

**Significance and Application of the Socialism of the 21st Century in Latin America:
A Case Study on Ecuador and the Administration of President Rafael Correa**

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INTRODUCTION

In a changing interconnected world, capitalism and international free markets have taken over the global economy, but meanwhile in Latin America, new airs of radical political economic and social progressive reformation surround the region. Various new leaders that have democratically taken control of the executive branches of their states and are now trying to implement a new scheme that promises to adopt egalitarian concepts of socialism, while maintaining the flexibility to change and adapt to the different realities of their societies.

The people of Latin America suffered hardships throughout history. One can see a continuous turmoil in the region starting with the despotism of the conquistadors that raped the women and destroyed the native culture of the region until it became the continent with widest gap among the poorest and the richest in the world. Especially, after the end of the Cold War in the early nineties, Latin America was left hurt and broken politically. For Latin American countries, economic development has always been a struggle, not only for being in the “backyard” of one of the most powerful countries of the world, the United States, but because of the corruption and lack of leadership of their politicians. People had been affected because of their governments’ mistakes, and by the end of the millennium, people were simply tired of the “same of always.” After and before the failed attempt of socialism in the Soviet Union, Latin American governments adopted free market capitalist regimes, advocated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) plus the other deliberations adopted in the Bretton Woods conference and the Washington Consensus. This historical debate has become one of the main causes of Latin American countries to look for a different model that can give them more autonomy and sovereignty in their own affairs.

The struggles of the past such as the colonial despotism, dictatorships, corruption, plutocracy, elitism, and the abuse of multinational corporations among others are the cause of the current situation of the region, and in an increasingly globalized world, several countries in Latin American have initiated a reformation process. Not only because of the free market economic system, but because of the abuse of

some multinational corporations and the corruption of the elite groups in power, there is a growing common sentiment of self-determination and reformation in the people of Latin America. Some countries are already attempting to reform their current systems, and the model of Socialism of the 21st Century is one of the main options that current decision makers have tilted towards in the last decades.

The embers of the socialist fire that Ernesto “*Che*” Guevara and Fidel Castro ignited in Latin America did not die when neo-liberalism took control of the global economy. At the change of the century, a new reformation process started when Hugo Chavez from Venezuela showed up in the international scene. By becoming the president of Venezuela, under an ideology that contained inspiring and motivational hopes for the Latin American people such as the exposure of “Socialism of the 21st Century” and “Bolivarian Revolution,” Chavez seemed to be leading a New Leftist movement in Latin America. Other governments in the region such as that of Evo Morales, president of Bolivia, have followed Chavez strategies and ideology. More recently, Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa has employed the same rhetoric under a “Citizens’ Revolution.”

This Honors Project research emerges out of the desire to understand what Socialism of the 21st Century is all about and what it truly looks like in the application. The main purpose of this work is to explore the concept of Socialism of the 21st Century in order to be able to understand how it is actually affecting Latin America through studying Ecuador’s current regime and its relation with this new concept in theory and in practice. As a comparative politics research, this paper explores the theoretical principles of Socialism of the 21st Century to later compare it and find connections with the basic documents and the events of the current administration in the Latin American state of Ecuador.

Even though Latin America is improving its situation and becoming more relevant in the international community, Latin American Comparative Politics studies have not increased in number or popularity. This research attempts to first of all create a framework of study for this new model of social economic and political organization called Socialism of the 21st Century, and also apply the general theory to a case study to a country that in the last five years has demonstrated what this theory looks like

in practice and how it is shaping the region in general. This research is relevant for the field of Comparative Politics because it explores the Socialism of the 21st Century, a theory that is growing in popularity in the region, in order to understand its implications nationally and internationally.

During the last decade, the change in the constitutions of different Latin American countries shows that the new waves of socialism, especially the Socialism of the 21st Century, have affected Latin American politics. The research question to start this study is:

- Based on the affirmations above, how has the new wave of socialism (Socialism of the 21st Century) driven by Latin American leaders such as Chavez, Morales, and Correa affected the politics of Ecuador in the last five years socially, economically, and politically; and
- How can the Ecuadorian case reveal what is to come to Latin America?

To answer that question, the thesis to prove in this research is: The new model of Socialism of the 21st century in Latin America has vastly influenced the regional politics, and one of its best illustrations is the last five years of government administration in Ecuador under President Rafael Correa's Citizens' Revolutions.

The study methodology for this research is a case study analysis. After exploring the basic scholastic and academic concepts of the theory of Socialism of the 21st Century, this paper explores, explains, and analyzes how these principles are connected to what has happened in Ecuador in the last five years under President Correa. Based on these connections in the case study, the last section of this paper predicts the future implications of Socialism of the 21st Century for Ecuador and for Latin America.

This research is structured with levels of analysis so that the reader is able to understand the concepts of the theory of Socialism of the 21st Century, and later how these concepts are connected to Ecuador. The paper contains a six chapters. One chapter is dedicated to the literature review. Four chapters are given to the case study, and the final focuses on the conclusions and implications of this research.

The literature review explores what scholars and practitioners have said about the concept of Socialism of the 21st Century. Because it is a new model, the declarations of practitioners (politicians) have to be taken into consideration. This literature review associates several principles and theoretical concepts under three main categories: Core principles; Political and Diplomatic principles; and Economic and Social principles. This literature review explores these general principles first in order to later compare this theory with the practice in the case study.

The case study has four chapters that present a connection and illustrate the application of Socialism of the 21st Century. These chapters explore the background history of Latin America and Ecuador briefly and methodology and framework of study, Ecuador's new core principles, Ecuador's model of democracy (political and diplomatic application) through national and international levels of analysis, and finally, Ecuador's approach of development (economic and social application) through human, environmental, economic, and technological levels of analysis.

Finally, this research concludes with a section of political analysis of the future implications of the Socialism of the 21st Century at the national and regional level. The conclusion part integrates and connects all the research material, and analysis in order to deduce from the findings of the case study and discover a bigger picture of where Latin America is going and what the future looks like for this political theory and the different countries that are in the process of building a new society with the Socialism of the 21st Century as its base. In order to demonstrate the relevance to the field, this concluding section connects the pieces of the research in order to show what the relevance of this new theory is and how it applies in countries of Latin America.

CHAPTER 1: Literature Review

In order to understand Socialism of the 21st Century, it is essential to review, explore, and analyze the literature of those scholars and practitioners that have drawn the basic concepts, values, and principles of this theory. Socialism of the 21st Century entered the political environment of Latin America rapidly because unlike other systems and models, this approach of governance and organization is not only political or economic, but it is political, diplomatic, economic, and social. It is important to clarify that there is no consensus on the definition of Socialism of the 21st Century (Hernandez 2006).

After reviewing the different works that exist on Socialism of the 21st Century, this research organizes the material in three categories in order to understand the main principles of the Socialism of the 21st Century in a systematic way. As a political, diplomatic, economic, and social system, one needs to explain what the different principles that shape the understanding of these four areas are. Though, before exploring the principles of those areas, an analysis of the core and basic principles that create the basis of this new socialism have to be explored. After reviewing these core principles, this literature review groups the political and diplomatic principles into one category and the economic and social ones in another one. Finally, this review proposes a workable definition that is used throughout the paper to refer to what Socialism of the 21st Century is. This literature review, unlike in other types of research, is quite important for the understanding of this paper because it offers the first level of analysis in the research by scrutinizing the core concepts of the theory to be explored, which unlike other theories in comparative politics, has not been developed, explored, and researched enough.

1. Core Principles:

Socialism of the 21st Century, like any other model of government, has a set of core principles and values. This new socialism learns from history, specifically from the old socialism, accepts and opts for being adaptive by rejecting fundamentalism, and claims the need for effective institutions and solid leadership in order to carry on the different policies and reforms in a democratic and transparent way.

Learning from History

The most important principle of the Socialism of the 21st Century is the looking back at history to take the good things of the old socialism and reject those that led to its failure. Isabel Rauber (2008, 155) explains that if socialism can be reinstalled, it needs to return stronger and ready to be applied to the new realities of the 21st century. She mentions that there is a need for this new socialism to put an emphasis on cultural changes. She also argues that this new socialism has to be “extremely democratic, communitarian, economically and socially sustainable, and equitable” unlike the socialism of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) or the People’s Republic of China during the Cold War. Additionally, Juan Carlos Monedero (2008, 187-188) mentions that, because of the changing epoch in which we live in, there is a need for a paradigm shift. Rafael Correa, Economics scholar, and now president of Ecuador, explains that this new socialism has to have answers to modern problems. He also points out that this socialism ought to have principles and not models like the old one (Ospina 2007). Majority of these scholars agree that if socialism is to be attempted again, at least in Latin America, it has to be a new model, with the basic good concepts but renewed, improved, and polished.

Latin American Scholars agree also that Socialism of the 21st Century should be modified according to the failures of the old socialism, which led it to its collapse in the Cold War. Monedero (2008, 192 – 193) explains five reasons why socialism in the 20th century was naïve. First, to believe in the old concepts of socialism was naïve because of thinking that it was enough to take control of the government to change the social regime. He argues that once the socialists reached power, the rest was pure improvisation. Second, it was naïve because of believing that the creation of a single party was enough in order to regulate society, assuming that there is only one truth. Third, it is naïve because of thinking that the nationalization of the means of production would be able to satisfy the social needs in a more efficient and abundant way than capitalism. Fourth, old socialism was naïve because of thinking that what was working in the Soviet Union was good to be applied in other countries with different realities, needs, and circumstances. Finally, socialists in the past were naïve because of thinking that an uninterrupted growth

would bring abundance that would end all human and social problems, ignoring the natural personal human needs such as transcendence, and the depletion of the environment (Monedero 2008, 192-193) Correa also mentions that old socialism was too fundamentalist and wanted to impose the same to everyone. He argues that there was not much difference between socialists and capitalists in the sense that they both exploited natural resources in an indiscriminate way, measuring development and their success to GDP and other false indicators. These problems of the old model of socialism are rejected by the Socialism of the 21st Century.

Presenting a new model for socialism that learns from the mistakes of the past and makes a note of the current realities is the initial core principle of this new socialism. Scholars are asking that all the negative aspects of socialist history be left behind, for those that want to implement a new model of socialism in Latin America. As Correa and Monedero mentioned, there are good things to take from the old socialism essential values, but the reality and context of the world today is totally different from the one that shaped Marx's and other socialists' theories and writings. By leaving these historical failures behind, scholars claim that a new socialism is possible.

Adaptability

The second most important principle of Socialism of the 21st Century is its capability to adapt to age (time frames), and specific geo-political, socio-cultural, and historical realities. Traditional socialism was implemented in a bipolar world, during a Cold War, and by industrially developed states. Today's Latin America's reality is completely different because of the new globalized era and because of all the different realities of the countries in the region. Socialism of the 21st Century has to be able to adapt in different times because the globalized world of this new millennium is quite different from the realities that it faced when the old socialism was applied for the first time.¹ It also needs to adapt geographically because each country and their realities are different and cannot be encapsulated under a set of rules,

¹ This means that it will adapt to the different eras, taking into consideration that the 20th century is different from the 21st century and in 10 years, the reality of the world will be different.

policies, or frameworks. Thus, Socialism, of the 21st Century is adaptable and has principles which are general enough to be adapted to the different realities of eras and nation-states.

The majority of the scholars analyzed in this literature review agree that one of the main flaws of the old socialism was its rigid approach and the enforcement of a set of policies that were not empathetic with the current realities of the states that were attempting the system. Correa explains that there is a need to create a system that can adapt to each country's reality without a set model. He argues that any attempt of putting this new model in a box is condemned to failure (Ospina 2007). Alberto Acosta, a recognized Ecuadorian economist and former president of the Constitutional Assembly of 2007-2008, claims that the Socialism of the 21st Century is different from the old socialism that was "rooted to its answers in the manuals." He explains that if this model ever is able to create a manual, it has to be flexible, adaptable, and capable of being changed when necessary, for it would be incorrect to believe in absolutes, especially if there is a democratic system (Ospina 2007). Heinz Dieterich Steffan, a German professor of sociology explains that this new model has to be able to adapt also using the resources of each era and country such as the technological developments of this new millennium to empower the attempt of making this model successful in case of being attempted by a country (Dieterich 2002, 12 - 15). Furthermore, Rauber (2009, 160) explains that it is necessary to create proposals and plans on economic projects that can provide the guidelines to the creation of this new model, but these have to be open, flexible, and exposed to constant feedback. Correa (2009, 189) also, making an analogy, explains that one has to think about the Darwinian thoughts of evolution because "species that survive are not those that are stronger but those that adapt themselves better to change." This is important in any political, economic, and social system because in a changing world, if there is not constant adaptation, improvement, and flexibility, the system is deemed to fail, lose popularity, or face broad opposition.

Adaptability is a core concept of Socialism of the 21st Century, especially in Latin America. Latin American countries are diverse; similar and different at the same time. Because of the similarities, one can argue that this model can reach the whole region, but because of the differences, this new socialism

has to be able to bring only specific core principles and values in order to allow each country to develop the model that will better suit their own reality. In this research, the case study shows how these concepts are adapted to Ecuador's reality, but also how one can draw general conclusions based on the nature of the country and its implications to the region.

Institutions and Leadership

Effective institutions and solid leadership to run them are an essential principle of Socialism of the 21st Century. This new socialism is a radical new system, which has principles that sometimes go against the *status quo*. Thus, in order to shift the paradigms and current system towards this new approach of socialism, there is a need of efficient and transparent institutions and a solid leadership of the decision makers, which will face opposition when trying to reform the traditional institutions in order to resist the temptation of stopping the reformation process.

In the Socialism of the 21st Century, institutions are of great importance because this new system claims to be a project which is not only limited to the charismatic leader of the moment but that plans to stay and gradually achieve its egalitarian modern society goals. Institutions and their functionality determine how well a government is administering the country. Hugo Chavez, explains that Socialism of the 21st Century attempts to create a different civilization than the one of capitalism referring to its institutional differences. According to him, this type of revolution this new socialism looks for is a change in the institutions of the capitalist system (Chavez 2005). Socialism of the 21st Century emphasizes the reformation of traditional institutions because its desire is not only to reach temporary power or solve short term necessities, but to transform and reshape the society.

Furthermore, institutions cannot be run and be effective without leaders that are committed to the new principles, and that is why solid leadership is as important for Socialism of the 21st Century. All political systems and ideological approaches need leaders to take them to the instances where they can be applied to society. This new socialism also requires specific types of leaders that have been described as those who can make reforms based on the principles of this new socialism. Referring to leadership,

Monedero (2008, 191) explains that strong leaders are essential. Monedero explain that this is not a dictator or a despot, but that leaders have to truly have a connection with the people and exhibit complete transparency. In the past, he mentions, leaders have been authoritarian elites that have enriched themselves through corruption, and therefore, social controls are necessary for keeping this leadership accountable in this new socialism. Moreover, Correa (2009, 195) addresses that leadership needs to become about serving the rest. He argues that one of the biggest crisis in the history of Latin America has been the leadership crisis. Correa, finally, states that leadership is a transcendental part of a reformation process because they will have to go against the status quo and make change happen.

