



**CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
OF SANTIAGO DE GUAYAQUIL
FACULTY OF ARTS AND HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE**

TITLE OF PAPER

**ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF SPECIFIC CHAPTERS OF
THE BOOK “PORQUÉ FUI PRESIDENTE” BY GUSTAVO
NOBOA BEJARANO**

AUTHOR:

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**SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR
OBTAINING THE BACHELOR DEGREE IN ENGLISH
LANGUAGE WITH A MINOR IN TRANSLATION**

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CERTIFICATION

We certify that this research project was presented by **Alvarez Henríquez, Desiré Estefanía**, as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the **Bachelor Degree in English Language with a Minor in Translation**.

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Guayaquil, on the 19th day of September of 2017



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STATEMENT OF RESPONSIBILITY

I, **Álvarez Henríquez Desiré Estefanía,**

HEREBY DECLARE THAT:

The Senior Project: **Annotated Translation of Specific Chapters of the Book “Porqué Fui Presidente” by Gustavo Noboa Bejarano** prior to obtaining the **Bachelor Degree in English Language with a Minor in Translation**, has been developed based on thorough investigation, respecting the intellectual property rights of third parties regarding citations within the corresponding pages whose sources are included in the bibliography. Consequently, this work is of my full responsibility.

Under this statement, I am responsible for the content, truthfulness and scientific scope of the aforementioned paper.

Guayaquil, on the 19th day of September of 2017

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AUTHORIZATION

I, Álvarez Henríquez Desiré Estefanía,

Authorize the Catholic University of Santiago de Guayaquil to **publish** this Senior Project: **Annotated Translation of Specific Chapters of the Book “Porqué Fui Presidente” by Gustavo Noboa Bejarano** in the institutional repository. The contents, ideas and criteria in this paper are of my full responsibility and authorship.

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To Carlos Ernesto, who made it all worth it.



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ABSTRACT

The following annotated translation was carried out with the purpose to let people to know more about the Ecuadorian political history. This piece of translation contains specific facts regarding one of the worst economic and political crisis of the country dated in 1999 – 2000 which included the holiday bank and the freezing of bank deposits followed by the dollarization. The book “Porqué Fui Presidente” narrates the circumstances in which the decisions of the country were taken and also by whom. It mentions the reaction of the Ecuadorian people and the participation of the Ecuadorian army in the overthrow of then President of Ecuador, Jamil Mahuad, and how the Vice President, Gustavo Noboa Bejarano, assumed the position as President of Ecuador. All the process led by the political instability is narrated from the point of view of the author, Gustavo Noboa, who includes details of his experience. The book which has only been presented in Spanish contains political and financial terminology Ecuador had during those years. The rendering of this book will represent an opportunity for other authors to let their work be recognized and contribute to their political culture.

Key words: annotated translation, holiday bank, freezing of bank deposits, dollarization, overthrow, political instability, political terminology, rendering, political culture.

INTRODUCTION

As Michael R. Lewis stated in an article, there might be four reasons to write an autobiography. This could be to leave a mark, to reconcile the past, to make money or to inform and educate (Lewis, 2014). Autobiographies are written by many different professionals and nonprofessional as well. Countless doctors, politicians, actors, scientists and more have written about their lives and so could do any person that has the wish or need to transmit a message, an advice or hopes. This notion involves enough reasons to read an autobiography. For this object the translation of such a literary work is so valuable. It transmits knowledge in a way of a journey to the past.

In Ecuador there are not many autobiographies that can tell us about our ascendants. They constitute a source of knowledge of the past because they give clues about the lives of people and allow us to learn about our roots (Mora, 2013). Being able to access relevant information about people's background will lead to generate more informed criticism especially when attempting to recreate a country's political history since leaders are not only part of history but somehow make it.

From 1996 to 2007 the presidency of the Republic of Ecuador was exercised by six different people. This inconsistency in the country made the Ecuadorian people distrust and devalue the politics leading to a lack of political culture in the society. This situation has also misled the Ecuadorian people when choosing their leaders.

In 1998 the Ecuadorians elected Jamil Mahuad as their President hoping he would end the political instability the country had been going through after Abdala Bucaram was removed from office in 1997. During Mahuad's government the financial crisis caused significant protests and popular uprisings which ended up in his overthrow in January 2000. The Vice President Gustavo Noboa assumed the Presidency in the middle of a political uncertainty and the expectation of all Ecuadorian people. Several actions were taken during Noboa's three years of presidency to endure the financial crisis the country was suffering.

Seventeen years have passed since Mahuad's overthrow. A time in which one of the most important events and crisis in the history of Ecuadorian economy happened. The dollarization and the holiday bank led to consequences such as unemployment, underemployment and migration.

Ecuadorian people cannot allow another crisis like this to happen again. People must be aware of the facts, details, causes and consequences that previous leaders made the country go through. The information besides being accessible, must be spread all over the society. This book "Porqué Fui Presidente" by former President Gustavo Noboa Bejarano offers information that the Ecuadorian people require in order to rescue that political culture the country needs to make the right choice when electing their rulers.

The production of a rendering of this type of text will require the use of specific translation techniques that assure the meaning of the source text is transmitted to the target audience.

Problem and Justification

The aim of this project is to provide an annotated translator of tools to guide further translations that share the same field. English as a lingua franca, ELF, is a powerful ideological tendency through which people get ahold of information that otherwise would be inaccessible for them. History is written in books and this type of literature should be available in other languages. The lack of the translated version of a literary product decreases the opportunities for a society to spread a better criterion and generate awareness of their social, political, cultural and economic views round the world.

This book written by Gustavo Noboa has only been published in Spanish and since it contains valuable information about Ecuadorian history it deserves to be available to as many people as possible. There are specific topics in the first chapter of the book that detail the events occurred in Jamil Mahuad's presidency. These topics are relevant not only for Ecuadorians, but also for international audiences so as to allow understanding of Ecuadorian political culture. This translation then will represent an opportunity to people worldwide not only to learn about a relevant part of the history of the country, but to learn from the past, to avoid the same mistakes and make better choices in the future strengthening their political culture.

In conclusion this research based on the translation of the book seeks to inform foreign people about the political and financial crisis the country had by applying specific translation techniques that render the terminology this type of text includes. And thus become a resource to further translations.

Research questions

What techniques should be applied to translate the Ecuadorian political terminology?

What are the features of an autobiography that need to be considered for its translation?

What strategies should be applied in the translation of this autobiography?

General objective

This paper aims to render an annotated translation of specific topics of an autobiography by using the appropriate techniques in the communicative process. This is to identify the main problems while translating local specialized terminology and the expressive function of an autobiography.

Specific objectives

1. Analyze the text and categorize the field it belongs to in order to apply the terminology this type of translation needs.
2. Describe linguistic and nonlinguistic features
3. Propose translation techniques to render this type of translation.

CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH

Selection of the topics of the book “Porqué Fui Presidente” by Gustavo Noboa Bejarano

The book contains two main parts. The first part is the narration of the events that led him to assume the presidency of the country. The second part contains documents and other annex that support his narration.

For this paper the following topics of the first chapter were selected:

- Sobre el feriado bancario y el congelamiento de depósitos
- El deterioro
- Escenarios
- La dolarización y el comienzo del fin
- El 21 de enero de 2000
- Una noche interminable

These topics were chosen for having most of the content related to the dollarization, holiday bank and freezing of bank deposits that led to the overthrow of Jamil Mahuad in January 2000 and the succession of the Vice President Gustavo Noboa. These topics contain specific facts and details that allow any reader to understand what happened in the country in those moments. It allows younger Ecuadorian people to get to know how their country suffered one on the worst economic crisis and how it adopted the dollar as national currency. The rendering of these topics of the book will allow foreigners to get to know more about the country, its culture and politics and foremost to enforce their principles regarding political culture.

Survey

A survey was conducted in order to support the objective of translating the selected topics of the book “Porqué Fui Presidente” by Gustavo Noboa. Five respondents were chosen with the following profile:

- People with higher education.
- English speakers.
- They are close to Spanish speakers.
- They have general knowledge about politics.

These were the questions presented in the survey:

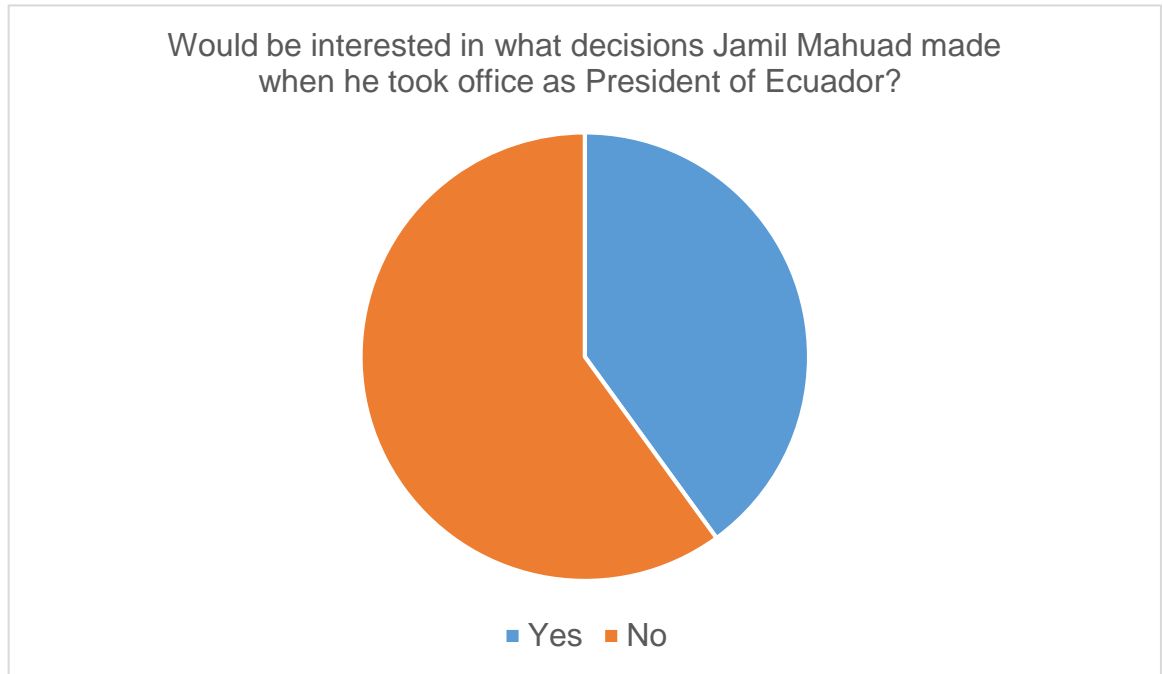
1. Would be interested in what decisions Jamil Mahuad made when he took office as President of Ecuador?
2. Are you interested in knowing the facts that led to the dollarization of Ecuador in 2000?
3. Would be interested the reasons why Jamil Mahuad was overthrown in 2000?
4. Are you familiar with the actions taken by Gustavo Noboa to endure the financial crisis?

The respondents had a brief introduction about the topic of the survey. This introduction included the location of Ecuador as well as the fact that it was dollarized in 2000.

The questions were sent via Gmail and Hotmail.

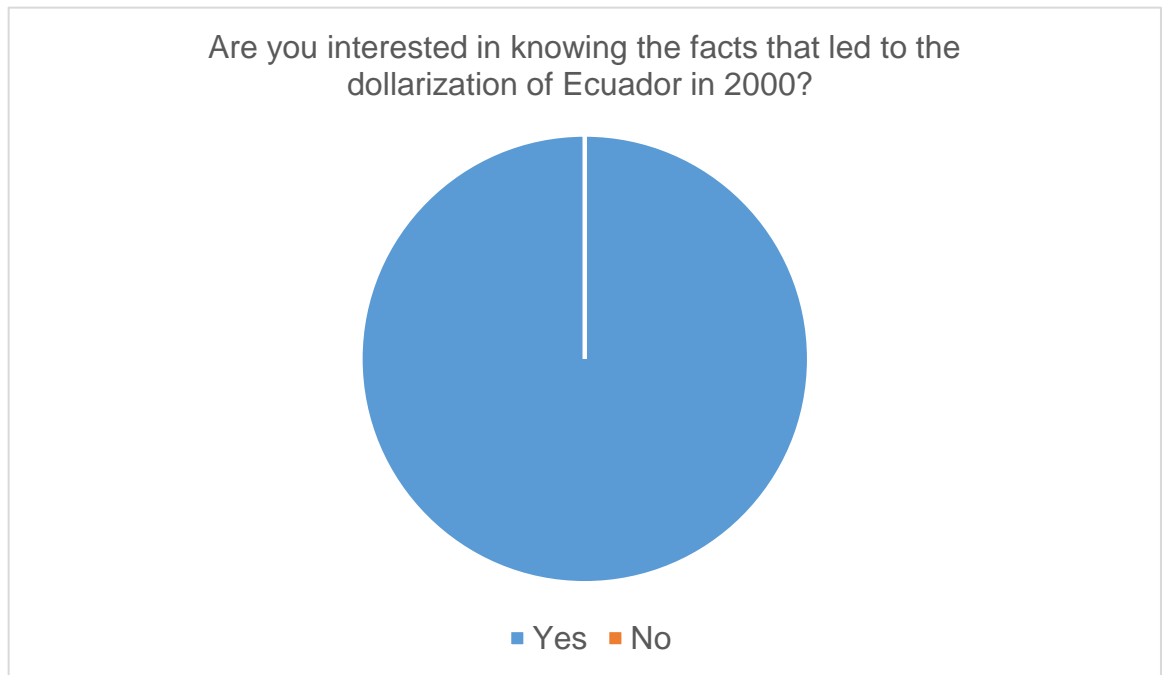
Analysis of the results

Question #1



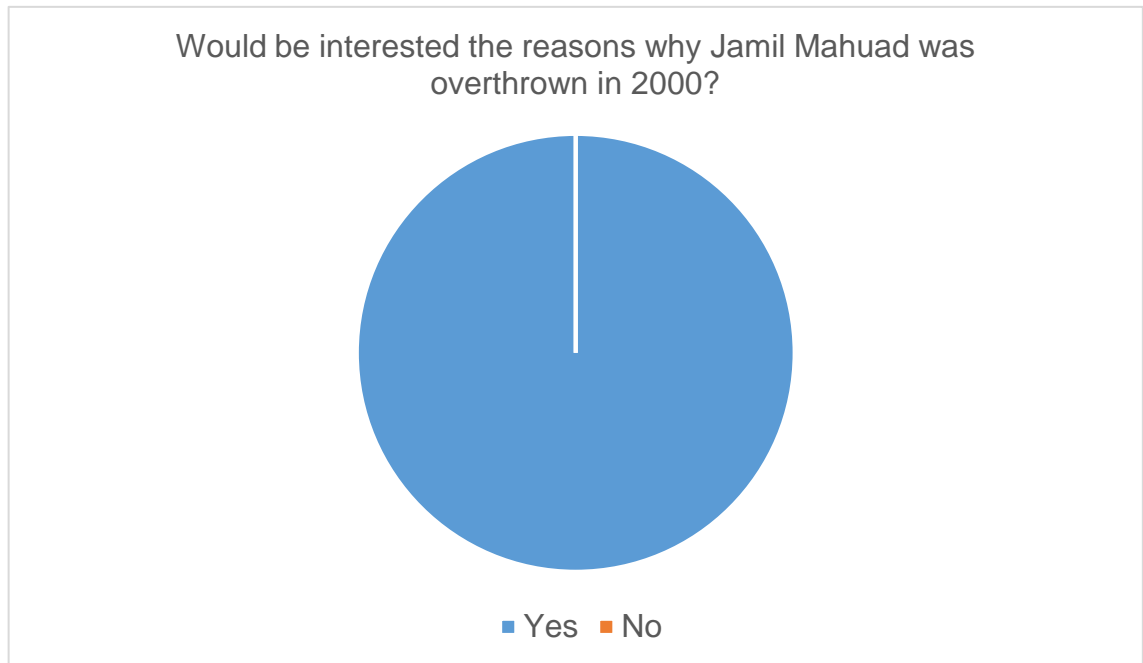
40% of the people are interested in knowing the decisions Jamil Mahuad made when he took office as President of Ecuador. This low rate is probably due to the fact that the former Ecuadorian President is not relevant for their culture. Another reason could be that many years have already passed since his presidency and they are not interested in an old topic.

