



**FACULTY OF LAW**

**School of International Studies**

**“ANALYSIS OF THE PARALLELISM BETWEEN TRADITIONAL  
SOCIALISM AND SOCIALISM OF THE 21ST CENTURY UNDER  
THE FIGURE OF RAFAEL CORREA”**

**GRADUATE THESIS PRIOR TO OBTAINING A BILINGUAL  
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**AUTHOR:**

**GABRIELA CAMPOVERDE**

**DIRECTOR:**

**AB. ANA MARÍA BUSTOS**

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## **Dedication**

This thesis work is mainly dedicated to my son who has been my main motivation to finish with this goal, as well as my family and my boyfriend who have supported and helped me at all times throughout this journey.

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## **Abstract**

This thesis will analyze the context in which socialism emerges as a doctrine and as a science, and also how it is put into practice to be able to determine what it is, how it is born and why it arises.

Subsequently, it will study the context in which the new left has emerged in Latin America, as well as its characteristics, to determine the reason for its emergence and what characteristics, approaches, and positions make it a new ideological view.

Next, the project of Socialism of the 21st Century will be deliberated in order to proceed to the analysis of the socialist project of Rafael Correa, who aimed his efforts at building this movement in Ecuador. The characteristics will be listed to determine the foundation on which this proposal is based on.

Finally, a comparison between Traditional Socialism and Socialism of the 21st Century in Ecuador will be carried out to determine the common traits and the elements that differentiate them. All this analysis will be done with a political lens.

# **ANALYSIS OF THE PARALLELISM BETWEEN TRADITIONAL SOCIALISM AND SOCIALISM OF THE 21ST CENTURY UNDER THE FIGURE OF RAFAEL CORREA**

## **Introduction**

With the end of the Cold War and the defeat of Real Socialism in the Soviet Union and in the countries of Eastern Europe about a quarter of a century ago, there was a new world power dominated by the United States where capitalism became the hegemonic system and neoliberalism was the dominant ideology (Vega Fernández, 2010). However, despite its undeniable hegemonic power, neoliberalism has been losing credibility in Latin America, which has manifested itself through the search for alternative proposals that led to the emergence of new leaders. It not only restarted the leftist trend, but also succeeded in reaching the electoral triumph in several countries of the region towards the end of the nineties and in the first decade of the twenty-first century (Harnecker, 2010).

In this context, the new left was born and simultaneously with it arose the "Socialism of the 21st Century" as an alternative to capitalism that advocates this alignment, whose concept was developed by the sociologist Heinz Dieterich and disseminated internationally by the former president of Venezuela Hugo Chavez (2005) (BBC Mundo, 2013). The ex-president urged to reinvent socialism as a humanist project and emphasized that it should be different from existing ones. As a result, Socialism of the 21st Century was invented (Harnecker, 2010; Lebowitz, 2006).

On the other hand, it is evident, specifically in the Ecuadorian context, that the political history of the country has been marked by instability, as evidenced by the overthrow of several presidents such as Abdalá Bucaram (1997), Jamil Mahuad (2000) and Lucio Gutiérrez (2005). Consequently, in the absence of effective governance a new

leader emerged, Economist Rafael Correa Delgado, who established Socialism of the 21st Century as the ideology that guided his government. As a result, there is a clear before and after that has divided in the political history of the country.

## **CHAPTER 1: SOCIALISM**

This chapter gives a brief analysis of the political, social and economic context in which Socialism emerged as a doctrine (Utopian Socialism), as a science (Scientific Socialism) and finally how it is put into practice (Socialism Real or Traditional). Before that, however, a brief account of the different economic systems that preceded Socialism will be studied in order to determine what it is, how it is born and why it arises.

The historical background of Traditional Socialism as well as its theoretical basis and how it was put into practice will be detailed below.

### **1.1. Background of Socialism**

#### **1.1.1. Historical context - political, social and economic aspects of the Middle Ages**

Towards the early epoch of society (before the Middle Ages), man met his basic needs through exchange or barter as he exchanged surplus labor (after his own consumption) with that of others. In this context, the division of labor arose not as part of the human intellect, but rather as a consequence of its inclination towards trade. Thus, humans worked in different professions, specializing in a certain type of production to later exchange it and thus obtain a mutual benefit (Smith, 1794; Torres, 2010).

Therefore, work constituted the real value of change, because in order for the trade of different objects to take place, there necessarily had to be correspondence or proportion between the different kinds of work. In other words, if obtaining an object involved more time, greater fatigue or greater ingenuity, the product had a higher value since it

required more effort. However, if someone who wanted to acquire the surplus did not have something to trade that the other person needed, the exchange could not be carried out. This is why during this time, the product of labor belonged entirely to the worker (Smith, 1794).

In this sense, as trade became more complex and to avoid inconveniences, merchants began to offer at all times, in addition to their own production, goods that could scarcely be rejected for the surplus of the other part when trading, such as metals. It should be noted that the preference of these over other goods was due to multiple reasons, among them because they were non-perishable objects and because they could also be broken up and melted back together. This is how the first coins were born, based on different metals that have varied according to the time, as a universal element used in commerce to facilitate such exchanges of buying and selling (Smith, 1794).

In this context, a disadvantage arose given that although labor constituted the real value of change, since it is "... the universal and more exact measurement of value, the only sure rule, or a certain price, with which we must compare and measure values different from commodities to each other at all times and places" (Smith, 1794, p. 60), it is an abstract notion that is difficult to measure. This is because there is no suitable unit to measure the amount of work put into the production of a given object. Consequently, coins, that is money, becomes the nominal value of change of labor since it is a tangible and quantifiable element. However, at that time the real value of labor (the quantity of things that can be acquired with it) was what determined wealth or poverty of an individual because it remained constant, unlike the nominal value that was subject to the changes in the value of the different metals with which the currencies were made (Smith, 1794).

On the other hand, although at the beginning the purpose of the exchange or barter was the satisfaction of basic needs, as this became more complex, obtaining a profit also became important. Thus, the introduction of currency to commerce not only increased the volume of commercial activities, but also contributed to the development of the earliest civilizations (Torres, 2010).

Subsequently, during the Middle Ages (from the fifth to the fifteenth century) a new system of economic, political and social organization was evident: the feudal system or feudalism, which originated at the end of the Western Roman Empire and boomed during the Middle Ages. It was characterized by land tenure being the main means of production. However, it should be noted that this system had different characteristics or modalities in the various cities of Europe.

It is a system in which the landowning nobility made up by the King's vassals, also denominated feudal lords, administered large portions of lands that belonged to the King. Nevertheless, they treated these lands as if they were their property, which is why their castles were located on the best lands and this was known as manorial reservation. In this sense, faced with the risk of invasions in Europe, the peasants, seeking protection, went to the feudal lords who offered them refuge in exchange for work (through servitude), for obedience towards the lord and, at the same time, for taxes paid by the peasants (Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004).

Consequently, the peasants became the servants of the feudal lord (also known as serfs of the land) and in return, the lords provided protection against external enemies and lent them a portion of their land where they lived with their families. In turn, when these lands changed owners, the serfs were delivered as part of it as well. It should be noted that while most of the peasants were serfs, there were also a few who retained their freedom (Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004).

Thus, in the late Middle Ages (from the fifth to the twelfth century), Europe was characterized as being a mostly rural society with very few dispersed cities (Ramírez Sánchez, Toledo Bravo de Laguna, & Santana Pérez, 2015). In fact, the population lived in lordships, specifically in the portion of land designated to them, with the exception of a few servants who lived in the feudal reserve. In this sense, the dominions comprised a set of villages under the dominion of a feudal lord and they were characterized by being politically, economically and socially independent. Consequently, the village became the main form of living during that time and it included a physical space that was divided into three: land destined for residence (dwelling), another for production (farmland), and



finally another for socialization and mental exercise (the parish) (García de Cortázar, 2014).

In the economic context, this system was characterized as being self-sufficient because it self-supplied itself through peasant production; in other words, everything that was needed to survive was produced. As a result, the economy was based on agricultural production, which brought about a reduction of trade since the products were not sold and the circulation of the currency was almost null. It should be noted that although the servants were subordinate to the lord, these were not their slaves nor worked for a salary, but they worked the land and made it produce. In this sense, the best part of its production was destined to the lord as a form of tribute and the peasants consumed the rest. In addition, the peasantry manufactured other types of products for their own use and as a form of trade with other families in the village at the Sunday fairs (Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004).

In the political arena, the feudal system was characterized by being administratively decentralized. This is because although the king was the owner of a whole country comprised of various lands, the feudal lords were the ones who exercised authority over them since they had the power to administer them. However, for this to be effective and for the king to not interfere, the lords had to be faithful and comply with everything asked of them. In addition, on many occasions the lords battled to extend their lands.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the kings were subordinate to the emperor and the Pope (the maximum representative of the church) given that, at that time, the Church had great political influence. Likewise, the feudal lords owed allegiance to the king and, in turn, the servants were subordinate to these lords (Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004). Finally, at the social level, it can be seen that the economic status in this system was determined by land tenure; the more land one possessed, the more social privileges that person had (Dobb, 2005).

On the other hand, between the XI and XIII centuries the Crusades took place, which refers to the wars of religious order carried out by the western Christians (the papacy, the kings and the feudal lords) against the Muslims of the Middle East in order to take

back Jerusalem, territory that was in the hands of the latter. What motivated the dispute was the fact that for Christians, the territory, which they called the "Holy Land", was of great importance because it was where Jesus Christ was born and buried after his crucifixion (Holy Sepulchre). Finally, the Crusades helped to improve tolerance between these two religions, which resulted in an increase of trade between the West and the East and as a result, trade became international again (Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004).

In accordance with the above, since the 11th century, numerous cities and their bourgeois inhabitants (a term that later would change its connotation), began to trade more and more mostly as a result of the reactivation of international exchange, as well as the development of artisan and merchant activities in that urban area of Europe (Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004). In this sense, it should be noted that although these cities initially depended on the feudal system, they eventually began to develop through a different organization system. This means that they acquired their freedom and partly contributed to the weakening of the feudal power since now they only answered to the authority of the kings (Pérez Pino, 2001). Thus, according to the author Ives Renouard, these constituted an independent community closed by walls where its inhabitants lived in houses and were organized in families that were dedicated not only to agriculture, but also to commerce and craftsmanship (García de Cortázar, 2014).

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the rural area remained predominant in Europe in relation to cities, since the majority of the population continued to live on farms. However, in the fourteenth century the feudal system entered into crisis due to multiple causes, such as the reappearance of trade (circulation of money), the expansion of cities and bad harvests (technological shortages and bad weather), which generated great famines. What also contributed to this crisis were the multiple wars and major epidemics such as the Black Death (that took place from the beginning of the 14th century to the beginning of the 15th century), which significantly reduced the European population (Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004; Pérez Pino, 2001; Ramírez Sánchez, Toledo Bravo de Laguna, & Santana Pérez, 2015).

As a result of the reduction of labor, the feudal lords were forced to pay high salaries to peasants who worked independently for them and this is how many of them were able

to buy their freedom. The lords also had to rent their land at very low prices which led to their impoverishment, thus contributing to the weakening of this system and later to its dissolution (Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004; Fau, 2009; Pérez Pino, 2001; Ramírez Sánchez, Toledo Bravo de Laguna, & Santana Pérez, 2015). In this sense, it is worth noting that the weakening of feudal power benefitted the kings, who took advantage of this situation to regain and strengthen their power. Previously, the feudal lords exerted great resistance, but nevertheless the monarchy was victorious (Bernardos Sanz, Hernández, & Santamaría Lancho, 2014). Thus, the cities joined the monarchy which led to the creation of laws that favored their interests (Bernardos Sanz, Hernández, & Santamaría Lancho, 2014).

At the end of the fifteenth century, the European population began to grow again which, in turn, generated an expansion of cities as well as an increase in trade and a greater division of labor (Ramírez Sánchez, Toledo Bravo de Laguna, & Santana Pérez, 2015). At the same time, the guilds emerged in the cities as a grouping of traders dedicated to the same trade or craftsmen dedicated to a single artisan branch, whose purpose was to gain the authorities' protection in regards to their interests and the right to be able to regulate their activities (Covarrubias, 2000; García de Cortázar, 2014). Yet, these regulations limited the development of trade unions because they restricted market competition at its highest level as well as innovation in order to maintain equal social justice, so much so that in some groups individual enrichment was penalized (Covarrubias, 2000).

### **1.1.2. Historical context– political, social and economic aspects of the Modern Age**

At the end of the Middle Ages the European cities came to play a crucial role since they became the motor of development of society at both the productive and commercial level, thus concentrating the power and giving rise to social conflicts. The reforms

adopted in the urban area were extended in the rural area both in the productive sphere, as well as their ideological change and the hierarchy of society (García de Cortázar, 2014). In addition, the previously decentralized power became concentrated in the hands of the King who came to hold political power (Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004). Due to this, in Western Europe the power of the feudal lords was reduced and the modern state was born. The latter was characterized by having the following elements: a defined territory, a centralized power in the hands of the King who, in turn, created an administrative apparatus conformed by authorities who assisted him in his government, an army, a financial agency for the collection of taxes, and representatives at the international level (diplomacy) (Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004).

In addition, international trade grew, which brought with it greater competition between local unions and unions that were generated from the export trade. This is because the latter obtained greater profits and from then on they became the richest group of the bourgeoisie, a term that alludes to the social group made up of merchants and artisans that was formed at the end of the Middle Ages. This estate constituted a middle class located between the upper class, which included the nobility and the church, and the lower class made up of peasants (Covarrubias, 2000; Pérez Pino, 2001). However, within it was a class of privileged bourgeoisie conformed by the merchants who, outside of the regulation of the guilds were dedicated to wholesale trade, thus seeking to dominate the market to benefit its manufactures. In fact, they possessed money generated from exports and used it to undertake new projects to continue favoring their economy (Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004; Dobb, 2005).

However, for this they needed the authorization of the King, which is why they helped in their fight against the feudal lords. At the same time, the kings benefited from borrowing money from the bourgeoisie and they also sold them public offices to obtain money and thus secure their power from which both obtained a mutual benefit (Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004). The economic power was concentrated in this new class and they also dominated the municipal government, either with the consent of the inhabitants of the city (through voting) or by its alliance with the nobility of the city (Covarrubias, 2000). Finally, all these transformations at a political, social and economic

level gradually gave way to the Modern Age (from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century) whose beginning was marked by the discovery of America in 1492 (Ramírez Sánchez, Toledo Bravo de Laguna, & Santana Pérez, 2015).

It should be noted that with this discovery, America was invaded by Europeans (mainly Spaniards and Portuguese) through its conquest and colonization. In this context, the existence of precious metal deposits in the region (silver, gold and diamonds) made it an attractive place for European bourgeoisie, who, through their extraction and subsequent commercialization in Europe, began a process of capital accumulation (Sánchez, 2006).

## **1.2. Capitalism**

At the end of the 16th century and beginning of the 17th century, according to the author Maurice Dobb, the initial phase of capitalism is evident (Studies on the development of capitalism, 2005). However, it was not until the eighteenth century, with the Industrial Revolution that began in England and later extended to the United States and most of Western Europe (19th century), that this system was rooted and was fully developed (Lario, 2014; Marx, n.d.). Since then, thanks to inventions such as the steam engine, the craft industry slowly began to be a mechanized industry. This contributed to the expansion of the production volume (on a large scale), thus radically transforming the production process (Ávila & Lugo, 2004; Dobb, 2005; Marx & Engels, 1848; Marx, n.d.).

It should be noted that when speaking of capitalism, this term alludes to an economic system where a minority and privileged class, known as the bourgeoisie, is aimed at obtaining maximum profit. This is possible because the upper class possesses the private property of the means of production (facilities, tools and materials used in the productive process) and in turn the purchasing power to buy the labor force of the

proletariat that was sold as a commodity in the market. Thus, using these two elements (capital and labor power), capitalism bases its production on the extraction of added value on the original value of the labor force, that is, on surplus value, which transforms money into capital. Consequently, the profits of the bourgeois or capitalists are the product of selling goods at a higher price than that of their production costs (Dobb, 2005; Eggers-Brass & Derendinger, 2004; Marx, n.d.; University of Cantabria, 2014, 2014; Vizcarra Cifuentes, 2014).

Capitalism is divided into two classes: the bourgeoisie (capitalists) as a wealthy class and the proletariat (workers) as a disadvantaged class. The latter sells its labor power, that is, all the physical and mental faculties that the human being uses in the production of goods, in exchange for a wage contract (Marx, n.d.). In this sense, merchandise is understood as an object that, thanks to its properties, satisfies human needs. However, it must meet the following conditions to be considered as such: it must be the product of human labor, have value, which means that it must be useful but not only to meet personal needs but social use values, and be transferred through trade (buying and selling) (Marx, n.d.).

On the other hand, it should be pointed out that within the definition of capitalism, the economic system refers to "...the global economic process: production, distribution, exchange and consumption" (Harnecker, 1994, p. 93). In addition, the following elements are distinguished: a psychological element that constitutes the predominant reasons that motivate the performance of a certain economic activity, legal and social elements that establish the framework or field in which the activity is carried out, and, a technical element that includes the procedures used in the production process (Ávila & Lugo, 2004).

Consequently, capitalism as an economic system is made up of the following elements:

- Spirit of profit
- The legal and social framework established is as follows:
  - the means of production are in private hands;
  - capitalist relations must be formally mediated through a contract between the capitalist and the worker, so that the worker, as a formally free person, can sell his labor power in exchange for a salary;
  - the market to which capitalist production is directed is of free competition;
  - and the price of goods is determined by the market in monetary terms, through the law of supply and demand.
- The techniques employed are sophisticated and are based on the use of machines which advance along with technological innovations (Otero & Grossi, 2005) (Marx, n.d.).

### **1.2.1. Economic context of Capitalism**

On the other hand, in capitalism the economic context was characterized by a considerable increase in labor productivity, as a result of the introduction of the machine in the productive process. Also, the consumer market expanded significantly and increased both the accumulation and capital investment by the bourgeoisie (Dobb, 2005). When speaking of capital, it makes reference to "a set of goods of production or a quantity of money which, when applied to a given social activity, allows a certain profit or gain to be obtained which would be the remuneration of capital" (Guglielmi, 2011, p. 50). All these circumstances highlighted the existing inequalities between the two emerging classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, thus leading to social conflict (Lario, 2014).

In addition, in this system the production relations were based on the production of goods so the enrichment was based on their accumulation (Marx, n.d.). Due to this factor, it was a class society in which social status was determined by the amount of material goods that were possessed (Lario, 2014). Finally, as the great industry advanced, new elements that came from the middle class, such as small industrialists, merchants and craftsmen, were added to the proletariat. This is either because they were defeated by competition whose capital was increasingly strong (barrier of entry) or because of new advances of producing exceeded their skills (Marx & Engels, 1848).

### **1.2.2. Political context of Capitalism**

On the other hand, the political context made way for economic liberalism, a doctrine under which capitalism was regulated. It was a set of beliefs from the bourgeoisie, which defended economic freedom and the preponderance of the individual against the state, stating that the latter should not intervene in the economy and should eliminate any obstacles, which included all the laws that limited production and trade. Liberalism therefore defended the freedom of the individual in satisfying a craving for wealth, arguing that this is the only means of social progress (Greco, 2006; Lario, 2014). In this context, it should be noted that this doctrine was an ideological weapon used by the bourgeoisie to act against the aristocracy and thus maintain their privileges (Ávila & Lugo, 2004).

Individual initiative was accepted and a Constitution was created as a legal basis in which the rights of individuals as their right to vote were established, as well as the division of powers in order to avoid (in theory) any kind of oppression or abuse of power. Thus, in accordance with the principles of liberalism, the law would equally apply to all and therefore, monopolies would not exist. However, economic inequalities



were not only maintained, but both wealth and opportunities for progress continued to be available to a small group of individuals, while the remainder had to continue to use their labor force as the only means of subsistence (Lario, 2014). The practice also exposed other contradictions of capitalism, since the exploitation of man by man was not only his reason for being, but also brought with it numerous social injustices, at the same time as enmity between nations due to the subjection of some by others.

Finally, the bourgeoisie occupied important political positions. Consequently, a political centralization was evidenced as territories that were initially independent, with autonomous governments and different interests united, formed a single nation under the same government, the same law and the same national interest: the bourgeois (Marx & Engels, 1848). In this context, the capitalist state was characterized as a democracy directed towards a decision-making minority, the bourgeoisie, and at the same time a dictatorship for the people in general. This is why when the bourgeoisie saw their dominion being threatened they used any means to repress those responsible. An example of this is when the capitalist governments witnessed numerous workers' massacres and did nothing to stop them (Harnecker, 1979).

### **1.2.3. Social context of capitalism**

With regard to the social context of capitalism, it should be noted that in the eighteenth century there was a considerable demographic increase thanks to the medical advances and greater access to public health that contributed to the reduction of mortality. In accordance with this, the labor force available to the industry significantly increased. Thanks to this and to technical innovations, a universal lowering of the costs of merchandise as well as labor force occurred. Consequently, this situation brought into play a large number of proletarians willing to work at a low price (cheap labor) given their disadvantage in negotiating with the bourgeois and also because the supply of labor exceeded the demand (Dobb, 2005). Finally, thanks to the network of transport and

communications created by the bourgeoisie, they managed to civilize even the most unreachable nations, thus creating large cities and considerably increasing the urban population compared to the peasantry (Marx & Engels, 1848).

On the other hand, machines began to replace workers who due to its human nature could manipulate just one working tool, with a mechanism that at the same time operated with a mass of tools and that was moved by a single motor force, whatever its nature may have been. Thus the machine was an element of mechanized production, whose productivity was measured in proportion to the human labor it replaced (Marx, n.d.).

Thus, the workers began to acquire a new function: to monitor the work of the machine and, in case it was necessary, to correct their errors manually. In other words, workers acquired the role of mere motive power when it could not be replaced by natural forces such as steam, wind, water, etc. In addition, they began to concentrate on a single place of work: in the factory and their previously empirical routine began to use the application of the natural sciences, which is why a greater division of labor was evidenced. In this way, the capitalist ceased to be just another worker and instead became the head of the factory industry. As such, they were in charge of production planning and coercively disciplining the workers under their command, who were economically dependent (Dobb, 2005; Marx, n.d.; Marx & Engels, 1848).

In this sense, since work demanded lower skills and strengths, profit-making capitalists began to employ females and children, given that although they had little physical strength, they represented cheaper labor forces and were agile and docile. Consequently, there was a considerable increase in the number of wage-earners because all the members of the working-class family became part of the capitalist production. Thus, the value of the labor force of the worker was distributed among the entire family, because wages were not determined by the amount of labor necessary to maintain one person, but by what was necessary to maintain the family group. This contributed to the devaluation of individual work and expanded the field of capitalist exploitation (Marx, n.d.).

