Press Congress to be held in the city of Caracas. Three months later, on October 10 of that same year, he was named Consul General of Venezuela in New Orleans, United States, a position he held until June 1945; on May 30, he was named Commercial Agent in the North American country, serving in the position until October.

Later, on November 3, 1950, he was appointed Counselor of the Permanent Delegation of the United States of Venezuela to the United Nations. On September 20, 1951, he joined the Ad Honores Delegation representing Venezuela at the Sixth General Assembly of the United Nations held in Paris, France. He also participated in Sub-Commission No. 9 of the IV Commission that began drafting the list of “Factors to be Taken into Account in Determining Whether or Not a Non-Self-Governing Territory Has Attained Full Self-Government.”

Later, on October 10, 1952, he served as alternate in the Delegation representing the country at the Seventh Regular Session of the United Nations Assembly held in New York. The following year, on June 23, 1953, he joined the Venezuelan delegation at the XVI Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council which was held in Geneva on June 30, where he was promoted to Alternate Counselor.

Then, on October 19, 1956, he joined the delegation to the Eleventh Session of the UN General Assembly, served as Minister Counselor of the Venezuelan Delegation in New York, and later served as Alternate Delegate to the sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and to the XV (1960), XVI (1961), XVII (1962), XVIII (1963), XIX (1964) and XX (1965)



sessions of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

It is worth highlighting his performance as Venezuelan Delegate in the Commission of Additional Means, in the Commission of Collective Measures, Commission of Additional Measures, Commission of Factors; he was appointed President of the Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations in the period corresponding to 1955. Likewise, he was selected Vice-President of the V Commission of the General Assembly in the Ninth Session of this body.

Last but not least, on March 20, 1957 he was appointed Head of the Venezuelan Delegation to the UN Agencies in Geneva.

### **His career as a journalist and man of letters**

During Víctor Manuel Rivas's stay in the city of Caracas he stood out as an efficient journalist, he was part of the Editorial Board of the "El Universal" newspaper between the years of 1929 to 1936, while he studied at the Andrés Bello High School and the Central University of Venezuela. In that newspaper he served as Editor-in-Chief and upon returning from Panama, he founded the newspaper "El Tiempo de la Tarde" in the capital city, circulating for the first time on August 25, 1941, this rotary press was located on Urdaneta Avenue between the corners of Ibarra and Pelota No. 9-1, at the time the post office box would be No. 727, its publication was daily, on the headline was printed "Venezuela Marcha with economic tips" then

that slogan was taken for the newspaper that circulated later: "En Marcha". The first copies were dedicated to the intellectual exercise, data on the Democratic Party of Venezuela (PDV), led by then President Isaías Medina Angarita, it should be noted that Rivas supported the government policies of the executive through the newspaper he presided over.

In the newspaper "El Tiempo", Dr. Jesús Rafael Rísquez publishes an interview he conducted with Blessed Doctor José Gregorio Hernández about his profession and his experience in the convent of the order of San Bruno in La Cartuja de Farneta.

On the other hand, Rivas left the direction of the newspaper to his great friend and colleague, the lawyer, diplomat and novelist Mario Briceño Iragorry in 1944.

As for his career as a correspondent in the United States, he was a member of the Editorial Board of "Reader's Digest Selections" in New York from June 1946 to September 1948, when he began to serve as Deputy Director of "El Diario de Nueva York" until December 1949. The aforementioned press published in Spanish since its foundation in 1948. Its creator was Porfirio Domenici, a Dominican immigrant. This newspaper was especially dedicated to the Puerto Rican community in Brooklyn. It also covered topics from the state of New York and Latin American

countries. It ceased its publications in 1963.

### **The significance of his work as a man from Calabozo**

The personality of Víctor Manuel Rivas is described by the Venezuelan diplomat Adolfo R. Taylhardat, who had the opportunity to share with him in the UN, described him as a man:

Extraordinary who enjoyed wide prestige among the delegates of other countries. He was a very intelligent personality, knowledgeable in colonial issues, affectionate and cordial who took a special liking to me and guided me a lot in my first foray into that wonderful world of the United Nations. He was also a controversial person due to the spontaneity of his opinions and his generally criticizing points of view" (Taylhardat, 2012)

Taking into account this description of Taylhardat, it is considered that Rivas was a respectable man, respectful and kind to the people around him, an intellectual and very knowledgeable of the functions to be exercised in his work field, willing to guide those who required it, it can be said that Dr. Rivas dedicated his forces to philanthropic work, this is due to his personal relationships with artists, intellectuals and politicians who worked for the benefit of a better country.