Question #2



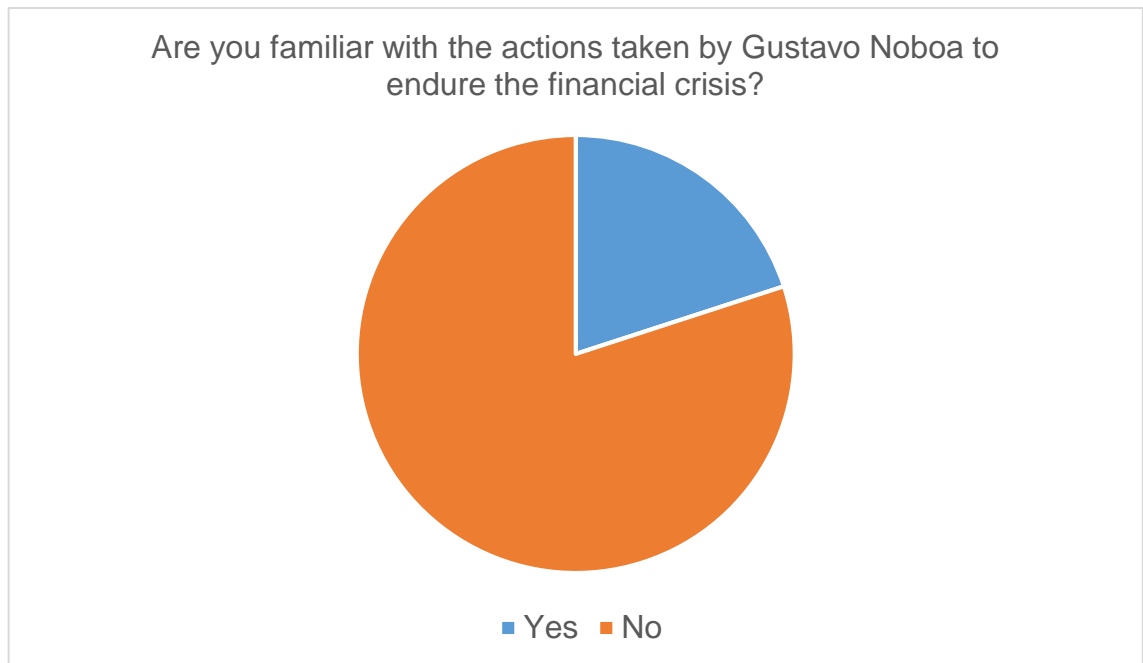
100% of the people are interested in knowing the facts that led the Ecuador to change its currency and adopt the dollar in 2000. This question represented an interesting topic for the respondents who understand the process of dollarization. The people would be interested in knowing the specific facts the country went through.

Question #3



100% of the people are interested in knowing the reasons why Jamil Mahuad was overthrown in 2000. This interest does not mean it is about the president per se but the reasons that lead to an overthrow in a country. As in the previous question, the respondents are aware of process of an overthrow and the results show that this specific case is interesting for them.

Question #4



Only 20% of the people surveyed is familiar with the actions taken by Gustavo Noboa to endure the financial crisis in 2000. This fact is due to the lack of information about Ecuadorian politics in other countries. The only person that answered affirmatively is because he is married to an Ecuadorian. He has never lived or visited the country. He does not speak Spanish either. However he has had some access to the Ecuadorian culture through his wife.

Conclusion of results

This survey helps to appreciate how useful a translation of this matter would be. For some people it might be considered as general reading who use the translation to increase their knowledge and culture. Nevertheless it could also represent an opportunity to let other people know and learn about the Ecuadorian history, to analyze the facts, causes and consequences of one of the worst financial crisis in Latin America.

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Literary translation

Translation has been widely classified into literary and non-literary. In the former type the translator must concern about both sense and style, which implicates that he has to bear in mind the basic principles of literature. Here the translator has to make a TL text that retains the feel of the original ST text. (Das, 2008)

Within literary translation, plenty types of texts can be found: novels, poetry, biographies, stories, scripts, etc. Autobiographies as part of literary translation must be translated considering all the features of a literary text and especially taking into account the function of the language.

The linguist Katharina Reiss wrote about three types of texts which are sorted into informative, persuasive and expressive. The three of them are encoded at different levels: content for informative, content and aesthetic organization for expressive and content and persuasion for persuasive texts. (Reiss & Vermeer, 2014)

As the main purpose of an autobiography to inform about a person's life, the major function in this type of literature is to be informative even though the content shows there is an expressive function in the content.

Translation methods

Before the translator starts reproducing the source text into the target language the approach he is going to follow. This approach is given by the skopos of the source text which may or not be the same as in the target text. Newmark explains different methods of which three are to be considered in this paper. (Newmark, 1988)

Literal translation

There are specific methods of translations that can be analyzed before choosing an approach. Newmark's literal translation is perfect for informative texts. It keeps each idea as it is presented in the source text. It does not add or remove any phrase or sentence. On the other hand this method does not include any figurative language or idiomatic expression. It depends a lot on equivalence. (Newmark, 1988)

Free translation

Contrary to the concept of literal translation there is free translation. This method also proposed by Newmark is open to the translator's interpretation of the source text. This freedom affects the source text to the extent of the translator's interpretation. Thus the translator becomes author of another text. (Newmark, 1988)

Communicative translation

This method proposes to prioritize what the author wants to transmit, being faithful to the source text in the informational function but also including the expressive function the text may contain. As its name states, the communication is the purpose of this method. Communication cannot be limited since languages are not limited nor share the same vocabulary items and phrases. When there is not an equivalent, the translator must choose communication. (Newmark, 1988)

Translation techniques

Even though the terminology in this kind of translation regards politics which is a specific subject field it also involves literary translation charged with personal and emotional information and sources. The appropriate translation

techniques for this type of literature must convey the original meaning the author intends to transmit with certain words.

The techniques also follow specific approaches which Vinay and Darbelnet classified as direct, also known as literal, and oblique. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Direct or Literal techniques

These techniques are used when the source text and the target text share grammatical features and structure so it is possible to find a translation for the source text.

When following this type of translation, the translator may use the following techniques. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Borrowing

The source text and the target text must be as similar as possible. The rendering must be the closest to the target culture. Anyway there are cases in which there is no equivalent in the target text or the possible equivalent does not fulfill the expectations of the translator and the choice is to keep the original lexical item or phrase and reproduce it in the target text. Additional to this technique the translator may use a footnote explaining the meaning of the word or phrase. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Calque

Usually applied to proper nouns such as names of entities, this technique presents a translation following the exact structure of the original text. It translates each word in the exact order into the target language always following its linguistic rules. This technique allows the reader to have a clear and literal idea of the name of the entity. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Literal translation

This is probably the most mechanic type of translation in which the target text shows the translation of the source text word for word. The translator uses this procedure as long as it does not affect the rendering of the original text. In the communicative approach this technique has as disadvantage that the final product will not be appreciated as naturally as it does in the source text. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Oblique techniques

When it is not possible to find a direct term for the source text, the translator applies other techniques that allow the reader to understand the message that the author wants to transmit. These techniques are applied in order to render the most accurate translation especially when following the communicative approach. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Amplification

This technique is used when the translator has the need to add information to make the target text understandable for the reader. There is some information that might be obvious in the source text but it is not obvious in the target text or culture. This addition is intended to make the reader feel what the source text wants to transmit. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Economy

When there is no need to use all the words of the source text to transmit a message in the target text the translator chooses to omit certain words. This technique is not supposed to affect the rendering or the impact on the reader. This technique is the opposite of amplification. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Transposition

In order to recreate a reliable work and make a fluent text, the translator chooses the words that fit the best in the target text. Sometimes nouns are changed into verbs or verbs are changed into adverbs or into any other word item such as adjectives and prepositional phrases without altering the message the source text wants to transmit. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Dissolution

When the equivalent of a word in the target language corresponds to more than one word, it is dissolution. The meaning does not change. It is about the number of lexical items that vary. In order to reproduce and convey the original message, this technique offers this possibility by adding one or more lexical items such as nouns or articles. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Concentration

Contrary to the previous technique, merging occurs when the target language does not need the exact number of lexical items that the source language presents to render the message. Concentration will use less lexical items to transmit the same idea of the source text. In some cases the target language will only use one word that work as the equivalent of the source text. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Inversion

The translator can make the text sound as natural as possible and for this purpose he can change the order of the words or phrases without adding or omitting information. This technique from Spanish as source text to English as Target text is widely used since the grammatical structures are different. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Equivalence

The target text implies not only a change in language but in culture. Plenty of terms have a specific translation in other languages. This translation may be grammatically different but it does not mean it is incorrect. This technique is often used in specific terminologies or idioms in which the terms are already fixed. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Generalization

There might be the case in which the target language does not have the specific term for a word in the source text. Then the translator uses a word which definition has a wider range than the word in the source language. The disadvantage of using this technique is that it might cause a loss in the rendering which should be compensated in other kind. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Particularization

This technique is the opposite of generalization. The translator uses a very specific word that does not fill the meaning of the source word. The disadvantage of this technique is the same as in generalization. So the translator must find the way to compensate the loss. (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995)

Other strategies

Taking into account the classification of techniques proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet there are two more strategies used in this kind of translation.

Paraphrasing

The translator has the freedom to use any technique in order to render the author's message. In paraphrasing the translator changes the point of view and so the order of the words to make the text as natural as possible for the target audience. This technique is used very often in the communicative method in which it is more important the impact of the translation in the target audience than to be faithful to the author's literal text. (Mona & Malmkjær, 2000)

Sentence-splitting

This technique is applied when the translator splits the text into sentences. The splitting is usually applied by changing a punctuation mark such as comma or semicolon, into a period and so starting a new sentence. This technique is applied to cope with the linguistic aspects of the target language. It is frequently used from Spanish to English texts. (Menzel, Lapshinova-Koltunski, & Kunz, 2017)

Translation errors

The Spanish translator Amparo Hurtado exposes Christiane Nord's types of translation errors in a hierarchical way. (Hurtado, 1996). In order to classify the errors Christiane Nord exposes in her book *Text Analysis in Translation* how important the skopos is (Nord, 2005). Once the skopos has been determined the translator applies the necessary techniques to render the text.

The most serious is the pragmatic error since it is attached to the target culture. The translator might omit or misunderstand the meaning of the source text that goes beyond the words. This type of error changes the function of the text causing a great loss in the target audience and misleading the original message the author wants to transmit.

The following is the cultural error which includes cultural features such as currency, measures, greetings, etc. As a consequence the target audience will perceive the text as foreign. This type of error can be avoided with the corresponding research to find the equivalence in the target text.

The third error is the linguistic type. The author considers this the least serious error due to the several revisions a translation has to go through before it is released. Misspelling, capitalization, punctuation are examples of this type of error.

The aforementioned techniques developed by Vinay and Darbelnet are intended to prevent these types of errors and follow the communicative approach that was determined for this translation project.

The author

Gustavo Noboa Bejarano was born in Guayaquil. He is married to Maria Isabel Baquerizo Valenzuela and they have six children. He attended Colegio Salesiano Cristobal Colon in Guayaquil during his primary and secondary education. He became a lawyer and doctor in law in Universidad de

Guayaquil. He was a secondary school teacher in La Inmaculada, Cristobal Colon and Domingo Comin. He was a professor at Universidad Catolica de Santiago de Guayaquil, dean of the faculty of law, principal of the UCSG. He worked in Ingenio de Azucar San Carlos. He was also member of the Comision Negociadora de la Paz con el Peru. He was the Vice President of Ecuador and then the president. He was isolated in Republica Dominicana for 2 years.

Due to his wide experience in politics he has written the following books in Spanish:

- Mi Vida
- Respuesta A Una Infamia
- Porqué Fui Presidente
- El Asilo Por Infamias
- Alegatos Contra La Infamia
- Cecilia Armas Y La Destrucción Del Estado

CHAPTER THREE: ANALYSIS OF THE TECHNIQUES APPLIED IN THE TARGET TEXT.

The techniques applied in the translation from Spanish to English belong to the classification made by Jean Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet in his book *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation* (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995). These techniques were applied following the communicative approach described by Newmark. (Newmark, 1988)

The following chart shows the abbreviations ST and TT which stand for Source text and Target text respectively.

Calque

ST	TT
Fuerzas Armadas del Ecuador	Armed Forces of Ecuador
Consejo de Generales y Almirantes	Council of Generals and Admirals
Junta de Salvación Nacional	Board of National Salvation
Mando Militar	Military Command
Comando Conjunto	Joint Command
Grupo Especial de Operaciones	Special Operations Group

The terminology of these examples is related to the Ecuadorian army. There are names of entities which were translated following the structure of the source text. This technique was applied since there was no risk of losing meaning and that the most important was to let the target audience know what these entities were about.

ST	TT
Superministro de Economía	Super minister of Economy
Secretario de la Presidencia	Secretary of the Presidency
Secretario General de la Administración	Secretary General of the Administration
Ministerio de Defensa	Ministry of Defense
Ministro de Gobierno	Minister of Government
Presidente Constitucional de la República del Ecuador	Constitutional President of the Republic of Ecuador
Congreso Nacional	National Congress
Corte Suprema de Justicia	Supreme Court of Justice
Coordinadora de Movimientos Sociales	Coalition of Social Movements
Contraloría General de la Nación	General Comptroller of the Nation

The source text mentions several political posts that belong to the then Ecuadorian political system. In order to find an equivalent in the target text, the calque technique was applied. This technique deals with specific terminology and proper nouns and it also respects the structure of the source text allowing the translator to present to the target audience a faithful translation. Borrowing could also be a possible technique but this was not needed since it was possible to translate the terms without affecting the meaning.

ST	TT
Colegio Salesiano Cristóbal Colón	Christopher Columbus Salesian School

There are also names of entities that are not related to a specific field. This is the case of the name of a school. Even though names of people are sometimes not translated, the name Cristobal Colon is rendered as Christopher Columbus since it is a widely known name in the target culture.

Inversion

ST	TT
Luego llegaron al Palacio los diputados de la Democracia Popular (DP)	Then the congressmen of the People's Democracy (PD) came to the Palace
Siempre se le criticó al presidente Mahuad	President Mahuad was always criticized for
lugar en el que estaban reunidos los generales y almirantes	where the generals and admirals were gathered
ya no era necesaria la detención del Vicepresidente	the detention of the Vice President was no longer necessary

In these examples the subject of the sentence (noun phrase) has been moved. This technique was required due to the grammatical structure of the target language in which the position of the subject is not as open as it is in the source text (Spanish). The result of this technique allows the reader to understand the text in a natural way.

ST	TT
Presidente, durante toda mi vida he negociado y he cumplido mis acuerdos	President, I have negotiated and fulfilled my agreements throughout my whole life
Esa semana se sucedieron diversas opiniones	There were several opinions that week
llevaba más de veinte horas sin haber descansado	she had not rested for more than twenty hours

The translation shows that the adverbial phrases of time have been placed at the end of the sentences while the source text placed these phrases at the beginning. This modification does not affect the meaning of the text but it was carried out to make the structure of the sentence in the target text more natural to the reader since in the target language these types of adverbs are placed at the end.

ST	TT
que esa noche anunciaría al país su resolución	he would announce the resolution to the country that night
anunciar mañana por la tarde la dolarización	to announce the dollarization tomorrow evening

In these examples the direct object was moved to a different part of the sentence. This change was made to create a natural reading in the target text in which the direct object is attached to the verb. If the original structure had been kept the result would have seemed too literal and not communicative as it was intended from the beginning.