Therefore, even though the worker, as a formally free person, sold only their labor power, they now also sold their wife and children in the manner of a slave trader. As a result, children were sold by their parents as if they were living machines, so evidently the legal relationship of the purchase and sale of labor was no longer a contract between free people. Hence, the expansion of human exploitation contributed not only to the physical deterioration of women, children and adolescents, but also to the increase in child mortality in the labor sector, whether due to carelessness, mistreatment, poor diet and even infanticide (Marx, n.d.).

On the other hand, while machinery was the most effective means of increasing labor productivity, that is, of reducing the working time required for the production of a particular commodity, paradoxically, the opposite occurred. In the hands of the capitalist, this contributed to the excessive prolongation of the working day to more than twelve hours, surpassing thus all the natural and moral limits. This resulted in numerous premature deaths of workers, which generated a reaction from those whose lives were at risk (Marx, n.d.).

At the same time, wages were increasingly reduced to a very low and uniform level, which in turn contributed to equating the conditions of life and interests of the proletariat. Added to this was the increasing competition among the bourgeoisie, as well as the commercial crises such as the overproduction that contributed to the increasing insecurity of the workers' salary (Marx, n.d.; Marx & Engels, 1848). It is thus in this context of exploitation where money buries human dignity and freedoms are reduced to only one, that of trading, where the workers begin to unite to defend their wages and their interests in general (Marx, n.d.; Marx & Engels, 1848).

### **1.3. Utopian Socialism**

In this situation, the proletariat went through several stages before strengthening and consolidating itself. Thus, in its first stage at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the

first theorists of socialism emerged with criticisms towards capitalism. These were called utopian socialists because their contributions were unreachable in the historical context of that time. That is, they revolved around utopia, and because the means by which they tried to bring the theory into practice were ineffective. The most representative authors of utopian socialism were Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen.

It should be noted that the contributions of these authors differed from each other. However, they coincided in the preponderance that they gave to the social question within a society, highlighting its vital importance for the attainment of a general welfare. In this context, they exposed the deplorable living conditions in which the working masses were buried, as well as the great social inequalities that existed. They also proposed alternatives towards a more just and solidary society (Belandria & Suzzarini, 2011). In fact, their theories sought to discover a new and more perfect system and to implement it in society by peaceful means since they rejected all political revolutionary actions, for example through the dissemination of their ideas (through propaganda) and through the example set, which were actions that always failed at that time (Engels, 1981). Socialism thus appeared as a doctrine that emphasized the preponderance of the social or collective over the individual and sought to replace capitalism (Belandria & Suzzarini, 2011).

Its literary contributions reflected the first attempts to defend the interests of the proletariat, which had not yet reached maturity and therefore did not yet have the material conditions necessary to achieve its emancipation. In addition, its fantastic faith in the disappearance of exploitation and social injustice by simple philanthropy, that is, appealing to the conscience of the bourgeoisie, likewise contributed to its failure in practice (Engels, 1981; Marx & Engels, 1848). However, its positive ideas regarding the society of the future contributed significantly to educating the workers' conscience, since they reflected a principle of criticism towards the bases of capitalism and, at the same time, revealed their shortcomings.

#### **1.4. Scientific Socialism**

It is a fact that the industrial revolution contributed to the expansion of the world market, which in turn greatly boosted trade, either by sea (navigation) or by land (railways), and involved all nations, creating bonds of interdependence between them (Marx & Engels, 1848). Consequently, the communication facilities that were derived from this contributed to the contact of workers from different sectors (Marx, n.d.; Marx & Engels, 1848). In this context, employees working in the same factory or in the same productive branch began to organize themselves into unions to act as one and to improve their working conditions as well as to impose legal sanctions on the abuses of the capitalists (Feliu & Sudrià, 2007).

Thus, in 1831, the first labor rebellion of silk weavers took place in Lyon, France, where the workers demanded a legal minimum wage to subsist. The results of this rebellion had lasting effects since it contributed to the creation of new workers' organizations mainly in Paris and their demands were achieved since there was an increase in wages (Lescas, 2009). Between 1838 and 1842, the first national labor movement corresponding to that of the English chartists took place. Finally, the law of the ten-hour day in England was born, which came into force on May 1, 1848 (Engels 1981).

In effect, local actions led to a national movement. In this way, what began as a minority social movement became a movement formed by an immense majority, which was known the labor movement. It also resulted in political action with the creation of a political party (Marx & Engels, 1848). They therefore consolidated their union and began to organize as a class (Fau M. , 2009). These new events forcibly submitted all of the previous history to new investigations (Engels, 1981).

Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, scientific socialism, also known as Marxism, was born. This was after the publication of the "Communist Manifesto" in

London (1848), written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who were the highest representatives. Although socialism already existed as a doctrine with the contributions of the utopian socialists who preceded them, with the collaboration of these two actors, socialism became a science with a real scientific basis. It should be noted that this was mainly due to two decisive discoveries: surplus value and historical materialism (Ávila & Lugo, 2004; Engels, 1981).

Indeed, Marx exposed the real purpose of the capitalist mode of production: the attainment of surplus value, thus bringing to light the background of the capitalist system of exploitation, since it revealed that it was based primarily on the appropriation of outside labor that was not remunerated. In other words, the capitalist bourgeois, while buying the labor force for all the value that appeared as a commodity in the market (salary), obtained from it an additional value above the original value paid (surplus value). These earnings benefitted only the capitalists, who did not divide them among those who intervened in the productive process. Thus the capital of the bourgeoisie came from the accumulation of this surplus (Engels, 1981).

In addition, the author mentioned another major discovery: the materialist conception of history, also called historical materialism. With this he tried to explain the various forms of social organization that have emerged in different modalities throughout history, starting from the thesis that what a society produces, how it produces it, and the way in which its products are exchanged constitutes the basis of all social order and determines social division into classes (Engels, 1981). Accordingly, "As men produce and live materially, they will think in a certain way, have a certain view of things, and create certain institutions" (Fau M. , 2009, p. 7).

Therefore, based on these ideas, Marx determined that society was historically comprised of classes with interests that were incompatible with each other (antagonistic): owners of the means of production (exploiters) and non-proprietors (exploited), who have always been in a constant struggle over time (Belandria & Suzzarini, 2011). Furthermore, he sought to discover the path that led from a mode of

production based on the exploitation of a class towards another (capitalism) to a way of producing without oppressors or oppressed and therefore without classes (communism) (Fau M., 2009).

Indeed, these ideas were embodied in the "Communist Manifesto" (mentioned in previous lines), which was a guide for action for the attainment of political labor participation. In other words, it was the theoretical and practical program of the Communist League, an international working organization founded in 1847 to unite all loose groups of workers to educate them politically with communist ideas. This organization was the first communist party in the world (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012).

However, it is important to mention that when the manifesto came to light, it was not known as a "Socialist Manifesto" because at that time the term "socialist" encompassed utopian systems and denoted a bourgeois movement. Meanwhile, the term "communist" at that time delineated the workers' sector which, in the face of political insufficiency, called for a radical transformation of society, that is, a workers' movement. Consequently, the title of the program was chosen mainly because the emancipation of the workers could only be carried out by that class (Marx & Engels, 1848).

In turn, socialism ceased to appear as a casual discovery, becoming the essential product of the struggle between two historically constituted classes: proletariat and bourgeoisie. It arose as a necessary consequence of the fall of the feudal system. As a result, the goal of scientific socialism was no longer the mere creation of a perfect system to implant in society (utopian socialism), but to investigate the historical economic process from which these classes and their dispute inevitably arose, and, finally, to discover the means to solve this conflict (Engels, 1981).

While utopian socialism criticized capitalism and its effects, it did not provide elements to explain it. On the other hand, Marx and Engels not only studied the capitalist system as such and the reasons for its crises, but went further towards a political objective. That is, the workers formed a political party of their own with a global reach,

in order to overthrow capitalism (though revolutionary actions) and replace it with a society without exploitation, that is, without classes (communism), and thus achieve its emancipation (Fau M., 2009). This affirmed that the abolition of the private property of the bourgeoisie and its conversion to social or collective property would contribute to the elimination of such exploitation. Finally, they came to the conclusion that it was essential to overthrow the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012; Belandria & Suzzarini, 2011; Marx & Engels, 1848).

They therefore proposed that in the final stage of the development of the proletariat there would be the material conditions necessary for this class to overthrow the bourgeoisie and all its institutions through revolutionary actions. The proletariat would replace the ruling class and finally build the foundations of the new communist society based on the primacy of the social over the individual (Belandria & Suzzarini, 2011). In this new society the means of production of the bourgeoisie would be centralized in the hands of the organized proletariat as the ruling class (Marx & Engels, 1848).

In this context, the construction of a communist society could not be carried out overnight because it involved radical changes in all areas (economic, social and political), which would obviously clash with the resistance exerted by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. That is why Marx considered necessary a period of transition from capitalism to communism, which he referred to as the first phase or lower phase (usually called socialism) dedicated to the establishment and development of this new society, and to the struggles with the agonizing capitalist system (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012; Harnecker, 1979; Harnecker, 1984).

"Between capitalist society and communist society the period of the revolutionary transformation of the first to the second was measured. To this period also corresponds a political period of transition, whose State cannot be other than *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*" (Marx C. , 1891, p. 49).

He also considered it essential that there be a higher phase, known as communism, in which all the principles of the new society under construction can be put into practice. These two phases, therefore, constituted periods of the same mode of production: the



communist, lacking in exploitation and based on the collective ownership of the means of production (Harnecker, 1979).

As a result, the conquest of proletarian power was initially only possible through an authoritarian action on capitalist property and mode of production. This was by means of measures which, although seemingly economically unsustainable according to Marx and Engels, were of an imperishable character and could therefore be applied in a general way to transform the current mode of production. Therefore, they maintained that the proletariat could not do without them to fulfill its mission. However, they emphasized that these general measures were not always manifested in the same way, since each country seeking to build communism has its own particularities. So, for their application, they had to adapt them to the specific context of each specific case (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012; Marx & Engels, 1848).

These measures are as follows:

a) Political measures

- Proclamation of the general duty to work: The Communist society will be founded on work free from exploitation. Consequently, all members of society will become workers and, in the first instance, they will receive compensation according to their performance, thus contributing collectively to society.

b) Economic measures

- Expropriation of real estate and nationalization of transport: The proletarian state will expropriate the main means of production (factories, land, means of transport, etc.) from the bourgeoisie to nationalize them to direct production without exploitation and benefit the interests of the majority: the people.
- Strong progressive tax: A progressive tax refers to a rate that individuals must pay to the state in proportion to their income. Consequently, the more income, the higher the rate (Arnoletto, 2007). This is a measure to forcibly prevent the bourgeoisie, from continuing to increase its capital.

- Abolition of the right of inheritance: This measure seeks to prevent at all costs the bourgeois from inheriting heritage, because this right allows them to appropriate collective ownership that is not the fruit of their work, but of others (Durkheim, 1987).
- Confiscation of the fortunes of emigrants and rebels: The proletarian state will expropriate the assets of the emigrants who are no longer in their place of origin, as well as those who rebel against the ideals of the majority of the people to finally nationalize them.
- Centralization of credit in the State through a national bank with state capital and a monopoly regime: The proletarian state will expropriate the bank to nationalize it and thus be able to direct and plan the national economy for social purposes.
- Multiplication of national factories and the means of production, land ploughing and improvement according to a collective plan: Farmers with private farms will voluntarily join collective farms in order to facilitate the administration and planning of the production for the benefit of the people, which, in turn, will contribute to production increases (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012).

c) Social measures

- Free public education for all children, prohibition of child labor in factories in their present form and a combined regime of education with material production, etc.: The proletarian State will offer free education for all and at the same time, reduce the working day and prohibit child labor under capitalist conditions. This is so that the individuals of the new society can raise their culture and be conscious and active subjects of the system that they are carrying out.
- Articulation of agricultural and industrial holdings and tendency to gradually erase the differences between the countryside and the city: The differences between the countryside (agriculture) and the city (industry) will gradually disappear thanks to the abolition of exploitation. Therefore, both workers and peasants will work for themselves and for social welfare with the same right to receive income according to their work performance (Marx & Engels, 1848).

## **1.5. Elements of Scientific Socialism–Marx-**

### **1.5.1. Political context**

As far as the political sphere is concerned, in order for the people to be free from exploitation and finally achieve their emancipation, they have to necessarily destroy the capitalist state and build a new one according to their interests. Consequently, the establishment of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the period of transition to communism is an essential condition for the construction of the new society, mainly to defeat the resistance exerted by the bourgeoisie, who is not willing to resign itself to losing its power (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012). Thus, this dictatorship implied the establishment of a new state in the hands of the proletariat. Although it would constitute a dictatorship for the bourgeoisie (minority), at the same time it would be a much broader working democracy in which the equality of rights of the entire population will be put into practice (Fau M., 2009; Harnecker, 1979).

In this sense, the main objective of it is to break down the bases on which exploitation is based, that is through the conversion of all individuals into workers. To this end, the general duty to work according to ability or performance will be proclaimed, eliminating the classes and fostering the establishment of relationships of collaboration and mutual help (Collective of Authors, 1954; Harnecker, 1979).

Once the capitalist state apparatus has been destroyed, it must be replaced by a new one with elected workers' representatives through popular assemblies, with rotating and accountable governments who can be dismissed if they do not meet the expectations of the people (Fau M., 2009). However, as soon as production can be within the reach of society at large for the satisfaction of its needs, the State will cease to possess any political character in the absence of antagonistic classes. In other words, it would disappear (Fau M., 2009; Marx & Engels, 1848). Finally, in communism, the government will lose its character as a controlling body in charge of imposing discipline and will be replaced by a system of administration and planning of production processes (Collective of Authors, 1954; Harnecker, 1979).

Finally, it is important to point out that just as capitalist states acquired different political forms by always preserving their nature as a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the same could happen with the transition phase towards communism. Nevertheless, it will always retain its essence as a dictatorship of the proletariat (Harnecker, 1979).

### **1.5.2. Economic context**

On the other hand, in the transition phase the economic transformations will be mainly based on the collectivization of the private property of the bourgeoisie. That is, through the expropriation of the main means of production: factories, land, means of transport, mines, power plants, among others, for their subsequent nationalization. The same will occur with banking and international trade since they will become the property of the proletarian state. Through its administration, it will be in charge of directing the fruits of labor to the hands of the entire population to satisfy their needs (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012; Harnecker, 1979).

In this sense, it should be noted that communism does not seek the abolition of private ownership of personal consumption items such as clothing, food, housing, etc., but exclusively the private property of the bourgeoisie that leads to exploitation of the means of production (Harnecker, 1979; Marx & Engels, 1848). Collectivization of the means of production will thus enable the proletarian state to directly influence the economic development of the country through the planning of the economy and this will guarantee their independence from capitalism (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012).

It should be noted that communist nationalization can take place directly or go through phases with the existence of mixed companies, which, although State property, can simultaneously operate with private capital as concessions, leases, etc. However, it should be noted that the joint ventures will be subordinated to the demands of the

proletarian state and will act in favor of the communist construction (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012).

On the other hand, the peasants will also participate actively in the workers' revolution to improve their living conditions and that is why much of the land expropriated to the great capitalists will become their property. However, in order to avoid such fragmentation and at the same time to transform it into the communist mode, the estates of the small producers (peasants) will voluntarily join the large collective farms called cooperatives. The latter will be characterized by socializing the main means of production and the work itself. However, the degree of such socialization may not occur in the same way in all cases, which will lead to the existence of a variety of cooperative forms with particular characteristics (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012).

With the cooperation of agriculture, little by little small private property in this sector will disappear to give rise to social property, thus ensuring the distribution of income based on work and without any kind of exploitation. It will also facilitate the management and planning of agricultural production as well as help increase these two factors. Lastly, it should be pointed out that this measure will not lead to the elimination of individual property, since the small producer as a member of the cooperative will keep his dwelling, livestock and other items, among them those necessary to exploit his property, provided that they are not used for the exploitation of the work of others (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012; Sánchez Noda, 2009).

Finally, industrialization will also characterize the economy in this transition period. In this context, a modern industry based on the latest scientific and technical progress will develop to not only contribute to a significant increase in labor productivity, but also improve the working conditions of workers. In addition, it will help strengthen the country's economic independence as well as its defense capacity (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012).

### **1.5.3. Social context**

In this first phase of communism, the social differences will not change because, as mentioned previously, the income of the workers will be based on their individual performance. In this sense, several circumstances will contribute to some having greater or lesser abilities to perform a certain activity such as the degree of specialization, physical and mental condition, among others. This is because in the capitalist system, not everyone has the same opportunities to specialize or to feed themselves adequately, given the context of exploitation and the existence of large social gaps. At this stage, however, social inequalities in communism will tend to diminish to the point of becoming nonexistent where the income of each person will be in accordance to their needs (Harnecker, 1979).

It should be noted that in communism this would be possible because at this stage the productive forces will reach a level of development capable of generating a social wealth so great as to satisfy the basic needs of the entire population, unlike the first phase in which there will still be a production shortage. In this context, it is important to emphasize that it would be absurd to think that people from one day to the next will stop working because of their interests and take only what they need to contribute to meeting the needs of others. This is because the construction of this new society will be carried out with individuals who were born in capitalism, were corrupted by this system, and inherited its habits and traditions. However, little by little they will overcome the vestiges of this ideology (Harnecker, 1979).

On the other hand, as far as cultural development is concerned, the proletarian State will in turn nationalize all cultural institutions (radio, newspapers, theaters, museums, etc.) and put them at the service of the people. In addition, the working day of workers will gradually decrease so that they have free time to devote to their education in all areas. In this sense, general education, polytechnic and physical education schools will be available free of charge so that the population can have access to education. This

way, people can increase their intellect and freely choose a profession, transforming them into active and conscious subjects of the construction process they carry out. It also guarantees their integral development, both physical and mental (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012; Collective of authors, 1954).

As a result, instruction will help eliminate the division of labor based on the differences between manual and intellectual work. This is because once all workers have access to a comprehensive education, all of them will be on equal terms and it will be possible to combine both skills for the interest of the common communist objective (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012; Collective of Authors, 1954; Harnecker, 1979). However, in the new society, there will still be a division of labor based on a certain degree of specialization that will derive from polytechnic education consisting in teaching "...the foundations of contemporary industry, the theoretical and practical knowledge of the main branches of production ..." (Collective of Authors, 1954, p. 271)

On the other hand, the differences between the field (agriculture) and the city (industry) will gradually disappear, since in both cases (peasants and workers) there will be no exploitation. Therefore, workers will work for themselves and for social welfare with the same right to receive income according to their work performance. However, even in communism there will be an essential difference that will not disappear, which is, the stationary character of agriculture given its exclusive dependence on climate. Likewise, in this branch the automation of the productive processes cannot be complete as in the case of the industry. Finally, there will no longer be gender discrimination, consequently women as well as men will enjoy the same freedoms and rights (Collective of Authors, 1954).

## **1.6. Real Socialism**

### **1.6.1. Background**

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Russia was characterized as being behind in social, cultural and economic aspects. This is because it was isolated from the industrial revolution of the West, and still firmly retained the old feudal regime as well as an autocratic system of government in which the power was centralized in the hands of the Czar (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d; Serge, 1999). This figure was considered to be the highest authority and his power was absolute. He was also the leader of the Orthodox Church and, therefore, he ran an almost divine cult. In addition, 90% of the population was still engaged in rudimentary agriculture (manual labor) with a rather limited production, therefore the living conditions of the population were precarious (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.).

Nevertheless, in 1861, Tsar Alexander II promoted a reformist policy which made it possible to abolish the servitude. It also promoted industrialization in 1880 which was late in comparison to other cities but was necessary, thus leading the way for the development of capitalism (Academic Team, 2009). However, the abolition of serfdom did not change the misery of the Russian peasants, since once "free," in the absence of land in the rural areas they were forced to emigrate to the city where they became subjects of industrial exploitation (workers) by a weak but existing bourgeoisie (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.).

On the other hand, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Russia continued to fall behind mainly because it remained an agrarian-based economy with a rather weak industrialization. Moreover, most of the wealth was concentrated in the hands of few members of a privileged nobility, while the rest, who constituted the great majority, included peasants and workers who were still in misery and very restricted in their rights. Finally, it should be noted that the exploitation of the first industrial workers in



this area was excessive and their poverty increased (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.).

In this context, parties and political movements were born in opposition to the tsarist regime. However, these were clandestine movements given that any attempt at opposition at that time was strongly repressed. Among these, the Social Democratic Workers' Party, which was founded in 1898 and consisted of a group of Russian Marxists in exile who prioritized the problems that afflicted the worker, later became divided into two independent parties: Mensheviks and Bolsheviks (Academic Team, 2009; Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.).

The Mensheviks, led by Martov, constituted a moderate group who argued that in order to carry out the socialist revolution it was necessary to first assist in capturing the power of the bourgeoisie and allow the full development of capitalism. This is, because they considered that the implantation of socialism was only possible once the both capitalism and the proletariat reached maturity, which is why they were even open to ally themselves with the liberals. Later, this group formed the Socialist Party (Bolinaga, 2010; (Bachiller Sabuco High School).

On the other hand, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, constituted an extremist and radical party that defended Marxist ideas, which is why later in 1918 the party was renamed The Communist Party. They argued that because Russia was underdeveloped and since the recent development of the bourgeoisie capitalist system was weak, the working class in alliance with the peasantry would be able to overthrow Tsarism to be able to take power and accelerate the transition to socialism (Academic Team, 2009; Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.).

In 1917, at the same time that the first world war was taking place, the Russian Revolution in Saint Petersburg, also called Petrograd (capital of the Russian empire), was unleashed. This was a popular uprising that brought about radical changes in all areas in which it was possible to distinguish two phases: one in February and the other in October of the same year. The first resulted in the resignation of the Tsar (Nicholas II), therefore turning Tsarist Russia into a Republic with the coexistence of a double power:

a provisional government composed mostly of liberals and led by Prince Lvov and the Petrograd Soviet comprising a Menshevik majority and social-revolutionary members. It should be noted that the word 'Soviet' refers to a committee of a popular character composed of delegates representing workers, peasants and soldiers. This provisional government had as its main objective the conversion of Russia to a liberal-bourgeois State, similar to that of the West. Later, prince Lvov's power was passed onto Kerensky (Academic Team, 2009; Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Corfe, 1991; Editorial Playor, 2011; Feliu & Sudrià, 2007).