The academic works on new socialism in Latin America brings up the need for institutions and leaders that are synchronized with each other because these two factors are the main change-makers in the reformation that Socialism of 21st Century strived for. Of the three core principles of this new system, institution and leadership development is probably the one that can be more easily demonstrated in practical examples. Without effective institutionalism and strong leadership, Socialism of the 21st Century cannot exist.

After reviewing these three core principles that form the basis of Socialism of the 21st Century, one can start exploring the political, diplomatic, economic, and social aspects of this new system in order to understand what the theory explains to later put these principles in context and application in the case study. The historical lessons of the old socialism, the necessity of a new model to be adaptable to changing times and geo-political realities, and the essential need for effective institutionalism with strong leadership establish the core of Socialism of the 21st Century.

2. Political and Diplomatic Principles:

Socialism of the 21st Century, as a governmental model offers political and diplomatic principles that are strongly linked to democracy. One of the major themes mentioned by the scholars that have written on a new socialism for Latin America is the implementation of a democratic political system, leaving behind those autocratic and dictatorial one party states of the old socialism. In this democratic political

framework one can make some observations and analysis categorizing democratic principles in the national and international level, explaining like this the political and diplomatic stands and ideas of the new socialism. Socialism of the 21st Century scholars have drawn some principles that urge any regime that tries to implement this model to have completely democratic public and foreign policies.

National Principles

Nationally, under the Socialism of the 21st Century, governments are called to promote and incentivize civic participation, defend and protect human rights, and finally enforce the rule of law. Among scholars that have studied new socialist possibilities in South America, there is a common agreement on that the political apparatus should be transformed into a new socialism that ought to be a participative and inclusive democracy. One of the main theses of Dieterich (2002; 2007) in his writings is that the political part of Socialism of the 21st Century has to be purely democratic, and going beyond the simple representative democracy, it has to strive for a more inclusive and participative democracy. Dieterich (2005, 185 – 186) mentions that this participation has to be achieved based on decentralization and working with local governments in an efficient way, so that citizens can access and be part of the decision-making process. Chavez (2005) on the other hand claims that this new socialism ought to change the typical western democracy where majority of the times, according him, the rich rule, to a more direct democratic system.² Additionally, Rauber (2008, 168) claims that this democratic approach has to be of a “new kind.” His ideal democracy is more participative because it puts more popular control on the decision making, giving the people more sovereignty and the system more legitimacy. Moreover, Tomás Moulian calls to construct a democracy driven by social participation (Illianes 2001, 2). Boron (2009, 42) argues that traditional democracies are not truly what a democracy ought to be – government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Monedero (2008, 205) declares that there is no space for dictatorships in a new socialism. Finally, Correa argues that one of the most important aspects to consider

² Despite the controversy of Chavez’ regime, this literature review takes into consideration his claims because he is one of the main practitioners of this model, and what is explored in this review is based on his declaration of the new socialism strictly theoretically speaking.

in the Socialism of the 21st Century is that there are not violent revolutions for change (Ospina 2007). Democracy, at the national level calls for social inclusion and participation in the decision making, reforming the traditional approaches of representative democracies.

International Principles

Internationally, the Socialism of the 21st Century calls for the peaceful defense of national sovereignty. Correa (2009, 161 – 173) explains the political intervention of international organizations such as the IMF and World Bank in the public and economic policies of Latin American countries throughout what he calls “the long and sad neo-liberal night”³ This concept of defense of national sovereignty derives from the need for self-determination of Latin American countries after the interventionist foreign policies of the United States during the Cold War. Diplomatically speaking, Socialism of the 21st Century calls governments to enforce policies that defend national sovereignty, an international right given by the United Nations Charter, over any other international agreement.

At the international level, this new socialism also urges international cooperation, regional integration through international organizations, and the respect and enforcement of international treaties. Dieterich (2002, 71 - 74) explains that in Latin America, the conditions are given for the whole region to implement this new socialism. He explains in detail a transition plan that includes the regional transition to this approach through the “*Bloque Regional de Poder (BRP)*” (Regional Block of Power) which would try to implement reforms regionally. Finally, Dieterich mentions that a participative democracy has to take place to allow the socialist policies to be a reality, and then it will expand nationally and expand internationally. Dieterich (2002. 72 - 73) explains that a regional block is necessary for any economic advance in Latin America. Chavez has also put a big emphasis on developing a regional currency like the euro in Europe. He calls it SUCRE (*Sistema Único de Compensación Regional*)⁴(Amsterdam 2009). This currency is a project that goes along with other regional projects such as the UNASUR (*Union de*

³ The long and sad neo-liberal night is an expression that Rafael Correa uses to refer to the times when Latin America was under great influence of the free market economic policies of international financial organizations such as the IMF, WB, and WTO. For more information about this refer to Correa: 2009, 37-54

⁴SUCRE translated in English means Unique System for Regional Compensation.

Naciones Sudamericanas), ALBA (*Alianza Bolivariana Para los Pueblos de Nuestra America*), and CELAC (*Comunidad de Estados Latino Americanos y del Caribe*). Correa also explains that in order to reduce dependency and vulnerability, regional integration has to occur (Acosta 2005, 74 – 75). Regional cooperation and the creation of institutions and new international regimes that can lead to this integration is the focus of the theory that shapes the foreign policy of the main practitioners of this new socialism such as Correa and Chavez. Regional integration, according to scholars and practitioners is one basic principle for the diplomacy and foreign policy of those who want to create Socialism of the 21st Century.

The political and diplomatic aspects of Socialism of the 21st Century can be encapsulated in the creation of a new democracy that can nationally and internationally create more political equality, social participation and inclusion, self-determination, and integration, not only political and economic but also social. Proponents of the Socialism of the 21st Century agree that in this new millennium, democracy is the only way to go but that this democracy has to go beyond the typical approaches of republics and become a participative (in the national level) and integrative (in the international level) democracy.

3. Economic and Social Principles:

Unlike the socialism of the 20th century and the current free-market economic models, the Socialism of the 21st century approaches development in a holistic way that includes human, environmental, economic, and technological development. According to Rauber (2008, 155), the way in which the developed countries and those who designed the Bretton Woods organizations and the Washington Consensus based the measurement of development on economics; therefore, whoever has more GDP and other economic indicators is more developed, even when some countries might be exploiting nature extensively or attacking basic freedoms, cultures, and ecosystems. This millennium and generation are those that are currently facing the consequences of indiscriminate economic growth which was caused by systems that did not take into consideration the long term consequences for the environment, and in some cases of their own people.

Human Development

Old socialism, majority of the time, is associated with despotism, authoritarianism, dictatorship, and labor exploitation which are issues that through history have caused human degradation; therefore, this new socialism puts a special focus on the human part of development before any other aspect. Correa emphasizes that Socialism of 21 Century proposes a new paradigm of development that respects culture and satisfies basic needs based on the cultural realities. He explains that this model needs to find a new system that puts in the center of the public action the human being, and that considers people not a factor of production but the reason for production (Sarasin 2011). Furthermore, Correa (2009, 176) explains that the second half of the 20th century showed that the most successful economies were those that developed their human talent. In other words, with human talent and other factors like technology one can “make things flourish in the desert, whereas without these one can make even the most colorful garden become a desert.” Additionally, Rauber (2008, 155) describes this new socialism as a humanist one. She mentions that “this socialism means and supposes the creation and foundation of a new human civilization.” To this, Correa adds that in this new socialism there is a smart feminism and indigenism (Ospina 2007). Correa (2011) also claims that Socialism of the 21st Century is humanist; therefore, this new socialism has a close proximity to social justice. Indeed, Monedero (2008, 187) states that this new socialism is “system of social and cultural organization that seeks justice and the defense of native peoples identity.” The scholars in this literature review argue that development in a new socialism has to prioritize the well-being of people. Socialism of the 21st Century, therefore, focuses on human development in the sense of giving attention to things such as education, health, and equality, leaving old traditions of labor exploitation and civil rights abuse behind.

Environmental Development

The Socialism of the 21st Century, based on the reality of this new millennium and the effects that environmental pollution have caused, focuses also on environmental conservation and sustainability as part of the development scheme. Rafael Correa, states that in this new socialism “there is a need of a

environmentalism, but a smart one.” He claims that this new model has to look at new concepts such as sustainable development. He explains that one of the big challenges of the Socialism of the 21st Century is to present a proposal of different development (Ospina 2007). He also argues that this new paradigm of development has to be a philosophy of living in harmony with nature (Sarasin 2011). Correa, finally, argues that it is important to be sustainable, and that sustainability is one of the new different things in this system because in the past, socialism was also an environmental predator that craved economic growth at the expense of environmental exploitation and degradation (Ospina 2007). In addition, Monedero (2008, 187) claims that a new socialism has to have “environmental respect.” In conclusion, Socialism of the 21st Century focuses on being eco-friendly and sustainable, and it attempts to change the obsolete paradigm of capitalism and old socialism that seeks for economic growth without considering the environmental damages and long term consequences that indiscriminate natural exploitation can cause.

Economic Development

Furthermore, Socialism of the 21st Century takes the core concept of the old socialism which focuses on a more economically equal society and attempts to reach economic development in an equitable and egalitarian way. It is important to point out that Socialism of the 21st Century does not see GDP as the main indicator for growth or wealth, and that is one of the main lessons of the old socialism (Rauber 2008, 155). To this, Dieterich (2002, 39 - 46) adds that redistribution of wealth is necessary to achieve this type of socialism. He explains that there is a need to find a way to plan the wages and prices of goods in a fairer and more equal way. For Chavez, a democratically planned economy is a main aspect of this new socialism. Chavez (2005) claims that a socialist economy works over the value, does exchanges of equivalences, and plans the main parameters of economics starting with macroeconomics, for instance, “the investment tax and the national budget, as in macroeconomics, particularly in the capital gain, namely, the intensity of the exploitation of work.” Moreover, Correa (2011) argues that it would be clumsy to minimize the importance of the market because the challenge is to dominate it. Based on these different contributions, one can notice that there is no consensus in a specific model in economics for this

proposed system. Therefore, the assumption is to leave this aspect to be treated by each government and their experts to decide what economic policies to pursue, but always keeping in mind a transition to a more planned economy that can bring more equal redistribution of wealth to all citizens.

Technological Development

Finally, the development framework of the Socialism of the 21st Century puts a special emphasis on technological development, not only because of the new industries and for production effectiveness, but because the only way to reach the principles that this new model strives for, technology and its direct use in concordance with this new socialism is essential. Correa (2009, 176) explains that after development on human talent, the second half of the 20th century showed that the successful economies were those that had adequate use of technology. Additionally, Dieterich (2002, 36 - 38) claims that at the time of Marx, computers did not exist; therefore, socialism, as complex as it is and was at that age, was not able to develop because of the lack of technological development of the time. He explains that Marx wrote his *Communist Manifesto* most likely to be applied in an industrialized Germany, but it was Lenin who put it into practice in an agricultural, non-industrialized Russia; therefore, he argues that the lack of scientific follow up was one of the biggest failures of the old socialism, and he also blames the fall of socialism to the lack of technological advancement through history applied to the model. According to Dieterich, other scientific approaches such as modern physics and biology became what they are in this day and age because of an extensive application of technological developments of the time to their scientific development. For example, in physics, Sir Isaac Newton drew the basic principles of such, and throughout history, new scientists expanded the knowledge of physics constantly until later in the 20th century, Albert Einstein stretched the previous understanding with the theory of relativity. Dieterich's thesis explains that as other sciences and theories have evolved throughout the years with the help of technology and new studies, there is a need for a scientific development of Socialism, taking into consideration what history taught us, and more than anything else, the current reality of each country. Dieterich (2002, 37 - 38) explains that Marx proposed a new concept in his *Communist Manifesto*, but

there was not significant theoretical development and adaptation for it to be successful. To conclude, one can see how Correa and Dieterich agree on the fact that whatever economic theory and other complex issues to be implemented in Socialism of the 21st Century are easier to achieve in this era because of the technological development, which Marx and other socialists did not have. Technological development, thus, is important for this new socialism because of its input to the enforcement of the reforms and also because of the value it brings to all areas of society such as education, health, production, and research.

Because the theory of the new system of Socialism of the 21st Century is still under research and being explored, this review needs to offer a workable definition that can be used throughout the paper for analysis purposes. Thus, for this project, Socialism of the 21st Century is defined as **a system of political, economic and social organization that appeals to the development of transparent and effective institutions through the efficient and solid leadership of decision makers, and unlike the old socialism, it seeks development in a holistic way (human, environmental, economic and technological), appealing to democracy as the core principle of political and diplomatic organization nationally and internationally.** Based on this definition, the paper explores the concepts of the theory so that it can be compared later with the case study in order to analyze what this theory looks like when applied in reality.

CHAPTER 2: Introduction to Ecuador's Case Study

1. A Regional Need for Change:

The events that occurred in Latin American modern history created a regional need for a different system. During the Cold War there were intelligence operations in South American countries from the capitalist sphere, but especially from the United States (Latin American Perspectives 2002, 40). These operations happened especially in the Southern Cone (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, Chile and Bolivia) where socialism was growing in popularity. A well-remembered intervention happened in Chile when democratically elected President Salvador Allende was a victim of *coup d'état*, with involvement of the CIA that put General Augusto Pinochet in charge (CIA, 2000). Pinochet's regime was one of the most violent in the history of Latin America. He killed thousands of people for their opposition to his authoritarian regime. There are several leaked cables and other declassified documents from the CIA that show how the path that Latin America took economically and politically (free market economy and military dictatorships) was greatly influenced from the western capitalist countries, especially the United States during the Cold War. Even when this is not the focus of this research, it is important to mention one of the origins of this need of a new system that can fit in the complex realities of the region in the new globalized unipolar world of the 21st Century.