ST	TT
el presidente Mahuad invitó al Ecuador a una misión del Grupo Mediterráneo	President Mahuad invited a mission of the Mediterranean Group to Ecuador
quien solía acudir con alguna frecuencia a mi despacho	who used to go to my office with certain frequency

These two examples show how the adverbial phrases of place were put after the direct object in the first sample and after the verb in the second. These changes were done to have a more organized structure in the target text and allow the reading to be more fluent. In this way the communicative approach of the translation is being prioritized.

ST	TT
El día sábado, Ana Lucía Armijos nuevamente llamó a los banqueros por la mañana	On Saturday morning, Ana Lucia Armijos called the bankers again

In this case the adverb had to be moved from its original position in the source text to match the grammatical structure of the target language. This type of adverb in the target text needs to be placed after the verb and in this sentence the adverb “again” was placed after the direct object. In this way the rendering keeps the communicative approach.

Economy

ST	TT
Estando en el Palacio de Carondelet	In the Palace Of Carondelet

This case omits the verb “being” at the beginning of the sentence in the target text. This omission was carried out without losing information since the target text has already indicated who is performing the action and mentioning the verb was not needed in the target language.

ST	TT
una decisión de estas proporciones	such a decision

The source text includes the prepositional phrase “de estas proporciones” next to the noun. On the other hand, the target text uses the determiner “such” before the noun. Taking into account the meaning of the word “such” it is no longer required to add more lexical items to the noun to create the same impact the source text has therefore the prepositional phrase was omitted.

ST	TT
Indignado ante la falta de explicaciones de Álvaro Guerrero, y ante repuestas sin sentido	Outraged by the lack of explanations from Alvaro Guerrero and nonsensical answers

In order to avoid repetition the second preposition was omitted in the target text. Thus the target text is presented to the reader in a simple but effective way.

ST	TT
a lo largo de todo el día	throughout the day
y por espacio total de más de dos horas	and for more than two hours.
pude darme clara cuenta	I realized
durante todo el año 1999,	throughout 1999
Cercano ya el mediodía	Near noon

The source language allows a writer to use as many words as required to express an idea. All these words could be rendered in a different language but there is the risk to end with a literal translation instead of a communicative one. In these five examples the intensifiers were omitted without affecting the message of the text so there is no need to compensate them. The target language does not need the same amount of lexical items to have the impact the source text has. This technique was applied following the established skopos of the text.

ST	TT
Licenciado Fernando Aguayo	Fernando Aguayo
Licenciado Ramón Yulee	Ramón Yulee
ingeniero Rodolfo Barniol	Rodolfo Barniol
ingeniero José Machiavello	José Machiavello
ingeniero Juan José Pons	Juan José Pons
ingeniero René Bucaram	René Bucaram
doctor Jorge Egas Peña	Jorge Egas Peña
doctor Vladimiro Álvarez Grau	Vladimiro Álvarez Grau
doctor Fernando Aspiazú	Fernando Aspiazú
doctor Oswaldo Hurtado Larrea	Oswaldo Hurtado Larrea
doctor Juan Falconi	Juan Falconi
doctores Eduardo Pena Triviño y Galo García Feraud	Eduardo Pena Triviño and Galo García Feraud
doctor Roberto Hanze	Roberto Hanze
doctor Juan Manrique	Juan Manrique
doctor Carlos Solórzano Constantine	Carlos Solórzano Constantine
doctor Gustavo Noboa Bejarano	Gustavo Noboa Bejarano
doctor Jamil Mahuad	Jamil Mahuad
doctor Marcelo Santos Vera	Marcelo Santos Vera
señor Antonio Vargas	Antonio Vargas
los señores ministros	the ministers
al señor Embajador del Japón	the Ambassador of Japan

There are plenty cases in which the author of the book uses the bachelor's degree of the people he mentions. This distinction that goes before the name is important in the source culture but it is not in the target culture. For this reason all the professions were omitted and the rendering only shows the names of the people. This was also made in order to avoid confusion especially in degrees such as "doctor" which belong to different fields in both languages.

Dissolution

ST	TT
Conocí que el Presidente había conversado con Domingo Cavallo	I found out that the President had talked to Domingo Cavallo
El pueblo ecuatoriano se percató paulatinamente	The Ecuadorian people gradually became aware
la crisis bancaria se agudizó	the banking crisis became more acute
Provocaría	would cause
Declararse	To declare himself
debo señalar	I must point out

All the cases of the examples above are related to the verb of the sentence. These samples show how it is necessary to use more than one lexical item to render the meaning of a word (verb). These changes are applied to fulfill the grammatical constraints of the target language.

Concentration

ST	TT
a lo largo de todo el día	throughout the day
por parte de Jamil Mahuad	from Jamil Mahuad
por ende	therefore
Previo a que	Before

These examples show how the prepositions in the target language were translated using only one word. The lexical items used for the rendering transmit the exact meaning as the source language.

ST	TT
mal manejo	mismanagement

This case shows how a prefix changes the meaning of a noun. The use of prefixes to modify the meaning of a word is more common in the target language (English) so the translation in this case uses one lexical item (noun) instead of the two in the source text (adjective and noun).

ST	TT
pude darme clara cuenta	I realized
darían luego origen	led
Intentara darle forma	tried to shape

The verbs “dar cuenta”, “dar origen” and “dar forma” can be translated into English using only one lexical item. These lexical items fulfill the meaning of the source words. The verbs have their perfect match in the target culture and there is no loss in the process.

Transposition

ST	TT
había fervientes interesados	there were people fervently interested

Considering that the word “fervientes” can be used as adjective and noun in the source text but not in the target text, it was required to add a lexical item which was “people” and then translate the former item. In this case the noun was changed into an adverb since there was already a noun before (people) and the adverb fitted in the sentence as an intensifier for the adjective “interested”.

ST	TT
con actitud violenta	violently

In this case it was possible to render a translation using the same parts of speech having as a result “with a violent attitude” but in order to avoid using an extra lexical item when it was possible to use just one; the translation ended changing the adjective for an adverb. This way the target text keeps the same message and purpose as the source text.

ST	TT
dejaba entrever la grave indecisión	gave a glimpse of the serious indecision
repercutirán	will have repercussions

The translation shows how the verbs from the source text were changed into nouns. This transformation was done taking into account the meaning of the phrase in the target culture. Even when it was possible to render a verb for another verb, the decision to choose a different part of speech allows the reader to have access to a communicative rendering of the text.

Amplification

ST	TT
Jamil me contestó que no; que les agradeciera por su solidaridad	Jamil answered no. He asked me to thank them for their solidarity

The source text shows two clauses joined by a semicolon. These are split in the target text in order to convey the linguistic constraints of the target language. As there are two sentences, the new second needs to have the independence of a complete sentence and for this purpose the clause “He asked me to” was added at the beginning. The second sentence then makes sense for the reader and the information added does not affect the intention of the original text.

ST	TT
Dolarice o se cae	Dollarize the country or it will fall

There are some verbs in the Spanish language (source text) that do not require a direct object but in some cases those verbs do need that direct object in a different language to comply with the syntactic rules of the target language. For that reason the direct object “the country” was added to the verb.

Additionally, the source text shows two independent clauses and the second “se cae” has an implied subject which cannot be used in the target language. In this case it was mandatory to add the subject “it” to the clause.

ST	TT
este régimen por corrupto	this regime for being corrupt

In this example the verb “being” was added to the target text to make the sentence more complete. Following the communicative approach, the addition of this verb fulfills the concept the author wants to transmit since the lack of it would make the product a literal translation.

Generalization

ST	TT
Le contesté a Jamil	I told Jamil
me indicó	told me
Le indiqué	I told him

The source text used the verbs “contesté, indicó, indicó” which were translated with the verb “told”. The verb “tell” has a wide range that includes the possible options to translate the source verbs such as “respond” and “indicate”. The decision to generalize the term was made taking into account the narrative of the text and its skopos. In this way the target audience will sense the text as natural as possible.

ST	TT
Debo manifestar	I must say
le manifestó	said to him

The source verbs “manifestar” and its conjugation “manifestó” are rendered as “say” and “said” in the target text. The generalization of the verb was done since the possible verb “manifest” does not convey the meaning the author wants to express. On the other hand, the verb “say” follows the narrative of the text and implies the intention of the source.

ST	TT
Domicilio	home

In this example the noun “domicilio” was translated as “home”. The choice of using a broader term was made without affecting the meaning of the source text or causing a loss. The author in the source text referred to the place where he was living and not specifically to the address of his residence. Therefore the noun “home” fits naturally in the target text.

Particularization

ST	TT
Se seguían sucediendo hechos	More events continued happening
Professor	professor

The noun “hechos” in isolation makes reference to any type of act, but this word in the source text refers to “acontecimientos” which translation in the target language is “event”. The particularization of the noun was done taking into consideration the context of the source text and so render it into the target text.

The second noun “profesor” has a wide range in the source language since it may refer to a teacher in any educational level. Nevertheless for the target language the noun “professor” was chosen. This word does not share the same range the source text does. The particularization of the word from “teacher” to “professor” was done considering that the person about whom the source text was talking was not only a “teacher” but a professor who worked for many years in universities. In this case the particularization was done due to the previous information known about the author that allowed the translator to render a more communicative text.

Literal

ST	TT
este criterio es absolutamente personal	this criterion is absolutely personal
fue mi deseo esa noche, estar acompañado de dos de mis mejores amigos.	It was my wish that night, to be accompanied by two of my best friends.
El objetivo es CAMBIAR LA ESTRUCTURA DEL ECUADOR	The objective is to CHANGE THE STRUCTURE OF ECUADOR

In some cases the syntactic structure of the source language matches the structure of the target language. This technique for translation may follow the communicative approach as long as the skopos is not affected. The examples above show how the sentences are literally translated without losing the communicative intention of the author.

Equivalence

ST	TT
canciller	Foreign Affairs Minister
golpe de Estado	coup d'etat
Poderes Legislativo y Judicial	Legislature and Judiciary
vacío de poder	power vacuum
cortes y juzgados	courts
los ecuatorianos y ecuatorianas	Ecuadorians
algunos medios de comunicación	some media

According to the field the text is about, there is a specific terminology. These words are already fixed so they have an equivalence in another language. The examples above show some proper nouns regarding politics (Foreign Affairs Minister, coup d'etat, Legislature and Judiciary, power vacuum) a place (courts) and even a denonym (Ecuadorians). These noun phrases have their corresponding equivalence in the target culture.

The noun “medios de comunicación” is part of the journalistic field and its equivalent in the target language “media” was used for the transition.

The use of a different lexical item or phrase in these examples would have represented a misunderstanding for the reader. As the purpose of this translation is to be communicative, the wrong choice of a term with a specific equivalent in a target culture would make a product lacking of accuracy.

ST	TT
Amigos televidentes	Dear viewers

This expression that belongs to the journalistic field is widely used in the source culture also has an equivalent expression in the target culture. If the translation were literal it would cause confusion and misunderstanding in the target audience since the correct phrase for this salutation is been changed leaving aside the communicative purpose of the translation.

ST	TT
Soportar	face
para exigirle que saliera a defender la democracia	to demand that he stand for democracy

Taking into account the target text must be as communicative as possible, the words from the source text must be analyzed within its context. The verbs above “soportar” and “defender” were used to express specific situations. Therefore the translation must reflect the intention of the sentence. After analyzing the target culture, two verbs were chosen. These express and communicate the intention of the author. These are the equivalent verbs in the target language.

ST	TT
si bien a renglón seguido le invité	although I then
desde hacía ya muchos años	for many years
al tiempo que	while
en pro de	In order to
en el evento de que	in case
Ante	In light of

The register of the source text is not fixed or entirely formal since it uses a personal narrative. There are several expressions that were analyzed before being rendered in the target culture. Once the equivalents of these phrases were found they were used for the translation. These examples show prepositions and conjunctions that convey the meaning of the source text.

ST	TT
No me toca ese camino a mí	That is not up to me
más temprano que tarde	sooner rather than later

The examples of phrases were rendered taking into account the target culture following the communicative skopos of the text. Literal translation was not an option since it would not convey the real intention of the author. The first example shows how the meaning beyond the words was analyzed. The second example shows an expression rendered with another expression that transmits the same idea in the target language.

ST	TT
servirnos un café	having coffee

This last example of equivalence uses a collocation to render the meaning of the source text. Analyzing the intention of the author this equivalence was found, the same that fulfils the syntactic constraints of the target language and mostly important the communicative purpose of the text.

Borrowing

ST	TT
CONAIE	CONAIE
Corpecuador	Corpecuador
Expreso	Expreso

These words from the source text (Spanish) were not translated into the target language due to the function of each word: proper nouns. The names CONAIE and Corpecuador are related to politics and Expreso is the name of local newspaper. There is no need to change these names into the target language since its translation would not have any meaning in the target culture. On the other hand it is useful to use a footnote explaining the function of these entities to let the audience know about what the author is referring to and thus making the translation more communicative.

Paraphrasing

ST	TT
¿Qué hubiese pasado si esa pregunta me era planteada en vivo?	What would have happened if that question had been live?
el manejo arrogante de sus relaciones con los demás	his arrogant relations with others
concurrí a las 23h06 para atender a una entrevista	at 11:06 pm I attended an interview
Son momentos críticos los que está viviendo el país.	The country is living critical moments.
Todo corrió por mi mente en tan poco tiempo	Everything ran through my mind so fast

Throughout the text there were some sentences and phrases that could be translated only by paraphrasing the words. Paraphrasing is one of the last alternatives the translators use after considering the list of techniques previously presented. The purpose of applying this technique was to transmit the message of the author by using different words or changing the point of view. As the technique was applied to keep the communicative approach in the rendering, the result is not the translator's interpretation of the source text.

The first example shows a change in the narrative of the question (personal narrative). This caused a change in the syntactic structure of the target text that does not include the indirect object "me".

The second example needed the study of the meaning of the sentence. The author in the source text wrote that "the way (he) had his relations with others was arrogant", but this rendering was not used for the target text since it might be sensed too literal and unnatural for the audience. It was rendered instead as "his arrogant relations with others" that after the analysis of the source sentence was said to express the same but in a shorter, simpler but more communicative way.

The third example shows a reduction in the number of lexical items. This omission of words caused a paraphrasing of the source text. The result is as the previous example, a shorter but accurate rendering of the text.

The fourth example has a reordering of the subject in the sentence. This way of paraphrasing is the simplest one since only the order and point of view of the sentence is changed. There is no omission of words and the communicative approach is kept.

The last example shows that “en tan poco tiempo” was rendered as “so fast”. While the literal translation could have been “in so little time” the paraphrasing technique was applied in the adverbial phrase. This decision was made considering the target culture in which the chosen adverbial phrase “so fast” expresses in the best way what the author wants to transmit.

Sentence-splitting

ST	TT
No nos han querido hacer caso a los indios, que somos el pueblo ecuatoriano; nos han lanzado a la dolarización sin respetar nuestro criterio; nosotros vamos a tumbar a este régimen por corrupto.	They have not wanted to pay attention to the Indigenous, who are the Ecuadorian people. They have thrown us into dollarization without respecting our criteria. We are going to overthrow this regime for being corrupt.
Sentences: 1	Sentences: 3
Llegamos a Ayangue; nos informaron en mi oficina que el Congreso había sido tomado por grupos indígenas, y por los coroneles sublevados.	We arrived in Ayangue. We were informed in my office that the Congress had been taken over by indigenous groups, and by the rebel colonels.
Sentences: 1	Sentences: 2
En esta última semana yo he permanecido en mi despacho, no he sido consultado absolutamente sobre ninguna decisión importante; tal es así que me fui a la ciudad de Guayaquil el día de hoy a una reunión de Corpecuador, para continuar con los puentes y carreteras de la Costa ecuatoriana, y he venido acá al atardecer, habida cuenta de todo lo que he visto en la pantalla de televisión y en todos los noticieros.	In the last week I have remained in my office. I have not been consulted absolutely on any important decision. I even went to Guayaquil today to a meeting of Corpecuador, to continue with the bridges and highways of the Ecuadorian Coast, and I came here at dusk, given all that I have seen on TV and all the news.
Sentences: 1	Sentences: 3

The first and second example the source text shows how a semicolon joins two clauses, which in the target text was replaced by a period. This change

was done considering the syntactic structure of the paragraph. In addition, in the target language the effect of separate sentences would give a clearer idea to the reader.