The Soviets gained power as the Kerensky government lost credibility. This is because it did not fulfill its promise to establish a Constituent Assembly through popular vote, which in turn would elaborate the Russian Constitution, and instead decided to continue with the First World War, going against the people's aspirations. However, in April of the same year Lenin returned from exile and demanded that the provisional government end the war under its motto "... 'Peace, bread and land'..." (Editorial Playor, 2011, p. 96). It also demanded that more power should be given to the Soviets, since their intentions had to do with the establishment of a proletarian government based on the soviets (Cousin, 2002). In this way, the Bolsheviks not only gained more supporters, but also managed to reach the majority in the local soviets of the whole country. In addition, Lenin manifested his plan to carry out the socialist revolution (Chacón, 2008; Corfe, 1991).

Later, an unsuccessful attempted coup d'état was provoked by General Kornilov. However, this event brought to light the weakness of Kerensky's provisional government, which remained in power only thanks to the support of the Soviets, thereby further strengthening the position of the Bolshevik party. Finally, in the October Revolution, the soviets (which at that time already had a Bolshevik majority) supported Lenin's proposal to conquer power in a revolutionary way. Thus, they held an insurrection against the provisional government of Kerensky, which took place in St. Petersburg, specifically in the Winter Palace (government headquarters). Once there, the Bolsheviks took power without much resistance and both Kerensky and his ministers

fled, except for a few who were arrested (Academic Team, 2009; Buendía & López, 2000; Cousin, 2002; Editorial Playor, 2011).

In this context, the Bolsheviks established a new provisional government in Russia, also presided over by Lenin, which was known as the People's Commissars Council. Finally, after his triumph, the leader in question was building the new state with his Marxist ideas, thus creating the basis for the construction of the new communist society (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Junta de Andalucía, n.d.).

### **1.6.2. Definition**

Based on this background, it is important to note that Real Socialism refers to the practical application of scientific socialism, also known as Marxism, as an alternative to capitalism that appeared at the time. This was initiated and directed by Lenin in Russia with the Russian Revolution that took place in 1917. This later extended to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (a name acquired by Russia along with three other socialist republics in 1922, when it became a federal republic). Real Socialism had its boom in the government of Stalin, which is when it was established in other countries of Eastern Europe and Asia. It consisted in the suppression of capitalism and the construction of communism under Marxist influence, although with the leaders' contributions who carried it out.

### **1.6.3. Lenin**

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924), leader of the Bolshevik Party, was credited with the development of Real Socialism in Russia, as he put theoretical Marxism into practice and adapted it to the country's circumstances. It should be noted that in addition to being a leader of the Russian government, he became the leader of the working class

throughout the world through the Third International or Communist International, thereby highlighting the international character of the proletarian movement (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012). In this context, it is important to note that it was not enough for Lenin to undertake communist construction solely in Russia, since he maintained that his success depended on his emulation in the more advanced countries of the West in the form of a Socialist world revolution (Cousin, 2002).

Finally, it should be noted that Lenin, in regards to the construction of the new classless society, agreed with Marx's ideas about the need to establish a period of transition from capitalism to communism, which he called socialism.

Socialism is an incomplete, undeveloped communism, because it grows directly from capitalism, is built with materials inherited from it, and naturally preserves the "poles" of the old society (remnants of the old division of labor, incomplete economic equality, man's old ways of thinking and behavior, etc.) (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012, p. 37).

#### **1.6.3.1. Political context**

When taking over the government of Russia, Lenin was aware that it was an underdeveloped country with a weak industry compared to Western countries. That is to say, he was fully aware the country had a primitive capitalism, and therefore the existing proletariat, which was also scarce, lacked organization to undertake revolutionary action for the seizure of power. For this reason, it promoted revolutionary action from the outside through the Bolshevik Party, which led the process and was its main engine. Finally, from his perspective, the action of the vanguard party replaced the lack of maturity of the proletariat as a class (Cousin, 2002).

For this reason, the workers, together with the great peasant majority (peasant-worker alliance) and the soldiers all organized in soviets and under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, established the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR through a revolution, which in practice constituted the Party's dictatorship. In this context, in order

to consolidate its power, it was necessary to overthrow the old bourgeois state apparatus and replace it with a new one: the communist state apparatus, which is why they also created an Extraordinary Committee (Cheka in Russian) in charge of pursuing and eliminating any counterrevolutionary act (Corfe, 1991; Editorial Playor, 2011). They also had to suppress the privileges of both the Crown and the Church, which is why once Lenin took power, he enacted the several revolutionary decrees:

- abolition of landownership of large property owners and its redistribution among peasants;
- nationalization of the underdeveloped industry, as well as of banking, foreign trade and transportation;
- reduction of the work day to eight hours;
- closure of newspaper editorials that opposed the new government;
- recognition of the autonomy of the various Russian peoples; among others (Andrés & Clavero, n.d.; Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Corfe, 1991).

It should be noted that, thanks to the decree on land, the leader in question was able to gain great support from the peasants, a situation that evidently contributed to the well-being of the regime, since it was a largely peasant country.

In addition, this gave way for the elections for the Constituent Assembly that the government of Kerenski had planned to carry out. However, because the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries represented the majority, who from the beginning of the Assembly called for the annulment of the first decrees, the leader ordered their dissolution because they were contrary parties to his (Andrés & Clavero, n.d.). He also refused to pay the foreign debt incurred by the Czar and the provisional government in order to free the country from capitalist economic dependence (Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 2002).

Subsequently, in 1918, the first Russian Constitution was approved in which the right to vote was limited, so that only those who earned their living without the exploitation of the work of others, including seafarers and soldiers, could vote. It also proclaimed the "Rights of the Working and Exploited People," and in relation to the division of powers,

was conferred supreme power on the Soviets Congress made up of representatives of the local soviets (with Bolshevik majority). This, in turn, had a Central Executive Committee in charge of electing the People's Commissars Council (its members were all Bolsheviks), that was in charge of government which then became known as the Russian Socialist Federative Republic. In other words, the Bolshevik Party had control of the political power since in practice its members carried out the political decisions. Therefore, it was made up of the authorities who actually led the country (Cousin, 2002; Duverger, 1980).

In that same year, the Bolshevik Party was renamed the Communist Party of Russia (P.C.R.) by decision of its leader because this name was more in line with the ideology they wanted to undertake: communism (Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 2002). In addition, the government in question transferred the capital of St. Petersburg or Petrograd to Moscow (Corfe 1991).

It should be noted that Lenin, from the earliest days of his government manifested his struggle for peace. This is because the economy of the Soviet Republic was about to collapse because of the war. Thus, despite the fact that his colleagues did not agree with the peace agreement with Germany, given the unfavorable conditions of this event for Russia, he succeeded to convince them. It was signed in Brest-Litovsk in March of 1918. With this signature, the Republic in question ceded to Germany the following part of its territory: Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Lithuania and Finland. This represented a great loss for Russia. However, with the end of the war, the Communist Party was able to reorganize the Soviet economy and consolidate its power even more (Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 2002; Corfe, 1991; Fierro, 1991).

Lenin's government had a marked opposition made up of all those individuals who had lost either their power or their property, such as large landowners, industrial owners, social-revolutionaries, tsarist generals (white armies), and defenders of the Church, among others. As a result, in 1918 a civil war broke out that lasted until 1921 and had foreign intervention. This benefitted the Tsarist generals, due to the lack of knowledge about the Russian government's foreign debt, which is why they also terminated all economic relations with Russia. Nevertheless, a Bolshevik triumph arose again thanks to

the Red Army (led by Trotsky) who knew how to confront the new regime (Andrés & Clavero, n.d.; Corfe, 1991; Editorial Playor, 2011; Feliu & Sudrià, 2007).

Later, in 1919, the following committees were created within the Communist Party: the Politburo, which was responsible for political decision-making and party leadership, the Orgburo, responsible for the party's organizational functions, and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, as a support body for the other two (Cousin, 2004; Fierro, 1991; (García, 1990). After the civil war and the development of the New Economic Policy (NEP), the party became a single party since political opposition was forbidden (Academic Team, 2009).

Since 1922, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was created, initially formed by the Russian Soviet Socialist Federative Republic and three other republics (Ukraine, Transcaucasia and Byelorussia). However, some other nations also joined later on, reaching a total of fifteen members before their dissolution in 1991 (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 2002). In 1924 the Constitution of the new federal State was approved in which the responsibilities of both the Union and its member countries were detailed. In this sense, the following occurred concerning the governing bodies:

- The Soviets Congress of the USSR continued to be the supreme authority. Nevertheless, it met once a year, which is why it began to lose importance and in its place the Central Executive Committee was consolidated, which assumed the legislative powers of the Congress in its period of recess. It should be noted that the Congress in question elected the members of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR. Because of federalism, this entity was subdivided into two chambers: the Council of the Union (with representatives of all the republics that made up the Union, but in proportion to its population) and the Council of Nationalities (with five representatives from each member country) (Andrés & Clavero, n.d.; Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Duverger, 1980; Rodríguez, 2015; Wade, 1995).
- The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee together with the Council of People's Commissars exercised the executive power of the USSR. This is

because the Presidium assumed the responsibilities of the Central Executive Committee during the recess between two sessions in the manner of a head of state with collective structure, that is, with representatives of each federated republic (Andrés & Clavero, n.d.; Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Duverger, 1980; ГАРАНТ, 2004).

However, it should be noted that in practice the Communist Party continued to concentrate political power (political centralization) and not that of Russia, but now of the Union, thereby limiting the governmental autonomy of the member states (Andrés & Clavero, n.d.; Duverger, 1980).

### **1.6.3.2. Economic context**

Following the signing of peace with Germany, Russia not only lost much of its territory but also a third of its population, as well as 23% of its industry, 35% of its agricultural production, and 75% of its coal and iron production. Additionally, the civil war of 1918 resulted in hunger, scarcity of raw materials, and import products including spare parts because of the external blockade (closure of many factories), lack of fuel, which significantly affected transportation, a decrease in production, a significant increase in prices, etc. As a result, both trade and industry were to some extent paralyzed (Feliu & Sudrià, 2007; Fierro, 1991; Richman, n.d.).

Due to these circumstances, along with the civil war, Lenin's government imposed an extraordinary economic measure called "Communism of War" in Russia in order to defend its power and give continuity to the building of the communist ideology. This measure was based on an abrupt process of collectivization of the main means of production, as well as banking, industry, transport and trade (interior and exterior) without any compensation to the owners. That is to say, private ownership of the means of production was eliminated and with its collectivization, the government became the



principle entity in charge of the economy (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Sica, 1981).

It was a fact that in 1920 the entire large, medium, and much of the small industry, in Russian terms, was in the hands of the state; with 1,615,000 workers depending on the Communist Party State as their only patron (Cousin, 2004, p. 149).

In addition, requisitions were required in the agricultural sector, where the peasants had to surrender their surplus production (formerly destined for trade) to the government, so that the latter could supply the Bolshevik army and the city workers of the civil war. Consequently, priority was given to war expenditures, which generated great discontent among peasants, who complied with such measures only out of fear of reverting to the former regime (Tsarism). However, in the face of the demands and lack of incentives in production, they were forced to plant only what was necessary to supply themselves and their families (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Richman, n.d.).

Although the Bolshevik had triumphed in 1921, the war resulted in not only significant economic losses, but also great human losses. In this context, Lenin realized that the measure imposed was not the most appropriate, since in addition to these factors, the government had lost the support of the peasant masses, a situation that jeopardized the continuity of the regime. Consequently, he decided to interrupt the Communism of War (Sica, 1981).

After the failure of this measure, at the X Congress of the Communist Party (March 1921) the New Economic Policy (NEP) was implemented. It consisted of a set of measures that temporarily stopped the establishment of communism. In addition to economic objectives, its main objective was the reestablishment of the workers' and peasants' alliance to avoid the overthrow of the new regime. This is because Russia remained a predominantly peasant country (more than 80% of the population) with a minority of proletariats, which is why this alliance was necessary for the continuity of the regime (Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 2002; Feliu & Sudrià, 2007).

Among the most relevant changes brought about by the NEP are the following:

- The quota system based on the retention of peasant production surpluses was replaced by the introduction of a tax consisting of a lower tax rate that had to be established prior to planting the crops (Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 2002).
- After the payment of the tax, peasants could freely sell their production surplus in the market, which motivated them (Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 2002).
- The peasants could freely own and cultivate their land because private ownership of lands was allowed (Richman).
- The creation of joint ventures was permitted, including those with foreign capital (Parra, 2013).
- Artisans could also sell their products in the market (Parra, 2013).
- Companies employing less than twenty workers became de-nationalized (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.).

Consequently, the New Economic Policy represented a partial return to capitalism, since it admitted private initiatives both in the countryside and in the city, especially among small and medium producers. However, it should be noted that it was limited because it remained under state control (Parra, 2013). The state also retained the monopoly of key sectors such as banking, foreign trade, transport and heavy industry (Academic Team, 2009).

The results of the NEP were positive and evident from its implementation until its completion in 1928 (Table 1). Incentives in agricultural production made it increase considerably, which in turn allowed the purchase of foreign technology, thus contributing to the revival of the Russian economy. This is because this production not only supplied the cities, but also favored the industrial sector because it was supplied of raw materials (field-city exchange) and also part of it was destined for exports (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Parra, 2013).

Table 1: Economic revival under the NEP

| Economic revival under the NEP  |      |      |      |      |       |       |
|---|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| Sector or product/ year   | 1921 | 1922 | 1923 | 1924 | 1925  | 1926  |
| Manufacturing industry*   | 2004 | 2619 | 4005 | 4660 | 7739  | 11083 |
| Carbon**  | 8,9  | 9,5  | 13,7 | 16,1 | 18,1  | 27,6  |
| Electricity***  | 520  | 775  | 1146 | 1562 | 2925  | 3508  |
| Cast iron (Thousands of tons)   | 116  | 188  | 309  | 755  | 1535  | 2441  |
| Steel (Thousands of tons)   | 183  | 392  | 709  | 1140 | 2135  | 3141  |
| Cotton fabrics****  | 105  | 349  | 691  | 963  | 1688  | 2286  |
| Seeded area"  | 90,3 | 77,7 | 91,7 | 98,1 | 104,3 | 110,3 |
| Grain harvest**   | 37,6 | 50,3 | 56,6 | 51,4 | 72,5  | 76,8  |
| Rail transport**  | 39,4 | 39,9 | 58   | 67,5 | 83,4  | sd    |
| Note: * Millions of rubles 1926/7; **Millions of tons; *** Millions of kWhs;<br>**** Millions of meters;"Millions of hectares |      |      |      |      |       |       |

SOURCE: (Parra, 2013, p. 18).

### 1.6.3.3. Social context

During his mandate, Lenin gave great importance to education, since he considered it a synonym of culture. After the seizure of power in 1922 he published a decree that established the basic principles that would govern the organization of the education system. Even the Red Army intervened in the dissemination of education, especially with regard to the literacy of the population. Likewise, despite the damages caused by the civil war, he set up numerous schools of primary and secondary education, as well as universities, under the motto: "Hold back from spending on everything except education; to economize everything for the benefit of education" (Stoletov, 1970, p. 14). Additionally, education was not only for the privileged classes since it became universal and everyone, including the workers, had access to this right. Finally, it is important to emphasize that with these measures, the Russian population was able to advance in

cultural aspects and therefore they came to possess a new culture: the communist culture (Herzog, 1970; Stoletov, 1970).

On the other hand, during Lenin's time of power, the opposition was banned and freedom of the press and organizing into groups were abolished. Consequently, there could be no political party other than the Bolshevik or Communist party, since the leader in question conceived Marxism as the only true ideology. In this context of ideological intolerance, the end justified the means, which is why the secret police of the Lenin or Cheka government persecuted all who were considered enemies of the revolution, which finally resulted in a civil war. The methods used by that government to end the opposition ranged from the suppression of elementary freedoms to execution (Cousin, 2002; Lettieri, 2001).

The civil war had a great social cost, since it took the lives of numerous victims who opposed the regime, as well as those who suffered the consequences of hunger and the shortage that derived from it, which can be observed in table 2:

*Table 2: Victims of civil war*

| <b>VICTIMS OF CIVIL WAR</b>   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Dead on the battlefield.....  | 4,000,000 |
| Dead as a result of epidemics, hunger and cold among civilians..... | 7,500,000 |
| Killed due to repression of regime.....                             | 500,000   |

SOURCE: (Cousin, Communism History of a Political System, 2004, p. 169)

As a result, the productive apparatus of the society suffered a great blow, especially the active workers of factories, who went from 2.6 million in 1917 to 1.2 million in 1920 (Cousin, 2004). Consequently, the proletariat dictatorship regime of Lenin no longer satisfied the people, since the working class, which was the pillar of the new Communist

State, had ceased to exist politically —in other words, as a social class. In this context, the members of the Bolshevik Party exercised the dictatorship of an almost nonexistent proletariat as its representatives, supposedly until it re-emerged and consolidated again. Nevertheless, this situation gave rise to a monopolization of the power, being this solely in the hands of this party (Cousin, 2002; Deutscher, 1997).

Simultaneously with the civil war, the Lenin government instituted War Communism as an extraordinary measure to be able to face this event, where in addition to the production requisitions, a single salary was imposed and work became compulsory (Service of Studies of the Foundation Joaquin Costa, 1992). This measure led to numerous peasant revolts against the communist government. However, it soon became a general strike against the regime because of hunger and shortages of both raw materials and food. The population demanded the return to a free trade state. Consequently, the communist dictatorship was staggering and in danger of being overthrown. Nevertheless, Lenin refused to decline his position and did not make any changes to the party's ideology (Cousin, 2002).

This continued until an insurrection arose on the part of the sailors of Kronstadt who demanded the end of the party's dictatorship and restoration of the power of the soviets. Party members responded to the confrontation and, after several days of struggle, the government finally understood the magnitude of the events. This led to the end of War Communism in 1921 and the implementation of a New Economic Policy aimed at recovering the support of the masses, especially from the peasants (Cousin, 2002).

With the establishment of the NEP, the economic policies were much more flexible. Yet, at the political level the opposite happened since the party became increasingly repressive and intolerant of the opposition. This was due to the fear that the new bourgeoisie that emerged during the NEP, the kulaks, represented a return to capitalism. Nevertheless, Lenin's government showed tolerance towards this emerging group, given the importance it represented for the economic recovery of the USSR.

Finally, it is important to highlight that the government in question recognized the fundamental role that women played in society and that they could not be treated with

inferiority. Consequently, it established equality between men and women, which led to a more active participation of woman in the communist construction (Cousin, 2002; Toledo, 2015).

#### **1.6.4. Stalin**

After the death of Lenin on January 21, 1924, Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili (1879-1953) better known as Stalin became the leader of the USSR. Stalin had been serving as General Secretary of the Communist Party but in 1928 he turned out victorious in a confrontation in the fight for power. From then on, the Secretary General of the Communist Party position acquired great importance since it happened to be where the party and the USSR addressed themselves from (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Khlevniuk, 2015).

Stalin's government was characterized as a dictatorship and as having a personal character, since he was in charge of both the party's and State's power. Thus, through the use of propaganda (newspaper, radio and television) nationally and internationally, Stalin not only exalted his personality which was worshiped, he also highlighted the achievements of his regime and at the same time promoted the Soviet model. This propaganda hid the reality of Stalin's abuse of power that condemned anyone who presented positions contrary to his own. In addition, it is important to point out that Stalin continued with Lenin's communist construction, and that is why during his time in power Marxism-Leninism acquired a quasi-religious character, referring to Marx, Engels, and Lenin as prophetic masters of truth whose contributions were irrefutable (Andres & Clavero, n.d.; Cousin, 2002; Perrineau, 2016).

#### **1.6.4.1. Political context**

When Stalin assumed power, he continued with Lenin's totalitarian state. That is, he upheld a political regime in which "... the state concentrates all powers in a single party and controls social relations under a single official ideology" (Royal Spanish Academy, 2014). In fact, in the USSR the State and the Communist Party were joined. Therefore, Stalin became the sole leader and controlled all areas of life under the communist ideology (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.).

Stalin, unlike Lenin, argued that the triumph of socialism in one country was possible, even in an underdeveloped country such as Russia, and despite the fact that capitalism continued to exist in other more developed countries. It should be noted that this position was popular because it offered the Russian proletariat the opportunity to become a world example of the achievement of communist construction, which certainly reinforced national patriotism (Carr, 1979; Cousin, 2002).

Later, in 1936, a new Stalinist Constitution was published that remained in force for 24 years and in which the role of the Communist Party was clearly described as the main state organ (Party dictatorship): (Duverger, 1980)

The most active and conscious citizens who are part of the working class, working peasants and working intellectuals are voluntarily grouped together in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a vanguard accomplishment of the workers in their struggle to build a communist society and a leading nucleus of all worker organizations, both social and state (Marxists Internet Archive, 2005, p. 126).

In addition, there were several political changes in the Constitution compared to the one that preceded it, among them were the following:

- Suffrage became universal and of a secret character. Previously, it had been restricted for certain social classes and it was public (Duverger, 1980).

- The Congress of Soviets of the Union was eliminated because the supreme authority was in the hands of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which happened to exercise the legislative power and was chosen every four years. This entity was made up by two Chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. The Supreme Soviet elected the members of its Presidium, which included a president (who assumed the role of head of state), a vice-president for each federated republic (15 in total), a secretary, and 20 other members. It should be noted that the Presidium assumed the competencies of the Supreme Soviet during its recess period (two sessions per year) (Duverger, 1980; Marxists Internet Archive, 2005).
- People's Commissars change their name to the Council of Ministers and were elected by the Supreme Soviet (Duverger, 1980; Marxists Internet Archive, 2005).

It is important to highlight that in practice, power continued to be concentrated in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (P.C.U.S.) whose leadership was maintained by the Politburo, but with the intervention of its Secretary General, who occupied the most significant position (Andrés & Clavero, n.d.).

This goes to show that at the political level, Stalin's government was characterized by being centralized and coercive, in addition to possessing a strongly consolidated state apparatus that tended to be strengthened more and more by its authoritarian character. Consequently, its disappearance was far from reality.

Later, after World War II (1939 and 1945), the USSR was the second world power (after the United States). From then on Stalin's main objective was directed towards the expansion of communism. Indeed, between 1945 and 1960 the Soviet model was established in several countries of Eastern Europe, China and other Asian countries. This expansion was based on the creation of the so-called satellite States, which according to the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy, consist of States that have been subject to the political and economic domination of another State with more power. Thus, in this case, it refers to the countries that became subject to the hegemonic power of the USSR and that contributed to the expansion and consolidation of the socialist block. It is



important to highlight that the adoption of the Soviet model had been accomplished in a gradual manner and mostly as a result of revolutions or after the intervention of the Soviet army (Basque Government, n.d.; Churión, 1994; Palmowski, 1998).

Finally, after the Second World War in 1947, the so-called Cold War began, which consisted of an ideological, political, economic and social confrontation between the two new world powers (USA and USSR) and their allied blocks (New Bipolar Order). It should be noted that both powers sought to achieve world hegemony. Nevertheless, during the Cold War, there was never a direct conflict between them in fear of the use of nuclear weapons, which would have led to mutual destruction (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Durán, 2014; Hervier, 2005).