A Venezuelan journalist, Alejandro Peña, claims that in Latin America the leftist governments are working together to help others with their ideologies reach power in their countries so that they can have regional influence and power. In the book "*El Foro de Sao Paulo: Una Amenaza Continental*," Alejandro Peña Enclose explains that after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Fidel Castro called for a Forum by inviting all the leftist leaders and organizations in Latin America, including FARC and other terrorist groups from the continent in order to talk about what the plans would be in order to continue the socialist plans after the fall of the Soviet Union. This associates Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez and Brazilian former president Lula da Silva with Castro's regime because of their presence in this event (Peña 2007, 24-25). Also, Peña claims that the former president of Ecuador, Lucio Gutierrez was the one that the Sao Paulo

Forum selected to be the one that would take over Ecuador in order to install their agenda (Peña 2007, 42-47). Peña connects Ecuador's current president Rafael Correa with this movement and claims that this was the way he financed his presidential campaign in 2007. Based on these claims, and what is appreciated in reality when observing the political climate of the region, one can observe that there is a growing movement of leftist leaders in the region that have common policies, ideals, and goals. Latin America is currently seeing how Socialism of the 21st Century is being attempted and adopted by majority of the leaders in direct and indirect ways. Rapidly or slowly, this new approach of social contract is reaching countries' leaders and governments in the region.

Even though Socialism of the 21st Century entered Latin America through Hugo Chavez, this research is going to explore how significant it is, and how it can be applied in reality to the Ecuadorian case. The role leaders such as Hugo Chavez (Venezuela), Evo Morales (Bolivia), Lula da Silva (Brazil), Christina Fernandez (Argentina), Ollanta Humala (Peru), Manuel Ortega (Nicaragua), and Rafael Correa (Ecuador) play, raises the question of how this new wave of socialism is impacting the region, and how someone can study it in a way that people can comprehend what it looks like in practice. On the other hand, Rafael Correa has become one of the most respected leaders with less international controversy in Latin America. This research analyzes his reforms and the past 5 years of his government as a case study in order to explain those concepts explored in the literature review so that one can understand the significance and the application of this Socialism of the 21st Century in Latin America.

Indeed, Venezuela was the first country that tries to apply Socialism of the 21st Century, but at the same time, in order to understand the implications of this new socialism in the region, one needs to study a country that could illustrate similar realities of the majority of Latin American countries. Because of its geographical, cultural, and anthropological diversity, Ecuador, unlike many countries of South American nations, can illustrate almost every reality of the continent. First of all, the coastal region of Ecuador is very similar in culture and race to those who live in the northern Caribbean part of South America in countries like Colombia, Venezuela, and many Central American Nations where people are dependent on

tourism, fishing, etc., and similar experiences. Moreover, the reality in cities of the highlands of Ecuador are very similar to those of countries like Peru, Bolivia, and Chile where there are big numbers of indigenous populations that suffer social discrimination and labor exploitation. Moreover, cities like Quito and Cuenca relate to those in the South of South America where there is still a big European influence and colonial architecture. Finally, the Rain Forest part of Ecuador has conditions like all those other countries that share the Amazon Basin such as Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, among others. Based on this, the present research uses Ecuador as a useful case study to research the implications of this new socialism in the region.

2. Correa's raise to Power

As in the rest of Latin America, Ecuador's history, by the beginning of the new millennium reached a critical point in which change was necessary, and Socialism of the 21st Century became the best and most appealing option. From being one of the capitals of the great Incan Empire, to be part of the Great Colombia, Ecuador ended up being one of the countries with more corruption and poverty in South America by the turn of the century. This section explains the major factors that led Ecuador to look for a different alternative. This background introduction to the case study explores some of the situations that led Ecuador into a social/civil crisis and to a frustration point that directed academicians and social leaders to enter the political realm and present a new option to the typical traditional parties that Ecuadorians were used to.

Ecuador's underdevelopment since the beginning of the republic was not caused by the lack of resources or people but by the poor management by those in power, who were looking for their own selfish interest, leaving the people's and country's interests behind. As in majority of developing countries, Ecuador was dominated by a small group of elites that had connections with multinational corporations and elitist groups in the most developed countries. Later, in the first half of 1990s, Ecuador passed by as an irrelevant player in Latin American politics and experienced a limited economic benefit brought by banana and oil production and export. During this time multinational corporations dominated

the petroleum industry in Ecuador. Ecuadorian elitist groups and decision makers allowed this to happen because of their connections with these groups and the benefits they received from such relationships. Since then, the country has remained divided in an everlasting war between political parties that pitted the different influence spheres of Ecuador against each other.

One of the main needs for an alternative to the traditional systems and ideologies is the political instability that Ecuador had in the last 20 years. Since 1992, Ecuador has had eight presidents and several military *juntas*. It is important to note that the last five years of government have been under Rafael Correa's administration. In the early 90s, Sixto Duran Ballen became president, but corruption issues and the problems in the border with Peru kept the instability of the country going and blocked the economic development. In 1996, Abdala Bucaram of the "*Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano*" (PRE) party became president of Ecuador. Abdala was the typical charismatic populist⁵ leader that appealed to the masses for support. After six months of government, because of corruption and political issues, he was impeached by the congress who declared him "Mentally Instable" which made him unable to keep governing the nation. He called this impeachment a *coup d'état*. Rosalia Arteaga, Vice-president took the power for less than 24 hours, and then Fabian Alarcon was elected interim president by the Congress. In 1998, Jamil Mahuad of the "*Partido Social Cristiano*" (PSC) party won the elections. After being one of the most popular Mayors of Quito, Mahuad took the presidency and executed different reforms that would shape the history of the country. Mahuad yielded in the conflict with Peru and stopped the war with the Treaty of Brasilia (BBC News 1998). After "freezing" the savings of the people and declaring "banking holiday," Mahuad accepted to change the national currency "Sucre" to American Dollars (USD) (Correa 2009, 75-86). These occurrences led a *coup d'état* and a military junta composed of the national army led by Coronel Lucio Gutierrez, and the CONAIE (an indigenous movement) led by Antonio Vargas, overthrew the government of Mahuad. Gustavo Noboa, Vice-president finished the term. Bucaram's and Mahuad's presidency were detrimental for Ecuador and determined what was to come.

⁵ DEFINE POPULISM

This instability continued in the new millennium, but it reached the limit under the presidency of Lucio Gutierrez. In 2002, Gutierrez won the elections with a populist rhetoric, being recognized as a leader that does not come from the oligarchy and the elites. His free market oriented policies led him to start working with international organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF (IMF - International Monetary Fund 2002). On January 15 of 2003, Gutierrez in one of his speeches declared that he was going to change Ecuador or die trying (Diario El Mercurio 2003). After several mistakes and political controversy, Gutierrez flew out of the presidential palace on April 20, 2006, and left the country for political asylum because the people of Quito, and others that came from provinces, under the name of *Forajidos* (outlaws), rose up and reached the central plaza with peaceful protest (Diario El Comercio 2011). Gutierrez' approval rates dropped drastically when, in the attempt to reach compromise among the different parties of congress, the political party PRE asked him to bring Abdala Bucaram back, and Gutierrez naively agreed. The population of Quito was not able to stand this due to the economic and political damage that Bucaram caused to the country. Ecuador almost entered in a civil war because back-up supporters of Gutierrez came to the capital, from Guayaquil (the coastal metropolis in Ecuador), armed with *machetes* and guns, ready to retaliate the *Forajidos* (group of citizens from Quito that showed up to protest pacifically against Gutierrez regime). They shouted out in the streets "Let everybody go!" Ecuador's situation had become untenable.

Gutierrez stepped down and his vice-president finished the term, but it was in this short time that a new leader arose from the academic world and stood up in representation of that broad part of the citizens of Ecuador that could not stand the current political situation anymore. When Gutierrez' Vice-president Alfredo Palacio assumed the presidency, he made some appointments in order to try to recover legitimacy and order in the country. On April 10, 2005, Palacio appointed Rafael Correa, a young economics professor graduated from University of Illinois, as Minister of Economy and Finance. A few weeks later, Rafael Correa resigned his position because of irregularities he found while negotiating a loan with the World Bank (WB) (El Universo 2005). His initial stand against the WB and his leftist rhetoric against the

international organizations and their push for free market economic policies in the region launched him as a strong presidential candidate. Correa became the leader of a new political movement, formed by different other movements, scholars and practitioners, which wanted to create an alternative to the typical parties. *Patria Altiva I Soberana* (PAIS), the new movement under Correa's leadership, changed the direction in which Ecuador was heading.

The rise to power of Rafael Correa started a new chapter in Ecuadorian politics under an adapted form of Socialism of the 21st Century. In 2006, Correa ran for President and won in the second round over Alvaro Noboa after he finished second in the first round. Correa then started his revolutionary reform. His first goal, and one of his main campaign promises, was the rewrite of the constitution through democratic and constitutional means (using the powers of the Ecuadorian Constitution of 1998). On April 15 the results of the voting on the Referendum gave a victory to the 'yes,' and Correa dissolved the current congress and ordered the electoral tribunal to call for elections of representatives to conform a Constitutional Assembly (which was going to have legislative functions replacing the congress, but would focus on the redaction of a new constitution) (Gulfnews 2007). The Constitutional Assembly, symbolically, set in Montecristi, Manabí, the city of origin of one of the most remembered presidents, Don Eloy Alfaro (president from 1895 to 1901 and 1906 to 1911) (Biografiasyvidas.com). The Constitutional Assembly was full of important scholars and new political leaders from different fields and regions such as Alberto Acosta (important economist), Fander Falconi (economic and environmental development scholar), Maria Paula Romo and Norman Write (leaders of the new youth political movement, *Ruptura de los 25*, allied with *Acuerdo PAIS*), among others. Correa and *Acuerdo PAIS*, a new alliance of his movement *Alianza PAIS*, and other political actors, had the majority seats, and were able to draft a constitution that could reach compromise and the citizen's acceptance but also friendly and biased towards the goals of the Socialism of the 21st Century agenda that the alliance had. The National Constitutional Assembly, after around a year of work, drafted a new constitution, which through its "Transition Regime," Article 2 needed to call for elections again. Correa won this time too.

Because of the influence Correa and his movement had on the drafting of the new Ecuadorian Constitution of 2008, one cannot say that they are to be analyzed separately, but it is important to clarify that those constitutional assemblymen were not Correa's puppets, and that the new constitution was not written to allow Correa to do whatever he wanted, but it was created as an attempt to create a basis for a paradigm shift in the politics of Ecuador. Correa called his regime the "Citizen's Revolution." It is necessary to recognize the difference between what the constitution says, and its parallels with Socialism of the 21st Century, and what Correa's Citizen's Revolution's policies have been in concordance to applying Socialism of the 21st Century as a practical model.

In Ecuador, the political instability, corruption, and social crisis had reached the limit, and the dissatisfaction of the people became an important tool for regime and system change. Rafael Correa won the elections in December 4, 2006, and with that, a new chapter in the story of Ecuador was written. The following case study explores the relations of Ecuador's regime since Correa came to power, but also uses the new constitution that was approved in 2008 along with the practical examples even though there was almost a year since the referendum to rewrite the constitution through a constitutional assembly was approved and since the people approved the referendum to adopt the new constitution. With Correa, several changes occurred, but even when he attempts to carry policies based on the Socialism of the 21st Century described above, it is important to notice that his team, colleagues, and the people that wrote the constitution were a majority of the time following their own understandings and convictions, and not only Correa's.

3. Case Study Framework

The case study of the next pages explores two levels of analysis of the Socialism of the 21st Century: the basic legal documents and Correa's administration policy making. First of all, the basic legal documents (constitution and Ecuador's law) because those are documents that will apply to any regime to come after Correa's term. The two main documents to be analyzed at the beginning of each case study are the constitution and the national development plan.

The constitution is of great importance because by analyzing it one is looking at a document that shapes all laws and public policy in a country like Ecuador with a centralized government (not a federation or confederation). The new constitution of Ecuador reflects the work of almost a year in where the principles of Socialism of the 21st Century were written by elected asambleists of Ecuador and that the Ecuadorian people approved. This means that this document provides for a long term project that starts with the Constitution of 2008. After Correa's administration, this constitution will continue shaping the law, policy, and decision making of whoever's administration is to come (unless they rewrite the document again). Thus, the constitution of Ecuador and its mandates are the first level of analysis of each section of this case study.

The second level of analysis and a document of vital importance in the analysis of the Ecuadorian case is the national development plan of Correa's second term, *Plan Nacional del Buen Vivir 2009-2013*. This document takes the constitutional mandates and develops goals and policies for the 4 year term of the administration. This document describes the ideal and theoretical objectives and policies to be implemented by the government. After the constitution, which is the macro level of analysis in the case study, the second level is filtered to what Correa's administration has planned for the term.

Finally, the last level of analysis to consider for this case study is the practical grass-roots examples of events and acts of Correa's administration in the last 5 years. After revising the ideal goals of his government, this case study explores and analyzes what really happened and how the government of Ecuador under Correa's leadership put the principles of Socialism of the 21st Century into practice. One needs to look at the policy making of Correa's administration to actually understand what Socialism of the 21st Century looks in practice.

Analyzing all these levels is important because, even though they are not mutually exclusive, they are not mutually inclusive either. By analyzing the constitution and national development plan, one can see the ideal principles drafted for a long term project and a short term administration in a country. On the other hand, through examining the policy making of the government, this research shows the practical

grass-root policy making of a Socialist of the 21st Century regime. The final level of analysis is the focus of this case study because it makes it possible to illustrate and see the principles of Socialism of the 21st Century in practice.

To conclude, the revision of the regional background history, the national factors of causality, and the methodology of the case study are of vital importance to understand the following research. The historical struggle of Latin America and specifically the historical instability, corruption, and social crisis lived in Ecuador, evolved into a necessity of a different alternative. Socialism of the 21st Century entered Latin America when things had become unendurable, and in Ecuador, the continuous instability led to the rise of a leader and a movement, that without an initial intention, are changing the fate of an entire nation. The following case study illustrates what a quite idealistic model looks like in reality in order to draw conclusions and future implications for the national and regional levels.

CHAPTER 3: Ecuador's Core Principles for Socialism of the 21st Century

The three core principles of Socialism of the 21st Century as discussed earlier, can be connected and reflected in Ecuador. Because Ecuador was never under a socialist regime, one cannot say that the new government has learned from previous socialist attempts in Ecuador. Conscious of the different reality of 21st century Ecuador from that of 20th century USSR or Cuba, the national constitutional assembly that re-wrote the constitution and the appointed council that drafted the national development plan for Correa's administration developed a model of government that, after some analysis, it can be considered the Ecuadorian adaptation of the studies Socialism of the 21st Century. This new model is called *Sumak Kawsay* which in *Kichwa*, one of the indigenous recognized languages of Ecuador, means 'Good Living' (for this paper, these two terms are used to refer to the Ecuadorian version of Socialism of the 21st Century). In addition, this section also identifies the institutionalism and leadership aspects of Correa's administration making a comparative analysis with the principles of Socialism of the 21st Century. This first section of the case study draws the basic concepts of the new Ecuadorian model in order to understand what this Good Living is all about, and how it illustrates an application of Socialism of the 21st Century.