The third example the source text besides using a semicolon also uses a comma to join clauses. For the target text, the comma was changed with a period due to the syntactic constraints of the target language i.g. start a new sentence with a pronoun after a period instead after a comma. These changes make the target text more communicative and natural for the audience.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Techniques to translate the Ecuadorian political terminology

Every country has their own political system which contains specific terminology. In order to transmit knowledge of this field to a different culture and language, it is necessary to analyse that field in the target culture. The translator will compare and decide to what extent the systems with their specific terminology match.

The Ecuadorian political system has suffered multiple changes through time. The book "Porqué Fui Presidente" was written in 2012 and narrates the events from 2000 to 2003 under the Constitution of 1998 and ten years later the country had their twentieth and current constitution. These systems have so many differences that even for an intralingual translation it is required to make a comparative analysis.

When translating this type of terminology, the most appropriate strategy is to use equivalence that assures that the target term conveys the meaning of the source term. This technique was applied as much as possible in the translation. On the other hand the book also contained noun phrases that are proper nouns. These were translated by using the calque technique that not only provided a translation of the name but it also transmitted the meaning behind the words.

Features of the text, type and function

The features of this autobiography that were taken into account for its translation were the narrative person, the register, the local expressions and the connotative and denotative meaning of the words.

The author used the first person narrative to tell the events of how he got to be President of Ecuador. His register is rather formal to neutral and the use of expressions is much reduced. Finally the some connotative meaning was found and analyzed in phrases he used to express his opinion about a certain topic. (Ivir, 1973)

As an autobiography it is considered a non-fictional text which function is to inform the audience.

Defining the skopos of the text

Once the translator has defined the type of text it is possible to establish its purpose. This is an autobiography and therefore its function is to inform the readers. Considering the function of the text, the translator defines the purpose of the translation and based on that skopos all the decisions are made. (Baker & Kirsten, 2001)

It is possible that the translator decides to change or alter the original purpose of the source text and it is also possible that he uses different approaches to render a translation. (Byrne, 2006) All the strategies and techniques applied in the translation must respond to the skopos.

For the translation of this autobiography, the narrative person, register of the author, descriptive words, main ideas and details, facts and opinions and idioms were mainly considered before applying any technique. Moreover, nonlinguistic features such as semantics and pragmatics were constantly studied and taken into account in the translation process due to the expressive function of the text.

Strategies applied to translate the autobiography

While dealing with biographies, it is possible to find expressions that are difficult to transmit to a different culture. However, the direct and oblique techniques proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet offer two wide approaches that allow an accurate rendering of a text. Many of their techniques were applied throughout this translation, such as: Borrowing, Calque, Literal translation, Amplification, Economy, Transposition, Dissolution, Concentration, Inversion, Equivalence, Generalization and Particularization. The same which correspond to the communicative approach established at the beginning of

the process. Nevertheless it was necessary to apply two additional techniques: paraphrasing and sentence-splitting. The first has been described by Baker & Kirsten and the second by Menzel, Lapshinova-Koltunski, & Kunz.

About paraphrasing

The paraphrasing technique has criticized for being “too free” that instead of reproducing the original text, the translator decides to change the words because he considers it is the best decision in pro of the target audience. However, this technique has also been supported claiming that a translator can applied the technique “without compromising the communicative purpose of the translation process” (Byrne, 2006) since the skopos of the text justifies the use of paraphrasing.

For this type of translation, that combines literary translation and specialized terminology, the paraphrasing technique was cautiously applied to the extent that the skopos of the text allowed it.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the techniques applied in the translation of specific topics of the book “Porqué Fui Presidente” shows that this type of text, an autobiography, including its specialized political terminology can be rendered in the English Language without altering the author’s intention. All the techniques applied in the process were chosen based on the features of the source text but mostly on its established skopos.

This research paper also shows that during the process of rendering after the skopos has been recognized and in order to be faithful to it, there is a need to find the strategies and techniques that follow that intention. The translator can choose diverse techniques that belong to different categorizations since it is the translator’s job to find all the sources he needs in order to be faithful to the author’s intention and style so the rendering is perceived as a natural production.

Besides the specialized terminology, the proper features of the autobiography also required the use of several techniques in order to be rendered in the most natural way. The techniques were chosen based on the impact of the phrases in the target culture. This paper shows that these features are as important as the specialized terminology since they shape the writing into that type of text.

This paper and translation of the chapters of the book thus represent a source for other translators that aim to render this type of texts into the English language.

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GLOSSARY

Lingua franca: language that works as a means of communication between two people that speak different languages.

Register: formality used by the speaker or writer to express or inform something.

Rendering: the translation of a text into a different language.

Skopos: the purpose or function of a text, e.g. to inform, to express, to entertain.

Source text: the original text that is going to be translated. The source.

Specialized terminology: terminology that belongs to a specific field, e.g. scientific, legal, financial.

Target text: the text that has been translated into another language from a source text. The product.

APPENDIX

Source text

Sobre el feriado bancario y el congelamiento de depósitos

Mucho se venía especulando en el país, desde la presidencia de Abdalá Bucaram, sobre el sistema de la convertibilidad y sus fecundos resultados en la Argentina. Preocupado por la incontenible inflación, el presidente Mahuad invitó al Ecuador a una misión del Grupo Mediterráneo; como parte de ella llegaron al país los señores Guillermo Mondino y Jorge Vasconcelos.

Viernes 5 de marzo de 1999. Estando en el Palacio de Carondelet, encontré a dos banqueros guayaquileños a quienes el Presidente había convocado para consultarles sobre la situación del país. Luego de no atenderlos a lo largo de todo el día, los banqueros regresaron a Guayaquil, ya en la noche. Conocí que el Presidente había conversado con Domingo Cavallo en tres ocasiones, y por espacio total de más de dos horas.

El día sábado, Ana Lucía Armijos nuevamente llamó a los banqueros por la mañana y les pidió que regresaran a Quito en ese mismo momento. Ese ir y venir de banqueros sin atenderlos, así como el ir y venir de los argentinos de un día para otro, dejaba entrever la grave indecisión que tenía el Presidente sobre cuáles debían ser las medidas económicas a adoptarse.

Un hecho claro que evidenció mi desinformación sobre temas vitales del país, fue el ocurrido de cara al feriado y congelamiento bancario.

El día lunes 8 de marzo de 1999, por encargo del Presidente debí viajar a la ciudad de Cuenca, para acompañar al señor Embajador del Japón a la entrega de un importante equipo caminero, donado al Consejo Provincial del Azuay. Previo al viaje, asistí a las 7h00 a Canal 3 de televisión, para atender a una entrevista con el licenciado Fernando Aguayo. Al llegar al canal este me preguntó: «Señor vicepresidente, a qué se debe el feriado bancario? Y yo en verdad, ¡no sabía ni una sola palabra! ¿Qué hubiese

pasado si esa pregunta me era planteada en vivo?, ¿qué hubiera ocurrido si dicha entrevista no se daba y yo hubiese viajado directamente a Cuenca y al llegar, la prensa me formulaba idéntica pregunta? Confieso que me sentí muy mal: postergado y desinformado; pero después, en enero del año 2000, pude darme clara cuenta de que si llegué a ser Presidente del Ecuador, fue justamente gracias a esa marginación que sufrí por parte de Jamil Mahuad. El pueblo ecuatoriano se percató paulatinamente, durante todo el año 1999, cómo el Vicepresidente había venido siendo relegado de las decisiones asumidas por el Gobierno.

De Cuenca viajé a Quito, y me dirigí directamente al Palacio. Allí me encontré con el ingeniero Juan José Pons, Presidente del Congreso; el doctor Jorge Egas Peña, Superintendente de Bancos; Álvaro Guerrero, Presidente del Banco La Previsora y Eduardo Carmigniani, Vocal de la Junta Bancaria. Al notar la ausencia del Presidente, les pregunté qué pasaba con el feriado bancario, que “teóricamente” era hasta ese día, y con el correspondiente congelamiento que hasta ese momento estaba en estudio, para ver hasta qué límites llegaría.

Indignado ante la falta de explicaciones de Álvaro Guerrero, y ante repuestas sin sentido, fui a mi despacho para atender los asuntos de la Vicepresidencia.

El jueves 11, luego de que el feriado bancario se había extendido hasta el martes y de que el Presidente declarara feriado nacional el resto de la semana, Mahuad anuncia al país el congelamiento bancario.

Ese día, por la mañana, el Gabinete en pleno fue al Palacio para conversar con el Presidente y brindarle su respaldo. Así se lo comuniqué a Jamil que estaba en su residencia, quien me pidió expresara a sus ministros, que esa noche anunciaría al país su resolución. Ante mi pedido de que su asesor Álvaro Guerrero conversara con los ministros y les informase sobre el congelamiento bancario, Jamil me contestó que no; que les agradeciera por su solidaridad, y que les solicitara que se devuelvan a sus trabajos. Así lo hice.

Luego llegaron al Palacio los diputados de la Democracia Popular (DP), quienes pretendían charlar con el presidente Mahuad; este me pidió que los atendiera. Cercano ya el mediodía, yo no tenía idea de lo que diría el Presidente por la noche. Le contesté a Jamil que como yo no era de su partido, pediría al doctor Vladimiro Álvarez Grau que los recibiera; y así se procedió. Cuando el Presidente anunció al país sobre el congelamiento bancario, yo —como cualquier ciudadano ecuatoriano— me enteré a través de la radio y la televisión.

Recuerdo que cuando supe del congelamiento, increpé duramente a Álvaro Guerrero diciéndole que no tenía derecho a proceder con los depósitos de la gente, de la forma en que lo estaba haciendo. Fueron días de incertidumbre, de tensión y de un secretismo absoluto. Fue la decisión de unos pocos que cambiaría irremisiblemente la vida de muchos. Las relaciones entre el Presidente y el Vicepresidente a estas alturas, eran de mera formalidad y educación.

El deterioro

Cuando se produjo el segundo paro indígena, el Presidente me solicitó que interviniera en las conversaciones. Pregunté al ministro Álvarez por qué se originaba este nuevo paro; el Ministro me contestó simplemente: «El Gobierno no cumplió lo acordado luego del primer paro». Acudí al despacho del Presidente y le dije: «Presidente, durante toda mi vida he negociado y he cumplido mis acuerdos; el Gobierno no ha cumplido. No puedo avalar una negociación en estas condiciones». Era la primera vez que me excusaba en algo tan puntual ante el Presidente de la República.

Se seguían sucediendo hechos que volvían más complejo el manejo del Estado. Siempre se le criticó al presidente Mahuad el hecho de que gustaba resolver un tema a la vez, lo cual en el caso concreto de la Presidencia de la República, es prácticamente imposible. El Presidente tomó la decisión de no pagar la deuda externa y entró en moratoria, circunstancia que ponía al Ecuador en una situación financiera incómoda en el concierto mundial. Dentro del país, este hecho provocó la renuncia del entonces

Superministro de Economía, Guillermo Lasso Mendoza, quien obviamente no compartía ni la decisión ni la posición del presidente Mahuad.

Meses después, advinieron temas más complejos: la crisis bancaria se agudizó y la liquidez del sistema financiero comenzó a dar señales de serios tropiezos. Sucesivas corridas bancarias darían luego origen al desmoronamiento del sistema financiero nacional.

El ambiente político se iba enrareciendo, pero llegó a su clímax cuando el doctor Fernando Aspiazu hizo público el monto de su aporte a la campaña del presidente Mahuad. Esta declaración coincidió con una de las peores crisis por las que atravesó el Banco del Progreso, la que en primera instancia provocaría un cierre parcial de la institución, y luego su cierre definitivo. Esta situación en particular, minó fuertemente la credibilidad del Presidente, y suscitó la salida del Secretario de la Presidencia, el licenciado Ramón Yulee.

Cobró fuerza entonces la idea de la dolarización, que había sido planteada tiempo atrás por la ingeniera Joyce Higgins de Ginatta, y a la cual el presidente Abdalá Bucaram intentara darle forma, con rostro de convertibilidad.

Jaime Durán, entonces Secretario General de la Administración, quien solía acudir con alguna frecuencia a mi despacho —por decisión personal y no por instrucción del Presidente—, para intercambiar criterios sobre los sucesos que ocurrían en el Gobierno y por ende en el país—, fue testigo de la conversación que un importante político mantuvo con el presidente Mahuad, en la cual este le manifestó tajantemente: «Dolarice o se cae».

Escenarios

En los primeros días de enero del 2000, antes de que el presidente Mahuad tome la decisión de dolarizar la economía, Jamil me convocó a su despacho; ahí mantuvimos una fría y tensa conversación —a la que nunca me he referido antes—, en la cual me planteó tres escenarios:

1ro. Declararse dictador, escenario que estaba descartado por mi espíritu democrático, y porque —este criterio es absolutamente personal— no tenía sustento en las instituciones militares una decisión de estas proporciones.

En honor a la verdad histórica, debo señalar que así como en el Gabinete había fervientes interesados en que el presidente Mahuad tome esa decisión, como era el caso del canciller Benjamín Ortiz, otras personas como el doctor Vladimiro Álvarez y el propio Jaime Durán se opusieron con frontalidad y vehemencia.

2do. Continuar con la lucha, saltar políticamente el bache y llegar a un importante acuerdo con el Congreso.

3ro. El que el Presidente renuncie a su cargo y asuma la Presidencia el Vicepresidente.

Cabe anotar que a esas instancias, el doctor Oswaldo Hurtado Larrea ya había hecho público el contenido de una carta en que le solicitaba al doctor Mahuad dimitir del cargo. El Presidente me preguntó si yo estaría dispuesto a asumir, en el caso de que él efectivamente renunciara; a lo que le contesté enfáticamente que sí. Esta respuesta inicialmente no le gustó, si bien a renglón seguido le invité a que estableciera las alianzas políticas necesarias, en pro de mantenerse en el cargo.

La dolarización y el comienzo del fin

El día viernes 7 de enero —previo a que el Presidente decrete la dolarización—, regresé a Guayaquil. En el avión, tanto el doctor Juan Falconi como el ingeniero José Machiavello, ambos ministros del régimen, me comentaron sobre la decisión del Presidente que hasta ese momento yo desconocía. La dolarización era un hecho, un hecho político y no económico.

El ministro Falconi me preguntó: «¿Cómo así viaja usted a Guayaquil si el Presidente va a anunciar mañana por la tarde la dolarización?». Le indiqué que no sabía nada del tema. Los señores ministros regresaron el

domingo por la mañana a Quito ante un llamado del Presidente para asistir a una urgente sesión de Gabinete. Debo manifestar que no fui invitado a dicha sesión, y que nunca fui consultado por el señor Presidente sobre el tema de la dolarización.

El sábado recibí la llamada del Presidente pidiéndome que lo acompañe en la cadena de televisión en la que anunciaría al país la dolarización. Una vez más me negué, y tan solo accedí a viajar a Quito el domingo, acompañado de los doctores Eduardo Pena Triviño y Galo García Feraud. Algunos comentaron de manera irónica o de mala fe, que había viajado con dos de mis futuros ministros. No obstante, la historia recoge que ninguno de ellos fue parte de mi Gobierno; fue mi deseo esa noche, estar acompañado de dos de mis mejores amigos.

Esa semana se sucedieron diversas opiniones con respecto a la decisión del Presidente; sin embargo, ya la imagen de Jamil había llegado a tales niveles de deterioro, que el germen de inestabilidad inundaba la República: el movimiento indígena había anunciado la paralización y marcha hacia Quito, lo que desembocó en los hechos que sucedieron el 21 de enero.