#### **1.6.4.2. Economic context**

As a result of the New Economic Policy, a new social class of wealthy peasants called kulaks emerged, which for the communists constituted the rural equivalent of the industrial bourgeoisie. Although Lenin's government had tolerated the existence of this class given its importance in the restoration of the Soviet economy, in the eyes of Stalin, the kulaks represented a threat of a possible return to capitalism, which failed to be compatible with the communist society he wished to build (Kuromiya, 2007).

In this context, to limit the growth of this class the Stalin government imposed a price reduction and at the same time began to exert pressure on them to increase their production, which resulted in a food shortage as producers began to plant less and hid much of their crops. As a result, the leader abolished the NEP and initiated the first five-year plan that consisted of a coercive process of agrarian collectivization based on the creation of two types of farms: collective (koljos) and state (sovjos), in a rapid process of industrialization (modernization of the country) (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Valdés & Caveda, 2006).

With the first five-year plan (1928-1932), the recollection of peasant production was resumed in order to solve the problem of food shortages and thus contribute to the elimination of kulaks as a class. Most of the peasants were reluctant to obey such measures, so Stalin proceeded to send some to labor camps in Siberia, while many others were subject to violence and others were killed (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Editorial Playor, 2011).

Thus, both the organization and economic centralization were important in Stalin's regime. This is because the State started to fix the prices of both goods and services. Likewise, the economy started to be planned through a state agency called Gosplan which was dedicated exclusively to this activity and handled it based on "Five Year Plans." That is, based on periodic plans with five years of duration and specific goals to be met (three were carried out until 1941). These plans set both the level and type of production of economic activity in order to strengthen the industrial sector so that the economy could improve, as well as the USSR's defense capacity. In this sense, it should be noted that the production of heavy industry was prioritized to achieve self-sufficiency in technology development, especially in war supply production (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Lettieri, 2001).

It is a fact that Stalin's drastic economic planning had a great social cost. The population suffered many deprivations and abuse of power because its leader sought to attain the suppression of private property (in the countryside and in industry) at all costs, which actually occurred. However, in the economic sphere, it was fruitful because the main task of the industrialization of the USSR (with a strongly statist economy) was achieved, and the industry developed was of a first class level, which led to remarkable economic growth. In this sense, it should be noted that priority was given to industrial sectors that favored the national economy and technical progress such as mechanization, electricity generation, chemical industry, among others (Afanasiev & Nogueira, 2012; Cousin, 2002; Lettieri, 2001).

#### **1.6.4.3. Social context**

Once in power, Stalin developed a campaign against the kulaks to eliminate them as a class and thus undertake the construction of communism. Therefore, it imposed economic measures not only to strip the wealth of that class, but also to achieve the accelerated modernization of the country through economic planning. Those who refused to comply with their orders in the best-case scenario were sentenced either to prison or sent to labor camps, while many others were executed.

It should be noted that it was after Stalin that concentration camps were transformed into labor camps (also called Gulag) that went from being a mere place of lodging of prisoners that represented public expenses, to a place where slave labor contributed to cover the expenses of its recruitment and, at the same time, as a form of income for the State. This is how Stalin achieved his task and ended up destroying the kulaks as a class. However, it also led to countless middle-class peasants who were banned from entering collective farms (koljoses) to prevent them from influencing the rest of the peasantry with their liberal ideas. Finally, with this measure, Stalin ended up getting rid of peasants with knowledge of agricultural techniques, which resulted in a significant economic cost for the regime, since it meant a great delay in this activity. (Cousin, 2002; Rey & Canales, 2016).

On the other hand, the resentment of the peasant masses with the communist government became increasingly evident given that at one point they refused to continue planting collective farms and the collective farmers were ineffective because they lacked knowledge and experience in that area (Cousin, 2002). As a result, the population was starving and hungry, which claimed the lives of a large percentage of victims. "The number of deaths due to hunger cannot be accounted for: estimates vary between one and five million" (Carr, 1979, p. 208). In addition, many animals were slaughtered given the lack of food.

During Stalin's term, society continued to be deprived of its elementary freedoms such as freedom of expression, press and organization. In this context, Stalin's ideological intolerance was quite drastic. He became suspicious of everything and everyone, including Communist Party itself, especially its former leaders. Consequently, between 1937 and 1938 he carried out so-called purges in order to eliminate at any cost any type of opposition, which claimed the lives of countless victims. These conducted through massive deportations to labor camps and executions that were carried out through the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD), which acted as a replacement for the Cheka under Stalin's power (Editorial Playor, 2011; Perrineau, 2016; Viñas, 2009).

Finally, it is clear that during Stalin's time in power, his cult of personality and way of governing was an obstacle that led to an abuse of power and generated enormous social tensions. However, it is undeniable that many of his measures contributed to the USSR overcoming its economic underdevelopment and conversion from a purely agrarian country to a top world industrial power under the Communist regime.

#### **1.6.5. Dissolution of the USSR**

When Stalin finally died on March 5, 1953, a climate of uncertainty about the future of the USSR was generated. After his death, a struggle for the power began and Khrushchev was victorious in gaining it. He initiated his mandate by criticizing Stalin's regime and the methods used, especially his cult of personality. However, he failed to concentrate the same political power that his predecessor had, and his political adversaries finally dismissed him in 1964. He was later succeeded by Brezhnev, who, after his death in 1982, left the USSR on the brink of collapse, which led to a drastic economic crisis. Later, after the fleeting mandates of Andropov and Chernienko, in which no solution was given to the crisis, Gorbachev ascended to power in 1985. He focused his attention on the restructuring of the country, both politically and economically. Nevertheless, his

measures were not the most adequate and contributed to the collapse of not only the USSR, but also to the communism system founded by Lenin and Stalin (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Editorial Team Playor, 2011).

In this sense, Gorbachev oriented his policy toward the implementation of democracy and capitalism. It took several measures to fulfill its objectives, among them the most relevant were Perestroika and Glasnost. Perestroika consisted of a program with political and economic reforms that sought to restructure socialism through economic openness and rid the country of the crisis. Simultaneously with the Perestroika, Glasnost was developed as a fundamental part of the first program, since it consisted in the transparency of the affairs of the State to be public domain, and as a result, put an end to the secrecy and corruption that characterized the previous governments (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Borja, n.d.).

Also as part of the Perestroika, Gorbachev directed his international policy towards the establishment of relations with the United States through negotiations that resulted in the signing of disarmament agreements, mainly nuclear ones, as well as acceding to the elimination of Soviet control over Eastern European satellite states (Borja, n.d.). Through these agreements, the Cold War (1989) ended, and this gave way to the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, which was the most representative symbol of this confrontation. In that same year, a process of democratization began in the USSR, which ended the Communist Party monopoly through the creation of multiple parties. In this context, the nationalisms that had remained hidden throughout the Soviet dictatorship were reborn, contributing to the fragmentation of the Union. Also, the emancipation of the Eastern European satellite countries of the USSR added to this disintegration, which once freed from Soviet subjugation, sought to become separate democracies (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.).

Finally, in 1991 an attempt of a coup d'etat was carried out by same Communist Party. Although it was not successful, it contributed to the dissolution of the USSR. In this context, in June of the same year, Boris Yeltsin was elected President of the Russian

Federation who, together with the presidents of Belarus and Ukraine, signed an agreement for the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). As a result, Gorbachev ended his activities as president of the Soviet Union and transferred power to Yeltsin as Russia moved to replace the former USSR in foreign policy. It should be noted that with the dissolution of the Soviet country (1991), at the same time the collapse of Real Socialism (communism) occurred, which led to a new unipolar world where the hegemony was exclusively in the hands of the United States as the only world power. Consequently, capitalism was no longer questioned by another system, thus becoming the only alternative (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Institute of the Third World, 2001; Úbeda-Portugués, 2011).

In conclusion, Real Socialism turned out to be a Russification of Marxism, since the Marxists proposed from the beginning that the communist construction had to be carried out in countries where the proletariat had already reached maturity, and therefore was consolidated as a class. This situation was obviously only possible in countries with developed capitalism. Consequently, Tsarist Russia was not the best scenario to carry out such a construction given its underdeveloped conditions and its weak, if not non-existent, industrialization, not to mention its recent departure from the feudal system. However, Marx had already warned in the Communist Manifesto that his theses should be adapted to the particular context of each country.

Consequently, the communist leaders who put the theory into practice (Lenin and Stalin) did indeed make their own contributions. However, while the abolition of private ownership of the means of production was achieved, the state did not become extinct; on the contrary, it was increasingly consolidated. Likewise, the exploitation of man by man persisted because the state became so consolidated to the point of giving rise to an abuse of power, so its rulers appeared as the privileged class before a people who suffered the ravages of oppressive dictatorships.

However, the collapse of the Soviet Union's Real Socialism was mainly due to political and cultural reasons, such as the successive political crises that occurred throughout the communist construction as a result of the contradiction between the

original values of its leaders and the political and social praxis. Consequently, real socialism entered into crisis because citizens of the societies in which it was imposed ceased to believe in it and its effectiveness because of the mistrust they acquired towards their political representatives. Because of this, they opted for the capitalist system as a better alternative (Valenti, 2006).

## **CHAPTER 2: SOCIALISM OF THE 21ST CENTURY IN LATIN AMERICA**

### **2.1. Background**

With the end of the Cold War and the defeat of Real Socialism in the Soviet Union and in the countries of Eastern Europe about a quarter of a century ago, there was a new world power dominated by the United States where capitalism had become the hegemonic system and neoliberalism the dominant ideology (Vega Fernández, 2010). In this sense, the term neoliberalism refers to an economic doctrine (originated in the US) in which state intervention is reduced to a minimum (Royal Spanish Academy, n.d.; Vizcarra Cifuentes, 2014).

Neoliberalism is, above all, a theory of political-economic practices that affirms that the best way to promote the welfare of man is not to restrict the free development of the capacities and the entrepreneurial freedoms of the individual within a constitutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the State is to create and preserve the appropriate institutional framework for the development of these practices (Harvey, 2007, p. 6).

Thus, this doctrine is composed of the following elements:

- Business and commercial freedom.
- Free market, without restrictions.
- Private property.
- Social justice, that is, equal opportunities (Vega, n.d.).
- Minimum state intervention, the State acts as arbiter; in other words, it ensures compliance with market laws.

The proliferation of neoliberalism was taking place on a world scale. Consequently, States of this nature became evident since the 1970s (Harvey, 2007). It should be noted



that the first experiment of a neoliberal State in Latin America was carried out in Chile following the coup d'état against Salvador Allende on September 11, 1973, led by General Augusto Pinochet who took over the power and set-up a military dictatorship (Álvarez, 2007). Later, in the 1980s, this system was replicated in Bolivia and later extended to several countries of the world, with the exception Cuba and North Korea that to this day retain an old communist style of governing (Vega Fernández, 2010; Vilas, 2011).

On the other hand, the world of the twenty-first century was characterized mainly by the advances of the scientific-technical revolution, where mass media have become increasingly important and the economies of third world countries are subordinated to the interests of the great powers. In this context, Latin America, a territory where neoliberalism appeared privileged and where it was initially applied, according to the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), appears at the global level as the region with the most unequal income distribution (Bárcena, 2009; Harnecker, 2008; Sader, 2009). In this region, therefore, wealth is concentrated in a few hands, compared to a large majority that has to face economic difficulties, which shows the inability of governments to reduce social gaps. As a result, these lose credibility and support.

Compounding this is the political instability that triggered a wave of changes of government at the beginning of the new century in Latin American countries (Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina, among others), whether due to forced resignations or overthrows in the face of corruption allegations (Vilas, 2011). Not to mention the crisis that the traditional parties had to face, which were deeply rooted in their political systems (Chavez, Garavito, & Barrett, 2008). In spite of the hegemonic power of neoliberalism, in Latin America it has been losing legitimacy and credibility, although it is still present in most of the governments of the Latin American region. Likewise, the global economic crisis of capitalism that occurred in the present century (2007-2009) also motivated Latin America to search for alternative solutions (Harnecker, 2010).

Therefore, Latin America has undergone numerous processes of change at the political, economic and social levels since, for the first time in history, candidates from

left and center-left groups have succeeded in several countries of the region. As a result, governments with alternative proposals to capitalism appear on the political stage and put into practice an updated version of left ideals, with ideas and programs based on the new historical context (Boersner, 2005). It should be noted that while these governments differ from one another, their main objective is to achieve social equality, the democratization of political systems, and ensuring national sovereignty. Finally, it is important to emphasize that the positions of these governments on different subjects can vary according to their current economic situation, as well as the correlation of forces in which it is immersed at national and international level (Harnecker, 2010).

## **2.2. The new left**

On the other hand, before continuing, it is important to detail what is meant by left and right. The author Norberto Bobbio (1996) states that it is not only about ideologies since this would be a vague simplification. He determines they also refer to contrasting programs (valuations) with respect to a number of problems, which are solved according to action politics. In the same way, according to this author, the nature of the distinction between left and right (due to the different ranks that exist both of the one and the other) is the attitude towards the idea of equality (Bobbio, 1996).

So that, those who say they are leftists are clear that men are as much equal as unequal. They prioritize in their political initiative what makes them equal among them; that is, they seek to minimize to the maximum the obstacles that make them less alike, attributing to them the same duties and rights. It should be noted that the leftists in turn consider that the inequalities they seek to eradicate are mostly social and easy to eliminate. On the other hand, the same author states that those who assume that they are rightists argue that inequalities are natural and therefore unavoidable, which is why they give greater emphasis to what makes them unequal (Bobbio, 1996).

However, it is important to emphasize that both left and right exist and have existed both with extremism and with moderation. In this sense, moderate forms on the right and on the left are compatible with democracy, while extremist forms in both cases anti-democratic. In reference to this, the author speaks of four categories in the political spectrum: extreme-left (Real Socialism), center-left, center-right and, far-right (Fascism and Nazism). Therefore, there are intermediate positions between the initial right and the final left or between the two extremes. This central space is referred to as the "center." Thus, when speaking of center-left we are talking about a moderate left as it approaches the left but tends toward the center. Finally, within the center-left category, libertarian and egalitarian doctrines and movements can be found (Bobbio, 1996).

On the other hand, for a deeper understanding of the left-wing tendency of this research, it is worth noting that with the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) and the dissolution of the USSR (1991), this position went through difficult times, not only in Latin America but also throughout the entire world. In Latin America, Cuba appeared as the only country that maintained its revolutionary stance in spite of the difficulties that this situation brought about. However, despite the fact that the defeat of Soviet socialism obscured the outlook for the Latin American left, towards the end of the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, new leaders did not only retake the leftist position, but also succeeded in achieving electoral triumph. This occurred in several countries of the region such as Venezuela, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Paraguay and El Salvador (Harnecker, 2010).

It is important to highlight that although these leaders resumed a so-called left position, it is a new one. That is, a redefinition of the term is given according to the current context, which seeks to overcome the errors and deviations committed in past experiences. Nevertheless, "...the new left is...new because it is recent, not because it is better or worse than the one that preceded it" (Chavez, Garavito, & Barrett, 2008, p. 36) In this sense, Marta Harnecker (2010) emphasizes that while the left had socialism in the 1960s with Soviet influences as its implicit goal, from the nineties the term "new left" referred to a left that did not focus on the armed struggle but rather on an institutional one. This is characterized by the diversity of the subjects involved in its construction

(indigenous, environmentalists, women, among others) (Harnecker, 2010). As a result, this author gives her own definition:

I consider, therefore, the left as the set of forces that struggle to build an alternative society to the exploitative capitalist system and its logic of profit. A workers society organized through a humanist logic and solidarity, oriented to satisfy human needs. A society free from material poverty and the spiritual miseries that engender capitalism; A society that is not decreed from above but is built from below, in which the people occupy a leading role, that is, a socialist society (Harnecker, 2010, p. 21)

Thus, the new left is presented with the following characteristics:

- It abandons revolutionary and violent actions and instead uses political strategies that ensure democratic electoral victory, which gives it social and political legitimacy (Salazar, 2009).
- It is characterized by the plurality of its integral parts, since it is constituted as coalitions or networks of organizations that work together in the pursuit of common political purposes (Chavez, Garavito, & Barrett, 2008).
- It seeks to increase citizen participation in political action by delegating decision-making power, in order to avoid abuses of power. That is, it combines representative democracy with participatory democracy (Chavez, Garavito, & Barrett, 2008; Salazar, 2009).
- It is made up of diverse actors whose agendas are aimed at achieving equal treatment and respect for differences. Thus, its political action is based on inclusion; that is, on the "...promotion of equality to include the fight against forms of discrimination based on ethnic origin, gender, race, sexuality, etc." (Chavez, Garavito, & Barrett, 2008, p. 45)
- On an economic level, it abandons the centralized model characteristic of Soviet socialism and instead combines the market with forms of state intervention and income redistribution (Chavez, Garavito, & Barrett, 2008).

### **2.3. Socialism of the 21st century: definition**

Simultaneously with the new left, "Socialism of the 21st Century" emerged as an alternative to capitalism that advocated this alignment. This concept was developed by the sociologist Heinz Dieterich; however, it was first used in public by former Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez (2005), who is credited with its international circulation (BBC Mundo, 2013). The ex-president urged to reinvent socialism as a humanist project and emphasized that it should be different from existing ones; that is, he urged to invent Socialism of the 21st Century (Harnecker, 2010; Lebowitz, 2006).

... socialism has historically been defined as a political program of the working classes that has been formed in the course of the industrial revolution. The common basis of the many variants of socialism can be established in the substantial transformation of the juridical and economic approach founded on the private ownership of the means of production and exchange, in the sense of creating a social organization in which: a) the right to own property is highly limited; B) the main economic resources are under the control of the working classes; C) its management is aimed at promoting social equality (and not only legal or political), through the intervention of public authorities (Bobbio, Matteucci, & Pasquino, Dictionary of Politics, 2005, p. 1501).

Although the term socialism has adopted different definitions according to the territorial context in which it has taken place, the common factor is that it is based on a political ideology that disagrees with the current organization system, considering it unjust and seeking change. In this way, it presents an alternative based on the struggle for equality in all areas, which seeks to give property ownership a social character through the elimination of exploitation of man by other man. Consequently, Socialism of the 21st Century is no exception, yet it is based on the new conjuncture and the new challenges of the present society.

### **2.3.1. Heinz Dieterich (theoretical foundation)**

The sociologist Heinz Dieterich Steffan, in his book "Socialism of the 21st Century", points out that this socialism, also referred to as New Historical Project of Majorities (NPH) or Participative Democracy, is born as a result of Marx and Engels's theories regarding social dynamics. Nevertheless, it adapts it to the current context. In this sense, it highlights the crucial contribution of these authors in relation to the logic of capitalist development; that is, its secret with respect to the generation of surplus value that constitutes exploitation and class struggle (Dieterich, n.d.).

On the other hand, Dieterich claims that this New Historical Project began in 1945 in the middle of the first world economic recession in an atmosphere of war and crisis. This author emphasizes that capitalism, which he claims to be obsolete and unethical, is doomed to be replaced by Socialism of the twenty-first century along with its new institutions because of its inefficiency to solve problems that affect the majorities (Dieterich, n.d.). In addition, he emphasizes that Real Socialism, which had been proposed as an alternative to capitalism, did not fulfill its mission. This is because, like Capitalism, it was unable to solve the main problems of humanity (Dieterich, n.d.).

According to the author, the new socialism must be built on the following pillars:

- **Planned economy of equivalences**

Dieterich proposes an equivalent type of economy based on the logic of use value. In order explain what he refers to, he mentions the words of the German historian Arno Peters, for whom an equivalent economy consists of determining the salary in accordance to the time put into the work. Whether in the elaboration of a product or in the provision of a service, regardless of the type of work, of its difficulty, of the risks involved, of the worker's preparation, as well as of his or her experience, among other variables that may influence the production process. Therefore,

The prices are equivalent to the values, and contain nothing other than the absolute equivalence of the work incorporated in the goods. This closes the circuit of the economy in values, which replaces the economy of prices (Dieterich, p. 40, n.d.).

Thus, according to Peters, this ends with the exploitation from the appropriation of the work of others, since only then will each worker receive the entire value invested in a particular good or service, in equal rights. It should be noted that this type of economy, according to this author, advances to surpass the market economy where not only the surplus value ceases to exist, but also the private ownership of the means of production will disappear on its own (Dieterich, n.d.). Finally, Peters points out that in an equivalent economy, natural resources become collective property. However, their availability will be limited since given their valuable nature they will be controlled by the State, which must manage them according to the interests of the community (Dieterich, n.d.).

However, it should be noted that according to Dieterich, in the transition process to the new society wages can include additional gratification, only when the worker presents greater productivity on his own merit. That is, for his dedication, discipline and his commitment in the performance of his work, but not when it is due to other variables different to personal merits such as age, sex, ethnicity, use of technology, among others (Dieterich, n.d.).

On the other hand, in addition to an equivalent economy, Dieterich's proposal is directed towards a democratic planning of the economy. He asserts that planning is essential in any economy and that his proposal is no exception. However, it emphasizes that such planning is different from the rest because it is democratic, which indicates that it is possible thanks to the current technological conditions that facilitate participatory democracy to be extended to the economic sphere (Dieterich, n.d.).

- **Direct or participatory democracy**

Before explaining this point, it is necessary to highlight what is understood by the term “democracy”, for which its definition in the Dictionary of Sociology by the author Luciano Gallino is cited as follows:

A community's form of government...in which all members have the right and the objective possibility of intervening in decisions of greater collective relevance, or directly expressing in person their own will, or indirectly, through representatives freely elected by all, where there are no distinctions and social privileges and all are subjects of the same norms that they have contributed to elaborate (Dictionary of Sociology, 1995, p. 268).

Dieterich states that in capitalism, formal democracy, understood as the set of general norms (Constitution, division of powers, suffrage, etc.) that govern the powers, rights and obligations of the various institutions of the system, is considered representative. However, in reality this does not occur, since even though the people elect their political representatives by means of the suffrage, instead of representing the people, these representatives work in accordance to their own interests and of the dominant elites. This is why it is considered a plutocratic democracy. In addition, he indicates that periodic suffrage in the political sphere constitutes the only means of popular decision in this type of democracy (Dieterich, n.d.).

In relation to this, he proposes an extension of that democracy towards the rest of the areas and not only at the political level. In this sense, it defines it as a type of democracy in which majorities make the real decisions of public affairs of general interest in all areas, based on protection towards minorities. It also emphasizes that today this is possible thanks to the current technological development that allows there are the means for that (Internet, media, etc.) (Dieterich, n.d.).

- **The rational-ethical-aesthetic subject**

The author mentions that in order to generate a radical transformation in society and change people's way of thinking, the New Historical Project will modify the institutions



of the capitalist system. Only in this way can individuals have an integral development (at an intellectual, ethical and artistic level) (Dieterich, n.d.).