As a prominent Venezuelan advisor to the UN, whose body is the supporter of peace, justice and humanitarian assistance, Rivas leaves behind in his dramaturgy his attachment to his roots, identity and love for

traditions and his people. As a man of theatre, he was concerned in his time with contributing to a cultural heritage of the roots of our plain, of Calabozo through his profound dramaturgy, leaving ambitious projects in colleagues' hands. He faces with great courage and responsibility, as a good Calabocian, the dramatic and dizzying economic, political and social change that the 20th century brought with it, being one of the protagonists who forged the paths that the country should follow in the future in a transparent and selfless manner.

His work as a diplomat is impeccable, he put the interests of the country before those of a certain political sector, he always remained faithful to the laws and ethics and his personal charisma filled the spaces he occupied. Taking into account Rivas (1968), it was possible to find information related to awards and decorations received throughout his life:

Commander of the Vasco Núñez de Balboa Order of the Republic of Panama, that decoration is awarded by the head of State to people from Panama distinguished in science, arts and letters and foreigners whom the government considers worthy of this distinction, that order was established by Law 27 of January 28, 1931.

He is awarded the Official Decoration of the Carlos Manuel de Céspedes Order of the Republic of Cuba. This Order is awarded to first secretaries of embassies or

legations and commercial attachés.

He also received the Commander of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Ecuador Decoration. This National Order of Merit was established as a civil order decoration by the President of the Republic of Ecuador, Don Isidro Ayora, who was the country's leader between April 3, 1926 and August 24, 1931. The Order, which is the second highest among the Decorations of Ecuador, was established on December 2, 1929 with the publication of a statute that is used to this day.

He also received the Order of the Liberator of the Republic of Venezuela, this award being the highest distinction of our country, created by the then president Antonio Guzmán Blanco in 1880 and intended to reward distinguished services to the country, outstanding merit and benefits made to the community. The President of Venezuela is the head of the order and was responsible for conferring the Collar. It was replaced in 2010 by the Order of Liberators and Liberators of Venezuela.

On July 20, 1965, he died in New York. According to Official Gazette number 28626 of May 14, 1968, the state assigned Mrs. Carmen de Rivas “Widow of Dr. Víctor Manuel Rivas, former Foreign Service Officer” a pension as stipulated in the Foreign Service Personnel Law. For her part, Mrs. Rivas is in charge of publishing and donating copies of the historical and memoir novel “La Cola del Huracán” (1968), a title that put him in the pages of Venezuelan literature.

### **The dramatic legacy of his works**

In the dramatic field, Rivas published the works “El Puntal” (1933), *Antesala* (1940), which won First Prize in the Competition “La Comedia Venezolana” sponsored by the Ateneo de Caracas in 1940 and “El Pueblo” (1940) performed on December 12, 1942 by the Society of Friends of the Theater, whose institution was founded on August 1 of that same year by Víctor Manuel Rivas, Aquiles Certad, Guillermo Meneses, Luis Peraza, Leopoldo Ayala Michelena, Eduardo Calcaño, Carlos Salas (set designer and historian), Ángel Fuenmayor, Raúl Izquierdo, Juan Benshimol, among many other artists and playwrights of the time. In the preliminary pages of the work *Antesala* (1940) the author notes that “Para las tablas” contains the urban comedy trilogy “La Garra Decrepita”, which includes: *El Hotel Jardín* (n.d.), *El Ministro* (n.d.) and *Siempre Estudiantes* (n.d.), and also indicates that the Rural Trilogy *El Pueblo* (1942), *Se Fueron Los Hombres* (n.d.) and *El Puente* (n.d.) are in preparation.

It is known that the work *Hombres* (1933) premiered that same year, and the stage design was done by painters such as Francisco Narváez and Manuel Salvatierra; the dramatic text has not been found. Likewise, no further information has been found on the play *La Zamurada* (1933), only that it was performed in

Caracas and abroad. Similarly, the play *Tres Tardes en los Robles* (1945) directed by Guillermo Meneses with the Sociedad Amigos del Teatro (Friends of the Theatre Society), the dramatic text is not found. However, the Venezuelan writer, politician and diplomat Mercedes Carvajal de Arocha, known as Lucila Palacios, makes an interpretive critique of the piece, found in the Rare Books and Manuscripts section of the National Library of Venezuela.