El día 13 de enero, Francisco Herrera comenta la entrevista que sostuvo con un militar en servicio pasivo, al que denominó 'Camuflage', sin duda uno de los contactos más informados al que este profesional haya tenido la oportunidad de conocer a lo largo de su carrera como periodista. Este le informó lo siguiente:

«Se va a producir un movimiento político en el país que va a derrocar el gobierno de Jamil Mahuad. El hecho se podrá canalizar porque se ha dado una alianza entre los indígenas agrupados en la CONAIE, la Coordinadora de Movimientos Sociales y las Fuerzas Armadas del Ecuador. El objetivo es CAMBIAR LA ESTRUCTURA DEL ECUADOR, no es un simple golpe de Estado, no es un cambio de presidente, es una nueva reformulación de la estructura del poder en el país; y no pasa solo por el Ejecutivo, es la transformación total de los Poderes Legislativo y Judicial (...)».

Esto puede ser considerado conspiración —le dice Herrera—, y contesta ‘Camuflage’:

«No, el golpe de Estado, lo quiere dar la derecha, desde marzo del 99 y ahora la semana pasada lo quiso dar Mahuad, tras la reunión del Consejo de Generales y Almirantes (...). Será la siguiente semana (...). Se nombrará una Junta de Salvación Nacional; (...) Antonio Vargas presidirá la junta, con un representante de sectores sociales y el *Mando Militar* deberá designar a uno de sus oficiales más destacados (...).»

En la mañana del lunes 17 de enero, Antonio Vargas —líder de la CONAIE— en entrevista a *Notihoy*, manifiesta:

«Ya no hay gobierno (...). No nos han querido hacer caso a los indios, que somos el pueblo ecuatoriano; nos han lanzado a la dolarización sin respetar nuestro criterio; nosotros vamos a tumbar a este régimen por corrupto y por banquero. (...) Los indios sabemos cómo llegar a Quito, por los mismos caminos y chaquiñanes por donde hemos caminado por siglos y que para el gobierno y sus funcionarios son desconocidos, nunca han ido por ellos, para nosotros son el camino de todos los días, (...) este gobierno se cae esta semana».

¿Por qué cayó Mahuad? Según el periodista Francisco Herrera Aráuz, en su libro *Los golpes del poder al aire*, no es posible dar una razón determinante, dado que estas fueron muchas. Al respecto señala:

«... la corrupción, la ineptitud del gobernante, la inconsecuencia con su pueblo, el mal manejo de la crisis económica, la carencia de liderazgo político, la falta de tino con el propio sistema que él creó para gobernar, la complicidad de algunos medios de comunicación y sectores políticos. (...) el entreguismo en la firma de la paz con el Perú, su complicidad con los banqueros, el lío de Aspiazu y los 3 millones de dólares para su campaña, el manejo arrogante de sus relaciones con los demás, y hasta puedo asegurar que los odios y pasiones controvertidas generadas en su entorno le llevaron a su propia autodestrucción. (...) no hay una respuesta uniforme de por qué cayó».

El 21 de enero de 2000

Aquel día, me encontraba en Guayaquil presidiendo una reunión de trabajo en Corpecuador. Solicité que me pasaran una llamada con el periodista Jorge Vivanco, un importante editorialista de diario *Expreso*, quien había formulado un comentario favorable sobre la gestión que se venía realizando al interior de la institución. Fue precisamente él, quien a las 9h40, me informa de primera mano sobre los hechos que se estaban sucediendo en la capital de la República, al tiempo que me pide que encienda el televisor para que me empape de lo que estaba ocurriendo. De súbito recibo la visita del doctor Juan Manrique Martínez, quien angustiado por la situación, quería compartir conmigo lo que pasaba en el país. Los militares habían permitido el paso de los indígenas al recinto del Congreso Nacional. Inmediatamente, me dirigí a mi domicilio y les pedí a unos amigos que me acompañasen. Entre ellos: el doctor Roberto Hanze, el ingeniero Rodolfo Barniol, Francisco Arosemena, mi yerno Gustavo González, y el doctor Juan Manrique. La decisión que había que tomar —ya que no conocíamos detalles de los hechos—, era decidir dónde permanecer: en Quito o en Guayaquil. No obstante el nivel de incertidumbre y angustia que experimentábamos, decidimos junto con mi Edecán, el Tte. Cnel. Hegel Peñaherrera, viajar a Quito.

Otra interrogante fue cómo hacerlo, ya que era evidente que el Ejército participaba en la rebelión que intentaba derrocar al presidente Mahuad. Solicitamos un avión de la Armada; el Valmte. Donoso nos facilitó el avión caza Dornier en el que nos trasladamos a Quito, cercanas las 18h00.

No recibimos llamada alguna por parte del Gobierno Nacional: nadie nos advirtió lo que estaba pasando. Contrario a lo que se piensa, el Vicepresidente era ajeno a cualquier tipo de información de primera mano, y solo nos nutríamos de aquella que se generaba a través de los medios de comunicación.

En Quito se encontraban únicamente los funcionarios de la Vicepresidencia y mi Secretario Particular, Fabio Missale Elizalde, quien también me informaba sobre los pocos detalles a los que tenía acceso.

Viajé en compañía de mi esposa María Isabel, junto con mi hijo Pablo, mi yerno Gustavo González y el doctor Juan Manrique, entre los que recuerdo. Al aterrizar, no nos dejaron bajar del avión, ya que inmediatamente fuimos rodeados por militares del Grupo Especial de Operaciones (GEO), quienes nos dijeron en voz alta: «Señor Vicepresidente, está detenido usted y toda su comitiva». Fuimos trasladados a la sala de la CAE-45 por órdenes del Comando Conjunto.

Inmediatamente después, mi Edecán —el Tte. Cnel. Hegel Peñaherrera— bajó a hablar por teléfono y conversó con el Jefe del Comando Conjunto, quien dio la orden de dejarnos salir. Esto evidenció, que la cadena de mando estaba rota, y que existían sectores del cuerpo militar que no estaban de acuerdo con lo que sucedía.

El Gral. Telmo Sandoval le informó a mi Edecán que el Alto Mando había tomado el poder a las 17h00, y que por tanto ya no era necesaria la detención del Vicepresidente. En ese instante se produjo un entredicho entre el Ejército y la Fuerza Aérea, porque paralelamente a que el Gral. Roberto Moya, Director de Inteligencia del Comando Conjunto, pidiera mi detención y que la Fuerza Aérea cumpliera esa orden, el Gral. Telmo Sandoval disponía mi libertad.

Aquel 21 de enero, a las 12h50, el Gral. Carlos Mendoza convocó a una rueda de prensa en su calidad de Ministro de Defensa encargado y Jefe del Comando Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas. En ella manifestó:

«Las Fuerzas Armadas y la Policía Nacional demandan al Sr. Presidente Constitucional de la República, el mismo que tiene conocimiento de la gravedad de la crisis, tome una decisión constitucional urgente en el marco jurídico para propender a preservar la paz interna del país y evite el aislamiento internacional de la nación».

Algunos periodistas interpretaron estas palabras como un pedido de renuncia al presidente Mahuad. Horas más tarde, siendo las 19h20, se emitió un comunicado que expresaba lo siguiente:

«Urgentísimo. 21 de enero: ante la grave crisis política, económica y social del país, para mantener la paz y armonía entre los ecuatorianos, por decisión del Mando y apoyo general del pueblo ecuatoriano, las Fuerzas Armadas asumen el Poder de la Nación. Es nuestra responsabilidad histórica la que nos ha comprometido a estas circunstancias».

El presidente Jamil Mahuad, por su parte, ante los críticos acontecimientos por los que atravesaba el país, creyó oportuno hacer un pronunciamiento a las 15h35, del cual extraigo en este punto un fragmento:

«El principio de autoridad tiene que mantenerse en el país; los gobiernos legítimos tienen que respetarse. El Ecuador no quiere la dictadura; no hay una manifestación en las calles del país en esa línea; la ciudadanía está tranquila, tensa y preocupada por su futuro y el de sus hijos, no participando en aventuras golpistas; las calles no están llenas de gente pidiendo eso; al revés, la ciudadanía no quiere este tipo de cambios, y yo tengo la obligación de representarlos a ustedes».

Al respecto comenta Francisco Herrera: **«Ahora el Presidente se presenta al país, en medio de una crisis, para decir que cuenta con el apoyo de las Fuerzas Armadas y que solo es un grupo de insurrectos, y, oh coincidencia, ¡su edecán no está a su lado! No está, así de simple».**

Esta situación hizo ver al país que las Fuerzas Armadas le habían quitado el apoyo. Fue notorio que la Marina no estuvo de acuerdo con todo el movimiento, pues se mantuvieron alejados totalmente de los hechos; la Fuerza Aérea acogió en sus cuarteles a Mahuad, y lo retuvo ahí. Ninguno de los miembros de estas dos fuerzas se movilizó de sus cuarteles. Al parecer solo fue cuestión del Ejército, porque los líderes salieron de esas filas.

Me dirigí al domicilio como un espectador más a contemplar con estupor, aquello que el país no podía creer. La radio y la televisión daban noticias preocupantes. Cerca de 10.000 indígenas se hicieron presente

cerrando las calles aledañas al Congreso, a la Corte Suprema de Justicia, a las cortes y juzgados, así como a la Contraloría General de la Nación. Pero lo increíble fue como los indígenas rompieron el cerco. Lo hicieron poco a poco, con una paciencia increíble, ganándose metro a metro el terreno, frente a guardias completamente dotados de armamento disuasivo para manifestaciones, que nunca fue utilizado para impedir el avance de los indígenas, que en gran número se agolpaban en una esquina hasta tomarla completamente, para luego ir a la otra, y así sucesivamente.

De pronto un triunvirato indígena-civil-militar irrumpe el escenario político. Ingresa al Palacio de Gobierno el doctor Carlos Solórzano Constantine, el señor Antonio Vargas y en primera instancia el Cnel. Lucio Gutiérrez, quien después de un movimiento, sería reemplazado por el Gral. Mendoza. Reinaba una confusión mucho mayor que aquella vivida por nuestro país, cuando el Congreso Nacional destituyera al presidente Abdalá Bucaram, Rosalía Arteaga asumiera el poder momentáneamente y Fabián Alarcón fuese designado Presidente Interino por el mismo Congreso. El 21 de enero no se sabía quién mandaba: el Presidente Mahuad, el Comando Conjunto o el triunvirato.

Se sostiene por parte del Gral. Mendoza —cuyo rostro en aquella escena denotaba que no se encontraba de acuerdo con lo que estaba sucediendo—, que el cambio del Cnel. Gutiérrez por el Gral. Mendoza, fue una jugada necesaria para desarticular el golpe de estado e inmediatamente entregar el poder al Vicepresidente de la República.

Invitado por ECUAVISA, canal 8 de Quito, concurrí a las 23h06 para atender a una entrevista conducida por Alfonso Espinosa de los Monteros, la misma que apareció en la televisión bajo el título de *Crisis democrática*, y que de cara a guardar la rigurosidad histórica que un documento de esta naturaleza demanda, transcribo en su integridad.

AE: Amigos televidentes, en este momento recibimos aquí en ECUAVISA la visita del señor Vicepresidente de la República, doctor Gustavo Noboa Bejarano. Son momentos críticos los que está viviendo el país. Estamos

esperando un pronunciamiento de los generales y coroneles que están reunidos con dirigentes del movimiento indígena definiendo cosas.

En el Palacio de Gobierno hay expectativa; en la Plaza de la Independencia una masa humana y todos los ecuatorianos pendientes de la pantalla de televisión para ver qué ocurre. Pero, ¿cuál es el pronunciamiento del Vicepresidente de la República? Se ha especulado mucho al respecto; se dijo incluso que estaba cerca del presidente Mahuad. No sé, todo eso quizás lo podemos confirmar ahora. En todo caso, él tiene asuntos muy concretos para decirnos ahora. Señor Vicepresidente.

GN: Gracias, Alfonso. En mi condición de Vicepresidente de la República saludo la patriótica defensa del sistema democrático realizada por todos los mandos militares de la República, y demando a los pocos oficiales insubordinados deponer su indisciplinada actitud. En igual condición solicito al pueblo indio deponer actitudes que puedan contribuir a la ruptura del sistema democrático, y a un enfrentamiento fratricida entre hermanos. Solicito al doctor Jamil Mahuad Witt tomar la decisión que más convenga al restablecimiento de la paz y el mantenimiento de la democracia. Invoco a todos los ecuatorianos y ecuatorianas a contribuir a la superación de la grave crisis económica, social y política que vive el país, y al restablecimiento de la unidad nacional.

AE: Señor Vicepresidente, ¿usted está convencido que esos pronunciamientos que se han dado de los mandos militares a favor del orden constitucional, repercutirán en que se mantenga el Gobierno del doctor Jamil Mahuad y el suyo, como primeros mandatarios?

GN: Yo saludo a las Fuerzas Armadas que están opinando acerca del mantenimiento del orden constitucional.

AE: Pero la decisión está en manos no de esos mandos militares, sino de los coroneles insurrectos y los generales del Comando Conjunto.

GN: Estimo que las Fuerzas Armadas, el Comando Conjunto y sus unidades sabrán hacer lo mejor para el país.

AE: ¿Usted ha sido de alguna manera consultado sobre decisiones en este sentido?

GN: En esta última semana yo he permanecido en mi despacho, no he sido consultado absolutamente sobre ninguna decisión importante; tal es así que me fui a la ciudad de Guayaquil el día de hoy a una reunión de Corpecuador, para continuar con los puentes y carreteras de la Costa ecuatoriana, y he venido acá al atardecer, habida cuenta de todo lo que he visto en la pantalla de televisión y en todos los noticieros. Por supuesto una preocupación muy grande para cada ecuatoriano, y con mayor razón para el Vicepresidente de la República.

AE: ¿No ha habido ningún contacto en las últimas horas con usted por parte sobre todo de los militares que están tomando las decisiones?

GN: Absolutamente.

AE: ¿Considera entonces que el régimen constitucional está roto?

GN: El régimen constitucional aspiro a que no se rompa, para el bien del país, nacional e internacionalmente.

AE: Aparentemente, el hecho de negociar con los insurrectos por parte del Comando Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas, implicaría un reconocimiento a esa aspiración ya planteada, de que los poderes del Estado no funcionan.

GN: Creo que el diálogo es la mejor arma y el mejor instrumento para la paz.

AE: ¿Usted se ofrecería para ser una especie de mediador en algún momento?

GN: No me toca ese camino a mí, pero yo le deseo al Ecuador la paz, el derecho y esperanza de mejores días.

AE: ¿Y si las circunstancias se dan, usted asumiría la Presidencia de la República?

GN: Por supuesto, con toda la autoridad de la ley y la Constitución.

AE: Bien, es el pronunciamiento que nos da el doctor Gustavo Noboa Bejarano, Vicepresidente de la República, con la aspiración de que se mantenga el orden constitucional en el país. En este momento, en el Palacio de Gobierno se están tomando esas decisiones, que esperamos todos los ecuatorianos, incluyendo los de mayor representatividad, como en el caso de nuestro invitado el doctor Noboa.

El periodista Francisco Herrera Arauz, en su libro *Los golpes del poder al aire* anota el siguiente comentario: **«Como se nota, cada palabra es medida, cada expresión suya es una especie de paso calculado, que se da con la premeditación necesaria, y se lo nota muy tranquilo, con su estilo de profesor que dicta una clase conocida y que sabe el resultado final... y al parecer eso sí sabía Gustavo Noboa: cómo iba a terminar este drama nacional».**

Francisco Herrera se equivoca al creer que yo conocía el resultado final, puesto que ni él ni nadie tenían porqué conocer el drama que mi familia y yo vivíamos en ese momento.