- **Non-class State**

It proposes the substitution of the class State of capitalism, characterized by preponderating the interests of the elites or ruling classes, by a non-class state that represents the general will of the people (Dieterich, n.d.).

### **2.3.1.1. Phases**

According to the same author, his socialist proposal must go through the following phases:

- **Overcoming Capitalism:** A phase in which critical thinking is reborn regarding the conditions of life that derive from the capitalist system. As a result, this program seeks to raise awareness among the masses about the aims it seeks (Dieterich, n.d.).
- **Coexistence between capitalism and new socialism:** A phase of transition in which the elements of the new society are gradually incorporated. However, there are still capitalist elements that tend to disappear (Dieterich, n.d.).
- **New Society:** An inclusive society without market economy, without repression, and, finally, without a State that comes from Socialism of the 21st Century (Dieterich, n.d.).

Finally, Dieterich, in concluding his work, urges an open and constructive debate with contributions that will help to make the theory of the project of Socialism of the 21st Century perfect, which shows that even the author has continued to reformulate the theory (Dieterich, n.d.).

### 2.3.2. Hugo Chávez

The late Venezuelan ex-president, Hugo Chavez Frías urged to adopt Socialism of the 21st Century. He emphasized that for this to be possible, it was essential to be based on scientific principles, paying attention to previous and current revolutionary experiences that cannot be ignored (Frías, 2011).

Before he died, he indicated that his proposal was directed towards the construction of a new socialism based on the current reality and called for an open debate to outline the new project. In this sense, he emphasized that among his contributions he would like to emphasize that these should be based on Christian values, (since from his perspective Christ was the first socialist of our times) and that the contributions should also be developed according to the national reality of each country and the Latin American context (Chávez, 2005).

We are going to make socialism from our own roots, from our aborigines, from the communes in Paraguay and Brazil, from the utopian socialism represented by Simón Rodríguez, from Bolivar's approach to freedom and equality, from the position of Artigas, the great Uruguayan, that the order of justice must be reversed, eliminating privileges (Chávez, 2005).

Thus, for the former Venezuelan president, Socialism of the 21st Century cannot be built, according to this perspective, without the following essential elements:

- **Moral and socialist ethics:** "Love, solidarity, equality between men, women, among all..." (manuelugarte.org, 2006). When speaking of love, it refers to love for one's neighbor and towards oneself, appealing to Christianity, as well as towards nature, the country, the flag and the project under construction: Bolivarian socialism. This materializes this love in a strategic, solid and recurrent vote (Frías, 2011). With solidarity, it alludes to the fact that human beings are a part of a community and they must respect others and feel responsible for the collective (social duty), which is why he must also be in solidarity with his

brothers (Chávez, 2005; Frías, 2011). Finally, with equality, it appeals to the fact that although all human beings are essentially unequal, the new socialism seeks to put them at the same level within society and treat them as equals in political, social and ethical aspects (Frías, 2011). "There is a principle that consists of each person according to their abilities and according to their needs. That will begin to even out. Those who can give more must be asked for more and those that need the most must to be supported more" (Frías, 2011, p. 83).

- **Participative and leading democracy in the political sphere:** This refers to the establishment of a system of government in which the popular power (popular governments) prevails and therefore the State is subordinate to the people (Chavez, 2005; Frías, 2011). In other words, it refers to a self-government always attached to the National Constitution; that is, without going against it (Frías, 2011). "It is not a matter of opposing State decisions, but rather of demanding respect for opinions and for everything that affects the community" (Frías, 2011, p. 87).
- **Transformation at the economic level:** Leaving behind the capitalist logic through the undertaking of different combinations of social property. Because of this, it indicates that the initiatives of cooperatives, self-management, co-management, among others, are valid (Chávez, 2005).

#### **2.3.2.1. Bolivarian Socialism**

In the second half of the twentieth century, the political competition in Venezuela was characterized as being bipartisan with hegemonic political parties including the Christian Social Party formerly called the Committee of Independent Political Electoral Organization (COPEI) and Acción Democrática (AD) (Free Latin America, 2011). Nevertheless, successive economic and political crises resulted not only in the entry of new groups into the political arena, mostly leftists, but also in the collapse of the party

system (Antillano, 2010; Free Latin America, 2011). This is because the political model of the parties was totally worn out, given that their leadership focused on favoring their interests and the dominant elites, leaving aside the majority (Berkel, 2010). They were therefore incapable of defending the interests of the people and carrying out their demands, which in turn resulted in the search for alternative forms of political organization (Antillano, 2010).

This was evidently the so-called "Caracazo" that took place in February 1989, which consisted of a series of protests caused by the discontent among the population regarding the neoliberal measures implemented by the then president of Venezuela, Carlos Andres Perez, who did not take into account the needs of the majority (Berkel, 2010). This situation was compounded by the attempted coup d'état which took place in 1992 (on February 4 and November 27) by the Revolutionary Bolivarian Movement (MBR-200), later known as Movement V Republic, a group of military personnel whose purpose was to confront the Perez government for the same reasons (Berkel, 2010; Leyva Rodríguez, Pérez Portales, & Soto Rodríguez, 2009). The founders and main leaders of this movement included former Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez (Pérez Portales, & Soto Rodríguez, 2009). Finally, it is important to note that Pérez was removed from office in August 1993, just months before the end of his term due to corruption allegations for which he was arrested (CIDOB, 2016).

As a result, an anti-party dynamic was promoted by citizens, which gave rise to the so-called "popular movements" (Berkel, 2010). "This term was used to encompass a growing group of small grassroots organizations and associations that sought to have their own space of participation" (Berkel, 2010). The eighty movements became stronger and consolidated into organizations and social movements from various sectors, such as defenders of human rights, women, ecologists, educators, among others, which increasingly demanded greater autonomy and political participation (Berkel, 2010). Thus, they effectively succeeded in materializing their demands and became sociopolitical actors. Consequently, since 1993, Venezuela's party system has gone from bipartisan to multiparty (Berkel, 2010; Molina, 2001).

In 1998, Hugo Chávez was elected as the president of the Republic of Venezuela (1999-2001) thanks to an electoral discourse based on popular demands. He proposed the establishment of a participatory democracy in the place of a mere representative democracy, as well as the recreation of the country by convoking a Constituent Assembly for the creation of a new Constitution with emphasis on popular participation (Antillano, 2010)

It is important to note that Chávez was considered an outsider since he was an independent candidate of a political party who created and led his own political movement called the Fifth Republic Movement (MVR), which was founded in October (Martínez, 2014). This movement was created on the organizational basis of the Bolivarian Revolutionary Movement (MBR-200) (Martínez, 2014). However, in 2006 the MVR was dissolved by the same president "... to merge 23 political groups into a single party called the United Socialist Venezuelan Party (PSUV) ...to become the only party of the Venezuelan government, and thus support the Bolivarian Revolution" (Free Latin America, 2011).

In fact, when he came to power, Chavez called a referendum to a National Constituent Assembly, where he managed to reach a significant majority (CIDOB, 2016). Later, in July of 2000, the president called for elections again in order to legitimize all the powers of the State including the executive, where he was not only elected again (presidential term 2001-2007), but also managed to reach the majority in the Assembly since it obtained 91 of the 165 seats (CIDOB, 2016; c, 2010).

Thus, in 2005, President Chávez announced his intentions to reinvent socialism and consequently, to undertake the construction of "Socialism of the 21st Century" in Venezuela as an alternative to neoliberalism, where profit prevails over human needs. Nevertheless, it was not until the beginning of his third presidential term (2007-2013), when he began to implement the first measures to lead the country towards this socialist construction (Loya & Chávez, 2010).

Next, a brief analysis of how new socialism was applied in Venezuela will be done:

- **New socialist ethics**

According to Chavez, the full realization of 21st Century Socialism in Venezuela had to be based on an ethical and moral re-foundation of the nation based on humanist values. This was necessary in order to achieve the supreme happiness of the Venezuelans through the achievement of equality, social justice and solidarity among all members and institutions of the country (Presidency of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 2007). In this sense, his proposal was directed towards the detachment of personal interests and the construction of a socialist and revolutionary conscience which looks for the welfare of the collective as a whole (collective moral) (Frías, 2011). Therefore, he incorporated a set of values and principles that constituted the ethical part of the Venezuelan project under construction, which were included in the First Socialist Plan (2007-2013) created by his government as well as in the Constitution 1998 and are quoted as follows:

**First generation human rights:** civil and political rights, rights of freedom, right to life, freedom of conscience, right to think and express oneself freely.

**Second generation human rights:** economic, social and cultural rights.

**Third generation rights:** the right to be born and live in a healthy and uncontaminated environment and the right to be born and live in a peaceful society (Presidency of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 2007, p. 6)

Chavez's objective was directed towards the simultaneous construction of a new society and of a new people, who, aware that they are social beings, only reach their full potential when they coexist satisfactorily with the rest of the individuals who are part of the society. From this various actions are derived, such as being more conscious at the moral level, being kind with one's neighbor, and the awareness of the value of work in such a way that people earn their daily bread through their own sweat (Presidency of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 2007).

- **Participatory and leading democracy**

The government of the Bolivarian president was characterized by promoting popular participation at all levels. In 2005, he created a ministry focused on this topic, which was initially called the Ministry of Popular Participation and Social Development (MINPADES) which later in 2009, became known as the Ministry of Popular Power for the Communes and Social Protection. (Harnecker, 2010; Ministry of People's Power for Communes and Social Movements, n.d.). This entity was created in order to facilitate citizen participation in matters of general interest and to promote the creation of communal councils and communes as forms of self-government (Harnecker, 2010).

In this sense, it is important to clarify what communal councils and communes are.

**Communal Council.-** It acts as a community-level government, whose main function is the articulation of pre-existing organizations to work together (instead of in sectors) on a work plan to solve the most urgent problems of the community. Therefore, it must be able to manage all resources, both transferred and collected (Harnecker, 2010). Its representatives are called spokespersons who must be chosen by the members of the communal council, and remain in these positions for two years with possibility of revocation. Finally, it should be noted that this form of organization is based on a population between 150 and 400 families in urban areas, from 20 families in rural areas and from 10 families in indigenous communities (National Assembly of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 2009).

**Commune.-** Known as an autonomous local entity whose territory is smaller than that of a municipality, but greater than that of a communal council, which gathers neighboring communities that share common features with the purpose of constructing a socialist communal state (Harnecker, 2010, p. 133; National Assembly of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 2010). This entity represents a form of expression of popular power and of self-government through the administration and planning of social and economic aspects, the development of projects, an autonomous production system and alternative forms of justice at the communal level. Its highest authority for self-government is the Communal Parliament, which consists of spokespersons and their

respective substitutes, one from each communal council, three from each of the socio-productive organizations, and one as a representative of the Bank of the commune. All of these positions have a duration of three years with the possibility of revocation (National Assembly of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 2010).

- **Economic transformation**

In relation to economic transformation and the overcoming of capitalist logic, Chavez created the First Socialist Plan (2007-2013) in which he embodied, among his main objectives, the construction of a new inclusive social and economic model where the development of social property over the means of production acquired a relevant role (Presidency of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 2007). He also points out that the production relations of Bolivarian socialism were to be based on the following types of property: "...forms of social property, which include self-management, associative and community property (Presidency of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 2007, p. 9). An example of this is the Bolivarian Company of Socialist Production Cacao Oderí, SA, which is a company with social property, where the producers of the sector work with state support to consolidate the productive processes of cocoa and offer a quality product (Press Room, 2015).

In turn, during the former president's administration, many unproductive lands were expropriated in order to guarantee the Venezuelan population equitable access to quality food (agri-food security) (National Assembly of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 2008; United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV), 2009).

"The land is for agriculture and livestock; whoever wants the land has to work for it, and that is what we are looking for in this socialist government, rescuing unproductive lands throughout the country to give to the peasants and peasants who will work to ensure food security," said the President (United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV), 2009)

Likewise, companies in key sectors such as the oil industry, telecommunications, electricity generators and distributors, cement companies, steel mills, food producers, and distributors were nationalized (elmundo.es, 2008; Petras, 2008). In addition, excessive profits were made subject to new taxes, such as a 10% increase in Value



Added Tax on sumptuous goods, i.e., lavish and unnecessary products (Economic America, 2002; Petras, 2008). All these changes contributed to the increase of the state income, which in turn favored the financing of profitable projects as well as programs of a social nature (Petras, 2008).

### **2.3.3. Other contributions**

#### **2.3.3.1 Juan Carlos Monedero**

Juan Carlos Monedero<sup>1</sup>, through his article "The Political Philosophy of Socialism in the 21st Century" made several contributions in relation to this research topic. However, this investigation will focus on the contribution he made in reference to the bases from which the new socialism is built on, how this new project is defined, and the errors that should not be committed in its construction.

##### **2.3.3.1.1. Bases and definition of 21st century socialism**

This author asserts that to build the new socialism it is necessary "... to unthink to rethink ..." (Monedero, 2012, p. 44); that is, it is necessary to leave behind the inherited

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<sup>1</sup> Spanish political scientist, with a degree in Political Science and Sociology from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid and a postgraduate from the University of Heidelberg (Germany), whose doctoral thesis obtained an outstanding qualification with a mention of honor cum laude. Throughout his professional career, he has served as an international consultant, an international observer in elections (Venezuela, Colombia and Mexico), a presenter of a program of political debates transmitted via Internet (La Tuerka). He is also the founder of Spain's political movement "We can", has worked for the United Nations, has written several books, articles and other publications and has taught Political Science at several universities, which he currently practices (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, n.d.; Monedero, n.d.; National University of Lanús (UNLa), n.d.).

theory and rebuild the new guidelines for organizing the current social reality as a dialogue. In this way, the same citizens, under equal conditions, will have the opportunity to rebuild their own social organization project (Monedero, 2012).

Access to writing is the only peaceful way the oppressed have to remind the oppressors of the harm they are doing. What has no name, does not exist (in other words, what is not expressed, has no useful social effects for its transformation) (Monedero, 2012, p. 44).

However, he states that this project, due to its socialist nature, will inevitably have to have as its fundamental feature a radical empathy towards all members of society and emphasize its reciprocity. That is, through the establishment of a social system in which all individuals are on an equal footing, can participate in all areas, which in turn would contribute to a deep commitment to the public (Monedero, 2012).

It points out that, as a movement, the new socialist project should not be built on preexisting theories. On the contrary, it must seek its own bases, for which it must be based on the teachings from specific realities, such as the foundation of "The Greens" political party in Germany (1980), the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the staging of the Washington Consensus in 1990, the collapse of Royal Socialism, and the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, among others. This is because unlike other ideologies that have shared bases, in the socialist field there are a number of opinions that differ from each other (Monedero, 2012). In this sense, Monedero discloses his point of view of what a socialist society is.

... it is a system of social, political, normative, economic and cultural organization that seeks freedom and justice, harmonizing for it the material, institutional and intellectual resources of society in order to achieve equality of personal capacities, freedom solidarity among members of the community, the defense of differences, respect for the environment, peace between nations and equal conditions for all peoples of the world (Monedero, 2012, p. 48).

The author emphasizes that "equality of capacities" is an expression used in order to transcend the principle of "...to each according to their own needs and to each one according to their possibilities'..." (Monedero, 2012, p. 48). This occurs because the expression used is less authoritarian. When he speaks of "everyone according to their possibilities", he appeals to an obligation when this depends strictly on the will of the people, and, also because with the principle of "to each according to their own needs",

individuals take less responsibility and depend on paternalistic ways that reduce people's initiative and creativity, thereby limiting their freedom (Monedero, 2012).

On the other hand, it emphasizes the fact that when giving the new socialism the adjective "of the 21st Century", it is not referring to a mere chronological difference regarding real socialism. On the contrary, it indicates that this new socialism is going to be different from the previous one and that therefore it will not make the same mistakes. Nevertheless, the term socialism is preserved because, like the previous one, it seeks to overcome capitalism, as well as any type of domination not only of class, but of gender, race, beliefs, etc (Monedero, 2012). In this way, it indicates that "Knowing what should not be done marks a program of higher political action theoretically to a program that would indicate what should be done" (Monedero, 2012, p. 50).

In addition, he states that the theory is important to orient praxis in relation to the rupture with the previous regime, since it serves as a reference of the will of the participants. However, unlike this in the later phase of construction of the new society, the theory loses importance since the structural variables guide this process, such as the level of development of society, the degree of consciousness of individuals, living conditions, among other more complex factors, for which deeper processes must be carried out and therefore take more time (Monedero, 2012).

In this line, he emphasizes that in order to construct the new socialism one should not resort to authoritarian forms to empower the popular collective, as was the case with the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary, in this phase of transition, the leadership must be legitimized in a conscious and legal way by electoral means. This is through an education that contributes to broaden the conscience of individuals and this will that determines the electoral triumphs (Monedero, 2012).

It also indicates that such leadership must undertake its construction taking into account the specific characteristics of each country, given that there is no single way of building democracy. Furthermore, it states that it must be exercised by a leader and not by a dictator, who must be strong and whose main duty should be to train individuals for

the subsequent change of institutions. Finally, it emphasizes that this leadership can only be exercised as long as there is correspondence with the people, with a transparent action and offering the leader the means for their self-determination; that is, "to command by obeying ..." (Monedero, 2012, p. 56). In addition, it points out the importance of the opposition during this process of democratic construction, since it considers that this contributes to consolidate leadership (Monedero, 2012).

#### **2.3.3.1.2. Errors and successes of Real Socialism**

On the other hand, Monedero discloses the mistakes of Real Socialism, which should be avoided in the construction of Socialism of the 21st Century.

- **Atrocity**

It refers to the inhuman and atrocious character of Real Socialism, which manifested itself through persecutions and repressions towards the opposition, political prisoners, purges, labor camps (Gulag), etc. (Monedero, 2012).

- **Ingenuity**

This refers to the naivety of believing that a regime change can be achieved by simply taking power from the state without understanding the challenges that would come later in the process of transition. Therefore, leaders make improvised decisions when they face obstacles. To think that there was only one irrefutable truth and that the Single Party, the centralization of power, was the most effective form of government. For thinking that the nationalization of the main means of production can effectively meet all the needs of the population, without considering that nationalization is not the same as socializing. For believing that the form of socialism could be generalized, that is, to consider that what was good for a country could be transferred to others, without considering their own peculiarities. Finally, considering that uninterrupted growth, without social responsibility, would contribute to eliminating all the problems of society without taking into account that this would lead to the depletion of natural resources and thus to environmental destruction (Monedero, 2012).

Finally, from all of these negative aspects, the author proceeded to emphasize two traits of Real Socialism that were correct and that should be continued.

- Efficiency

Real Socialism was efficient in modernizing a considerable part of society, at the global level (czarist Russia, Eastern European areas, among others) (Monedero, 2012).

- Heroism

It has a hero-like nature for having stopped Nazism during World War II (Monedero, 2012).

#### **2.3.3.1.3. Philosophy of 21st century socialism**

The author highlights the aspects that, from his point of view, must be included in the political philosophy of this new socialism.

- It should consider the dual condition of the human being as a selfish and giving being. However, he insists that the giving part of man is the one that gives meaning to life and contributes to the full realization of the human being (Monedero, 2012).
- It must not ignore that the new man is the same as the past, but in a new context. Therefore, the institutionalism of Socialism of the 21st Century should not be a replica of capitalist institutions, but should be built on values and thus allow democratic participation (Monedero, 2012).
- It must emphasize that this new socialist project requires citizens to be constituted as an active and constant actor in the political field, and not only in the moment of giving their vote (Monedero, 2012).
- It should set limits, where a high price is paid for the search for privileges (Monedero, 2012).

- It is necessary to recognize individual rights, such as freedom of expression, freedom of movement, among others. That is to say, "...freedom is not a payment in exchange for greater quotas of equality" (Monedero, 2012, p. 67).

### **2.3.3.2. Carlos Gallego Medina**

Carlos Medina Gallego<sup>2</sup>, argues that Socialism of the 21st Century is not a model but a process of construction.

#### **2.3.3.2.1. 21st century socialism as a process of construction**

According to the author, Socialism of the 21st Century is a reconceptualization of the term socialism in order to differentiate it from preexisting ones. Thus, it constitutes a new alternative to capitalism, which adapts to the current reality, is nourished by past experiences to not to make the same mistakes again, and that is under permanent construction (Gallego, 2008).

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<sup>2</sup> Colombian teacher and researcher specialized in Armed Conflicts, he studied at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, where he obtained a degree in Social Sciences; and a master's and doctorate in History. Throughout his professional career he has written several books, book chapters and other publications. He has also worked in: the Secretary of Education of Bogotá; the Government of Arauca; the Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia (UPTC); and, at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia where he currently works as a professor of Political and Social Sciences, and is part of the research group on Security and Defense, and the Center for Thought and Follow-up to the Peace Process. Finally, he has participated and organized several conferences and seminars on various topics at political and social level. (COLCIENCIAS; ScienTI; CvLAC) (Gallego, CARLOS MEDINA GALLEG0, 2016)

Among the seminars given is the V International Marx Seminar that took place in november 2006, with the theme "Alternatives and Alternative Governments in Latin America", where he presented a paper titled "On Socialism of the 21st Century and Popular Power ", the same that I consider relevant for the subject that concerns this investigation and for which I will proceed to analyze it. (Álvarez J. E., 2008)

Therefore, it seeks to solve the urgent problems of the Latin American population, starting from a structural change in all areas, in order to respond to the collective demands that derive from the current historical context and the particular characteristics of each place (Gallego, 2008). This new proposal does not constitute a model with a preset pattern to follow. Instead, it consists of a construction process that adapts to the reality of each country (Gallego, 2008).

...it takes into consideration some general references that serve as a theoretical base to apply them in a creative way to the specificities of the history of each people recovering their struggles of resistance, their historical memory and the libertarian imaginaries of their most important men and women. That historical legacy is the essential support that 21st century socialism is built and materialized on, considering the identity of each nation (Gallego, 2008, p. 151).

It is important to mention the words of José Carlos Mariátegui, a Latin American Marxist, who in one of his articles talked about socialism in the region: "We do not want the socialism of America to be a copy and paste. It must be heroic creation. We have to give life, with our own reality, in our own language, to Indo-American socialism. Here is a mission worthy of a new generation" (Mariátegui, 1928).

Finally, the author points out that in Socialism of the 21st Century, decisions are not imposed but are derived from the exercise of popular power and this is how the state becomes a mere instrument of society and is subordinate to it (self- government). Consequently, the State with political legitimacy is responsible for promoting and, at the same time, fostering the spaces in which such participation can be carried out (Gallego, 2008).