1. New Constitution and Good Living

The creation of a new constitution that implements the concept of 'Good Living' or *Sumak Kawsay* (an ancestral indigenous approach to life in the Andes) demonstrates the implementation of adaptability of Socialism of the 21st Century. After the constitution adopted Good Living as the goal of the Ecuadorian society, everything else derived from the concept itself. Beginning with the national development plan, reaching the ministries goals and policies, and even the rhetoric of the government officials, Good Living is the model of the Citizen's Revolution. The fact that the National Constitutional Assembly of 130 elected asambleists adopted this concept as the core of the constitution and the Ecuadorian people ratified

it, demonstrates the legitimacy of this new regime.⁶ Since Good Living is the center of the new constitution, and this new constitution shapes the national development plan and the policies of Correa's government, the connections of Good Living and Socialism of the 21st Century are spread and integrated to each section of this research.

Even though, in order to understand Good Living, one needs to see its principles in context, to analyze scholars that were part of the constitutional reforming process is important in order to have an initial idea of what Good Living is about. Alberto Acosta, the first president of the National Constitutional Assembly of 2008 explains that in order to understand what Good Living means, one cannot simply associate it with the western idea of well-being. To comprehend the concept, it is necessary to recall the Andean indigenous peoples' worldview. For those indigenous peoples, Acosta says, there is not a conception of the traditional poverty that is associated with the lack of material goods or wealth, which is associated to the abundance of money (Acosta, 2009). In addition, José Maria Tortosa (2009, 1) says that Good Living is not a better or worse life than someone, but simply, a good life, leaving competition for wealth behind. Finally, the best definition and how the Ecuadorian Government defines Good Living in the National Development Plan is:

“[Good living is] covering needs, achieving a dignified quality of life and death; loving and being loved; the healthy flourishing of all individuals in peace and harmony with nature; and achieving an indefinite reproduction perpetuation of human cultures. Good Living implies having free time for contemplation and personal emancipation; enabling the expansion and flourishing of people's liberties, opportunities, capabilities and potentialities so as to simultaneously allow society, specific territories, different collective identities, and each individual, understood both in universal and relative terms, to achieve their objectives in life (without causing any kind of material or subjective dominance over any other individual). Our concept of Good Living compels us to re-build the public sphere in order to recognize, understand and value ourselves as diverse but equal individuals, and in order to advance reciprocity and mutual recognition, enable self-advancement, build a shared social future; to deepen the construction of a representative, participative and deliberative democracy; and to consolidate a democratic, pluralist and secular state” (SENPLADES 2009).

Furthermore, based on the constitutional mandates, this national development plan attempts to redefine that development concept through its public policies. For that it offers principles for the Good

⁶ For clarification matters, the word 'regime' in this context refers to the set of rules and regulations unlike the word 'administration' which means the government/term of an elected official (president).

Living, which consist of unity in diversity, living in social equality, integration and cohesion, complying with universal rights, and promoting human capabilities. Other principles are harmonious relations with nature, fraternal, cooperative, and solidarity-based coexistence, Liberating Work and Free Time; Re-Building the Public Sphere; Representative, Participative and rights as the pillars of Good Living, dismantling the concept of development and accumulation and re-distributing to achieve a Good Living (SENPLADES 2009). These principles shape the public policy of Correa's 4 year term under this development plan.

Evidently, Good Living is more of a social/spiritual belief, but since the political, diplomatic, economic and social schemes derive from the worldviews of a society, Good Living shapes what the Constitution of 2008 mandates and how Ecuador is going to make laws, policies and take decisions in politics, diplomacy, economics, and society. The next two chapters are dedicated to explore the connections of Good Living and Socialism of the 21st Century in the four mentioned areas of the new system, but before exploring them, one needs to understand the importance of the principles of leadership and institutionalism of the new socialism applied to Ecuador, and how these are also core principles that give the bases for this reformation project.

2. Institutions and Leadership

In Ecuador, in order to carry out the reforms that the new constitution mandated, there was a need for a restructuring of the institutions and the bureaucracy. This section explores some major changes made in the constitution, the effect of these in the national development plan, the consequences for the institutions, and finally the appointment of ministries and other offices. As in the Socialism of the 21st Century, effectiveness in institutions and strong leadership are the core for the success of this new attempt to socialism.

2.1. Constitution

The drafting of a new constitution became the initial point of a reformation process in Ecuador that changed the current regimes and institutions from the root. After Correa called for a national referendum

to decide whether or not the people of Ecuador wanted a constitutional reform, On September 28, 2007, with the 63% of votes in favor a National Constitutional Assembly was created with 130 asambleists that were elected soon after the results were announced (Mantiñán 2008). This assembly worked arduously with different social and political groups in order to draft a document that could change the fate of Ecuador. Alberto Acosta, the first president of this body declared that this new constitution is like “a tool box” and that it depends on the people of Ecuador to make it theirs in order to build a new democratic future (Ciuffardi 2008). The new constitution of 2008 brought new relevant changes to the typical republican regime that Ecuador had for decades. First of all, the preamble celebrates nature and then invokes the name of God. This reflects the inclusions of indigenous groups and their traditional spiritual beliefs. Second, this same preamble rejects colonialism of any form and declares the creation of a democratic country committed to Latin American integration based on peace and solidarity with all peoples of the Earth (Constitution 2008).

Additionally, Article 1 claims that the new Ecuador is a social, democratic, sovereign, independent, unitary, intercultural, multinational, and secular state (Constitution 2008). Moreover, other important changes to point out are the creation of two new branches of government, the branch of Transparency and Social Control, and the Electoral branch. Also, the constitution describes in 23 articles the “rights of Good Living (described more in chapter 5). Furthermore, “Title VII” is completely dedicated to a constitutional description the “Good Living Regime” that include two chapters, one in social inclusion and equity and another one in environment and sustainability. Finally, the section on international relations emphasizes regional integration and cooperation in Latin America. All these changes and important additions are to be considered in order to understand the constitutional reform that Ecuador passed through.

The Constitution, as the supreme law of Ecuador, supports institutional strengthening by giving the right to the President to create ministries in Article 147 Numeral 6, and by mandating the creation of a national development plan, in article 280, in order to plan policies that carry out the constitutional agenda. The national development plan is the central document that dictates what the goals, objectives, and

policies of the current administration are, and therefore, what the priorities of the new ministries and governmental institutions are as well. The Constitution of 2008 links Ecuador, and its model of Good Living, to the core principles of Socialism of the 21st Century.

2.2. *Plan Nacional del Buen Vivir 2009-2013*

The National Development Plan of Correa's second term (he was re-elected after the new constitution was approved and there were general elections again) became the National Plan for Good Living (*Plan Nacional del Buen Vivir*, PNBV), and this one explains the "Five Revolutions of the Citizen's Revolution." These revolutions clearly illustrate the main principles of Socialism of the 21st Century. These 'revolutions' are further explained in each section in relation to the topic they are related to. Additionally to the main goals of the Citizen's Revolution, the PNBV describes twelve strategies to reach, or at least work towards achieving the main goals during the executive term. Moreover, based on these strategies, the Plan develops another twelve objectives that are set to develop specific public policies to be executed. These intend to be something like the Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations, but according to the Secretary of Planning and Development, the objectives set in the PNBV brings these goals to other level, not to only eradicate poverty, but to create harmony, sustainability, and finally a Good Living (SENPLADES 2009). Finally, section three of this plan offers a review on the ways they "change the paradigm." The main idea is to go from a misconception of development to the idea of Good Living. According to the PNBV (2009), the present global crisis demonstrated that it is impossible to maintain the current patterns of accumulation and that, at least for the global south, this shows the contradictions of an extractivist and devastating path to development, with unequal relations of power and trade with the North. According to this document, this is why it is important to create new modes of production, organization of life, and consumption. In conclusion, National Plan for Good Living dictates the goals, strategies, and policies for the offices of the executive to follow, and its institutional guidelines are clearly aligned with the principles of Socialism of the 21st Century.

2.3. Creating of Ministries Appointment of People

Rafael Correa has created several new ministries and institutions in order to help the executive branch work better. Correa started by dissolving the Ministry of International Trade and giving these functions to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, linking diplomatic and foreign trade functions under one body. Additionally, the Technical Secretariat of International Cooperation, the body in charge of administering the international non-refundable cooperation for development. Furthermore, one of the most important institutions is the reformed National Secretariat of Planning and Development (SENPLADES 2009) that carries out projects of development with its seven regional secretariats. According to Fander Falconí, Secretary of Planning and Development, this secretariat is of vital importance for this Good Living project because its functions are to plan the medium and long term goals and also the democratic reform of the state (*El Ciudadano* 2011). There have been numerous changes, and the government is still in the process of evaluation and institutional reform in order to create the 'ideal' set of institutions to carry out the policies to build the Ecuador they hoped for in the constitution. Other relevant new ministries and institutions to be noted are the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing, Ministry of Non-Renewable Natural Resource, Ministry of Telecommunications of the Information Society, the Council of Citizen's Participation and Social Control, among others. One of the main criticisms is that the creation of so many ministries is unjustified public spending of the tax-payers' money, and that the impact of increasing the bureaucracy does not pay off (*Diario Hoy* 2007). To conclude, one can see the relation between the creation of these new institutions and the principle of institutionalism of Socialism of the 21st Century, even though, evaluation of the effectiveness of these new institutions is still being done and observations are divided.

2.4. Correa's Leadership

Leadership is one of the core principles for Socialism of the 21st Century, and in Ecuador, the elected president for the last 5 years, Rafael Correa, has displayed indeed a strong leadership in order to carry out the project of his party PAIS. Correa is a 'strong leader', but that does not mean his leadership is well

received by everyone. Some praise him for being a president that stands for the people's desires, but others condemn him because the use of strong language (soft insults) and the word choosing when attacking the opposition is not prudent, and it comes off as arrogant despotism (The Real News 2010).

In the next chapters, the events that are studied demonstrate the strong leadership of Correa when facing some crises, but at the same time, it also demonstrates that sometimes, that attitude of strong leader is one of the causes of these crises. Additionally, Correa has threatened several times to use the constitutional powers he has to dissolve the congress, which also would put his office under new elections. Correa does this to intimidate the opposition leaders in the National Assembly so that they do not block the legislations that he proposes, or the ones that his party presents. He is able to do this, backed by his popularity (given by the middle-low and low classes that have been highly benefited with his social programs), knowing that he would win his office again, but that the opposition congressmen/congresswomen might not. This attitude also has been condemned and rejected by several parts of society, and especially private media, which is in its majority connected with the opposition movement. Additionally criticisms say that Correa tries to accumulate power in the executive, disrespecting the constitutional checks and balances, but in reality, what he does is using his constitutional rights and powers in order to carry on his agenda, unlike many opposition leaders that focus more on attacking Correa's prestige than using the laws to prove themselves right (Hoy 2009). One of Correa's strongest arguments is his use of "the Rule of Law," which in Ecuador is considered using the law in order to carry on whatever his agenda is (instead of ruling by decrees as a dictatorship). In conclusion, Correa's leadership has been highly praised as well as criticized, but the fact that he can be considered a strong new socialist leader is undisputable.

Ecuador's core principles are strongly connected with the previously reviewed core principles of the Socialism of the 21st Century. Starting with the constitutional reform, continuing to the policies of the national plan of development and the institutional reforms, and finalizing with Correa's strong leadership, the core principles of the new socialism are illustrated through Good Living and the Citizen's Revolution.

CHAPTER 4: Democracy – A Political and Diplomatic Analysis

During the last five years, Rafael Correa's Citizen's Revolution political and diplomatic decision making has been shaped by the model of Good Living presented by the Constitution of 2008, which is clearly connected to the principles of Socialism of the 21st Century. Democracy is the concept that serves as the umbrella that includes the political and diplomatic approach of Ecuador's Good Living and Correa's Citizen's Revolution and directly connects this Ecuadorian adaptation to the Socialism of the 21st Century. In order to understand the democratic approach in Ecuador, this research studies democracy through two levels of analysis: the national, and the international level. Nationally, this study analyzes the political aspects of the case study. Internationally, the focus is given to foreign policy and the application of these principles in the Ecuadorian diplomacy. These two levels of analysis to understand better how the democratic project of Ecuador's Good Living and the application by Correa's administration connect directly with the political and diplomatic principles of Socialism of 21st Century.

1. National Level

1.1. Constitutional Mandates

The constitution is the first thing to be analyzed, because the politics of Ecuador derive from the constitutional mandates. The constitution is a political/legal document, therefore, there is a big part of the constitution that can be studied in this section, but for this case study, the different relevant titles, chapters, sections, and articles are going to be briefly explained. First of all, Article 1 states principles of the Rule of Law by claiming that Ecuador is a state of rights and justice. Art 11, Numeral 6 explains that all constitutional principles and rights are unalienable, obligatory, and indivisible (undividable). This means that everyone is equal before the law. Title II, Chapter 5 draws the rights of participation. This shows the emphasis of Ecuador's constitution on participation and inclusive democracy. Among these rights, people can present legislative projects, vote (voluntary from 16 until 18 years old, and then voting

is mandatory),⁷ and it is stated that the government will use affirmative action for discriminated sectors of society. Furthermore, Title II, Chapter 6 explains the rights of liberty. Article 66 of the constitution states that there will be no death penalty. Also, in Article 66, Numeral 6, the constitution claims that Ecuador defends the freedom of expression, but also in Numeral 7 it states that the citizens have the right to ask for rectification when attacked or accused by the public media without proof. This part is important to remember when analyzing the case of *Diario El Universo*. Finally, this section explains to basic rights which are freedom of religion and convictions and the right of association, reunion, and manifestation in a free and voluntary form. The beginning sections of the constitution intentionally draw democratic principles highlighting like this, the importance of democracy for the national constitutional assembly and for the people of Ecuador.

Through the rest of the constitution, one can clearly note democratic principles and mandate. For example, Article 95 describes the principles of participation. In this constitution, participation is treated as important in the decision making process. From Article 103 to 107 the constitution describes the principles of direct democracy that include but are not limited to the use of referendum/plebiscite and other democratic tools hardly ever used in other democratic republics. The branches of government also demonstrate the importance of democracy in the new constitution. Title III, chapter 2 describes the legislative branch, which adopts the name of National Assembly, attempting to return to the initial stages of parliamentary representation, and bringing the legislative branch closer to the people with a different name (Aguilera 2011). Articles 129 to 131 explain the checks and balances of legislative branch. Additionally, the executive checks are in article 103, for the veto in direct democracy, and in article 148 for the executive check known in Ecuador as '*Muerte Cruzada*' (crossed death).⁸ Title IX, chapter 2 describes the Constitutional Court in article 436, which brings also the judicial review check to the table.

⁷ Voting has always been mandatory in Ecuador since its initial attempts to democracy.