Mientras todas estas cosas ocurrían, mi esposa y yo permanecíamos en el departamento, serenos, pero muy preocupados por lo que veíamos estaba ocurriendo en el país. El desconcierto y la intranquilidad de mis amigos se evidenció aún más cuando el Tte. Cnel. Hegel Peñaherrera me manifestó: «Señor Vicepresidente, usted ya no debe permanecer en este departamento, es peligroso, mucha gente conoce que usted vive aquí; debe buscar un lugar seguro, para ver qué decisiones debe tomar de cara al futuro». Aquel momento que yo tenía claro sobrevendría más temprano que tarde, no me tomó por sorpresa, pero no por ello dejó de ser duro y de crear expectativas e inseguridad. Adicionalmente, el Tte. Cnel. Peñaherrera me indicó: «Yo lo acompañaré señor Vicepresidente, hasta poder dejarlo en un lugar seguro». Conversé de inmediato con María Isabel sobre las palabras de mi Edecán y, sobre todo, a quién podríamos solicitarle protección en esos momentos de grave conmoción para la Patria. Pensé en el ingeniero René Bucaram (+) —mi compañero de aulas en el Colegio Salesiano Cristóbal Colón—, quien residía en la capital desde hacía ya

muchos años. Lo llamé y le comuniqué el pedido de alojarme en su casa, al cual accedió de inmediato. Salí cerca de la 1h00, en compañía del Tte. Cnel. Hegel Peñaherrera, mi esposa, mi hijo Pablo José y mi yerno Gustavo González Cabal. René y su esposa Darlín nos recibieron con cariño y preocupación; tras servirnos un café, conversamos de lo que estaba acaeciendo en el país.

Por referencias del ingeniero Rodolfo Barniol —quien junto con Iván Viteri y Arcadio Arosemena permanecieron en mi departamento—, conocí que más de 200 personas requerían la presencia del vicepresidente Noboa, para que se dirigiera en ese momento a posesionarse en el Palacio de Carondelet. Luego de algunas conversaciones, Barniol logró persuadirlos para que se retiraran, puesto que yo ya había abandonado la casa, y era materialmente imposible asentir a tal solicitud. Al mismo tiempo, Rodolfo se encargó de preparar una logística importante, en el evento de que yo tuviera que abandonar el país al día siguiente. Todo era confusión e incertidumbre, una verdadera caja de sorpresas.

El ingeniero Rodolfo Barniol Zerega relata así los acontecimientos del 21 de enero de 2000:

«El viernes 21 de enero, salí a mi trabajo en Ayangue acompañado por Xavier Salvador. Comentando en el camino, me preguntó qué opinaba sobre la situación política —muy preocupado por nuestro común amigo Gustavo—. Yo le mencioné que en tanto la situación estuviese controlada con los grupos indígenas en Quito, y mientras que el Congreso se encontrara en funciones, dudaba mucho de que la situación pasara a mayores, pese a la gravedad de los sucesos políticos y de la evidente falta de control en la administración del doctor Jamil Mahuad. Xavier me preguntó qué haría yo para definir la situación política; le contesté que si fuese de los grupos indígenas, marcharía al Congreso y lo tomaría: sin Congreso ya no hay protección de Gobierno, y por lo tanto caería el régimen.

Llegamos a Ayangue; nos informaron en mi oficina que el Congreso había sido tomado por grupos indígenas, y por los coroneles sublevados. Viendo

los sucesos en la televisión, llamé al doctor Noboa para enterarme de más detalles. Los comentarios generales fueron que la situación era desbordada. Le manifesté mi preocupación por su seguridad, y me respondió que como no había sido requerido en Quito, se quedaría en las reuniones programadas de Corpecuador observando los acontecimientos, atento a cualquier llamada del Presidente.

Yo decidí retornar a Guayaquil en breve; pero en el camino las noticias se volvían más violentas y con mayores exigencias, las que a todas luces hablaban de un cambio de gobierno. Recuerdo que las comunicaciones por celular eran muy malas, así que llamé por el teléfono convencional al doctor Noboa, pasado el mediodía. Él me confirmó que la situación era muy delicada. Le pedí de forma muy clara que no tomase la decisión de ir a Quito, a menos que la seguridad militar garantizara su integridad, dado el nivel de violencia política observada, y la poca definición demostrada por parte del Comando Conjunto, con relación al Presidente.

Arribando a Guayaquil a eso de las 16h00, pude comunicarme nuevamente con él. Me indicó que viajaría a Quito en el avión de la Fuerza Naval. Yo acordé que viajaría de inmediato a Quito para acompañarlo. Llamé al piloto que operaba las aeronaves que daban servicio a la compañía en la que laboraba, y organicé viaje privado a Quito, decolando a las 17h30. Llegué a Quito al terminal privado situado junto al de VIP. La nave fue recibida por un grupo de militares para revisarla. Visto que no había nadie más que los pilotos y yo, me indicaron que la nave debería regresar en seguida a Guayaquil; me permitieron bajar, y la avioneta continuó con los trámites para salir inmediatamente de Quito.

Me dirigí al domicilio particular del Vicepresidente. Ahí me encontré con varias personas, entre las que recuerdo: Oswaldo Hurtado, Mauricio Dávalos —quien posteriormente fuera su Ministro de Agricultura—, el doctor Juan Manrique Martínez, el doctor Marcelo Santos Vera, su hijo Pablo José Noboa Baquerizo, su yerno Gustavo González, Iván Viteri, Arcadio Arosemena, y su Edecán militar el Tte. Cnel. Heguel Peñaherrera.

Entre tanto, varios coloquios en la televisión analizaban los sucesos. Con gran preocupación observábamos la entrada de un triunvirato formado por el Gral. Carlos Mendoza, el abogado Carlos Solórzano, y el indígena Antonio Vargas.

Varias discusiones se dieron para poder definir las acciones a tomar. Yo disentí con el doctor Hurtado cuando él pidió que se ofrecieran declaraciones públicas, desconociendo el desenlace del triunvirato, ya que eso colocaba al doctor Noboa en riesgo personal. Tras varias consultas, se acordó dar una declaración en Ecuavisa —que estaba muy cerca del domicilio—, terminada la cual el Vicepresidente saldría a una casa distinta de la suya, para salvaguardar su integridad.

Concluida la entrevista, Iván Viteri, Arcadio Arosemena y yo nos quedamos cuidando el departamento, y coordiné la mejor manera de poner a salvo al doctor Noboa, si las condiciones políticas se volvían agresivas contra él. A eso de las 00h30, un grupo numeroso de ciudadanos se agolpó a la puerta del condominio —donde residía el Vicepresidente—, para exigirle que saliera a defender la democracia. Los tres fuimos a atenderlos, si bien es verdad que pretendieron ingresar con actitud violenta. Iván reconoció a uno de los que hacían de cabeza, y pudimos calmar los ánimos comentándoles que por seguridad el Vicepresidente no pasaría la noche en su casa. Como no quisieron creernos, acordamos que una comisión de tres a cinco personas, pasaran al departamento para comprobar que era cierto lo indicado. Comprobado que así fue, salieron y calmaron a la gente (más de 200 según mis cálculos), y se retiraron dando voces a favor de la caída de la dictadura instaurada.

Volvimos los tres al interior del departamento; nos quedamos recostados en el sofá viendo la televisión, y escuchando las noticias, cada vez más desalentadoras».

Una noche interminable

Por recomendación de mi señora y en consideración de que llevaba más de veinte horas sin haber descansado, viviendo cada segundo intensa e inciertamente, me recosté cercanas las 2h00. No había pasado ni media hora, cuando sonó el celular de mi Edecán el Tte. Cnel. Peñaherrera. Se trataba del Gral. Telmo Sandoval, quien solicitaba hablar conmigo; lo atendió mi yerno Gustavo González, a quien le refirió que el triunvirato había cesado. Una vez al teléfono, me saludó y me pidió que me acercara lo antes posible al Ministerio de Defensa, lugar en el que estaban reunidos los generales y almirantes. Me comunicó también que la Junta de Salvación Nacional estaba disuelta, y que la sucesión presidencial debía darse para mantener la democracia, y el régimen constitucional de derecho.

Pregunté por qué debía ir hacia el Ministerio de Defensa y no al Palacio de Gobierno; Sandoval argumentó que «las Fuerzas Armadas estaban haciendo en el Palacio una operación de peinado y limpieza, puesto que se encontraba en deplorables condiciones —incluso de higiene—, y que solo hasta el domingo estaría habilitado para poder ingresar». A lo cual añadió: «Nosotros no podemos esperar más». Se había producido un vacío de poder, y cualquier aventurero podría pretender cualquier cosa. Me di una ducha, y luego de algunas reflexiones y llamadas puntuales, tomé la decisión de ir al Ministerio de Defensa.

Francisco Herrera, en el capítulo 18 de su libro *Los golpes del poder al aire*, titulado *La espera interminable del vicepresidente Noboa*, comenta los hechos de esta manera:

«El Dr. Gustavo Noboa es hasta estos momentos motivo de grandes interrogantes; de hecho, no hay una sola expresión de su parte, no ha hablado para ningún medio, y cuando arribó a las 19h45 al Aeropuerto de Quito, no quiso dar ninguna declaración. El gran aparato de seguridad que le sigue demuestra en esos momentos que ha existido una orden especial para protegerlo. (...) comienza a jugar un papel expectante (...) guardar silencio en estas circunstancias debe haber sido muy difícil. (...) el Dr. Noboa debió haber sido consciente del papel

que le tocaba jugar, (...) él mismo ya habría avizorado la oportunidad de asumir el control total de la nación. Hago referencia a sus propias palabras en marzo del 99, (...) “si alguien tiene que suceder al Presidente Mahuad, soy yo —lo dijo claramente—, por orden constitucional”, para enfrentar a las versiones de un cambio del poder que podría terminar en manos de otra persona. (...) Las últimas semanas de diciembre/99 Gustavo Noboa comenzó a soportar una extraña —por agresiva lo digo— campaña de ofensas de parte de los sectores de la derecha ecuatoriana, que buscaban descalificarlo para que no sea el que asuma el poder por sustitución constitucional. (...) todo dicho para desmerecer moralmente al Vicepresidente... ese era el otro factor que tenía que soportar a ese instante. (...) Pese a las diferencias públicas entre los dos, (...) Noboa se había mantenido siempre respetuoso de Mahuad, no lo había atacado ni se había sumado al coro de voces que en las últimas semanas pedían su cabeza, (...). Noboa fue un segundo muy prudente para Mahuad, por eso su silencio y su espera para asomar ante el país fue interminable, y, más aún, era quizás la palabra más reclamada (...)».

A eso de las 3h30 ingresé al Ministerio de Defensa, y de inmediato fui conducido al salón donde estaban reunidos el Alto Mando Militar, junto con los generales y almirantes. El Gral. Termo Sandoval tomó la palabra, y a nombre de todos ellos, me informó de las decisiones y acciones tomadas por el Mando Militar, poniendo en mi conocimiento que como se había dado un vacío de poder, me tocaba de acuerdo a la Constitución de la República, asumir la Presidencia del Ecuador. Me informó también que los indígenas habían regresado a sus provincias, que los militares insurrectos estaban a órdenes de sus superiores, y que el doctor Jamil Mahuad había abandonado el país. Esto explicaba claramente por qué había sido llamado al Ministerio de Defensa para firmar el Decreto de Asunción del Mando y no precisamente al Palacio de Gobierno.

Francisco Herrera, describe dramáticamente en el libro ya citado, lo que pasó después de la medianoche:

«Son las 02h00. (...) en el pleno corazón de Quito, la clase media, los jóvenes, otrora “rebeldes que hacen temblar al mundo...”, bailan en un número impresionante en las calles, farrean en los bares y consumen alcohol en grandes cantidades. Pero, no por la caída de Mahuad o el nuevo Gobierno. No, es porque es viernes, y la indiferencia demuestra cómo la jornada crítica solo la vivieron los indios, los militares, algunos sectores de la sociedad civil...» [A lo que yo añado, y mi familia].

Es patética también la descripción que el periodista hace de la Plaza Grande y del Palacio:

«En la Plaza Grande ronda una tranquilidad impresionante, (...). Los dirigentes de los indios y los movimientos sociales se retiraron del Palacio de Gobierno a las 3h30 (...). El Palacio estaba solitario, ¡no había nadie! Todo estaba abandonado, ni siquiera la guardia se movía por los pasillos de Carondelet; y para colmo ni siquiera estaban las puertas aseguradas; es decir, allí podía entrar cualquier persona. (...) Increíble... luego de una rebelión como esa; con todos los ingredientes de conmoción política que se había provocado, la forma de terminar la toma del poder no puede ser más anecdótica...».

Uno de mis entrañables amigos, el doctor Juan Manrique Martínez, hombre de gran experiencia política, quien actuara como mi Asesor en la Vicepresidencia, y como Ministro de Gobierno y luego Embajador en Lima — durante mi Presidencia—, frente a una situación cada vez más complicada, en la que se escuchaban voces que pedían la renuncia del Presidente Mahuad y otras tantas que presagiaban terribles momentos para el Ecuador, me preguntó cuál sería mi postura si el Presidente renunciaba. Yo le manifesté lo que ya había dicho a la prensa en alguna ocasión: que asumiría la Presidencia de la República, si bien esperaba que tal situación no se diera en la realidad. Le expresé también al doctor Manrique, que a diferencia de él, yo no había participado en política activamente y que, ante la sugerencia que muchos me habían planteado sobre ir preparando un gabinete, yo estimaba que no era necesario y no lo iba a pensar.

En su libro *Contra el olvido*, el doctor Manrique expone así los acontecimientos del 21 de enero:

«Cuando aceptaste la candidatura a la Vicepresidencia de la República, conformando el binomio con Mahuad, debías haber tenido presente que la única y mayor responsabilidad que la Constitución de la República adjudica al vicepresidente es la de asumir la Jefatura del Estado en caso de la ausencia definitiva del Presidente. Así lo juraste, con toda solemnidad, al momento de asumir el cargo ante el Congreso Nacional. Tu negativa a hacerlo agravaría la crisis institucional que amenaza a la República y estimo que la historia sería muy severa contigo al momento de juzgar tus actos y sus consecuencias. (...) Gustavo Noboa, no había cifrado su actividad personal en el campo de la política permanente. Circunstancias que obedecían al prestigio del que gozaba, como resultado de una vida caracterizada por sus elevadas capacidades profesionales y su peculiar rectitud, lo abocaron a asumir trascendentales responsabilidades en un desafío inexcusable».

Debía asumir el poder sin más dilaciones. Después de la reunión en el Ministerio de Defensa, junto a mis amigos y asesores el doctor Juan Manrique Martínez y el ingeniero Rodolfo Barniol comenzamos a redactar el decreto 001, con el cual asumiría el cargo de Presidente Constitucional de la República del Ecuador, de acuerdo a lo que prescribe la Constitución; paralelamente, preparaba el contenido del mensaje que debía dar a la Nación en el marco de una rueda de prensa, que ya había sido convocada. Eran las 7h00 del 22 de enero del 2000.

Todo corrió por mi mente en tan poco tiempo: los hechos desbordados y el ambiente militar aún enrarecido. No manejaba información suficiente para tomar decisiones; solo contaba con el apoyo sincero de un puñado de muy cercanos y queridos amigos, y el invariable respaldo de mi familia. Invocando la ayuda de Dios, asumí el rol que la vida y el destino me habían deparado: ¡Era la hora de la Patria!

Target text

About the holiday bank and freezing of bank deposits.

Much had been speculating in the country, since the presidency of Abdalá Bucaram, on the system of convertibility and its fruitful results in Argentina. Worried about the uncontrollable inflation, President Mahuad invited a mission of the Mediterranean Group to Ecuador; as part of it came Guillermo Mondino and Jorge Vasconcelos.

Friday March 5, 1999. In the Palace Of Carondelet I found two Guayaquilean bankers whom the President had summoned to consult them on the situation of the country. After not serving them throughout the day, the bankers returned to Guayaquil, at night. I found out that the President had talked to Domingo Cavallo three times, and for more than two hours.