## **2.4.Characteristics of 21st Century Socialism**

Based on both the theoretical framework elaborated by Dieterich and the contributions of Chavez and other promoters of the new socialism, the following characteristics can be determined:

- It must be a bottom-up construction, that is, a popular creation and not a government decree (Frias, 2011). "We hope that this small effort will help those below understand the theory and for theoreticians to meet with those below, and this way build a new subject of universal emancipation" (Dieterich, n.d., p. 10).
- It is a proposal that not only seeks an individual transformation, but also goes beyond to transcend national borders to position themselves at a regional and global level (Dieterich, n.d.).
- Participants in this New Historical Project cover the whole group: all men and women from all ethnic groups, classes and nationalities who seek to emancipate themselves from capitalist exploitation (Dieterich, n.d.).
- It seeks to democratize all areas (political, economic, social and cultural) in order to make popular participation effective and give it a leading role (Dieterich, n.d.). In this sense, it is important to highlight that what is sought is not to give social character to democracy through the resolution of social problems of the population, but to transform it in a way that people have spaces where they participate in a real and effective way (Harnecker, 2010). This is important in order to avoid State paternalism, which is not compatible with participatory democracy because "It transforms people into beggars" (Harnecker, 2010, p. 34).
- It pursues the construction of a new society without a market, without the State as a form of repression, and without exploitation. In other words, without capitalism and only then will its full potential be reached (Dieterich, n.d.).
- Its purpose is the implementation of a sustainable society at an ecological level, so that its development is compatible with the well-being of nature (Dieterich, n.d.). In this way, sustainability appears as an indispensable requirement to



demonstrate solidarity with future generations. Therefore, all human activity must be regulated ecologically to protect the environment (Díaz-Salazar, n.d.).

- It fights to establish an equitable society in which there is a fair distribution of resources and where all individuals can have equal access to social justice (Díaz-Salazar, n.d.).
- Universal goods, including natural resources are collectively owned; therefore, it is prohibited to sell and privatize them and it is necessary for the State to administer them in a way that benefits the population in general and not only minority groups (Díaz-Salazar, n.d.).
- It does not depend on the homogenization of human beings and their interests, but on the contrary, recognize and respect differences (Gallego, 2008). Therefore, it is tolerant of diversity and pluralism (Díaz-Salazar, n.d.).
- It rejects capitalism's own market economy which, according to this theory, is inhuman. In this sense, it promotes an equivalent economy directed to the satisfaction of human needs in which each individual is paid for the time worked, thereby ending the exploitation and appropriation of the work of others (Díaz-Salazar, n.d.; Dieterich, n.d.). It is also a planned economy, resulting from a participatory planning process involving social actors from different spheres of society (Harnecker, 2010).
- It promotes decentralized management at all levels in order to make the leadership of the masses effective, since if the State is in charge of making all decisions, it does not accommodate popular initiatives. In this way, decentralization appears as the cure for bureaucracy, because when all the power of decision-making in the central state is concentrated, the procedures become slow and endless. On the contrary, with decentralization State functions can be assumed with autonomy by other instances, which makes the process faster and more agile. However, it should be emphasized that this is not a disorderly decentralization, instead a strategic plan must necessarily be available at the national level so that each of the decentralized spaces is part of the whole. In addition, there should be a spirit of solidarity between these spaces, in order to be

willing to collaborate with those who have greater deficiencies (Harnecker, 2010).

- It promotes the right to culture in order to raise the cultural education of citizens and of its peoples. Therefore, it focuses its attention on improving quality and democratizing the mass media (Díaz-Salazar, n.d.), this is because "A well-informed people can make better decisions" (Marroquín, 2011).
- It recognizes that the right to private property should be guaranteed by the State. Nevertheless, it points out that it must have a social purpose, so that it not only serves to increase the wealth of a small minority, but also contributes to promoting the equitable development of society as a whole. In the same way, at the social level, it intends to implement a new model of property at the service of the community based on the generation of a collective gain, which is the basis of this new project. This model of social property can be of two types: direct, when administered by the community under state control or indirect, when the State manages it. However, such management must necessarily be aimed at benefiting the whole society. Finally, it should be noted that social assets are the people's property (Guerra, 2007).

On the other hand, in addition to social property, Socialism of the 21st Century seeks to establish other forms of ownership: private (individual or collective) and public (state or mixed). In this sense, public property is defined as the property that is owned by the State, yet, their administration must necessarily guarantee national welfare. It should be noted that this can also be mixed, when administered jointly with the State and the private sector. However, the private sector can only be a minority partner and can never be the sole administrator of a public asset (Guerra, 2007). Finally, it is important to emphasize that...

The State should not own everything. That is an error. But neither can the market determine everything. No. The state, in a socialist model, must be the instrument for combating social asymmetries, beyond a merely regulatory or contemplative work of the market and its perversions. It must have the role of guaranteeing equal opportunities for all, the full freedom of citizens and the symmetrical development of the economy. Thus, in Socialism of the 21st Century, the State is conceived as the

guarantor of equality, which generates social, political and economic symmetries and is the sole owner of the strategic sectors of the economy (energy, transport, telecommunications, water) (Guerra, 2007).

- Its leaders are legitimized by electoral means (Monedero, 2012).
- It does not have a recipe to follow, but on the contrary, it is built when being implemented, based on the specific characteristics of each place (Gallego, 2008).
- It is built on dialogue so that citizens, under equal conditions, can build their own social organization project (Monedero, 2012).
- It seeks to overcome any type of domination, not only of classes, but beyond the level of gender, race, beliefs, etc (Monedero, 2012).
- It promotes a deep commitment to the public (Monedero, 2012).

## **2.5. Key policy advocates**

The new Latin American left, along with the differentiated construction of socialism that it promotes, appeared in the political scene with the victory of new political actors with alternative proposals to capitalism. Currently, these governments have recorded numerous achievements reflected in their political consolidation through the popular vote and in many cases have had repeated electoral triumphs. Among the main promoters of this new Latin American left we have the following presidents: Hugo Chavez in Venezuela as the main advocate (1999-2001, 2001-2007, 2007-2013), Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006) and Michelle Bachelet in Chile (2006-2010, 2014-2018), Lula da Silva (2003-2011) and Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016) in Brazil, Néstor Kirchner (2003-2007) and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007-2011, 2011-2015) in Argentina, Evo Morales in Bolivia (2006-2010, 2010-2015, 2015-2020), Tabaré Vázquez (2005-2010, 2015-2020) and José Mujica (2010-2015) in Uruguay, Rafael Correa in Ecuador (2007-2009, 2009-2013, 2013-2017), Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua (2007-2012, 2012-2017, 2017-2022), Álvaro Colom in Guatemala (2008-2012), Fernando Lugo in Paraguay (2008-2012), and Mauricio Funes in El Salvador (2009-2014) (CIDOB, 2016; Harnecker, 2010; Moreira, 2012).

### **CHAPTER 3: SOCIALISM OF THE 21ST CENTURY UNDER THE FIGURE OF RAFAEL CORREA**

This chapter will analyze the political, economic and social context prior to the electoral triumph of Rafael Correa in Ecuador. Subsequently, a brief account of the main actions of his government on a political, economic, and social level will be presented. Next, his socialist project aimed at building Socialism of the 21st Century in Ecuador will be studied, along with its characteristics to determine what this proposal is based on.

#### **3.1. Political, economic and social context prior to the electoral victory of Rafael Correa**

Beginning in 1996 with the electoral victory of the presidential candidate of the Ecuadorian Roldosista Party (PRE) Abdalá Bucaram, a phase of political, economic and social instability began in the country (Andrade, 2005). As a result, between 1996 and 2005, none of the presidents-elect could complete their mandate, since before they had the chance to do so, they were overthrown by coups d'état. Consequently, in record time Ecuador had four presidents elected by popular elections and three by interim, not to mention the president that lasted one day (Rosalía Arteaga) that is also part of this list (Long, 2008).

Table 3: Presidents of the Republic of Ecuador from 1996 to 2005

| President                                       | Way in which power was reached   | Tendency    | Relevant actions   | Way in which this person left the government |
|---|--|-------------|--|--|
| Abdalá Bucaram<br>1996 - 1997                   | Elected through popular vote.  | Neoliberal. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sought to lead the country to a developed state of neoliberalism.</li> <li>- Suppressed the domestic gas subsidy, increased the prices of petroleum products, increased the VAT from 10% to 12% and made the hospitals pay these tariffs (Acosta, 2006; Paz &amp; Cepeda, 2015).</li> <li>- Government was characterized by being closely attached to the particular interests of oligarchic groups (Acosta, 2006)</li> </ul> | Dismissed.                                   |
| Rosalía Arteaga<br>February 9-February 11, 1997 | Vice President of the government of Bucaram, she proclaimed herself as president (Stornaiolo, 1999). |             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Her self-proclamation was effective only until Congress proceeded to appoint the next interim president, so her government lasted 48 hours to be exact (Stornaiolo, 1999).</li> </ul>   |  |
| Fabián Alarcón<br>1997-1998                     | Interim President appointed by Congress (Stornaiolo, 1999).  | Neoliberal. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Created the Internal Revenue Service (IRS).</li> <li>- Summoned a Constituent Assembly for the drafting of the 1998 Constitution, which among other things privileged private initiative (privatizations) and the role of the market in the economy (Paz &amp; Cepeda, 2015).</li> </ul>  | Term completed.                              |

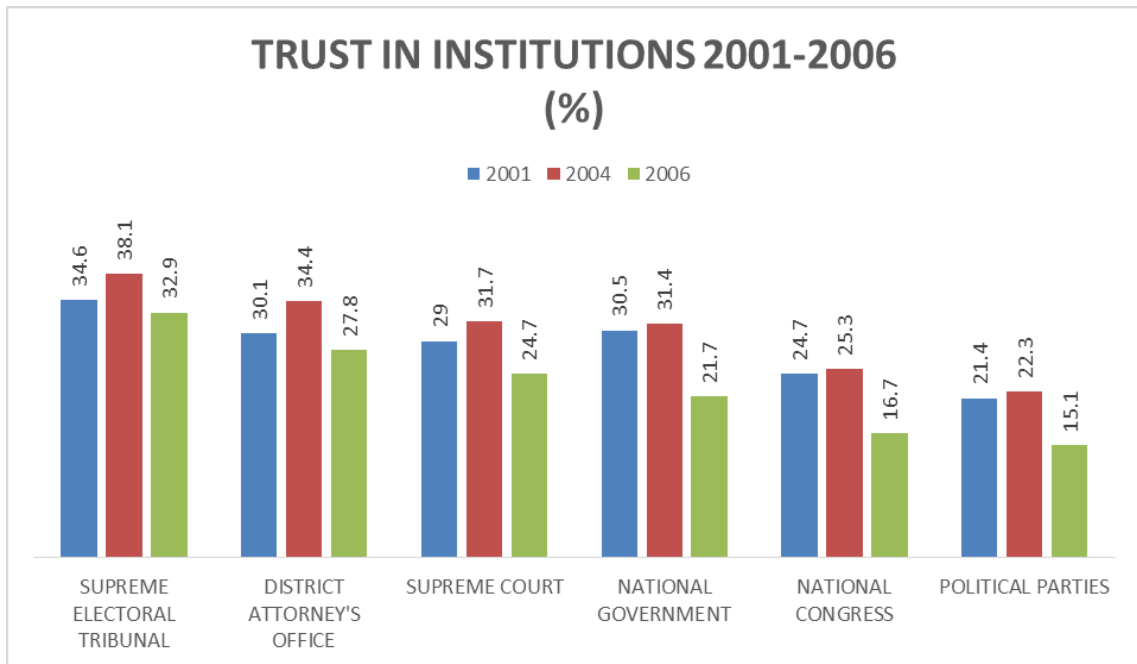
|                            |   |             |  |                 |
|----------------------------|---|-------------|--|-----------------|
| Jamil Mahuad<br>1998-2000  | Elected through popular vote.   | Neoliberal. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Governed during one of the worst economic crises the country had suffered, which brought with it the so-called "bank holiday" (March 1999), which resulted a large number of Ecuadorians who lost their savings (Cabrera, 2009).</li> <li>- At the end of 1998, he established a bank bailout, thus showing his close link with this sector (Commission for the Comprehensive Audit of Public Credit (CAIC), 2008; Paz &amp; Cepeda, 2002).</li> <li>- Suppressed the income tax, which was replaced by a new one, the tax on the circulation of capital (1% on banking transactions).</li> <li>- Subsidies were removed from domestic gas and electricity.</li> <li>- The "Solidary Bond" was created as a mechanism to help the poorest through compensation (Acosta, 2006).</li> <li>- Signed the peace agreement with Peru (border conflict) (Verdesoto, 2005).</li> <li>- Allowed the establishment of an American air base in the country (Manta), without taking into consideration the opinion of the Congress, much less of the people (Acosta, 2006).</li> <li>- The economy was Dollarized (January 2000) (Acosta, 2006).</li> </ul> | Dismissed.      |
| Gustavo Noboa<br>2000-2003 | Vice President of the Mahuad government, succeeded him in power after he was overthrown (Paz & Cepeda, 2002). | Neoliberal. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ratified the dollarization.</li> <li>- Renegotiated foreign debt for the benefit of creditors.</li> <li>- Promoted a series of privatizations.</li> <li>- Deepened labor flexibility through several legal reforms, which included the introduction of hourly hiring for any kind of position, which gave free rein to labor exploitation (Acosta A., 2006; Aguiar, 2007).</li> </ul>   | Term completed. |

|                              |  |   |  |                 |
|------------------------------|--|---|--|-----------------|
| Lucio Gutiérrez<br>2003-2005 | Elected through popular vote.  | Neoliberal.                                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- From the outset, he was faithful to the demands of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) through the signing of a letter of intent with this entity. The terms were in favor of creditors and to the detriment of national interests (Correa, 2009; De la Torre, 2006).</li> <li>- Started the negotiations for a possible Free Trade Agreement with the United States.</li> <li>- He reiterated his support for Plan Colombia, even though in his electoral speech he had argued otherwise (Porrás, 2015).</li> <li>- Because of his inconsistent discourse, he lost the support of the left and was strongly criticized (De la Torre, 2006).</li> <li>- Introduced outsourcing (labor flexibilization), a system that led to a series of irregularities and abuse of the workers (Paz &amp; Cepeda, 2015).</li> <li>- Became an ally of PRE and its leader, the ex- president Abdullah Bucaram, and in return for his support, he facilitated his return to the country (installation of the "Pichi Court"), which generated a great popular discontent that was manifested through protest and this eventually resulted in him being overthrown on April 20, 2005 (El Telégrafo, 2015).</li> </ul> | Overthrown.     |
| Alfredo Palacio<br>2005-2006 | Vice-president of the Gutierrez government, he took over Gutierrez's position. | An unstable neoliberal logic (Senplades, 2013). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kept the legal processes of all those who at one time violated the law to the detriment of the country (CIDOB, 2016).</li> <li>- Continued labor flexibility through the approval of the Labor Code Reformatory Law (2006) aimed at regulating both outsourcing and labor intermediation, a system that contributed to the violation of workers' rights, as well as their job stability (Paz &amp; Cepeda, 2015).</li> <li>- His management showed signs of distancing himself from the prevailing neoliberal logic: He announced when the contract with the US oil company OXY expired, suspended NAFTA</li> </ul>   | Term completed. |

|  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|
|  |  |  | <p>negotiations with the US and made several amendments to the Hydrocarbons Law aimed at improving the Ecuadorian state income in relation to the sales of oil (Senplades, 2013).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In economic matters, he preferred social spending over the payment of external debt (De la Torre, 2006).</li> </ul> |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|



Between 1996 and 2005, Ecuador was constantly undermined by its political system, which not only translated into a loss of legitimacy, but also a loss of credibility towards its institutions (Celi, 2005). This can be observed through a study prepared as part of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) from Vanderbilt University, where the degree of confidence in the political institutions of the country is analyzed, which is detailed in Figure 1.



*Figure 1:* Trust in institutions 2001-2006.

**Source:** Own creation with information from: (Seligson, Donoso, Moreno, Orcés, & Schwarz-Blum, 2006, p. 74)

This figure shows that although between 2001 and 2004 the level of confidence of Ecuadorians towards the political institutions analyzed increased, it can be seen that between 2004 and 2006, the opposite happened and in a generalized way. Likewise, it can be observed that among the political institutions studied, the National Government had the lowest level of confidence with a reduction of 9.7 percentage points, followed by the National Congress (8.6 points) and political parties (7.2 points). However, the other political institutions also experienced a significant reduction of confidence (Seligson, Donoso, Moreno, Orcés, & Schwarz-Blum, 2006).

In accordance with the above, the study points out that it is worrying that the three institutions in question have presented the lowest levels of trust, since they are the center of the political dynamics in any democracy. This is because Congress and political parties are the main means of political representation in a democratic system, not to mention the Government that is the highest governing body of the State and is responsible for implementing laws. Finally, it is important to note that, according to this analysis, the main factor contributing to the loss of credibility towards these institutions was the widespread perception of corruption in public institutions (Seligson, Donoso, Moreno, Orcés, & Schwarz-Blum, 2006).

On the other hand, it should be noted that political instability has made it difficult to implement long-term adjustments due to the constant change of the rules of the game, which is why instability has also been extended to the economic and social spheres. In this context, corruption appeared as the reason why three of the presidential mandates corresponding to the period in question were overthrown, so much so that in 2000 Ecuador was declared by the United Nations Development Program as the most corrupt country in Latin America (Long, 2008). The fact that all these governments transited along the neoliberal path and acted in favor of the interests of the dominant elites of the country added to this instability.

Finally, it is a fact that in Ecuador the political division has given rise to the existence of a number of parties with a marked and immutable ideology. In addition, the repeated overthrows of elected governments have shown that they have failed to effectively articulate the interests of the citizens, reflecting a marked disconnection between them and resulting in a deep crisis of political representation.

### **3.2. Characteristics of the government of Rafael Correa**

Economist Rafael Correa Delgado, born on April 6, 1963 in Guayaquil, Ecuador, is the current Constitutional President of the Republic of Ecuador from 2013-2017 (CIDOB, 2013). He is also the founder of the Alianza PAIS Movement (Patria Altiva I Soberana), a political organization that is currently very popular. It establishes as its historical objective, according to its ideological manifesto, the construction of Socialism of Good Living or Sumak Kawsay (Alianza PAIS, n.d.; Center for Latin American Studies (CELA), Political Change Observatory Latin America (OCPAL), Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador (PUCE), 2006).

Rafael Correa is characterized as being an independent politician, different from the traditional political parties and with an outstanding academic background. In this sense, it is important to emphasize that his political career has not been extensive, since much of his professional life has been dedicated to the private sector and the academic environment. Here, in addition to a considerable research output, he excelled by obtaining the following university degrees: Economist, Catholic University of Santiago de Guayaquil (Ecuador), Master of Arts in Economics, Catholic University of Louvain la Nueva (Belgium), Master of Science in Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (United States), and finally, Doctor of Economics (Ph.D.), University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (United States) (Jaramillo-Jassir & Tibocha, 2008) (Presidency Republic of Ecuador).

His entry into politics began in January 2003 as economic adviser to Alfredo Palacio, who at that time served as vice president of the Republic. Later, after the dismissal of Lucio Gutiérrez in April of 2005, Correa was appointed Minister of Economy and Finance by Palacio, who took over the presidency (CIDOB, 2013).

It should be noted that although he did not last to much in the position as Minister of Economy and Finance, during his short tenure (April 2005 - August 2005), his

performance demonstrated his commitment to social purposes, because he preponderated Social investment over the payment of external debt, which was strongly criticized by the multilateral credit agencies. On the other hand, he made a series of energy agreements with the Venezuelan government, showing his ideological affinity with former Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, which ended up distancing him from President Palacio. In addition, he refused a loan (100 million dollars) from the World Bank, which in the end resulted in his resignation from office (Jaramillo-Jassir & Tibocha, 2008).

The Alianza PAIS Movement launched Rafael Correa as their presidential candidate, along with Lenin Moreno as his vice-president (List 35) for the October 2006 general election, in which they were victorious in the second electoral round (November 26, 2006) with 56.7% of voters support (Freidenberg, 2013; National Electoral Council (CNE), 2006). Thus, the Ecuadorian president is currently preparing to hold the longest presidential term (ten years) without interruption in Ecuador's history after having been elected for the third consecutive time for the period 2013-2017 (CIDOB, 2013). It should be noted that his repeated electoral triumphs have taken place in an uncompetitive political context with a rather fragmented opposition which, in turn, has served as an advantage (Freidenberg, 2013).

This political party came at a time when the multiple demands of the population became more evident. These demands had been ignored by previous governments, which included: food, shelter, employment, security, protection, as well as the need for representation that would take the excluded sectors into account and recognize them as political actors. Therefore, when in office, the president gradually has materialized these demands and provided (as much as possible) the most immediate needs of the population (Andrade, 2011).

It is important to highlight that his first electoral victory occurred in a new political context in Latin America where new candidates emerged in several countries of the region who, like Correa, represented a rupture of the old dominant patterns of neoliberalism (free trade agreements, privatizations, imperial rule, among others).

Instead, these candidates were prepared to face this hegemonic system with alternative proposals typical of a new Latin American left (Lombardo, 2011).

### **3.2.1. Background of the Alianza PAIS Movement**

The Alianza PAIS Movement, Patria Altiva i Soberana, was created based on the initiative of the current leader and of organizations and intellectuals similar to him. It began with the Jubilee Movement 2000-Network Guayaquil, comprised at that time by Ricardo Patiño (general coordinator), Rafael Correa, Gustavo Larrea, Fander Falconí, and Alberto Acosta, among others. This was a group that questioned the payment of the external debt and raised the redirection of these funds towards social investments. This group joined forces with other organizations, such as Citizen Initiative, Alianza Bolivariana Alfarista Movement, and Acción Democrática Nacional, among others. This was necessary in order to undertake a more far-reaching project on a national level (Center for Latin American Studies (CELA), Political Change Observatory Latin America (OCPAL), Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador (PUCE), 2006; Harnecker, 2012).

... The Jubilee 2000 was an conjunction of organizations of all kinds in the country: students, university students, indigenous, women...Thus we were creating a movement, which was not necessarily generated from social organizations or political parties, but from citizens, directly, that's why it became what we call the "Citizen Revolution." We built a citizen movement: the PAIS Movement, which proposed a different therapy to cure the ills of Ecuador. We put PAIS (COUNTRY), with capital letters, which represent the initials of Homeland and Sovereign (Patria Altiva Y Soberana), only that instead of Greek "Y", we replace it with a Latin "i" (Harnecker, 2012, p 107).

Finally, the consolidated movement helped materialize the political ambitions of all the organizations that were included (Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos (CELA); Observatorio Cambios Políticos América Latina (OCPAL); Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador (PUCE), 2006). Thus, starting from this initial structure, the Alianza PAIS movement was established and was registered according to what was recognized by the law on April 3, 2006 in the former Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE).