As for the plays *Noches en Blanco* (n.d.) and *Sol Recién Nacido* (n.d.), the dramatic texts were not found, only some mentions in unpublished works and interviews. Víctor Manuel Rivas, as a man of the theater, committed to cultural activities, founded the Society of Friends of the Theater on August 1, 1942, with the intention of organizing and promoting the national sense, with works that described the Venezuelan feeling and being, which would be performed with national actors. Rivas was the first theatrical director and producer of the Society of Friends of the Theater, he staged the play *Abigail* (1937) by Andrés Eloy Blanco, then premiered *El Pueblo* (1942) of his authorship, later he resigned from the direction of the Society, to work as a diplomat abroad, consequently, the playwright and also diplomat Aquiles Certad assumed that responsibility, this Society continued until 1946.

It is important to clarify that the play *El Pueblo* (1942) is in the trilogy “*La Garra Decrépita*” and not in the “*Rural Trilogy*” as

Rivas indicated in the preliminary pages of *Antesala* (1940)

From the theatrical point of view, Rivas contributed significantly, through his dramaturgy, he highlights the cultural heritage of Calabozo, El Guárico, the Venezuelan plains and the country, with works deeply charged with daily life, sadness, joy and bitterness of the constant dramatic changes in the political, economic and social life of Venezuela.

In relation to the work “*El Puntal*” written in 1933, in a customary style, it tells the life of two brothers, one who lives in the plains standing out in the chores on a ranch in Guárico and his daily tasks, in contrast with the life of the other brother who is in Caracas performing completely different functions in the time of the oil boom. Both marked by an indisputable influence of the Catholic religion, agrarian Venezuela and oil Venezuela, in whose outcome poetry and drama are denoted.

The work “*Antesala*” written in 1940, also of a customary nature, describes the relationships between people of different social classes in the room of a Public Ministry in the capital, where the discrimination between the lower social classes and people who come from the interior of the country is distinguished, in contrast with the upper class and wealthy people, so that everyone realizes in the end, that they are exactly the same, they go through the same hardships and

sadness.

In the work “El Pueblo”, written in 1940, of a customary nature, the sad life of the inhabitants of a village in ruins is shown, since they were stripped of their condition of important town by disposition and decision of the Presidents of State and Civil Chiefs, who, fulfilling higher orders, little by little take the entire life of what until now was a prosperous and happy town, towards the unknown, death and desolation.

In his works, one can appreciate the location of a historical, political and social context of agricultural Venezuela and its marked difference with oil-producing Venezuela, which highlighted a great difference in the migration of rural sectors to large cities in search of economic improvements. The religious factor is also present as a source of power and authority that directly influences each of the characters. On the other hand, the language used is refined, neat and understandable, loaded with a large dose of customs with the identity of the Venezuelan plainsman by incorporating beautiful verses and tunes, which are interpreted by the characters.

The intentions of Víctor Manuel Rivas' works are to make a constant call through dramaturgy for present and future generations to strengthen and vindicate the local and national identity and cultural heritage, assuming much more critical and humanistic positions.

## REFERENCES

- Acta final de la Reunión de los Ministros de las Relaciones Exteriores de las Repúblicas Americanas con los Acuerdos de Buenos Aires y de Lima [Documento en línea]. <http://www.oas.org/consejo/sp/rc/Actas/Acta%201.pdf>
- Armas, M. (2013) Vivencias Llaneras del Aguelo. <http://cuentaelabuelo.blogspot.com/2013/09/calabozo-atenas-llanera.html>
- Ley Orgánica del Servicio Diplomático (1924) Gaceta Oficial de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela N° 15.104 de fecha 9 de octubre de 1923 [Documento en línea] <http://www.defiendete.org/html/de-interes/LEYES%20DE%20VENEZUELA%20II/LEY%20ORGANICA%20DEL%20SERVICIO%20DIPLOMATICO.htm>
- Ley Orgánica de Servicio Insular (1920, Junio 26) Gaceta Oficial de Los estados Unidos de Venezuela N° 13.538