⁸ *Muerte Cruzada* is an executive check that allows the president to dissolve the National Assembly when in State of Exception (martial law). This check is accompanied by putting also the president's office under new elections. It is called crossed death because whenever the president dissolves the National Assembly, he also gives up his office and the electoral branch calls for new elections.

Finally, to increase the separation of powers and avoid branches with too much power, there are two new branches of government created in Title II, Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 explains the functions of the branch of Transparency and Social Control, which is in charge of promoting and fostering the control of the intervention of society in political matters so that there is equity and also incentive for citizen participation. Chapter 6 describes the functions of the Electoral branch of government, which assures the exercise the people of their political rights such as voting as well as political organization (political movements and parties). These new branches of government also demonstrate the importance of democracy for the new constitution. In summary, the constitution of Ecuador puts a special emphasis on intentionally creating a democratic system that takes people's needs and concerns into account, going beyond the typical representation of a parliament and implementing mechanisms of direct democracy and social participation.

1.2. National Development Plan Goals and Policies

The National Plan for Good Living also describes in its revolutionary goals, strategies, and objectives democratic aspects to be taken into consideration. The first 'revolution' of the Citizen's Revolution is the creation of a constitutional and democratic revolution, which starts by the creation of a new constitution, and its democratic ratification. This 'revolution' demonstrates that the Ecuadorian Good Living puts an emphasis on democracy.

In addition, on its strategies, numbers 1 and 2 address democratic principles. Strategy 1 is about territorial development and organization plus de-concentration, and decentralization. By de-concentration and decentralization, the government attempts to give more autonomy and decision making power to the local governments in the provinces, cantons and cities/towns. Strategy 2 is about citizen's power and social protagonism. The PNBV desires to use the empowerment of citizenship participation as a strategy of democratization in Ecuador. The first two of the twelve strategies are directly connected to democracy in the national level.

Finally, the objectives 1, 7, 9, 10, and 12 also show democratic concepts in Correa's plan. Objective 1 is to foster social and territorial equality, cohesion, and integration with diversity. Ecuador here plans to bring cultural integration to reality and create a country where people can live together regardless of their culture or nationality in order to work together for democracy. Objective 7 is to build and strengthen public and intercultural spaces for social interactions. By doing this, the administration attempts to show that they want the public to have spaces in where they can express their opinion and be heard to promote a democratic culture and debate among society. Objective 9 is to guarantee rights and justice. Once again, the importance of the rule of law and the recognition of the rights of people are a priority for the government. Objective 10 is to guarantee access to public and political participation. As a constitutional mandate, the government of Correa makes it an objective to be able to provide people a public political participation in the decision making process. For this, things like focus groups, and other mechanisms to hear people's opinion and allow them to contribute to the public policies to be proposed. Finally, objective 12 is to build a democratic state for good living. This, as direct as it is, implies the creation of a democratic country wherein the principles of Good Living, or as explained before, the Ecuadorian version of Socialism of the 21st Century. In conclusion, the PNBV draws, in initial goals, strategies, and objectives, clear guidelines related directly to democracy in the national level.

1.3. September 30, 2010 – National Crisis

On September 30, 2010 (30S)⁹, Ecuador experienced a democratic crisis because of a police revolt and the 'kidnapping' of the president in the police hospital. On one hand, the government argues that this was a failed attempt of a *coup d'état* organized by the opposition movement in order to get Correa out of power. On the other and, the opposition movement says that this was a government conspiracy to blame the opposition and regain popularity that was being lost. This section analyzes presents the both sides in a brief way and attempts to show connections with the principles of Good Living related to democracy.

⁹ This event in Ecuadorian history is known as 30S in order to keep it short (like the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2011 are known as 9/11).

The National Police of Ecuador (the body that oversees security in a national level) on 30S revolted against the government of Correa ceasing their functions. That day, Ecuador's security collapsed. Days before this event, a law that would reduce the bonus amount the police officers get every so often passed in the National Assembly, and the leaders of the National Police organized this protests as a sign of rejection to this legislation. In the morning of 30S, after they declared themselves 'off duty,' Correa went to their national headquarters in Quito in order to negotiate and explained what the law that passes actually was going to do. When he got there, the police officers would not listen, and out of rage, Correa untightened his tie and ripped his shirt provoking them by saying "If you want to kill me, here I am; kill the president, but we will continue with the same policies of justice and dignity and will never step back" (Teleamazonas 2010). There are rumors that the opposition movement incited these revolts by telling them incomplete information about what the law passed days before was going to do (Cadena Ser 2010). President Correa mentions that, before his administration police earned miserables as salary, but they had a good charity called bonus. He also blames this rebellion on ex-president and leader of the opposition, Lucio Gutierrez (Teleamazonas 2010).

After his intervention, chaos reigned, and after several attacks from different kinds Correa was brought to the Police hospital where he was not allowed to leave. Correa had to interrupt his pronouncement to the police because a mixture of his own angry speech and the mad mob brought tension to the situation. When he was attempting to leave, Correa was attacked. The few security people that were with him gave him a gas mask, but the numerous insurrected police officers surrounded him trying to attack him. The fact that he has just come back from a knee surgery in Cuba made it harder to leave the scene. Correa was brought to the police hospital to be treated (because of all the tear gas in the attacks), and he stayed there until late evening. One side says that this was an attempt at a coup, and that Correa was kidnapped. The other side says that Correa was not held there, and that all this is a political conspiracy. Additionally, there are some recordings of the police radio of that day where some policemen were saying "kill him quick so these protests can stop," and things of that nature (Andes 2010). On the

other hand, Correa's provocation and attitude plus the fact that he was able to declare state of exception from the hospital are questionable. The government has attempted to find all the evidence to prove this was a failed *coup*. The truth of this is still unknown.

The happenings of that day showed chaos. In Guayaquil, the biggest city and commercial port of Ecuador, criminals looted several stores and disorder reigned due to the lack of law enforcement. Furthermore, at the end of that day, the military publicly announced their support to the president and the beginning of an operation to "rescue" him. Later in the evening soldiers arrived at the police hospital and attempted to enter. Not too much is known about this operation and what happened (Ecuador TV, the public television station took over all the private channels). At the end, after an armed conflict and the military operation .the president was brought to the presidential palace and received as a hero. He said that this was the saddest day of his life, but that democracy has triumphed (E-TV Telarama 2010).

One criticism that can be used against the attempt to create democracy was the control over private media that the government had that day. On 30S the national government ordered all the television and radio stations to sync with their programming because Correa declared the country in a 'state of exception' (martial law). The private media and opposition claim that this was against free expression and that the government took over media in order to only show their version.

The government calls this day a day in which "democracy triumphed" because of the support that Correa had from different sectors and the rejection to any illegitimate government to take control (if this was an attempt of a coup). The people of Quito (the capital) went to the streets to support the president and "save democracy," but they were severely repressed by the insurrected police. For the first time in Ecuador, the people went to the streets not to 'kick out' a president but to defend him. Later the Latin American presidents in a extraordinary meeting of UNASUR, condemned and rejected any attempted coup d'état. One can argue that what Correa wanted to do is negotiate with the police in order to get their input and approval on the new law, but the events led to endangerment of his life and to national chaos. As mentioned, the truth is still unknown, but what is clear that strong leadership, plus the

broad support by the people, national military, and international community show that the democratically elected president enjoys legitimacy for his administration and Good Living project. .

1.4. El Universo Case

The “*Caso el Universo*” (El Universo Case), a controversial lawsuit that was resolved in a questionable way, has brought Ecuador, Rafael Correa, and the human right of freedom of expression to the world scene. For Correa, the victory in the suit is historical in Ecuador because the Rule of Law has won over the typical elites and corrupt justice. For those outside his government, what happened with the *Diario El Universo* case, is one of the worst attempts at censorship and an illustration of a lack of democratic values and possible intervention in the judiciary system of the country.

The controversy concerns censorship, intimidation, and rule of law. The problem started on February 6, 2011, out of a ‘slander’ and ‘libel’ from a journalist in the editorials (section of opinion), and ended in July of the same year with a deliberation of 10 million dollars and three years of imprisonment for the three owners of *Diario el Universo* and the columnist Emilio Palacio (the one who wrote the offensive article). The article stated that Rafael Correa has committed violation of human rights when ordering fire without limitation in a hospital full of civilians on September 30, 2010 when he was captured in the Police Hospital (Palacio, 2011). Palacio’s thesis was that Correa was responsible for the deaths that happened that day (CEPS, 2011). Because of the criminal accusations, Correa decided to sue him under the crime of Libel Criminal Defamation, stated in article 489 of the Penal Code of Ecuador which defines “*Injuria Calumniosa*” (Libel Criminal Defamation), as a crime when an insult not only attacks the honor of an individual, but gives false testimony of a crime without proof (*Código Penal* 1999, 79). Additionally, Correa (2011) also appeals to International Law in the “Pact of San Jose” of the Inter-American Convention of Human Rights, which states in Article 13 on Freedom of thought and Expression Numeral 2: “The exercise of the right provided for in the foregoing paragraph [freedom of expression] shall not be subject to prior censorship but shall be subject to subsequent imposition of liability, which shall be expressly established by law to the extent necessary to ensure: a. respect for the

rights or reputations of others (OAS 1969).” In this case, the allegations were that Palacio accused Correa in his article of committing violations against human rights and that one of his opponents in the future could sue him in the International Courts because of such crimes against humanity (Palacio, 2011). One of the main problems is the fact that Palacio did not have any proof of such statements, therefore, his accusations fall into the crime of Libel Criminal Defamation. The deliberations of the judge argue that there was ‘moral damage’ caused to the president of Ecuador.

On one hand, Correa claims that his desire with this lawsuit is to stop private journalist from spreading misinformation. Correa argues that he won under the principles of the rule of law (in the courts), and that they have what they deserved. Recently, the case went to the constitutional court of Ecuador, and the sentence was ratified. Once again, Correa argues that this battle against the mediocre press power has been won through democratic means. One of the main problems involved in this case is not the crime of Palacio, but the way in which Correa won. The amount and the rationale of the sentence are also questionable (40 million dollars total for moral damage to the president) (Boza 2011). In the slow and ineffective justice system of Ecuador, a case that involved the president was resolved in less than a year, which in comparison with other cases of murder and kidnapping, is unusually fast for a verdict.¹⁰

On the other hand, private media, the opposition, international media, and a big part of the population condemn this decision of the courts. A letter condemning this last reaffirmation of the sentence has been signed all over the world by journalists and writers in support to *El Universo* and Palacio and condemning the attack to freedom of expression and the intimidation (El Comercio 2012). Additionally, the Inter American Commission of Human Rights (IACHR) has asked the government of Ecuador ‘precautionary measures’ to Palacio and the owners of *El Universo*, which would mean the suspension of the sanctions (Archivo Digital EC 2012). This has led Correa to verbally condemn internationally the effectiveness of the Inter-American System of Human Rights and the Organization of American States. Correa argues that the headquarters of the IACHR are in the United States, and that such country has not even signed the

¹⁰ HERMANOS RESTREPO

treaty to be under the IACHR international jurisdiction. Also Ricardo Patiño, minister of foreign affairs claims that this request is not acceptable and that is disrespectful to the institutionalism of Ecuador, because the country has a legal system that has to be respected, and according to him, all human rights are being respected and uphold (Archivo Digital EC 2012).

Finally, and quite recently, on February 27, 2012, Rafael Correa publicly announced that after setting a historical precedence in history by winning this case against “the media powers,” he pardons the accused. He argues that there were three points they wanted to demonstrate. First, Correa and his defense wanted to demonstrate that *El Universo* lied and did not correct its false testimony, violating the constitution and law. Second, demonstrate that the responsible ones are not only the journalists, but also the owners of the media, who push or look for these types of articles to attack the regime. And third, demonstrate to citizens that they can defeat the media powers in the courts with the law in their hands. (CNN en Español 2012). Even though Correa claimed that he was acting under the Rule of Law, which is democratic, his reputation turned into the one of a leader that abuses power, and authority, and is beginning to censor freedom of expression, which is not democratic. This case is another illustration of the struggles of the Ecuadorian government to implement democracy after a long tradition of pseudo-democracies because when trying to defend the Rule of Law and attack, according to Correa, the manipulative media, they have to face the international power of private media accusing Ecuador of censorship and attacks to human rights. Even though this is not a direct illustration to the Socialism of the 21st Century, it is a case worth analyzing to comprehend the big picture of this research, which is the significance and the real application of policies related to the Socialism of the 21st Century.

1.5. Elections and Referenda

The fact that Correa enjoys vast popularity among people and that he has won all the elections demonstrates that his administration is democratic. Rafael Correa has used the mechanisms of direct democracy on several occasions and has won all of them. The first time was to call of a reformation of the constitution. After that, the referendum was used to approve the new constitution, and later, several

constitutional and legal reforms were put to public consideration in a plebiscite. After the constitution was affirmed, approved by the people, he won the elections for the presidency again. The elections and direct democracy systems illustrate a democratic essence in Correa's administration and in Good Living.

2. *International Level*

2.1. Constitutional Mandates

Referring to democracy in the international level, the constitution also dedicates a good amount of articles to mandate the behavior of the government in the subject of international relations and foreign policy. Article 3, Numeral 2 claims that it is a duty of the state to defend national sovereignty.¹¹ Article 5 declares Ecuador as a territory of peace and rejects any foreign military bases or invasions. Title VII is fully dedicated to international relations and foreign policy. It contains mandates which claim that Ecuador will look for a peaceful solution and rejects use of force to solve international conflicts. Also, Ecuador promotes peace and universal disarmament, and condemns the development of weapons of mass destruction. In this section also Ecuador attempts to introduce a revolutionary constitutional mandate proposing universal citizenship and free human mobility. Additionally, the constitution mandates to respect human rights, and it accepts international treaties as long as they go under the constitutional instructions. Constitution also allows the president to be the one that ratifies the international treaties or mandates (not congress). Finally, the whole chapter three dedicated to the integration of Latin America. It promotes aspects like the economic integration, Latin American and Caribbean citizenship, free transit of people in the region, common defense foreign policy, consolidation and strengthening of international intergovernmental organizations of supranational character (not multilateral like the UN or OAS), and the creation of treaties of regional integration. To conclude, one can see that the constitution mandates international solidarity and democracy for an Ecuador of Good Living.

¹¹ National Sovereignty is defined as the right of a country to deal with its own affairs without the intervention of foreign forces, included but not limited to other states, international organizations, and other international actors.