This is a leftist political organization, with national reach and in coalition with other organizations of the same alignment (Get to know the history of Alianza PAIS, a binomial to the control of power in Ecuador, 2012; Intriago, 2014).

#### **3.2.1.1. Current structure**

The organizational structure of the PAIS Movement is currently made up of national, territorial and base authorities, distributed as follows: (Alianza PAIS, 2012)

##### **1) National instances**

###### **a) National Convention:**

- Maximum authority of the movement.
- Made up by the National Directorate and by the delegates of the Provincial Directorates and the Special Circumscriptions Abroad.
- It is in charge of the election of the following dignitaries of the movement: President, Vice Presidents, Executive Secretary and members of the National Commissions.
- It also elects candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the Republic of Ecuador.

(Alianza PAIS, 2012)

###### **b) National Directorate:**

- During the recess period of the National Convention, it becomes the maximum organ of political direction of the movement.
- It's integrated by the President, the Vice Presidents, the Executive Secretary, the twenty-four Provincial Directors, the former Executive Secretaries of Alianza PAIS, as well as by a representative from each of the Out-of-country Constituencies.

(Alianza PAIS, 2012)

**c) Presidency:**

- Presides and officially represents the political organization.
- Is elected by the National Convention.
- The movement in turn proceeds to choose from all its militants (standing adherents) two vice-presidents, who will substitute the the President when absent, either temporarily or definitively.

(Alianza PAIS, 2012)

**d) Executive Secretary:**

- Spokesman of the movement and its legal and political representative.  
Manager of the National Commissions.
- Acts as the President or as the Vice-Presidents during their absence.

(Alianza PAIS, 2012)

**e) National Commissions:**

- There are two: the Electoral and the Ethics and Discipline.
- Made up of at least three members elected by the National Convention from among all the militants of the movement.

(Alianza PAIS, 2012)

**f) Standing Committees:**

- They contribute in the coordination of the movement's decision making.
- It is integrated by at least three members of Alianza PAIS.
- Among these are members of Social Organizations, International Relations, Political Formation, Authorities of Decentralized Autonomous Governments, the Legislative Block Coordination, and the Executive Policy.

(Alianza PAIS, 2012)

**g) National Secretariats:**

- They are instances in charge of facilitating the decision-making of the National Directorate through political management.
- The National Secretariats shall be appointed by the National Directorate, which chooses one person out of three people proposed by the Executive Secretary.

- The National Secretariats of Alianza PAIS are of Territorial Organization, Political Communication, and Political Action.

(Alianza PAIS, 2012)

**h) General Administration of the movement:**

- The Executive Secretary appoints the General Manager of the movement.
- The General Manager is in charge of the management and planning of Alianza PAIS on a national level.
- The General Administration of the Movement has three National Coordinations (Financial-administrative, Finance, and Logistics), responsible for the development of activities to provide the necessary economic support for the management of Alianza PAIS.
- The General Manager is the national economic manager of the movement (treasurer).

(Alianza PAIS, 2012)

**2) Territorial instances:** They are subject to the guidelines of both the Convention and the National Directorate of the Movement and its representatives must be activists of Alianza PAIS (Alianza PAIS, 2012).

**a) Provincial Convention:** It constitutes the maximum authority of the movement in each province (Alianza PAIS, 2012).

**i) Provincial Directorates:** It is made up of the Provincial Director, the Provincial Deputy Director, the Cantonal Directors and the District Directors (Alianza PAIS, 2012).

**ii) Standing Provincial Commissions** (Alianza PAIS, 2012)

**iii) Provincial Secretariats** (Alianza PAIS, 2012)

**iv) Provincial Coordinations** (Alianza PAIS, 2012)

**b) Cantonal Convention:** It constitutes the maximum authority of the movement in each canton (Alianza PAIS, 2012).



- i) **Cantonal Directions:** Integrated by the Cantonal Director and the Directors of the different parishes of the canton (where the movement has a presence) (Alianza PAIS, 2012).
    - ii) **Cantonal Standing Committees** (Alianza PAIS, 2012)
    - iii) **Cantonal Coordinations** (Alianza PAIS, 2012)
  - c) **District Convention:** It constitutes the maximum authority of the movement in each district (Alianza PAIS, 2012).
    - i) **District Directions:** Made up by district directors (Alianza PAIS, 2012).
  - d) **Parish Convention:** It constitutes the maximum authority of the movement in each Parish (Alianza PAIS, 2012).
    - i) **Parish Directorates:** Includes the Parish Director (Alianza PAIS, 2012).
    - ii) **Parish Standing Committees** (Alianza PAIS, 2012)
    - iii) **Parish Coordinations** (Alianza PAIS, 2012)
  - e) **Out-of-country Constituencies:** They are the representation of the movement abroad and each of them has a Director appointed by its members (Alianza PAIS, 2012).
- 3) **Basic Instances:**
- a) **Committees of the Citizen Revolution:** They are instances of political action from the bases of Alianza PAIS and are made up of the movement's activists. They are organized on a territorial and sectional level (Alianza PAIS, 2012).

### 3.2.2. Rafael Correa's rise to power

Rafael Correa came to power on January 15, 2007 after an electoral campaign aimed at confronting citizens with the partisanship based on the slogan "Throw them all out"

(Alianza PAIS, 2006, p. 18), which also strongly criticized the neoliberal policies applied by previous governments (De la Torre, 2009). Its emblematic proposal was the establishment of a Constituent Assembly to end this system that he described as corrupt (Get to know the history of Alianza PAIS, a binomial to the control of power in Ecuador, 2012). The proposal of the Citizen Revolution, a leftist political project aimed at radically changing the current structures of the country in a peaceful way was characterized as being "...anti-neoliberal in the economic aspect, redistributive in the social aspect, participatory in the political aspect, and more sovereign in international matters" (Cordova, 2010, p. 1). (Correa, 2007; Correa, 2009).

This project is summarized in the following axes:

- 1. Constitutional and democratic revolution:** The Citizen Revolution proposed the restructuring of state institutions, the construction of a deliberative and inclusive participatory democracy, and, the decentralization of the State (Alianza PAIS, 2006).
- 2. Ethical revolution (fight against corruption):** On an ethical level, the Citizen Revolution proposed promoting a culture of "clean hands" through mandatory accountability in public administration in order to monitor their performance (Alianza PAIS, 2006).
- 3. Economic and productive revolution:** On an economic level, the Citizen Revolution proposed the establishment of a system disconnected from privileges (mainly towards the banking system as it happened in previous governments), whose exploitation, beyond being environmentally sustainable, favors people who generates their own wealth (Alianza PAIS, 2006).
- 4. Educational and health revolution:** At the social level, the Citizen Revolution proposed to guarantee equitable access to education and health as fundamental rights of citizenship, emphasizing that these must be of good quality (Alianza PAIS, 2006).
- 5. Revolution for dignity, sovereignty and Latin American integration:** Regarding foreign policy, the Citizen Revolution proposed to safeguard national sovereignty and not to give in to imperialist blackmail that may violate it

(Alianza PAIS, 2006). "We do not seek a confrontation with the United States but we will defend the national interest, with a strategy preferably aligned with the rest of South America in order to achieve greater bargaining power with equity" (Alianza PAIS, 2006, p. 41).

It is evident that from the beginning, the President's ambition was to achieve a structural and radical transformation in the country (Jaramillo-Jassir & Tibocha, 2008). In this sense, it is important to point out that he has had a significant popular support reflected mainly in the polls. The population has repeatedly supported not only his presidency and the other members of his party, but also for the different reforms promoted by the president throughout his administration (Freidenberg, 2013). Among the main electoral dates are the following:

1. **2006 General Elections:** Correa won his first electoral victory as President of the Republic along with his running mate Lenin Moreno (period 2007-2009) on November 26, 2006 in the second round with a citizen support of 56.7% (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2006). It is important to point out that Alianza PAIS did not register candidates for the Congress, but only for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, for the Andean Parliament, and for the Provincial Councils (Get to know the history of Alianza PAIS, a binomial to the control of power in Ecuador, 2012).

| RESULTS                |                       |           |           |       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| POLITICAL ORGANIZATION | CANDIDATE NAME        | VOTES     | VOTES (%) | ELECT |
| MPAIS/PS-FA            | CORREA DELGADO RAFAEL | 3,517,635 | 56.7%     | YES   |
| PRIAN                  | NOBOA ALVARO          | 2,689,418 | 43.3%     | NO    |

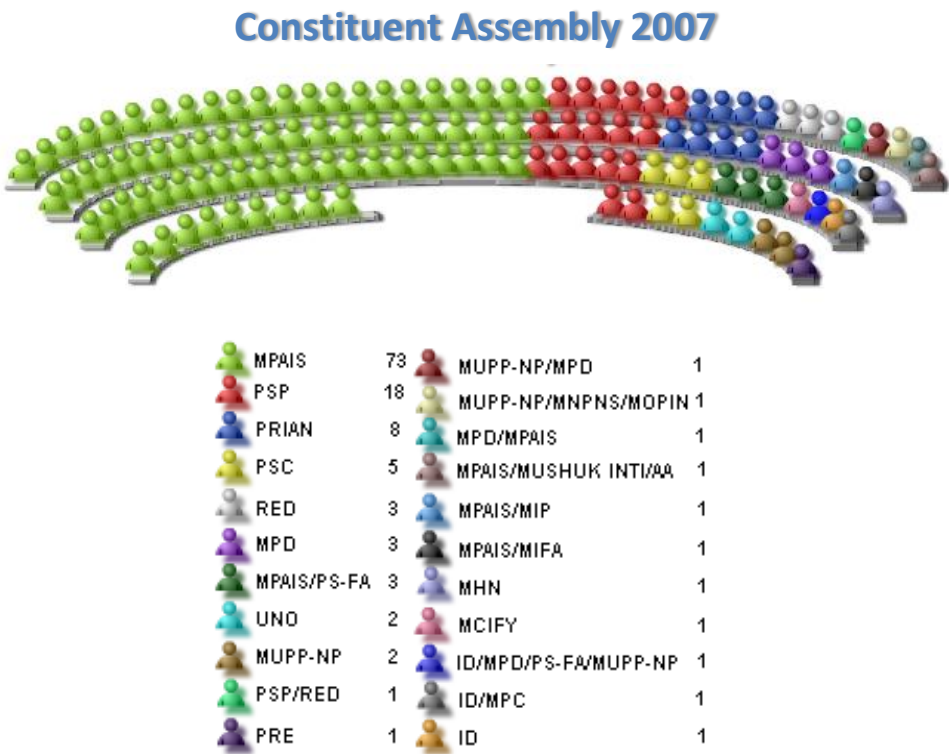
*Figure 2:* Presidential election results 2006.

**Source:** (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2006)

2. **2007 Referendum:** On April 15, 2007, the president convened a popular referendum for the establishment of the Constituent Assembly, for which he was

supported by more than 80% of the population (Freidenberg, 2013; Treminio, 2014).

- 3. Election of assembly members 2007:** On September 30, 2007, the election of assembly members was held for the formation of the new Constituent Assembly, where the Alianza PAIS Movement obtained 73 out of 130 seats, in other words, the majority corresponding to 56.15% (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2007).



*Figure 3:* Constituent Assembly 2007.

**Source:** (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2007)

- 4. 2008 Referendum:** On September 28, 2008, the new Constitution of Ecuador was approved by a referendum, for which 63.93% of the Ecuadorian population voted "yes" (Freidenberg, 2013; Treminio, 2014).
- 5. 2009 General Elections:** On April 26, 2009, Rafael Correa and Lenin Moreno were reelected in office (2009-2013). They triumphed in the first round with a citizen support of 51.99% (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2009). Also, the Alianza PAIS Movement achieved significant legislative support, gaining 54 out

of 124 seats, which at that time constituted 44% of the National Assembly (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2009). Not to mention the support he gained at the local level where his candidates for mayor (74 of 220) and prefect (9 of 23) triumphed mainly in two of the largest cities in the country: Quito and Cuenca. In these cities he won on both a municipal and provincial level, according to the results published on the website of the National Electoral Council (De Reguero, 2014; National Electoral Council (CNE), 2009).

| CANDIDATE                             | NUMBER OF VOTES | % VOTES |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|---------|
| CORREA DELGADO RAFAEL VICENTE         | 3,586,439       | 51.99   |
| GUTIERREZ BORBUA LUCIO EDWIN          | 1,947,830       | 28.23   |
| NOBOA PONTON ALVARO FERNANDO          | 786,718         | 11.40   |
| ROLDOS BUCARAM MARTHA RINA VICTORIA   | 298,765         | 4.33    |
| SAGNAY DE LA BASTIDA CARLOS FRANCISCO | 108,079         | 1.56    |
| JACOME MARIN MELBA YOLANDA            | 93,146          | 1.35    |
| DELGADO JARA DIEGO CRISTOBAL          | 43,221          | 0.62    |
| GONZALEZ ALBORNOZ CARLOS BENJAMIN     | 33,714          | 0.48    |

Figure 4: Presidential election results 2009

**Source:** (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2009)

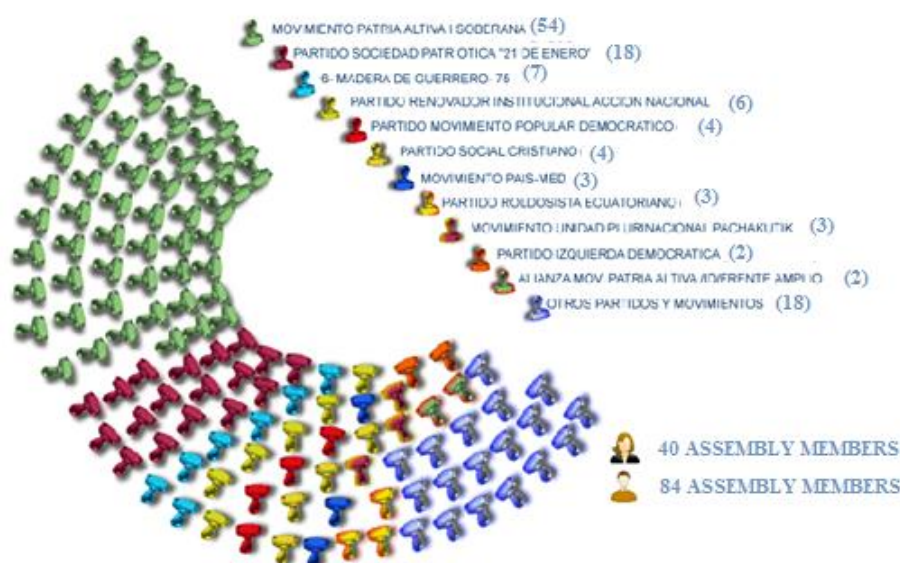


Figure 5: Assembly members 2009.

**Source:** (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2009)

6. **2011 Referendum:** On May 7, 2011, Correa called a Referendum for citizens to decide on various reforms, which were presented as ten questions. The results reflected a national support of more than 50% for nine questions, with the exception of a question that alluded to a ban on the slaughter of animals in public shows (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2011) (Electoral Council proclaimed results of popular consultation in May, 2011).
7. **2013 General Elections:** On February 17, 2013, Correa was elected for the third consecutive time as President of the Republic of Ecuador (period 2013-2017), but this time with a new running mate, Jorge Glas Espinel, who would replace Lenin Moreno in his functions (National Secretariat of Communication, 2013). Their triumph was due to citizen support of 57.17% in the first electoral round (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2013). In addition, in these elections, the movement again obtained broad legislative support, gaining 82 seats out of 137 that now make up the National Assembly (National Assembly, 2016).

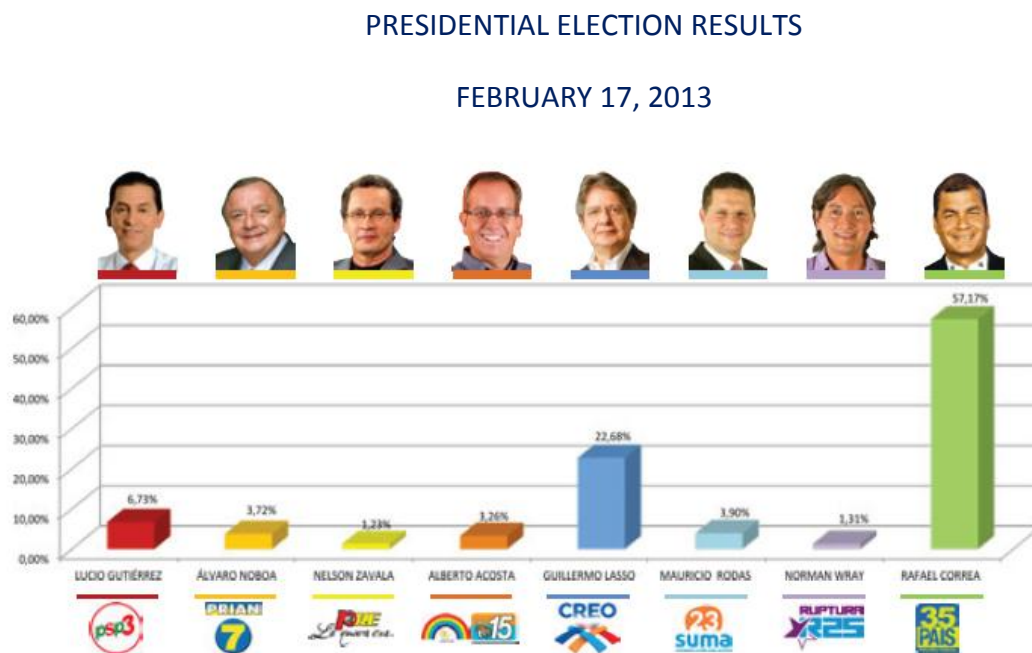


Figure 6: Presidential election results 2013.

**Source:** (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2013)

| PARTY    | CANDIDATE                      | NUMBER OF VOTES | % VOTES IN THE FIRST ROUND |
|----------|--------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| MPAIS    | CORREA DELGADO RAFAEL          | 4,918,482       | 57.17                      |
| CREO     | LASO GUILLERMO                 | 1,951,102       | 22.68                      |
| PSP      | GUTIERREZ LUCIO                | 578,875         | 6.73                       |
| SUMA     | RODAS ESPINEL MAURICIO ESTEBAN | 335,532         | 3.90                       |
| PRIAN    | NOBOA ALVARO                   | 319,956         | 3.72                       |
| MPD/MUPP | ACOSTA ALBERTO                 | 280,539         | 3.26                       |
| RUPTURA  | WRAY NORMAN                    | 112,525         | 1.31                       |
| PRE      | ZAVALA NELSON                  | 105,592         | 1.23                       |
|          | <b>TOTAL VALID VOTES</b>       | 8,602,603       | 100                        |

Figure 7: Presidential election results 2013 (quantitative data)

**Source:** (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2013)

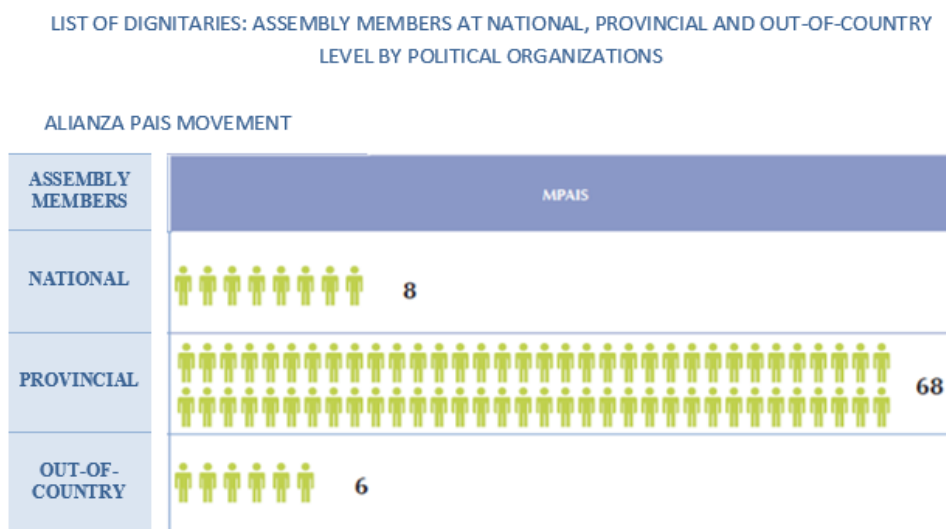
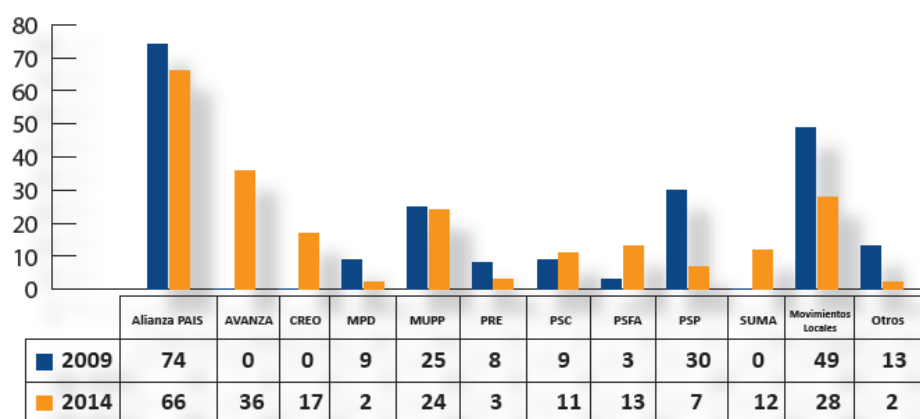


Figure 8: Assembly members at national, provincial and out-of-country level by political organizations.

**Source:** (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2013)

- 8. 2014 Sectional Elections:** On February 23, 2014, sectional elections were held, which once again resulted in favor of the Alianza PAIS Movement, as can be seen in the figures 9 and 10:

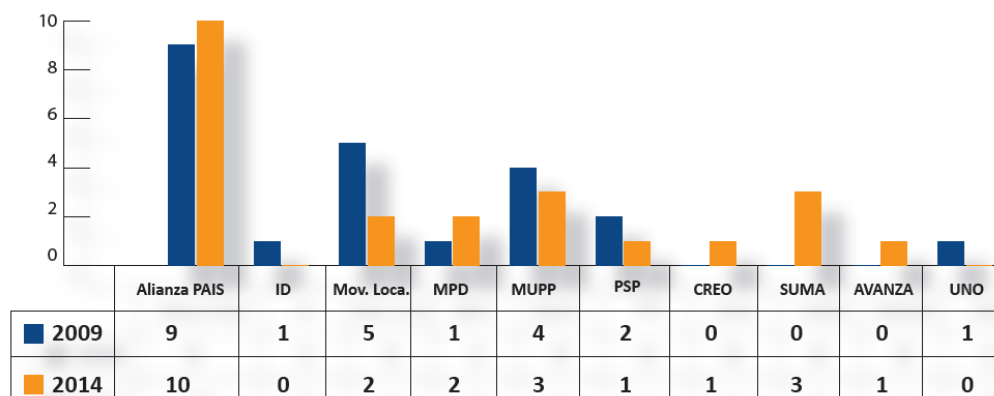
**COMPARISSON BETWEEN SECTIONAL ELECTIONS IN 2009 AND 2014  
(NUMBER OF MAYORS BY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION)**



*Figure 9:* Comparisson between sectional elections in 2009 and 2014 (number of mayors by political organization)

**source:** (reguero, 2014, p. 4)

**COMPARISSON BETWEEN SECTIONAL ELECTIONS IN 2009 AND 2014  
(NUMBER OF PREFECTS BY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION)**





*Figure 10:* Comparisson between sectional elections in 2009 and 2014 (number of prefects by political organization).