On Saturday morning, Ana Lucia Armijos called the bankers again and asked them to return to Quito at that same time. That coming and going of bankers and not serving them, as well as the coming and going of the Argentines from one day to another, gave a glimpse of the serious indecision that the President had about what economic measures should be adopted.

A clear fact that evidenced my misinformation on vital issues of the country, was the one that happened prior the holiday bank and banking freeze.

On Monday, March 8, 1999, on behalf of the President, I had to travel to the city of Cuenca to accompany the Ambassador of Japan to the delivery of an important road equipment, donated to the Provincial Council of Azuay. Prior to the trip, I attended TV Channel 3 at 7:00 am for an interview with Fernando Aguayo. Upon my arrival, he asked me: "Mr. Vice President, what is the reason for the holiday bank? And I really did not know a single word! What would have happened if that question had been live? What would have happened if that interview did not occur and I had traveled directly to Cuenca and when I arrived, the press asked me the same question? I confess that I felt very bad: ignored and uninformed; but then, in January 2000, I realized that if I became President of Ecuador, it was precisely because of that

marginalization that I suffered from Jamil Mahuad. The Ecuadorian people gradually became aware, throughout 1999, of how the Vice President had been relegated from the decisions taken by the Government.

From Cuenca I traveled to Quito, and went directly to the Palace. There I met Juan José Pons, President of the Congress; Jorge Egas Peña, Superintendent of Banks; Álvaro Guerrero, President of the Bank La Previsora and Eduardo Carmigniani, Member of the Banking Board. Noticing the President's absence, I asked them what was happening with the holiday bank, which "theoretically" was until that day, and with the corresponding freeze that until that moment was in study, to see what limits it would reach.

Outraged by the lack of explanations from Alvaro Guerrero, and nonsensical answers, I went to my office to attend to the affairs of the Vice Presidency.

On Thursday 11, after the holiday bank had been extended until Tuesday and the President declared a national holiday the rest of the week, Mahuad announces to the country the bank freeze.

That day, in the morning, the whole Cabinet went to the Palace to talk to the President and give him their support. So I told Jamil who was in his residence, and he asked me to tell his ministers that he would announce the resolution to the country that night. Before my request that his adviser Alvaro Guerrero talk with the ministers and inform them about the banking freeze, Jamil answered no. He asked me to thank them for their solidarity, and to ask them to return to their work. So I did.

Then the congressmen of the People's Democracy (PD) came to the Palace, who intended to talk with President Mahuad and he asked me to serve them. Near noon, I had no idea what the President would say at night. I told Jamil that since I was not a member of his party, I would ask Vladimiro Álvarez Grau to receive them; and so it happened. When the President announced to the country about the banking freeze, I - like any Ecuadorian citizen - found out through the radio and television.

I remember when I learned about the freeze, I harshly rebuked Alvaro Guerrero, telling him that he had no right to proceed with the people's deposits the way he was doing it. Those were days of uncertainty, tension, and absolute secrecy. It was the decision of a few that would irrevocably change the lives of many. The relations between the President and the Vice President at this point were of mere formality and education.

Deterioration

When the second indigenous strike occurred, the President asked me to intervene in the talks. I asked Minister Alvarez why this new strike was originated; the Minister simply replied: "The Government did not comply with the agreement after the first strike." I went to the President's office and said to him: "President, I have negotiated and fulfilled my agreements throughout my whole life; the Government has not complied. I cannot endorse a negotiation under these conditions." It was the first time that I excused myself in something so punctual before the President of the Republic.

More events continued happening which made the management of the state more complex. President Mahuad was always criticized for the fact that he liked to solve one issue at the time, which in the specific case of the Presidency of the Republic, is practically impossible. The President made the decision not to pay the foreign debt and entered a moratorium, a circumstance that put Ecuador in an uncomfortable financial situation in the world concert. Within the country, this caused the resignation of the then Superintendent of Economy, Guillermo Lasso Mendoza, who obviously did not share the decision nor the position of President Mahuad.

Months later, more complex issues emerged: the banking crisis became more acute and the liquidity of the financial system began to show signs of serious setbacks. Successive bank runs would then lead to the collapse of the national financial system.

The political environment was thinning, but reached its climax when Fernando Aspiazu made public the amount of his contribution to President

Mahuad's campaign. This statement coincided with one of the worst crises in the Bank of Progress, which in the first instance would cause a partial closure of the institution, and then its definitive closure. This particular situation greatly undermined the credibility of the President, and led to the departure of the Secretary of the Presidency, Ramón Yulee.

Then the idea of dollarization gained momentum, which had been raised a long time ago by Joyce Higgins de Ginatta, and which President Abdalla Bucaram tried to shape, with face of convertibility.

Jaime Durán, then Secretary General of the Administration, who used to go to my office with certain frequency - by personal choice and not by instruction of the President -to exchange criteria on events that occurred in the Government and therefore in the country- witnessed the conversation that an important politician had with president Mahuad, in which the former emphatically said to him: "Dollarize the country or it will fall." Economy depression

Scenarios

In the early days of January 2000, before President Mahuad made the decision to dollarize the economy, Jamil summoned me to his office. There we had a cold and tense conversation - to which I have never referred before -, in which he posed three scenarios:

1st To declare himself a dictator, a scenario that was discarded by my democratic spirit, and because - this criterion is absolutely personal - there was no support in military institutions for such a decision.

In honor of the historical truth, I must point out that just as in the Cabinet there were people fervently interested in that President Mahuad make that decision, as was the case of Foreign Affairs Minister Benjamin Ortiz, other people like Vladimiro Álvarez and Jaime Durán himself opposed with frontality and vehemence.

2nd. To continue the struggle, politically jump the bump and reach an important agreement with the Congress.

3rd That the President resign from his position and the Vice President assume the Presidency.

It should be noted that at these instances Oswaldo Hurtado Larrea had already made public the content of a letter requesting Mahuad to resign from office. The President asked me if I would be willing to assume, in case that he actually resigned; to which I emphatically answered that yes. This response initially did not please him, although I then invited him to establish the necessary political alliances, in order to remain in office.

Dollarization and the Beginning of the End

Friday, January 7 - before the President decreed the dollarization - I returned to Guayaquil. On the plane, both Juan Falconi and Jose Machiavello, both ministers of the regime, told me about the decision of the President that until that moment I did not know. The dollarization was a fact, a political fact and not economic.

Minister Falconi asked me: "How come are you traveling to Guayaquil if the President is going to announce the dollarization tomorrow evening?" I told him I did not know anything about the subject. The ministers returned Sunday morning to Quito at the call of the President to attend an urgent Cabinet session. I must say that I was not invited to that session, and I was never consulted by the President on the subject of dollarization.

On Saturday I received the call of the President asking me to accompany him on the chain broadcasting in which he would announce the dollarization to the country. Once again I refused, and only agreed to travel to Quito on Sunday, accompanied by Eduardo Pena Triviño and Galo García Feraud. Some commented ironically or in bad faith that I had traveled with two of my future ministers. However, history shows that none of them was part of my government. It was my wish that night, to be accompanied by two of my best friends.

There were several opinions that week regarding the President's decision. However, Jamil's image had reached such levels of deterioration that the

germ of instability flooded the Republic: the indigenous movement had announced the stoppage and march to Quito, which led to the events that took place on January 21.

On January 13, Francisco Herrera commented on the interview he had with a military man in passive service, whom he called 'Camouflage', undoubtedly one of the most informed contacts this professional has had the opportunity to know throughout his career as journalist. He informed him that:

"There will be a political movement in the country that is going to overthrow the government of Jamil Mahuad. The fact can be channeled because there has been an alliance between the indigenous grouped in the CONAIE, the Coalition of Social Movements and the Armed Forces of Ecuador. The objective is to CHANGE THE STRUCTURE OF ECUADOR. It is not a simple coup d'état. It is not a change of president. It is a new reformulation of the power structure in the country. And does not it only pass by the Executive, it is the total transformation of the Legislature and Judiciary (...) '.

This can be considered a conspiracy, says Herrera, and 'Camouflage' replies:

"No, it is the right that wants the coup d'état, since March 1999 and now last week Mahuad wanted to do it, after the meeting of the Council of Generals and Admirals It will be the next week (...). A Board of National Salvation will be appointed; (...) Antonio Vargas will chair the meeting, with a representative of social sectors and the Military Command must appoint one of its most outstanding officers (...) ».

On Monday, January 17, in the mornig, Antonio Vargas - leader of CONAIE - in an interview with Notihoy, states:

"There is no government (...). They have not wanted to pay attention to the Indigenous, who are the Ecuadorian people. They have thrown us into dollarization without respecting our criteria; We are going to overthrow this regime for being corrupt and banker. (...) The Indigenous know how to get to Quito, by the same roads and paths where we have walked for centuries and

are unknown by the government and its officials, who have never gone down them, for us they are our daily roads, (...) this government falls this week ».

Why did Mahuad fall? According to the journalist Francisco Herrera Aráuz, in his book *Los golpes del poder al aire*, it is not possible to give a determining reason, since these were many. In this respect he states:

"... corruption, ineptitude of the ruler, inconsistency with his people, mismanagement of the economic crisis, lack of political leadership, lack of skill with the very system he created to govern, the complicity of some media and political sectors. (...) the signing of peace with Peru, his complicity with the bankers, Aspiazu's mess and the \$ 3 million for his campaign, his arrogant relations with others, and I can even assure that the hatred and controversial passions generated in his surroundings led him to his own self-destruction. (...) there is no uniform answer as to why it fell. "

January 21, 2000

That day, I was in Guayaquil presiding over a meeting in Corpecuador. I asked for a call with the journalist Jorge Vivanco, an important editorialist for the newspaper *Expreso*, who had made a favorable comment about the management that had been carried out inside the institution. It was precisely him who, at 9:40 am, informed me firsthand about the events that were happening in the capital city, while asking me to turn on the TV to soak up what was happening. Suddenly I received the visit of Juan Manrique Martínez, who, distressed by the situation, wanted to share with me what was happening in the country. The military had allowed the Indigenous to enter the National Congress. Immediately, I went home and asked some friends to accompany me. Among them: Roberto Hanze, Rodolfo Barniol, Francisco Arosemena, my son-in-law Gustavo González, and Juan Manrique. The decision that had to be taken, since we did not know details of the facts, was to decide where to stay: Quito or Guayaquil. Notwithstanding the level of uncertainty and anguish that we experienced, we decided together with my aide, Tte. Cnel. Hegel Peñaherrera, to travel to Quito.

Another question was how to do it, since it was evident that the Army participated in the rebellion that attempted to overthrow President Mahuad. We requested an airplane from the Navy. The Valmte. Donoso provided the Dornier fighter plane in which we traveled to Quito, close to 6:00 pm.

We did not receive any call from the National Government: nobody warned us what was happening. Contrary to what is thought, the Vice President was oblivious to any kind of first-hand information, and we only fed from the one that was generated through the media.

In Quito there were only the officials of the Vice Presidency and my Private Secretary, Fabio Missale Elizalde, who also informed me about the few details to which he had access.

I traveled with my wife María Isabel, along with my son Pablo, my son-in-law Gustavo González and Juan Manrique, among whom I remember. When we landed, they did not let us off the plane, as we were immediately surrounded by members of the Special Operations Group (SOG), who said loudly: "Mr. Vice President, you and your entire group are being detained." We were transferred to the CAE-45 room by orders of the Joint Command.

Immediately afterwards, my aide -Tte. Cnel. Hegel Peñaherrera – came down to speak on the telephone and spoke with the Head of the Joint Command, who gave the order to let us out. This showed that the chain of command was broken, and that there were sectors of the military that did not agree with what was happening.

General Telmo Sandoval informed my aide that the High Command had seized power at 5:00 p.m., and that the detention of the Vice President was no longer necessary. At that moment there was an interdiction between the Army and the Air Force, because meanwhile General Roberto Moya, Director of Intelligence of the Joint Command, asked for my arrest and that the Air Force complied with that order, General Telmo Sandoval set my freedom.

On January 21, at 12:50 am, General Carlos Mendoza called a press conference as Minister of Defense in charge and Head of the Joint Command of Forces Armed. In it he said:

"The Armed Forces and the National Police demand that the Constitutional President of the Republic, who is aware of the seriousness of the crisis, take an urgent constitutional decision in the legal framework in order to preserve the internal peace of the country and avoid the international isolation of the nation."

Some journalists interpreted these words as a request for resignation to President Mahuad. Hours later, at 7:20 pm, a statement was issued that stated the following:

"Urgent. January 21: In light of the country's grave political, economic and social crisis, in order to maintain peace and harmony among Ecuadorians, the Armed Forces assume the Power of the Nation, by decision of the Command and general support of the Ecuadorian people. It is our historical responsibility that has committed us to these circumstances. "

President Jamil Mahuad, for his part, in light of the critical events that the country was going through, considered opportune to make a statement at 3:35 pm, from which I extract a fragment:

"The principle of authority must be maintained in the country. Legitimate governments must be respected. Ecuador does not want dictatorship. There is no manifestation in the streets of the country in that matter. The citizens are calm, tense and concerned about their future and that of their children, not participating in coup adventures. The streets are not full of people asking for that. On the contrary, citizens do not want this kind of change, and I have an obligation to represent you. "

Francisco Herrera comments: "Now the President presents himself to the country, in the midst of a crisis, to say that he has the support of the Armed Forces and that it is only a group of insurgents, and, oh coincidence, his aide is not by his side! He's not. It's that simple."

This situation made the Armed Forces look like they had withdrawn their support. It was well-known that the Navy did not agree with the whole movement, because they were totally kept from the facts. The Air Force hosted Mahuad in its barracks, and retained him there. None of the members

of these two forces mobilized from their barracks. Apparently it was only a matter of the Army, because the leaders came out of those ranks.

I went home as another spectator to contemplate with stupor, what the country could not believe. Radio and television transmitted worrying news. Nearly 10,000 indigenous people were present closing the streets near the Congress, the Supreme Court of Justice, the courts, as well as the General Comptroller of the Nation. But the incredible thing was how the Indigenous broke the siege. They did it little by little, with incredible patience, gaining meter by meter the terrain, in front of guards completely equipped with dissuasive weaponry for protest demonstrations, that was never used to prevent the advance of the Indigenous, who in great number were crowded in a corner until they completely take it, to then go to the other, and so on.

Suddenly an indigenous-civil-military triumvirate bursts the political situation. Carlos Solórzano Constantine, Antonio Vargas, and in the first instance Cnel. Lucio Gutiérrez, who after a movement would be replaced by Gral. Mendoza, enter the Palace Government. There was a much greater confusion than that experienced by our country, when the National Congress deposed President Abdalá Bucaram, Rosalía Arteaga temporarily assumed power and Fabián Alarcón was appointed Interim President by the same Congress. On January 21, it was not known who was in charge: President Mahuad, the Joint Command or the triumvirate.

It is held by the General Mendoza - whose face in that scene denoted that he was not in agreement with what was happening -, that the change of Col. Gutierrez by Gral. Mendoza, was a necessary move to dismantle the coup and immediately hand over power to the Vice President of the Republic.

Invited by ECUAVISA, channel 8 in Quito, at 11:06 pm I attended an interview conducted by Alfonso Espinosa de los Monteros, which was transmitted under the title of Democratic Crisis and in order to keep the historical rigor that a document of this nature demands, I transcribe in its integrity.

AE: Dear viewers, at this moment we received here in ECUAVISA the visit of the Vice President of the Republic, Gustavo Noboa Bejarano. The

country is living critical moments. We are waiting for a statement from the generals and colonels who are meeting with leaders of the indigenous movement defining things.

There is expectation in the Government Palace. In the Plaza de la Independencia there is a crowd of people and all the Ecuadorians are keeping an eye on the TV to see what happens. But, what is the pronouncement of the Vice President of the Republic? Much has been speculated. It was even said that he was near President Mahuad. I do not know, all that we can confirm now. In any case, he has very concrete matters to tell us now. Mr. Vice President.