2.2. National Development Plan Goals and Policies

One again, the PNBV reiterates international democracy in its content. The fifth 'revolution' of Correa's administration focuses in the defense of Latin American dignity, sovereignty, and integration in order to uphold a clear, dignified, and sovereign position in Ecuador's relations with international actors and multilateral organizations with the purpose of advancing towards a genuine integration within Latin America and the Caribbean and give Ecuador relevance in the international community. Moreover, strategy number 4 is to create Ecuador's strategic and sovereign insertion in the world and Latin American integration. Finally, objective 5 is to guarantee sovereignty and peace

2.3. Manta's Military Base

By getting rid of all international military bases, Correa's regime attempts to promote and defend Ecuador's national sovereignty and Latin America's self-reliance. In July 2009, Correa did not re-sign the contract with the United States, started by President Jamil Mahuad in 1999 where he allowed the United States to occupy some of the bases in order to help in the war on drugs in South America. Correa claimed that this decision was taken because the constitution clearly states in article 5 that Ecuador will not allow any foreign military to establish in Ecuadorian territory, and that this was a violation to national sovereignty. In an interview with 'Democracy Now,' Correa jokes saying that he would renew the contract if the United States allows Ecuador to set a military base in Miami or New York. He claims that if there is not a problem with national sovereignty, he would allow that Military base to stay there. This case is useful to illustrate one of the first measures that Correa took in order to defend national sovereignty, and international democracy.

2.4. Angostura's Bombing and Diplomatic Crisis

In 2008, Ecuador's first international crisis was caused because of a violation to national sovereignty from the Colombian Military attacked Ecuadorian territory in order to destroy a terrorist encampment. The Angostura Bombing case illustrates how the Correa's government, because of defending Ecuador's national sovereignty gained national popularity, but created international tension.

In March 2008, Colombian Air Force launched “Operation Phoenix” and bombed Angostura, a jungle area close to the border in Ecuadorian territory where they had detected paramilitary encampments of *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC). This attack killed around 22 guerrilla militants including its leader (Second in command) Raul Reyes. On March 2, he ordered the closure of Colombia’s embassy in Quito and sent Ecuador’s military to the border in case there was a need for retaliation.

In face of invasion, the Socialism of the 21st Century and its strong leadership reacted using the democratically adopted treaties and laws to protect sovereignty and reject foreign intervention. Correa demonstrated strong leadership and his desire of protecting Ecuadorian territory from foreign invasions. Internationally, Ecuador made its position clear: The Citizen’s Revolution would not tolerate old practices of intervention and lack of transparency of international treaties. This case illustrates what some of the principles of the Socialism of the 21st Century applied in real policy making.

2.5. Ecuador – United States Diplomatic Crisis

Another example of the defense of national sovereignty and dignity in Ecuador is the diplomatic crisis with the United States Ambassador Heather Hodges in 2010. One of the biggest claims of the Socialism of the 21st Century is the fight and opposition to interventionist practices that have contributed to Latin America’s struggles in the past. This crisis illustrates the principles of national sovereignty of Socialism of the 21st Century.

A leaked diplomatic cable led to the expulsion of the United States ambassador of Ecuador. On April 5, 2011, Spanish newspaper *El País* (2011) revealed that WikiLeaks¹² had leaked a diplomatic cable from the US Embassy in Quito written by Ambassador Heather Hodges where she made a report of Ecuadorian Police's chief by claiming that his corrupt activities were “so widely known within the upper ranks of the Ecuadorian National Police (ENP) that some Embassy officials believe that President Correa must have been aware of them when he made the appointment” (Hodges 2009). Hodges claims that the observers

¹² WikiLeaks: The once-fringe Web site, which aims to bring to light secret information about governments and corporations, was founded in 2006 by Julian Assange, an Australian activist and journalist, along with a group of like-minded activists and computer experts.

‘think’ that Correa may have wanted to have an ENP Chief whom he could easily manipulate. This publication caused great controversy because of Hodges declarations. Ricardo Patiño, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ecuador summoned Hodges to have a dialogue, giving her the opportunity to explain. Hodges said that the information had been stolen, and that she is not authorized to talk about it (Ecuador En Vivo 2011). This led the Ecuadorian Minister of Foreign Affairs to declare Hodges ‘Persona Non-Grata’¹³, and ask her to leave the country immediately.¹⁴ Correa stated that this is a proof that the US still does espionage activities in the country, disrespecting sovereignty and abusing the relationships. The US response was the same, taking the same measures against Ecuador’s Ambassador Luis Gallegos. The expulsion of the US Ambassador created speculation that the US would not renew the treaty of the United States for tariff preferences APTDEA¹⁵ which would affect Ecuadorian economy.

This crisis was momentary and attempted to prove again a strong position of the government of Ecuador against international interventions. The relationships have been re-established and currently, Nataly Cely, a graduate of the Harvard Kennedy School of Government is the new appointed ambassador to the United States (Noticias RTU 2011). Correa’s position and influence in the decision could have been strengthened by the fact that this was an American report. Correa rejects the western free-market capitalism ideals and desires not to be subject to manipulations and interventions. This case demonstrates the strong position of Correa when facing a diplomatic problem with a strong world power.

2.6. OAS Position on Honduras Re-Admission

In the search for regional and international democracy, Ecuador opposes and rejects any attempt at *coup d’état* and the establishments of illegitimate governments in other countries of the Americas. Honduras was suspended from the Organization of American States (OAS) following the *coup d’état* attempt on President Manuel Zelaya in 2009 (CNN en Español 2009). In 2011, after the situation in that

¹³ ‘Persona Non Grata’ is a Latin word used in diplomatic context as a negative attribute to a persona, declaring her/him unwelcome and unable to enter the country.

¹⁴ Persona Non-Grata is a diplomatic representative unacceptable to an accrediting government.

¹⁵ Andean Trade Promotion and Drug Eradication Act

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021031-9.html>

country was stabilized, the OAS' General Council decided to lift the suspension against Honduras, but the Ecuadorian representation voted against the decision. The reason of Maria Salvador, Ecuadorian Ambassador to the OAS was that this country had not rectified the illegitimate processes and that the consequences of the *coup d'état* attempt have not been clear. Ecuador, after suffering, according to the government, a coup attempt, strongly opposed the international legitimization of any country that has not had the correct due process of international law in this matter (Telesur 2011). To conclude, Ecuador by doing this attempted to take a position of defend democracy at the international level.

2.7. Regional Integration

International institutionalism for regional integration is one of the main goals of Correa's administration and the model of Good Living. From the beginning, the Citizen's Revolution has attempted to support Venezuela's effort to strengthen the region in order to stand against international regimes that, according Correa, are imposed by western powers. From the beginning of the administration until now, Correa added Ecuador to the newly created Union of South American States (UNASUR), Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America (ALBA), and more recently to the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), which attempts to be a 'supra national' body and not only a multilateral organization like the United Nations and the OAS. ALBA under Chavez's advocacy also claims to desire for a regional currency called SUCRE (Unified System of Regional Compensation of Payments). Finally, Ecuador and Venezuela have proposed the creation of a Bank and a Fund of the South that replaces the World Bank and IMF functions in the global south. Additionally, Ecuador held the Presidency Pro-Tempore of UNASUR in its first years, and the UNASUR headquarters are in Quito. These attempts for the creation of new international institutions without countries like the United States and Canada show the desire of Ecuador of creating a stronger and more autonomous Latin America that can decide its fate on its own. Regional integration foreign policies illustrate Ecuador's proximity to the principles of foreign policy of the Socialism of the 21st Century.

In conclusion, one can see how the democratic principles of Socialism of the 21st Century are implemented in Ecuador's public and foreign policy. Through the national and international levels of analysis, Ecuador's Good Living and Correa's Citizen's revolution can be clearly connected, associated and linked to the political and diplomatic principles of Socialism of the 21st Century. Analyzing the constitutional mandates, the national development plan's goals, strategies, and objectives, and finally the mini-case studies, one can make clear connections to the principles presented in the literature review. Good Living, as a democratic project based on the principles of Socialism of the 21st Century, shaped Rafael Correa's decision and policy making in the last five years.

CHAPTER 5: Development – An Economic and Social Analysis

Rafael Correa's Citizen's Revolution economic and social policies are being shaped by the model of Good Living given by the Constitution of 2008, which is an adaptation of the principles of Socialism of the 21st Century to the Ecuadorian reality. Development is the concept that oversees and includes the economic and social scheme of Ecuador's Good Living. In order to understand the new developmental approach in Ecuador, this research explores development through four levels of analysis: human, environmental, economic, and technological levels. Indeed, the Constitution of 2008 dedicates two entire titles, Titles VI and VII, to describing and providing the mandates for Development Regime and Good Living Regime. These levels of analysis help to better understand better how the developmental project of Ecuador's Good Living and the application by Correa's regime connects directly with the economic and social ideas of Socialism of 21st Century.

1. Human Development

As studied in Socialism of the 21st Century, Good Living makes human beings the first priority of development. Starting with the constitution, expanding with the national development plan, and then in the practice itself, through examples such as the social inclusion programs, and the cultural preservation policies, one can see the importance of human development for Ecuador's Good Living. For the Citizens' Revolution, unlike in free market capitalism, Good Living sees the human good life as an end itself.

1.1. Constitutional Mandates

The constitution clearly describes the mandates for Ecuador to work towards human development. Title II, chapter 8 describes the rights of protection, which include free access to justice and defense, right to not be interrogated, and appropriate translation if necessary. Title II, chapter 2 talks about rights of Good Living, such as water, alimentation, healthy environment, communication and information, culture and science, education, housing, health, and finally, work and social security. Chapter 3 of the same title states about the rights of minority groups such as elderly people, young people, pregnant women, children and adolescents, persons with disabilities, people with disastrous diseases, and imprisoned persons. The

next chapter talks about the rights of communities, peoples and nations.¹⁶ Additionally, chapter 3 of Title VI on development is about food sovereignty, and chapter 1 of Title VII on Good Living explains inclusion and equity for education, health, social security, housing, physical education, social communication, innovation, human security, and transportation. When talking about development, the constitution clearly brings the human aspects as of prior importance over the economic issues, which illustrates the principles of Socialism of the 21st Century.

1.2. National Development Plan Goals and Policies

The National Plan for Good Living also describes clear goals, strategies, and objectives on human development for the government of Rafael Correa. The second ‘revolution’ of the Citizen’s Revolution is an ethical revolution that attempts to guarantee transparency, accountability, and checks and balances as the pillars of a new social contract. This point demonstrates that Good Living focuses on the people as its main priority. Even though, highly connected to democracy, this strategy puts at its core the fact that those who elected the authorities must be respected, thus, transparency must exist. In addition, the fourth, ‘revolution’ presents a social revolution that attempts to go hand in hand with inclusive economic policies from the state so in order to guarantee the essential rights of all individuals, communities, peoples, and nationalities. Moreover, strategy 9 in the PNBV is to utilize inclusion, social protection and security, and guarantee of rights within the framework of the constitution. One can see the connection to the human development presented by the new socialism.

Furthermore, objectives 2, 3, and 8 present clear goals for human development. Objective 2 is to improve the citizens’ capabilities and potentialities. Objective 3 is to improve the quality of life of the population. In other words, to satisfy the basic needs of all people. Objective 8 is to affirm and strengthen national identity, diverse identities, plurinationalism, and interculturalism. With this, the government attempts to create a broad national identity without destroying ancestral cultures and identities of indigenous groups or other nationalities and cultures of Ecuador. The objectives of the national

¹⁶ Explain what a nation is

development plan is evidently connected to the human development principles of Socialism of the 21st Century.

1.3. Vice-Presidency and Social Inclusion

The Vice-Presidency of Ecuador, under the leadership of the Vice-President Lenin Moreno, has carried out several programs of social inclusion and human development, evidencing the importance of such in Ecuador's Good Living project. Lenin Moreno is a person with disabilities, and inspired by his own experiences, he has developed programs on human development and social inclusion such as the campaign "smile Ecuador, we are affable people," or the scientific research program "*Misión Manuela Espejo*." The Vice-President has received several Doctorate-*Honoris-Causa* because of his humanitarian work towards disabled people and social minorities. These examples illustrate the human development principles of Good Living and Socialism of the 21st Century.

Sonrie Ecuador, Somos Gente Amable (smile Ecuador, we are affable people), is a social campaign from the vice-presidency that attempts to foster values of respect, solidarity, and happiness in daily activities in order to build a more productive, solidary, and optimistic country (Vicepresidencia 2012). After a decree, the vice-presidency has carried out this campaign by teaching and promoting the mentioned values and giving the title of "ambassadors of happiness" to some public figures and celebrities of Ecuador to help with this campaign. This campaign is still in the development process, but it attempts to change the culture in Ecuador towards a more friendly and happy one.

On the other hand, the vice-presidency, under the program Ecuador sin Barreras (Ecuador without barriers) started two missions that attempt to set a precedence in the history of Ecuador. Mission Manuela Espejo is a research project that investigated what are all the kinds of disabilities and who has them under an extensive research by highly qualified professionals in the fields of medicine, sociology, psychology, among others. This research was done in order to provide accurate information to the government so that this one can better develop humanitarian policies to tackle this problems on inclusion, treatment, and prevention. In addition, Mission Joaquín Gallegos Lara is a mission to take care of those most vulnerable

Ecuadorians, those with intellectual disabilities and/or physical severe multi-disabilities (Vicepresidencia 2012). These two missions attempt to work towards social inclusion, treatment, and prevention, while also raising the living standards of those with any type of disability. In conclusion, through *Sonrie Ecuador* campaign and the two missions part of Ecuador without barriers, the vice-presidency, representing the Citizen's Revolution, attempts to foster human development in the Ecuadorian society.

1.4. Cultural Preservation

The government of Ecuador, in order to foster cultural respect, protection and preservation has worked on a reform of the educational system in order to promote bilingual education for indigenous groups that carry ancestral languages such as *Kichwa* (one of the indigenous languages recognized by the constitution). Article 343 of the constitution states that: "The national system of education will integrate an intercultural vision according to the geographical, cultural and linguistic diversity of the country, and it will promote the respect to communities, peoples and nationalities" (Constitucion 2008). This means that the education system has to adapt to the intercultural reality in order not to discriminate any cultural or ethnic group. Additionally, article 347, Numeral 9 grants a system of intercultural bilingual education, which will teach the native language and Spanish, according the regime of the state public policies and communities, peoples and nationalities rights. With these two clauses, Ecuador attempts to create an educational system that can preserve native indigenous groups, languages, and culture. With the Spanish education, throughout history, several indigenous peoples stopped learning their native language and rejected their cultural traditions. The government of Ecuador rejects the tendency of losing ancestral cultures because of the westernization of modern day globalization, and through these policies attempts to develop a diverse multicultural and plurinational state.

2. Environmental Development

Socialism of the 21st Century and Good Living emphasize the importance of the environment in development. The constitutional mandates, the national plan's guidelines, and the administration programs and decision-making illustrate what these principles of environmental development look like in

practice. One of the most important projects of the Ecuadorian government is the initiative Yasuni-ITT which attempts to save a national park from oil exploitation. The support to international lawsuit against Chevron is also important for the case study in order to understand the government's position towards the environment. This aspect demonstrates that Ecuador's Good Living is a green and eco-friendly development approach.