- Ley Orgánica del Servicio Diplomático (1924)  
Gaceta Oficial de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela N° 15.104 de fecha 9 de octubre de 1923 [Documento en línea] <http://www.defiendete.org/html/de-interes/LEYES%20DE%20VENEZUELA%20II/LEY%20ORGANICA%20DEL%20SERVICIO%20DIPLOMATICO.htm>
- Ochoa, H. (2019) Trilogía Venezolana. <https://es.scribd.com/document/424023255/Trilogia-Venezolana-Por-Haydee-Ochoa-Antich-de-Sturhahn>
- Resolución (s/n) Gaceta Oficial. Estados Unidos de Venezuela. (Caracas, Martes 10 de Marzo de 1936) N° 18.901
- Resolución (s/n) Gaceta Oficial. Estados Unidos de Venezuela. (Caracas, Lunes 22 de Agosto de 1938) N° 19.625
- Resolución (s/n) Gaceta Oficial. Estados Unidos de Venezuela. (Caracas, Sábado 22 de julio de 1944) N° 21.465
- Resolución (s/n) Gaceta Oficial. Estados Unidos de Venezuela. (Caracas, Martes 10 de octubre de 1944) N° 21.532
- Resolución (s/n) Gaceta Oficial. Estados Unidos de Venezuela. (Caracas, Miércoles 30 de mayo de 1944) N° 21.723
- Resolución (s/n) Gaceta Oficial. Estados Unidos de Venezuela. (Caracas, Viernes 03 de de 1944) N° 23.370
- Resolución (s/n) Gaceta Oficial. Estados Unidos de Venezuela. (Caracas, Jueves 20 de Noviembre de 1951) N° 23.636
- Resolución (s/n) Gaceta Oficial. Estados Unidos de Venezuela. (Caracas, Jueves 10 de octubre de 1952) N° 23.957
- Resolución (s/n) Gaceta Oficial. República de Venezuela. (Caracas, Martes 23 de Junio de 1953) N° 24.170
- Resolución (s/n) Gaceta Oficial. República de Venezuela. (Caracas, Martes 23 de Octubre de 1956) N° 25.186
- Resolución (s/n) Gaceta Oficial. República de Venezuela. (Caracas, Miércoles 20 de Marzo de 1957) N° 25.311
- Resolución (s/n) Gaceta Oficial. República de Venezuela. (Caracas, Martes 28 de Mayo de 1968) N° 28.626
- Rivas, V. (1933) El Puntal. Editorial Sur América. Caracas.
- Rivas, V. (1940) La Antesala. Ediciones de Repertorio Americano. San José. Costa Rica.
- Rivas, V. (1942) El Pueblo. CIA. AN. Editorial. General Rafael Urdaneta. Caracas Venezuela.
- Rivas, V. (1968) La Cola Del Huracán. Coculsa. Madrid. España.

- Taylhardat Adolfo R. (2012) Mi Participación en la Reclamación del Territorio Esequibo [ Documento en línea] <http://esequibonuestro.blogspot.com/2012/04/mi-participacion-en-la-reclamacion-del.html>
- Valerio, M. (2012) Origen y evolución de la instrucción secundaria en el estado Monagas. Consideraciones Historiográficas. [Documento en línea] [www.saber.ula.ve/bitstream/123456789/37301/1/articulo9.pdf](http://www.saber.ula.ve/bitstream/123456789/37301/1/articulo9.pdf) [Consulta 2015, Octubre, 5]
- Zamora, L. (1974) Diccionario Biográfico Cultural del Estado Guárico. Caracas. Graficas Herpas

Participación en la Reclamación del Territorio Esequibo [Documento en línea] <http://esequibonuestro.blogspot.com/2012/04/mi-participacion-en-la-reclamacion-del.html>

Valerio, M. (2012) Origen y evolución de la instrucción secundaria en el estado Monagas. Consideraciones Historiográficas. [Documento en línea] [www.saber.ula.ve/bitstream/123456789/37301/1/articulo9.pdf](http://www.saber.ula.ve/bitstream/123456789/37301/1/articulo9.pdf) [Consulta 2015, Octubre, 5]

Zamora, L. (1974) Diccionario Biográfico Cultural del Estado Guárico. Caracas. Graficas Herpas