GN: Thank you, Alfonso. In my capacity as Vice President of the Republic I salute the patriotic defense of the democratic system carried out by all the military commanders of the Republic, and demand the few insubordinate officers to lay down their undisciplined attitude. In the same condition I request the Indigenous people to lay down attitudes that can contribute to the rupture of the democratic system, and to a fratricidal confrontation between brothers. I ask Jamil Mahuad Witt to make the decision that most suits the restoration of peace and the maintenance of democracy. I call on all Ecuadorians to contribute to overcoming the serious economic, social and political crisis that the country is experiencing, and to the restoration of national unity.

AE: Mr. Vice President, are you convinced that these pronouncements that have been given by the military commanders in favor of the constitutional order will have repercussions in maintaining the Government of Jamil Mahuad and yours, as chief executives?

GN: I salute the Armed Forces who are commenting on the maintenance of constitutional order.

AE: But the decision is not in the hands of those military commands, but of the insurgent colonels and the generals of the Joint Command.

GN: I estimate that the Armed Forces, the Joint Command and its units will know how to do the best for the country.

AE: Have you ever been consulted about decisions in this regard?

GN: In the last week, I have remained in my office. I have not been consulted absolutely on any important decision. I even went to Guayaquil today to a meeting of Corpecuador, to continue with the bridges and highways of the Ecuadorian Coast, and I came here at dusk, given all that I have seen on TV and all the news. Of course a great concern for every Ecuadorian, and even more for the Vice President of the Republic.

AE: Has there been no contact in the last few hours with you on the part of the military who are making the decisions?

G: Absolutely.

AE: Do you consider that the constitutional regime is broken?

GN: I aspire the constitutional regime not to break, for the good of the country, nationally and internationally.

AE: Apparently, the fact of negotiating with the insurgents by the Joint Command of the Armed Forces would imply a recognition of that aspiration already raised, that the powers of the State are not working.

GN: I think dialogue is the best weapon and the best instrument for peace.

AE: Would you volunteer to be a kind of mediator at some point?

GN: That is not up to me, but I wish Ecuador peace, the right and hope for better days.

AE: And if the circumstances are given, would you assume the Presidency of the Republic?

GN: Of course, with all the authority of the law and the Constitution.

AE: Well, that is the statement given by Gustavo Noboa Bejarano, Vice President of the Republic, with the aspiration that the constitutional order in the country is maintained. At the moment, in the Palace of Government those decisions are being taken, which we all Ecuadorians hope, including the most representative ones, as in the case of our guest Mr. Noboa.

The journalist Francisco Herrera Arauz, in his book *Los Golpes del poder al aire*, comments: "As you can see, every word is measured, every expression is a kind of calculated step, which occurs with the necessary premeditation, and he looks very calm, with his style of professor who dictates a known lesson and who knows the final result ... and apparently that did Gustavo Noboa know: how this national drama was going to end."

Francisco Herrera is wrong to believe that I knew the final result, since neither he nor anyone had to know the drama that my family and I were living at that time.

While all these things happened, my wife and I stayed in the apartment, serene, but very worried about what we saw was happening in the country. The confusion and uneasiness of my friends became even more evident when Tte. Cnel. Hegel Peñaherrera told me: "Mr. Vice President, you should no longer stay in this department. It is dangerous. Many people know you live here. You should look for a safe place to see what decisions you must make for the future" That moment that I was sure would come sooner rather than later, did not take me by surprise, but it did not stop being hard and creating expectations and insecurity. Additionally, Tte. Cnel. Peñaherrera told me: "I will accompany you, Mr. Vice President, until I can leave you in a safe place." I spoke immediately with Maria Isabel about the words of my aide and, above all, who we could ask for protection in those moments of serious commotion for the country. I thought of René Bucaram (+) - my classmate at the Cristóbal Colón Salesian School - who had lived in the capital for many years. I called him and informed him of the request to stay at his house, which he immediately agreed to. I left near 1:00 am, in the company of Tte. Cnel. Hegel Peñaherrera, my wife, my son Pablo José and my son-in-law Gustavo González Cabal. René and his wife Darlin received us with affection and concern. After having coffee, we talked about what was happening in the country.

By references of Rodolfo Barniol -who together with Ivan Viteri and Arcadio Arosemena remained in my department- I knew that more than 200 people required the presence of the Vice President Noboa, so that he was directed at that moment to be possessed in the Palace of Carondelet. After

some conversations, Barniol persuaded them to withdraw, since I had already left the house, and it was materially impossible to assent to such request. At the same time, Rodolfo was in charge of preparing an important logistics, in case that I had to leave the country the next day. Everything was confusion and uncertainty, a real box of surprises.

Rodolfo Barniol Zerega relates the events of January 21, 2000:

"On Friday, January 21, I went to work in Ayangue accompanied by Xavier Salvador. We were talking along the way when he asked me what I thought about the political situation - very concerned about our common friend Gustavo-. I mentioned to him that as long as the situation was controlled with the indigenous groups in Quito, and while Congress was in office, I was very much doubtful that the situation would get out of hand, despite the seriousness of the political events and the evident lack of control in the administration of Jamil Mahuad. Xavier asked me what I would do to define the political situation. I answered that if I were of the indigenous groups, I would go to Congress and take it: without Congress, there is no government protection anymore, and therefore the regime would fall.

We arrived in Ayangue. We were informed in my office that the Congress had been taken over by indigenous groups, and by the rebel colonels. Watching the events on television, I called Noboa to find out more details. The general comments were that the situation was overflowing. I expressed my concern for his safety, and he replied that since he had not been required in Quito, he would stay at Corpecuador's scheduled meetings observing the events, attentive to any call from the President.

I decided to return to Guayaquil immediately; but on the way the news became more violent and with greater demands, which clearly spoke of a change of government. I remember that the communications by cell phones were very bad, so I used the landline to call Noboa, past the noon. He confirmed that the situation was very delicate. I asked him very clearly not to make the decision to go to Quito, unless military security guaranteed his integrity, given the level of political violence observed, and the little definition shown by the Joint Command, in relation to the President.

Arriving in Guayaquil around 4:00 p.m., I was able to communicate with him again. He told me that he would travel to Quito on the Naval Force plane. I agreed that I would travel to Quito immediately to accompany him. I called the pilot who operated the aircrafts that served the company in which I worked, and organized a private trip to Quito, taking off at 5:30 pm. I arrived in Quito at the private terminal next to the VIP. The plane was received by a group of soldiers to check it. Since there was no one else but the pilots and I, they told me that the plane should return to Guayaquil at once. I was allowed to get off, and the plane continued with the procedures to leave immediately from Quito.

I went to the Vice President's private address. There I met several people, among whom I remember: Oswaldo Hurtado, Mauricio Dávalos -later Minister of Agriculture- Juan Manrique Martínez, Marcelo Santos Vera, his son Pablo José Noboa Baquerizo, his son-in-law Gustavo González, Ivan Viteri, Arcadio Arosemena, and his military aide Tte. Cnel. Heguel Peñaherrera.

Meanwhile, several colloquiums on television analyzed the events. With great concern we observed the entrance of a triumvirate formed by the General Carlos Mendoza, the lawyer Carlos Solórzano, and the indigenous Antonio Vargas.

Several discussions were held to define the actions to be taken. I dissented with Hurtado when he asked for public statements, ignoring the outcome of the triumvirate, since that put Noboa at personal risk. After several consultations, it was agreed to make a statement at Ecuavisa, -which was very close to his residence- after which the Vice President would go to a different house to safeguard his integrity.

At the end of the interview, Ivan Viteri, Arcadio Arosemena, and I were taking care of the apartment, and I coordinated the best way to safeguard Noboa if the political conditions became aggressive against him. Around 12h30 am, a large group of citizens crowded at the door of the condominium - where the Vice President resided - to demand that he stand for the democracy. The three of us went to attend them, although it is true that they tried to enter violently. Ivan recognized one of those who were acting as the head of the

group, and we were able to calm them down by saying that due to the Vice President's safety, he would not spend the night at his house. As they did not want to believe us, we agreed that a commission of three to five people, enter the department to verify that it was true what we had said. After verifying it was true, they left and calmed the people (more than 200 according to my calculations), and they withdrew with voices in favor of the fall of the established dictatorship.

We went back to the apartment. We lie on the couch watching TV, and listening to the news, increasingly daunting."

An endless night

Upon recommendation of my wife and considering that she had not rested for more than twenty hours, living every second intensely and uncertainly. I lay around 2:00 a.m. Not even half an hour had passed, when the cell phone of my aide Tte. Cnel. Peñaherrera rang. It was General Telmo Sandoval, who asked to speak with me. My son-in-law Gustavo Gonzalez answered the call, who was told that the triumvirate had ceased. Once on the phone, he greeted me and asked me to approach the Ministry of Defense as soon as possible, where the generals and admirals were gathered. He also informed me that the Board of National Salvation was dissolved, and that the presidential succession should be given to maintain democracy, and the constitutional system of law.

I asked why I should go to the Ministry of Defense and not to the Government Palace. Sandoval argued that "the Armed Forces were in the Palace doing an operation of combing and cleaning, since it was in deplorable conditions -even hygiene- and only until Sunday it would be enabled to enter." To which he added: "We cannot wait any longer." There had been a power vacuum, and any adventurer could pretend anything. I took a shower, and after some reflections and timely calls, I made the decision to go to the Ministry of Defense.

Francisco Herrera, in chapter 18 of his book *Los Golpes del poder al aire*, titled *The Endless Waiting of Vice President Noboa*, comments on the facts in this way:

"Gustavo Noboa is, until now, a source of great questions. In fact, there is not a single expression on his part. He has not spoken with any media, and when he arrived at 7:45 pm at Quito Airport, he declined to give any statement. The great security apparatus that follows him shows at that moment that there has been a special order to protect him. (...) begins to play an expectant role (...) keeping silent in these circumstances must have been very difficult. (...) Noboa must have been aware of the role he had to play, (...) he would have already envisioned the opportunity to take complete control of the nation. I refer to his own words in March 99, (...) "if someone has to succeed President Mahuad, it is me -he said it clearly- by constitutional order," to confront the versions of a change of power that could end in the hands of another person. (...) The last weeks of December 1999 Gustavo Noboa began to face a strange –for aggressive I say it- campaign of offenses by the sectors of the Ecuadorian right, that sought to disqualify him so that he would not assume the power by substitution constitutional. (...) all said to morally demean the Vice President ... that was the other factor that had to face at that moment. (...) Despite the public differences between the two, (...) Noboa had always been respectful of Mahuad. He had not attacked him or joined the voices that in the last weeks asked for his head, (...). Noboa was a very prudent second for Mahuad, so his silence and his waiting to appear before the country was endless, and, moreover, it was perhaps the most demanded word."

At about 3:30 am I entered the Ministry of Defense, and was immediately taken to the room where the High Command was assembled, along with the generals and admirals. General Termino Sandoval took the floor, and on behalf of all of them, informed me of the decisions and actions taken by the Military Command, putting in my knowledge that since there was a vacuum of power, in accordance with the Constitution of The Republic, I was to assume the Presidency of Ecuador. He also informed me that the Indigenous had returned to their provinces, that the insurgent soldiers were

under the orders of their superiors, and that Jamil Mahuad had left the country. This clearly explained why I had been called to the Ministry of Defense to sign the Decree of Assumption of Command and not precisely to the Government Palace. Francisco Herrera, describes dramatically in the book already quoted, what happened after midnight:

"It's 2:00 am (...) in the heart of Quito, the middle class, the youth, once "rebels who make the world tremble ..." dance in an impressive number in the streets, party in bars and consume alcohol in large quantities. But not because of the fall of Mahuad or the new government. No, it's because it's Friday, and indifference shows how the critical day was only experienced by the Indigenous, the military, some sectors of civil society... " [To which I add, and my family].

It is also pathetic the description that the journalist makes of the Plaza Grande and the Palace:

"In the Plaza Grande there is an impressive calm (...). The leaders of the Indigenous and the social movements retired from the Government Palace at 3:30 a.m. (...). The Palace was lonely. Nobody was there! Everything was abandoned, not even the guard moved through the corridors of Carondelet. And to top it all the doors were not even secured. That is, anyone could enter there. (...) Unbelievable ... after a rebellion like that with all the ingredients of political upheaval that had been provoked, the way of ending the seizure of power cannot be more anecdotal."

One of my closest friends, Juan Manrique Martínez, a man of great political experience, who acted as my Advisor in the Vice Presidency, and as Minister of Government and then Ambassador in Lima, -during my Presidency- facing an increasingly complicated situation, in which voices were heard calling for the resignation of President Mahuad and others that bode a terrible time for Ecuador, asked me what my position would be if the President resigned. I told him what I had already told the press on some occasion: that I would assume the Presidency of the Republic, although I hoped that such a situation would not happen. I also expressed to Manrique that, unlike him, I had not actively participated in politics and that, at the

suggestion that many had raised about preparing a cabinet, I felt it was not necessary and I was not going to think about it.

In his book *Contra el Olvido* (Against oblivion), Manrique explains the events of January 21:

"When you accepted the candidacy for the Vice Presidency of the Republic, forming the binomial with Mahuad, you should have remembered that the only and greatest responsibility that the Constitution of the Republic awards to the vice president is to assume the Head of State in case of absence of the President. So you swore, with all solemnity, at the moment of assuming the position before the National Congress. Your refusal to do so would aggravate the institutional crisis that threatens the Republic and I believe that history would be very severe with you when judging your actions and the consequences. (...) Gustavo Noboa, had not encrypted his personal activity in the field of permanent politics. Circumstances that obeyed the prestige of which he enjoyed, as a result of a life characterized by his high professional capacities and his peculiar rectitude, drove him to assume transcendental responsibilities in an inexcusable challenge".

I had to take power without further delay. After the meeting in the Ministry of Defense, along with my friends and advisors Juan Manrique Martínez and Rodolfo Barniol, we began drafting Decree 001, with which I would assume the position of Constitutional President of the Republic of Ecuador, in agreement to what the Constitution prescribes. At the same time, I was preparing the content of the message to be given to the nation in a press conference, which had already been called. It was 7:00 am on January 22, 2000.

Everything ran through my mind so fast: the overflowed events and the military environment still rarefied. I did not handle enough information to make decisions. I only had the sincere support of a handful of very close and dear friends, and the invariable support of my family. Invoking the help of God, I assumed the role that life and destiny had given me: It was the time of the country!

DECLARACIÓN Y AUTORIZACIÓN

Yo, **Álvarez Henríquez, Desiré Estefanía**, con C.C: # **0930172192** autor/a del trabajo de titulación: **Annotated Translation of Specific Chapters of the Book “Porqué Fui Presidente” by Gustavo Noboa Bejarano** previo a la obtención del título de **LICENCIADA EN LENGUA INGLESA CON MENCIÓN EN TRADUCCIÓN** en la Universidad Católica de Santiago de Guayaquil.

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REPOSITORIO NACIONAL EN CIENCIA Y TECNOLOGÍA

FICHA DE REGISTRO DE TESIS/TRABAJO DE TITULACIÓN

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RESUMEN/ABSTRACT			
<p>The following annotated translation was carried out with the purpose to let people to know more about the Ecuadorian political history. This piece of translation contains specific facts regarding one of the worst economic and political crisis of the country dated in 1999 – 2000 which included the holiday bank and the freezing of bank deposits followed by the dollarization. The book "Porqué Fui Presidente" narrates the circumstances in which the decisions of the country were taken and also by whom. It mentions the reaction of the Ecuadorian people and the participation of the Ecuadorian army in the overthrow of then President of Ecuador, Jamil Mahuad, and how the Vice President, Gustavo Noboa Bejarano, assumed the position as President of Ecuador. All the process led by the political instability is narrated from the point of view of the author, Gustavo Noboa, who includes details of his experience. The book which has only been presented in Spanish contains political and financial terminology Ecuador had during those years. The rendering of this book will represent an opportunity for other authors to let their work be recognized and contribute to their political culture.</p>			
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