2.1. Constitutional Mandates

The environmental consciousness of the Ecuadorian project of Good Living starts with the constitution. Title II Chapter 7 describes the rights of nature. Historically, Ecuador is the first country ever to legally recognized nature as a living being with rights. Some of the rights of nature in these chapters are the right to restoration, to conservation, precautionary measure of species in danger of being extinguished, among others. Chapter 2 of Title VII on the regime of Good Living is about bio-diversity and natural resources, and it talks about nature and environment, natural heritage and ecosystems, soil, water, biosphere, urban ecology, and alternative energies. Since it is not the focus, this section does not analyze all the rights and constitutional mandates for nature and bio-diversity, but clearly demonstrates that they are present in the constitution, and are considered of great importance for the country's development paradigm.

2.2. National Development Plan Goals and Policies

The National Plan for Good Living states clearly in its strategies the importance of the environment when planning the development strategies and objectives for the government. Strategy 7 of the plan is about changing the 'energy matrix.' By this, Ecuador attempts to look into new types of energy apart from oil that are more eco-friendly. Strategy 8 is about investment in Good Living with sustainable macroeconomics, which means that Ecuador's strategy for development in macroeconomics attempts to be as sustainable as possible. Strategy 10 is about sustainability, conservation, knowledge of the natural heritage, and promotion of community tourism. One of Ecuador's greatest resources is nature, and instead of exploiting it, the Correa's administration desires to develop its touristic appeal so that in a sustainable

way, making sure that there are no abuses of nature, like in the past. Additionally, objective 4 is to guarantee the rights of nature and promote a healthy and sustainable environment. This derives from the constitution itself, and attempts to simply make sure that the rights of nature and the mandates of the constitution regarding eco-systems and bio-diversity are executed.

2.3. Yasuní-ITT

The Yasuní-ITT Initiative is an excellent example of Correa's regime to address the environmental aspects of Good Living as defined in the constitution and PNBV. A clear illustration of a desire to create a "Good Living" is illustrated through this project. Though, at the initial stages, there was a controversy because when the Ecuadorian government did not accept the amount the government of Germany was trying to give as the final total. Even though Yasuni-ITT is an innovative initiative that shows the commitment of Correa's administration to natural preservation, people question if this is only a moral excuse to go ahead and exploit the camp.

The *Yasuni-ITT* initiative, as old as the constitution itself, proposes to not exploit the oil reserves under the Yasuní Part in the areas of *Ispingo-Tiputin-Timbochacha* (ITT) camps of the national reserve, where there is petroleum with estimated value of 3.6 billion dollars if the international community contributes to a fund that would pay back Ecuador with at least half of the money that the state would get from the extraction of these reserves (Lavinia 2010, 57). This initiative is backed by the constitution of Ecuador in Article 407, which prohibits the extraction of petroleum of protected areas without the consensus of the National Assembly and the Head of State. The essence of this project relates directly to Good Living and the new socialism.

Yasuni-ITT is not only about Ecuador, but it pretends to initiate a global practice. Correa, in his book (2009, 186) claims that: "It is necessary to promote also the creation of an international instance that calculates adequately the environmental goods generated by countries in debt and at the same time charges the consumption of those goods to the industrialized countries that pollute, namely, make them pay the ecologic debt they have. With such funds there would be a possibility to pay the creditors of those

countries in debt generators of environment, without compromising development in the former ones, looking into logic, not of clarity but justice, strictly.” Furthermore, Correa (2009, 186) mentions that there is a mechanism called “Reducing Emissions from Deforestation in Developing Countries” (REDD), which can be applied to oil extraction as well. This means to pay for the contamination that is being avoided by not exploiting the oil and by preserving a natural heritage of humanity. Correa (2009, 188) explains that “ this gives the countries that produce fossil fuels the chance to choose between extracting such resources or leave them underground and thus, make themselves exporter of environmental services, being compensated by the emissions of CO₂ that they would be avoiding. By doing this, developing countries with vast natural resources are able to contribute to the international community voluntarily, and this time by being ‘rewarded’ and not ‘exploited.’ Yasuní-ITT pretends to set precedence in the international community.

The initiative does not only come from the good desires of Correa and his cabinet to preserve environment, but it derived from the respect to ancestral traditions, Andean world view, and the respects of the constitutional rights of nature. Ecuador claims that the amount of CO₂ avoided would be 407 million tons and that by signing an international treaty, Ecuador would pay back the amount in case of extraction (Correa 2009, 188). In addition, in a movie called Ecuador by Jacques Sarasin (2011), an indigenous man claims:

“Further than petroleum in the ground we have to see other aspects because there is the *Pacha Mama* (Mother Earth) ... the environment, all these things are part of it. For us the natives, it is not only the essence of oil underground ... what matters is what is under, around and above. That is why we talk about three spaces: *Ukupacha, Kaypacha and Hawuapacha*.¹⁷ So, Yasuní has the three environments. That is why we will defend it.”

Alberto Acosta, first president of the Constitutional Assembly explains that projects such as the Yasuní leaving the ‘oil in the soil’ obligates us to think for what is not seen. He also argues that this project is not just about Ecuador because it concerns the whole world. According to Acosta, Yasuní-ITT

¹⁷ According to Maya Castro, a native from Otavalo, Ecuador studying in Fresno California, in Andean worldview Ukupacha is the underworld where spirits live (hell), Kaypacha is the present world, and Hawuapacha is the above world where there are stellar bodies (Castro 2012).

is a clear sign of Ecuadorians assuming global warming, not with speeches. but with actions. He claims that this is a possibility of changing history and to achieve the first steps to live in harmony with nature and humans. It is our duty, he says, because it is not only about economics, it is about ethics; therefore, it is political (Sarasin 2011).

One can see a clear connection of this initiative with the theory of Good Living. As reviewed, Correa claims that Socialism of 21 Century is proposing a new paradigm of development, which is living in harmony with nature, respecting culture (Sarasin 2011). Some claim that this initiative is an excuse for Correa to exploit the National Park for lack of international cooperation and responsibility. Regardless of the criticisms, the fact is that the Yasuní-ITT initiative has not been resolved yet, but it illustrates those aspects of the Socialism of 21st Century that deal with adaptability, sustainability, ancestral cultures, harmony with nature, leadership, and international strategic positioning. Thus, Yasuni-ITT is a clear picture of Socialism of the 21st Century in environmental matters.

2.4. Chevron Lawsuit

Rafael Correa has stood in strong support to a lawsuit from a group of indigenous peoples from the Amazon basin region of Ecuador against Chevron because of environmental damages. In short (because explaining this case is not the focus of this research), a group of indigenous groups aided by an Ecuadorian lawyer and other international lawyers sued Chevron because of damage against nature in the time when they were in Ecuador. The claims were that Chevron did not follow any international standards of oil extraction and that they dumped waste all over the jungle areas and rivers, polluting the environment and causing diseases to the indigenous communities of the region. The International Court of Justice in the Hague claimed that the state of Ecuador would not be able to sue as a country against Chevron because of the legal contracts done when they first came to Ecuador, but the ones that are doing the suit are individuals (natural persons), and were allowed to continue with this process. The suit was resolved in Ecuador against Chevron in the “judgment of Lago Agrio” in 2011 for more than 80,000 million dollars (CHEVRON 2012). After this, Chevron asks to have the trial in New York, to be judged

fairly, but they lost again (Berlinger 2009). The conflict was not involving the government at all, but Correa's stand is firmly against the multinational corporation because, according to him, they practiced indiscriminate violations against the environment, under the consent of the rulers of Ecuador at the time, but now that there is evidence and a strong government, they are not allowed to continue their practices and should lose the suit, for they are guilty (TELESUR 2010). Even though this is a stand of the executive only, it demonstrates the importance of environment for the current government and its parallels with Socialism of the 21st Century.

The Good Living political project and Correa's Citizen Revolution stand firmly on creating harmony with nature and promoting sustainable environmental development. Yasuní-ITT in Ecuador has become a controversial issue because environmentalist movements do not want exploitation at all, but on the other hand, the Ecuadorian state attempts to put some international pressure in order to obtain the donations by claiming that if Ecuador has to exploit the oil, it would be the international community's fault. Correa claims that Ecuador is a developing nation, and that the money from that oil is necessary for its social and human development. At the same time, the government does not want to order the extraction for it is committed to preserve nature. Additionally, on the Chevron case, Correa claims that his position is against the oil company because its typical practices throughout history, not only from them, but from the majority of western oil companies in third world countries. Clearly, these two cases plus the constitution and national development plan show Ecuador's commitment to environmental development and sustainability.

3. Economic Development

As reviewed in Socialism of the 21st Century, Good Living also makes economic development a priority, but this time, in order to help people live better. Starting with the constitution and national development plan, and then in the practice itself, through examples such as the new economic policies of Ecuador and international reports on reduction of poverty and inequality, Ecuador's Good Living demonstrates that a sustainable and more equal economy is possible. For the Citizens' Revolution, unlike

in free market capitalism, Good Living is a planned economy and redistributive policies can make create growth while fostering equality and development.

3.1. Constitutional Mandates

The constitution of Ecuador clearly gives the mandates for a planned economy, which attempts to be more social and redistributive. Firstly, chapter 4 of Title VI on development is dedicated to economic sovereignty. This chapter has eight sections in which it describes the economic system and economic policies, fiscal policy, public borrowing, general state budget, tax system, monetary, foreign exchange, credit and financial policy, trade policy, and the financial system. Also chapter 5 draws the mandates for strategic sectors, services, and public enterprises. Moreover, chapter 7 describes the guidelines for work and production. This chapter has eight sections about forms of production and its administration, types of property, forms of labor and pay, democratization of inputs, commerce and fair trade, and finally, savings and investment. Because this is not an economic analysis, this research simply mentions the parts of the constitution in which economic mandates are given. The constitution provides a strong framework on regulated economics that attempt to reach sustainable economic growth and development.

3.2. National Development Plan Goals and Policies

The PNVB also provides the government goals, strategies, and objectives for the economic policies to be created taking into consideration human and environmental respect and sustainable long-term growth. The third 'revolution' of the plan claims that there is an economic, productive, and agrarian revolution, and that in order to overcome an inherited model of exclusion there is a need to re-direct the state's resources towards education, health, the road network, housing, and scientific and technological research, to promote employment and production, in a way which includes both rural and urban areas. This becomes the economic approach of the Ecuadorian model (at least in theory). Additionally, strategies 1, 2, and 3 provide clear economic ways to reach sustainability. Strategy 1 is about the democratization of the means of production and the creation of re-distribution of wealth, adding also, diversification of the types of property and organization. Strategy 2 talks about the transformation of the economy's model of

specialization through the selective substitution of imports, and finally, number 3 is about the increase of real productivity and diversification of exports, exporters, and markets. Finally, objectives 6 and 11 draw economic goals for the government. Objective 6 is to guarantee stable, fair, and dignified work in its diverse forms. This objective puts the workers in the core and sees them as the priority for labor to happen. Objective 11 is to establish a sustainable socio-economic system based on solidarity. Based on this objective, Correa claims his economic model as a 'solidary economy.' The national development plan provides the second level of understanding of Ecuadorian economics, which following the constitutional mandates of Good Living, clearly illustrate the economic development principles of the new socialism.

3.3. Planned Economy

Ecuador has described its new model of economic development as an *Economía Solidaria* (supportive economy), because it attempts to create growth but for the benefit of the people. One could think that Ecuador, because of its unstable political reality, did not have space for policy changes, and its history as a Banana Republic and oil producer may confirm it, but the Citizen's Revolution has created major policy changes and actually have positive result. By democratizing the means of production (recovering their "share" in oil companies), and using fiscal equitable policies, Ecuador has maintain growth in the last years of Good Living revolution. Economically speaking, one can see how in Ecuador, apart from the free market predictions, protectionist and social economic policies have actually increased the growth and have reduced poverty and inequality.

When the time came to renew the contracts with international oil companies, Ecuador raised the standards, foreign multinationals left, and Ecuador took over the fields, democratizing like this, the means of production. Many would think that Ecuador was incapable of getting away with it, but indeed, since that happened, the net revenue from oil exports as increased (The Real News 2012). Prof. Jayati Ghosh an Indian economist explains that before 2009, the government was getting around 13% of the revenue. In the renewed contracts, the government gets the 87%, and according to Ghosh, 6 of the 18 oil companies decided that this is unacceptable and left, to which the government replied with a "good bye and good

luck” (The Real News 2012). Twelve companies decided that the new contracts are still profitable, and now Ecuador gets a massive amount of the money that before used to leave the country in hands of foreign companies. The democratization of the means of production has brought Ecuador stabilization in income and immense growth in the last years.

Fiscal policy enforcement has also been a surprise, since the tax reforms, unlike the predictions, did not reduce investment in the country and did not force the elites leave. These reforms have increased government’s revenue. According to Ghosh, Ecuador did not even have to increase the tax rates, and it has actually decreased corporate tax from 25% to 22%. What Ecuador did, Ghosh explains, is simply enforcing the laws, making the local elites pay, and reducing corruption within the system. After calculating the actual amounts, and close some companies because of not paying their dues, Ghosh mentions, the rest simply started paying what they were supposed to. The money collected has been re-invested publicly, making Ecuador’s public investment the highest in Latin America with a 10% rate (The Real News 2012). These fiscal policies and enforcement have helped Ecuador benefit from the revenues in order to invest the money in public programs to help people live better, illustrating directly the principles described in the constitutional Good Living and national development plan.

The solidary planned economy of Ecuador so far has been successful on achieving growth and public investment for social good. Ghosh also notes that this government has put so much focus on using the money they are making in order to continue the human development programs such as the inclusion of minority groups, that the system just seems right, and can easily be replicated in other developing countries. Ecuador’s new economic approach clearly demonstrates the economic development principles of Socialism of the 21st Century.

3.4. CEPAL REPORT

According to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL), Ecuador is one of the countries with most poverty reduction from 1999 until 2010 (LA GENTE 2012). On their report “Social Panorama of Latin America 2011,” CEPAL highlights that Ecuador was the first country in

terms of poverty reduction from 1999 until 2011 poverty reduction of 26.4% from 63.5% to 37.1% of the population being poor. Additionally, Ecuador also reduced the gap of inequality (difference between the richest and poorest) from 0.54 in 2006 to 0.5 in 2010 in the GINI scale (inequality measure in economics). The GINI index actually reached 0.46 in 2011, demonstrating like this the progressive decrease of poverty and inequality in the country. There are other poverty measures such as the Ethos Index of poverty, elaborated by ETHOS Foundation in Mexico. This index is a socio-economic report in Latin America that measures poverty also as “lack of liberties.” In this index, Ecuador is located one before the last one, which is Bolivia. What the Ecuadorian government discovered is that the data used to measure this index of poverty was from 2006, and the CEO of this think tank in Mexico is Mauricio Rodas, a Fulbright scholar from Quito, who currently resides in the country and is creating a political movement to run in the next elections. In conclusion, the report from CEPAL demonstrates, through an international neutral analysis the progress in the Ecuadorian Economy in the last years of administration.

Ecuador’s Good Living economic development is highly driven by reaching growth to improve people’s lives. By analyzing the democratization of the means of production, the enforcement on fiscal policy, and the international report of CEPAL, one can notice the big progress Ecuador has had in the last years economically speaking. The solidary economy of Correa’s administration has been praised and criticized, but, at least in economics, it is hard to criticize the numbers shown by international reports. This new economic approach seems to be Ecuador’s way to put into practice those principles of economic development analyzed in the Socialism of the 21st Century.

4. Technological Development

Finally, technological development, even though not as much as in Socialism of the 21st Century, has become a main goal of Good Living and the current administration in Ecuador. The constitution and national development plan give some mandates, but it is the actual practice that show us the importance of starting to develop technological advances in Ecuador in this day and age. This section explores an

institution created to foster education and science, and a project that attempts to make Ecuador one of the central Latin American nations for technological development

4.1. Constitutional Mandates

The constitution makes a clear emphasis on the importance of science and technology. For instance, Title II, Chapter 2, sections 3 and 4 are about communication and information, and science. Also, Title VII, chapter 1, section 8 is about inclusion in science, technology, and innovation. In this section, the constitution mandates the development of science and technology in Ecuador. For Ecuador, and specifically for the president, a Ph.D professor, the improvement of higher education is of vital importance for the nation.

4.2. National Development Plan Goals and Policies

The national development plan presents two strategies that the government wants to use for scientific and technological development. Strategy 5 attempts to use transformation of higher education and transfer of knowledge in science, technology, and innovation. By doing this, Ecuador wants to become a country with better standards of higher education that can create professionals that foster innovation and also technological development. Furthermore, strategy 6 of the plan explains the need to use telecommunications for the information and knowledge society. For Ecuador, reaching the people and informing them is important, and it has put a special focus on developing their technological capabilities to bring things such as internet to the whole population. The PNBV draws some guidelines for technological development.

4.3. SENESYT

Ecuador's National Secretariat of Planning and Development created the National Secretariat of Higher Education, Science and Technology (SENESCYT), which is the governmental body that fosters the development and improvement of higher education, science and technology, and through this one, has attempted to create programs to develop science and technology in Ecuador. SENESCYT for example has created a scholarship program for graduate postulants for the best universities in the world. Out of a list of

excellent universities, selected by the government, if an Ecuadorian gets an admission to do graduate studies there in one of the fields picked by the SENESCYT, they will receive full scholarship and a stipend for their expenses. This body has several other programs, but it attempts to provide students with the means for them to stop becoming laborers and truly contribute to society with scientific and technological advances.

4.4. YACHAY - Ciudad del Conocimiento

Ecuador, through its National Secretariat of Planning and Development, has a joint venture project with the Republic of Korea (South Korea), for the creation of the first planned city in Ecuador, which would become a city for scientific and technological development. The project is called YACHAY, which in *Kichwa* means, 'City of Knowledge.' This project attempts to, in cooperation with the Korean government, plan and build a city where higher education, scientific and technological development, and all the private industry related to it can live together. This project is still under development but it clearly shows the importance for Ecuador to reach their goals of creating a more modern society, leaving the old 'labor culture' behind, igniting an entrepreneurial and scientific spirit. This project shows Ecuador's work towards reaching the Socialism of the 21st Century's principles of technological development.

By analyzing the creation of SENESCYT and the planning of YACHAY, one can clearly see the connections between Correa's administration and the Socialism of the 21st Century in terms of technological development. The fact that there was a new institution created for this issue demonstrates how important it is for the government to develop technology and become not only a consumer but a producer of technology. Good Living standards of scientific and technology development and the policies and programs carried out by the government of Ecuador clearly illustrate the reviewed principles of technological development in the new socialism of Latin America.

In conclusion, one can observe how the Good Living project and Correa's administration have approached development in a more holistic way, creating the need for human, environmental, economic, and technological development. The constitution and national development plan clearly draw mandates,

guidelines and schemes for all these different types of development. Furthermore, cases such as the humanitarian programs of vice-president Lenin Moreno, the attempt for a bilingual education to conserve culture and tradition of indigenous peoples, the Yasuní-ITT initiative, the support of the lawsuit against Chevron, the different economic policies and reforms, the results of the reports in the economy, the creation of a National Secretariat for technological and scientific development, and finally the planning of a “City of Knowledge,” show clear illustrations of Ecuador’s Good Living project to the regional theory of Socialism of the 21st Century. The development approach of Good Living and the practical policies and projects of the government are without any doubt an adaptation and practical demonstration of the application of Socialism of the 21st Century.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusion and Future Implications

This research was inspired by the necessity of understanding what the ‘famous’ Socialism of the 21st Century that is mentioned very often in Latin America is all about. This attempts to find the significance of this new approach to socialism in a modern democratic Latin America, especially by observing and understanding the real implications and its application in a country. As explained in the introduction, Ecuador, because of its characteristics and current reality suited the archetypical case study for this specific model. Throughout the research, analysis and writing process there have been major changes, especially because the controversies, policies, reports, and other factors keep evolving, varying, getting updated, and changing the current situations. It is also important to note that this research selects the most notable events and issues at hand in Ecuador that are relevant for the analysis. Additionally, it is relevant to clarify that the analysis of them is not as broad and complete as it could be because it has been intentionally reduced to fit the focus of the paper and main thesis.

After a broad review and analysis, not only of the theoretical concepts of Socialism of the 21st Century by scholars in Latin American studies and politics, but also the analysis of the constitution, national development plan, and specific events and policies of the Republic of Ecuador, this research demonstrates the importance of this new model, not only for Ecuador but for the region. In Ecuador, a decision made by the World Bank (what made Correa resign) ignited a revolution that until today, is changing Ecuador from its core. Correa (2005) explains that the World Bank cancelled a loan for a development project because of some fiscal agreements with Venezuela. Since then, Rafael Correa has worked with his movement PAIS to carry on the political project of Good Living. This project, based on the principles of Socialism of the 21st Century, attempts to be a political, diplomatic, economic, and social model that, learning from history, adapting to realities and with effective and strong institutions and leadership, attempts to establish a more participative and unified democracy, nationally and internationally, while working on a new approach to development that puts the human beings at its core and respects the environment with sustainable macroeconomics and smart scientific and technological

development. Good Living, an Ecuadorian version of Socialism of the 21st Century, and Correa's administration, which has put the model into practice is a clear illustration of the application Socialism of the 21st Century in a Latin American Country. This research, through a comparative politics study makes the parallels and comparisons of theory, adapted models, and practical policies and decision-making in the small Andean Republic of Ecuador.

Through this paper, Socialism of the 21st Century in Latin America has been proven significant after looking at Ecuador's application, but it is also necessary to explain what could be the future implications for Ecuador and the region. Nationally, Ecuador is passing through an interesting period of its history. After all the events of 30S and the controversial *El Universo* case, a political war between the Ecuadorian government and the media and opposition movement continues stronger than ever. Internationally, Ecuador's allies such as Argentina, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Nicaragua support Correa's position against the private media, but international organisms such as the IACHR and also international private media condemn his actions and claim that he is restricting human rights, specifically freedom of speech, expression, and press. One side says that Ecuador has improved economically and socially that much, that some controversies, such as Correa's strong rhetoric when attacking the opposing sides, are irrelevant. On the other hand, the other side claims that Correa's administration has divided Ecuador and is fostering repression and authoritarian tendencies. According to Mario Aguilera (2012), legal advisor of the Ecuadorian National Assembly, "a not very well prepared administration of Correa (because of the several political flaws like attacking speeches, and the libel suits) has been able to easily defeat a mediocre and weak opposition movement that, when in power, was never challenged politically. Presidential elections are next year (2013), and the predictions vary. A major premise and prediction is that Correa will govern through 2017 (Ecuadorian presidents can have only one consecutive re-election), but after that, the future of this project is uncertain. Other predictions say that because of the history and political culture of Ecuador, it is uncertain and hard to predict that Correa will win the re-election. A

major criticism is that what started as a political long term project has returned to the typical populist¹⁸ charismatic leader politics of 20th century Latin America. According to Pablo Medina, a young political analyst, Correa is being pictured as a hero, and all his weaknesses and mistakes are being pardoned by the people only because he is a capable, educated president that has brought more changes and works than the rest of presidents in the last 20 years. Additionally, there are other people arising and trying to get into the presidential election race such as Mauricio Rodas, who proposes a “Model of Responsible Government” (Rodas 2010), and the movement *Ruptura de los 25*, which is a group of young politicians that after being part of PAIS, they separated themselves as consequence of the President’s position on the Referendum. Finally, one could say Good Living is a concept that in theory, sounds ideal, almost utopian, and as a form of Socialism of the 21st Century attempts to be a model capable to transform the Ecuadorian society in the long term. The future of Ecuador, politically speaking, is uncertain, and the hopes are that there is continuity to the Good Living project, avoiding a new regime reformation (re-write of the constitution).

Apart from Ecuador, Socialism of the 21st Century has reached Latin American Leaders such as Hugo Chavez from Venezuela, Christina Fernandez from Argentina, Evo Morales from Bolivia, Fernando Lugo from Paraguay, Lula da Silva and the new president of Brazil, Ollanta Humala from Perú, Manuel Zelaya from Honduras, and Manuel Ortega from Nicaragua. In a greater or lesser degree, they can be considered as the new left of Latin America, and slowly, they are attempting to change not only their countries’ systems, but the international regimes of the region as well (Kozloff 2008, 1-16). Correa considers that developing countries (the southern countries, the emerging economies), have to look at a new system, and that is what is happening in Latin America with the Socialism of the 21st century (Sarasin 2011). Even though Ecuador is the only country analyzed in this research, several Latin American countries are experiencing a similar process. In a greater or lesser degree, Latin America is passing through a historical reformation.

¹⁸ The world *Populismo* (populism) in Latin America is used to describe the political practices of appealing to the economically disadvantaged masses in order to reach power and gain popularity. Generally, in countries where vote is mandatory, the candidate that gets these masses more material insignificant goods like food baskets or some computers for the local school, are those who win elections because of the popular vote.

The creation of international multi-lateral institutions such as UNASUR, and ALBA, plus the attempt to establish a supra-national body such as CELAC and the strengthening of Mercosur, to replace current bodies such as the Andean Community of Nations (CAN), and the OAS, the ad hoc diplomatic Rio Group and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), is a historical time on Latin America's history. The major claim for the rationale of this attempt is that as long as Latin America is working with regional bodies such as the ones that are being replaced (which according the mentioned presidents, are dominated and influenced by western hegemonic powers), Latin America will continue to be a slave of the developed world. For example, Correa claims that it is ridiculous that the IACHR, part of the OAS and Inter-American System of Human Rights, which according to him has influence from the United States and the Latin American elites, is telling the Ecuadorian judiciary what to do. He considers that there is double standard because even though the OAS and the IACHR have their headquarters in Washington, DC, the United States is not even a signatory of the Pact of San Jose (international treaty that created the Inter-American System of Human Rights), therefore, they are not even part of the system. In conclusion, Socialism of the 21st Century internationally speaking urges for integration and what is happening in the region demonstrates that Socialism of the 21st Century indeed has not only national but also international implications.

Finally, one can see that Ecuador's role in the international community has increased and become one of the major leaders of the region. Correa's role in Latin America has launched Ecuador as one of the main leaders in the continent. As the former President Pro Tempore of UNASUR, he is most likely to be the one that will take the lead in the diplomacy of these South American States. Nestor Kirchner, former left-wing Argentine president passed away, Da Silva and Chavez have cancer, Castro in Cuba does not have a say in the region anymore, and his policies are changing. Evo Morales has always been clearly a follower of Chavez, and now Alvaro Uribe from Colombia and Alan Garcia from Perú, who were considered the greatest rightist of Latin America are not in power anymore. Ollanta Humala is the new

president of Peru, and Peña identifies him as member of the São Paulo Forum as well. Christina Fernandez was elected Argentina's Head of State once again, and Latin America's future is unclear.

Ecuador has clearly a chance to step up as a major leader in the region, fostering the current integration process, but it also has the opportunity to ease the international tensions with the free market economies that dislike the current opposition of these regimes. In other words, it is important to note that Chavez' leadership in the region has decreased because of his personal struggles (health), and the future elections that will be held in Venezuela. Correa, or the other Latin American leaders have the chance to rectify and in a more diplomatic way, continue the reformation and integration process of the region without attacking so much the United States and other western states as Chavez has done. Though on Ecuador's side, it is easy to imagine another political leader trying to enforce the Good Living in Ecuador, but internationally, the question is, after Correa, is any new leader of Ecuador going to be able to take Correa's leadership roles? Politically and diplomatically speaking, the future of the region are uncertain, but clearly, Socialism of the 21st Century, and those who profess it have reached enough significance that are changing the reality and history of a continent that in a global war on terror, has sometimes been pushed away from the world scene.

This work holds significance in the field Comparative Politics of Latin America that have been put aside by the political science community because of the great demand that Middle Eastern affairs hold in this day and age. There has not been much research done in English on the topic of Socialism of the 21st Century in Latin America, and there is not a single research that explains what the theory or model is and what it looks like when in practice. Also, Ecuador, because of its historical problems, size, and international relevance, has been pushed out of the comparative analyses when studying Latin America. This research demonstrates how important it is to take into consideration what is going on in Ecuador in order to understand what Socialism of the 21st Century has for the region and why it is significant. In conclusion, this comparative study attempts to be a tool for comparative politics researchers to enter into

the current reality of Latin America that unlike a couple of decades ago, has become an interesting study field and needs to be studied in a broader manner.

Finally, after two years of study, review, analysis, and redaction, this project proves what stated at the beginning of the research when the claim that, Socialism of the 21st century in Latin America has vastly influenced the political world in the region, and one of its best illustrations is the transition of the Ecuadorian Republic towards a Good Living, under the Rafael Correa's Citizens' Revolution. This work has focused on showing the relevance of this new socialist approach and its application in Ecuador through the analysis of the most important basic documents and the most relevant events, decisions, and projects of the country. In conclusion, the Ecuadorian government is an excellent practical example of the Socialism of the 21st Century in Latin America. Ecuador's case does demonstrates that this new socialism has impacted Latin America and is relevant enough to be analyzed and studied.

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