**Source:** (De Reguero, 2014, p. 5)

As can be seen, in 2014 this movement was the political organization that won the most municipalities and prefectures, not to mention that there is a considerable difference between their results and that of the rest of the parties. However, while these were favorable, they did not meet the expectations of the movement's leaders, since represented a defeat by the opposition in the municipalities of three of the country's largest cities Quito, Guayaquil and Cuenca, according to the results published on the website of the National Electoral Council (National Electoral Council (CNE), 2013; Quang, 2015). In addition, compared to the 2009 sectional elections, the PAIS Movement won fewer municipalities and prefectures, which reflected a weakening of its political hegemony at the local level (Quang, 2015).

The growth of Alianza PAIS is evident thanks to these multiple and consecutive electoral victories, to the point of consolidating itself as the country's first political force (Telesur, 2014). In addition, it is a fact that the electoral success of the current president has marked a before and after in the political history of the country, given that before his rise to power, people were accustomed to presidents who were unable to complete their mandates and presidents who were not reelected. However, Correa not only has been able to exercise the presidency without interruption, but is also exercising it for the third consecutive time, something never seen before in the history of the country, not to mention that he is the first president of Ecuador to win the elections in the first electoral round (since the restoration of democracy) and twice in a row (2009 and 2013 elections), thanks the support of more than 50% of citizens (Freidenberg, 2013; SENPLADES, 2013).

It is important to emphasize that his repeated electoral triumph has taken place in a scenario with marked opposition groups, among them the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), the Teacher's guild, Environmental NGOs, certain

academics and trade union activists from the left, former members of the PAIS Movement, and, not to mention the traditional groups of power represented by the right-wing movements and parties that are at the top the list (Petras, 2013). However, these opposition forces have repeatedly demonstrated their weakness, fragmentation, and inability to unite around a common proposal or strategy because they seek to always favor their particular interests. Consequently, they have not been able to prevent the President from continuing his electoral triumph, much less interrupting his mandates, which has contributed to the consolidation of his power and the movement he leads.

In this context of triumph, it should be added that the president's speech has also played a very important role, given that it has been characterized as polarizing and immersed in a series of antagonisms. On the one hand, it attacks the factual powers of the country, that is, specific sectors that are referred to as "bank robbers," "corrupt press," "oligarchy" or "pelucones" (people of an upper class), "party-ocracy," among others. On the other hand, he shows his attachment and support to the most vulnerable and minority groups (poor people, migrants, prisoners, women, indigenous people, etc.) and calls for analysis, action, and change (Andrade A. E., 2011).

This demonstrates that, for Correa, democracy is represented by people who, because of their low economic status, live in a situation of exclusion and which in turn confront the dominant elites (oligarchy) and the traditional political parties (party-ocracy), which he calls corrupt, ambitious, and neoliberal. Thus, throughout his mandate, his anti-neoliberal and anti-systemic discourse has been well received by the population, which is reflected in his electoral success. Finally, it should be noted that in order to reach the population, the president has used different forms of communication such as the so-called "Sabatinas" (Saturday programs), citizen links, television advertisements, radio links, advertising through social networks, among others (Andrade A. E., 2011).

In addition to the strong internal popular support, he has been strongly supported by most of the leftist and center-left parties of the governments of Latin America, mainly by Cuba and Venezuela. This is due to the policies promoted by the Ecuadorian president in relation to regional integration and the rejection of US interventionism in the region (Petras, 2013).

### **3.3. Socialism of the 21st Century in Ecuador**

Rafael Correa has been firm in several of his speeches in establishing Socialism of the 21st Century as the ideology that guides his government. Since his electoral campaign, the President has described himself as a "...humanist, Christian, and a left-wing activist. Humanist because for me, politics and economy are at the service of man, Christian because I am nourished by the social doctrine of the Church, and left-wing activist because I believe in equity, justice and the supremacy of labor over capital" (Mejía, 2006).

In this way, the Socialism that Rafael Correa promotes in Ecuador is Socialism of the Good Living or Sumak Kawsay (as it is called in the National Plan for Good Living 2013-2017). It is based on references and is nourished from multiple sources, mainly of scientific socialism, of the social doctrine of the Church, of liberation theology, of Bolivarianism, of the Alfaristas ideals and of Latin American Marxism. In this sense, the president emphasizes that from them only the good is taken and the bad is discarded. "We try to rescue the best of each of the sources of socialism of the 21st century..." (Ramos, 2013), and also highlight the fact that the socialism it promotes has its own characteristics according to the current reality and is adapted to the needs of the Ecuadorian people (Ramos, 2013).

It should be stressed that although Correa declares himself a socialist, he emphasizes that he is not a Marxist (Peralbo, 2011). Nonetheless, scientific socialism emphasizes the prevalence of work over capital, the relevant role of collective action as opposed to individualism, the preference for the generation of values of use over the values of change, the search for justice in all areas and the emphasis given to planning (Correa, Magistral Intervention Conference on the Socialism of the Twenty-First Century (Iran), 2008).

Thus, Socialism of Good Living appears as an alternative to the prevailing hegemonic system and is aimed at building an emancipatory program in the country. It is important to emphasize that this construction does not have a preset model to follow; it is based only on principles that constitute the ethical part of the new project, among which are the following: (Correa, 2009)

- **A radically fair society:** To achieve justice in all areas: social, economic, participatory, intergenerational and transnational (Senplades, 2013).
- **A society with liberating work and creative time:** Establish an agenda that, more than the time of salaried work, considers the time required for the performance of other social activities that contribute to the development of human faculties, such as sports, art, participation in politics, among others (Senplades, 2013).
- **A fair and equal society:** Eradicate hierarchies, minority privileges and all kinds of subordination through the distribution and redistribution of wealth, in order to reduce existing social and economic gaps. With regard to the production and distribution of public goods, it promotes improvements both in the quality of the services provided and in the extension of coverage (Senplades, 2013).
- **A society with full capacity, emancipation and autonomy:** To achieve an emancipated society that lives with dignity, uses its capabilities and exerts its political role (Senplades, 2013).
- **A society built on solidarity:** It seeks to educate citizens so that they become aware of the needs and interests of others, show respect for institutions, and promote social equality instead of seeking only their individual development (Senplades, 2013).
- **A responsible and purposeful society:** To achieve social co-responsibility on the part of the citizens (community commitment), with a view to overcoming passive attitudes that wait for the State to resolve all social demands without collaborating with the cause. In this way, it seeks to create a balance between the responsibilities of the State (rights) and the responsibilities of citizens (obligations) (Senplades, 2013).

- **A society that lives in harmony with nature:** The recognition and respect of environmental rights, in order to conserve a healthy and sustainable environment in accordance with what is established in the Constitution. This, in turn, guarantees that the different human activities are carried out with responsibility, with technologies and procedures that contribute to minimize negative impacts, whether environmental or social (Senplades, 2013).
- **Primacy of superior goods:** Access to superior goods (education, health, water, a healthy environment, habitat, etc.) is an indispensable right to achieve a full life. These cannot be commodified, so they must be provided by the State (Senplades, 2013).
- **Society of excellence:** Excellence, understood as both individual and collective efforts to do better every day, should be practiced in all areas and in turn, must be instilled through education and daily practice in society (Senplades, 2013).
- **A pluralistic, participatory and self-determining society:** To foster spaces that give rise to the citizen participation in equal conditions (participatory democracy). This is because the presence of active citizenship and dynamic social movements are indispensable in a democratic and participatory government where conflicting interests and objectives are to be evaluated based on publicly defined criteria (Senplades, 2013).
- **Sovereignty and integration of peoples:** The defense of national sovereignty in a peaceful way, as well as the just and solidary integration of the Andean, South American and Latin American countries in all areas (political, economic and cultural) are promoted. In addition, world peace is promoted and the principle of universal citizen is defended, in favor of the free mobility of all that inhabit the planet (Senplades, 2013).
- **Democratic, pluri-national and secular State:** Forging a plurinational, intercultural and secular state deserves the political recognition of diversity, in order to guarantee the same rights and opportunities for the whole community (Senplades, 2013).
- **Strengthening society:** The aim is to promote the construction of a society that broadens the spaces for participation (on equal terms) in order to improve the

quality of democracy, thus promoting the critical and reflexive capacities of individuals and the community in general (Senplades, 2013).

### **3.3.1. Drafting of a new Constitution as a starting point for the construction of Socialism of Good Living**

When assuming the presidency, Rafael Correa's biggest challenge was the fulfillment of his main electoral promise: the establishment of a National Constituent Assembly (through a convocation) for the drafting of a new Constitution. Thus, as a first act of his government, by decree, he called for a Popular Consultation to decide on this proposal. Yet, while the National Congress, which was mostly made up of the opposition, supported the drafting of the new Constitution, it called for keep in their functions the deputies who have been recently elected, which was not compatible with the President's Revolutionary process (Montúfar, 2012).

On April 15 of that same year, the Referendum was held, mentioning that the results favored the president since he obtained more than 80% of citizen support (Treminio, 2014). On September 30, 2007, elections were finally called to elect the 130 assembly members who would form the new Constituent Assembly (24 national assembly members, 100 provincial assembly members and 6 representatives of the migrants), where the PAIS Movement again won the majority (73 seats = 56.15%) (EcuadorInmediato, 2007; National Electoral Council (CNE), 2007).

The Constituent Assembly based in Ciudad Alfaro (Montecristi, Manabí) began to work on the drafting of the new Magna Carta on November 29, 2007, which was later presented on July 25, 2008 in an official act in which the president was present (EcuadorInmediato, 2008) (Aráuz & Naranjo, 2008). Finally, it was approved through a referendum on September 28, 2008 with a citizen support of 63.93% of the Ecuadorian population (Treminio, 2014). Through the consultation mechanisms mentioned (Popular

Consultation and Referendum), the regime was gaining credibility, given that in this way the citizens were empowered to make transcendental decisions for the country (citizen participation), and they were also recognized as political actors (inclusion), which is what the people had demanded for years (collective demands), which in turn gave democratic legitimacy to the process.

In this line, it should be noted that with the approval of the new Constitution, its Transitional Regime, in its article 17 that deals with the Legislative Function, concluded the functions of all the deputies elected in October 2006 (Constituent Assembly, 2008). Consequently, the Constituent Assembly acquired the power to constitute:

... the Legislative and Supervisory Commission which aims at maintaining the political proportionality that the plenary of the Constituent Assembly had. This...shall fulfill the functions of the National Assembly provided in the Constitution, until the Assemblies are elected and inaugurated, as established in this Transitional Regime (Constituent Assembly, 2008, p. 212).

Thus, the establishment of the Constituent Assembly resulted in the dissolution of the National Congress, not as an entity, but in relation to the termination of its member's functions (Constituent National Assembly, 1998; EcuadorInmediato, 2007). Instead, the Constituent Assembly was the institution that acted according to what was established in the new Constitution and was in charge of exercising the Legislative Function until the new members of the National Assembly were elected. Through this political strategy, what was sought was to project a radical change in the state's institutions to the citizenry through the establishment of a new organization in accordance to the new socialist project, with new actors chosen democratically. All of this differentiates this system from a capitalist government, not only in name, but also in reference to its formation and functioning.

Currently, the National Assembly is based in Quito and is made up of 137 elected assembly members in 2013, of which 82 seats correspond to the governing party, which reflects a parliamentary majority in favor of the president (Constituent Assembly, 2008; National Assembly, 2016). In this context, during the three consecutive terms of the

current president, the ruling majority has been constant within the Legislative Branch, although not since its first electoral victory, but from the establishment of the Constituent Assembly in its first year of management. This has benefitted the President and the party he leads, since it has helped in laying down the necessary foundations for the construction of Socialism of the 21st Century in Ecuador, through the different reforms undertaken, as well as through the creation of new regulations.

On the other hand, the new Magna Carta was created in opposition to the neoliberal logic: individualist and exclusive. It not only privileged private initiative and capital, but also helped to demonize the role of the state as a regulator of the economy, as well as its social mission (Espinosa). Hence, the Constitution of Montecristi is aimed at achieving good living or *sumak kawsay* (in Quichua) (Constituent Assembly, 2008; Senplades, 2013). What good living refers to is a vision of development, in which human beings act as a central axis and is based on the attainment of a dignified and desirable quality of life in harmony with nature and with present and future generations, without any kind of domination. That is, it goes beyond the mere satisfaction of material needs or opulence (neoliberalism) (Senplades, 2013).

Thus, the new Constitution establishes the basis for the construction of Socialism of Good Living in Ecuador, since it was ingeniously elaborated in order to create the necessary conditions for its application. This includes the consolidation of the role of the State in all areas in order to regain its regulatory, organization, and redistribution powers, not only of wealth, but also of resources. However, it should be emphasized that this is not a state-level recovery, since simultaneously it gives citizen participation a relevant role and provides the spaces necessary for its materialization (Larrea A. M., 2010). Also, along with the Constitution of Montecristi there are three National Development Plans, which have jointly guided the three consecutive terms of the current president, and hence the construction in question (Senplades, 2013).



### **3.3.2. Consolidation of the State's regulatory role**

#### **3.3.2.1. Control of strategic sectors**

In Socialism of Good Living, the regulatory role of the state takes on a leading role, especially in strategic sectors, given that with the new Constitution, it reserves its exclusive control over them. In this sense, it is important to clarify what these strategic sectors are and why they are considered as such, which is established in Article 313 of the 2008 Constitution.

Strategic sectors include energy in all its forms, telecommunications, non-renewable natural resources, transportation and refining of hydrocarbons, biodiversity and genetic heritage, radio spectrum, water, and others as determined by law (Constituent Assembly, 2008, p. 148).

This means that because of their nature, these resources have great influence at a national level, either in economic (those that generate greater income to the State), political, social or environmental aspects (Constituent Assembly, 2008).

Socialism of Good Living is unlike the capitalist model in which private initiative is favored in all sectors of the economy and differs from traditional socialism in which the state appears as the sole owner of everything. Instead, with this system the State becomes the sole and exclusive owner of the strategic sectors of the national economy (Guerra, 2007). However, these are of social property, since it is aimed at generating a collective profit, for the benefit of society (national interest) (Constituent Assembly, 2008).

Accordingly, public enterprises acquire a relevant role in terms of their management, in the form of tools that help reach national objectives. However, in an exceptional way, private enterprises are also allowed, yet public enterprises are predominant and are under state control, in order to fulfill the social function. (Correa, Regulation of the Public Private Partnership Regime, 2015; el ciudadano, 2015; Senplades, 2013). According to a news article published in the "El Telégrafo" newspaper, the current president stated: "We are a leftist project, but a modern left, aware of the role of private enterprises in the

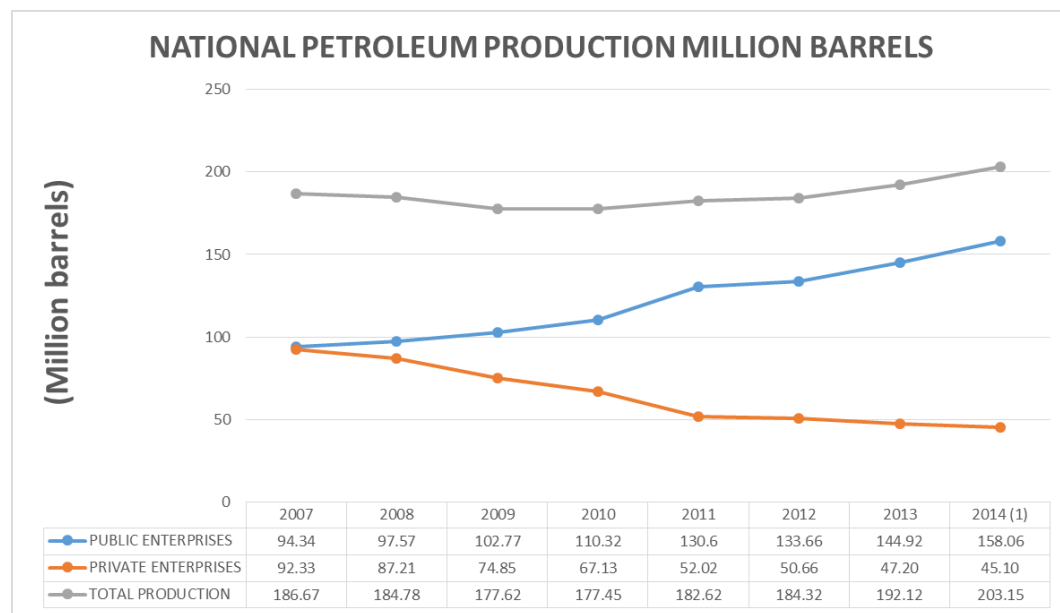
development of the State and we also understand that the state has to play a role..." (Correa calls on German businessmen to invest in Ecuador, 2013).

#### **3.3.2.1.1. Renegotiation of oil contracts**

Oil, as a non-renewable natural resource, is considered a strategic sector in the new Constitution. In order to guarantee more equitable profits for the Ecuadorian State, the Executive power promoted several reforms to the Hydrocarbons Law, which also led to the reforms of participation contracts. These participation contracts had benefitted the oil companies since it allowed for them to earn much of the income from extracted oil. With the new reforms, the Ecuadorian state gained total control over the provision of services for the exploration and exploitation of hydrocarbons and became the owner of 100% the extracted oil. In turn, private companies were only paid a fixed fee for their services (Correa, 2010; Erazo, New rules of the game for oil companies in Ecuador, 2010).

In this sense, private companies were given a period to renegotiate their contracts and those who did not wish to comply with the new provisions had to leave the country (Correa, 2010). As a result, according to a story published in the newspaper "El Universo," it was possible to renegotiate 15 of the 24 contracts signed with private oil companies (Ecuador managed to renegotiate 15 of its 24 oil contracts, 2011).

Thus, the management of these resources was reconfigured, and with this the public companies started to be a part of the value chain (nationalist approach), while private companies began to play a mere complementary role. Hence, Petroamazonas is in charge of the exploration and exploitation of oil and gas fields. In contrast, Petroecuador is the company responsible for transporting, refining and commercializing the fuels, as well as for exporting and importing petroleum products. Finally, Flopec is in charge of transporting hydrocarbons by sea (Medina, 2013; Senplades, 2013).

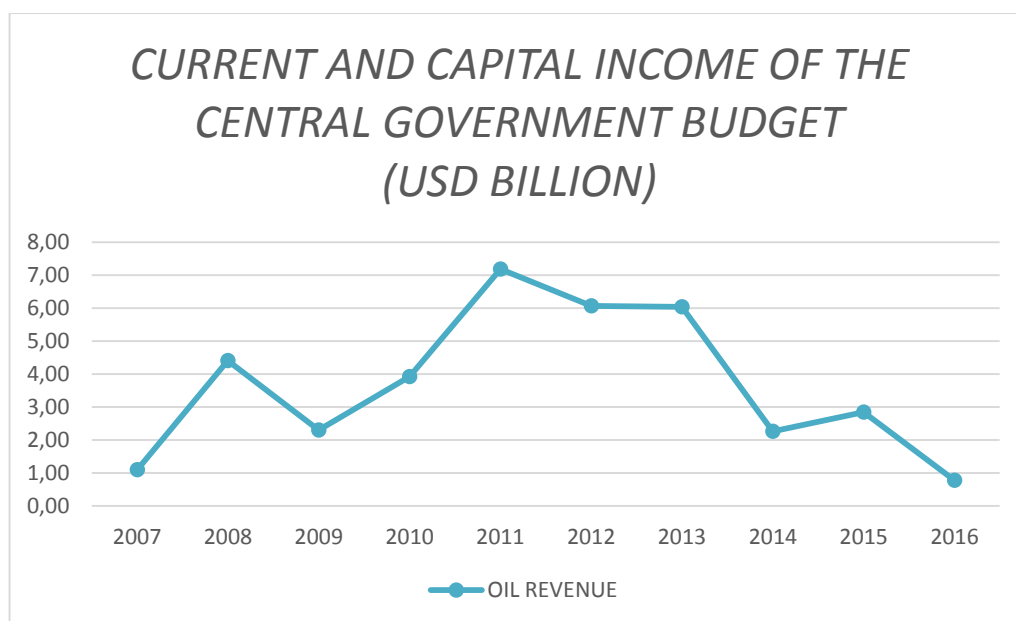


*Figure 11:* National petroleum production.

**Source:** (Ministry of Hydrocarbons, n.d.)

In short, through this measure, the Citizen's Revolution, as part of the construction of Socialism of Good Living, sought to consolidate national sovereignty, as well as strengthen the role of the State in the management of a sector that is crucial for the country's economy, considering that oil sales constitute the main source of financing for the Ecuadorian State, after tax revenues (Correa, 2017; Medina, 2013).

Although these regulation changes, as well as other factors, effectively contributed to the increase of state revenues from the oil sector in 2011, as can be seen in Figure 12, this has not ensured a better use of income. On the other hand, the change of modality in the contracts has constituted a double-edged sword, given the volatility of crude oil prices in the international market and the large dependence on petroleum that has not yet been overcome. Thus, in high-price scenarios, the national economy may benefit significantly but a drop of prices (less than 60 dollars) may lead to contrary behavior, because with this contractual modality the State starts to assume all risk in terms of price fluctuation (Araujo, 2014; Medina, 2013).



| OIL REVENUE | YEAR | USD BILLION |
|-------------|------|-------------|
|             | 2007 | 1.09        |
|             | 2008 | 4.40        |
|             | 2009 | 2.30        |
|             | 2010 | 3.92        |
|             | 2011 | 7.18        |
|             | 2012 | 6.06        |
|             | 2013 | 6.04        |
|             | 2014 | 2.26        |
|             | 2015 | 2.84        |
|             | 2016 | 0.77        |

*Figure 12:* Oil revenue 2007-2016.

**Source:** (Central Bank, 2007-2016)

In this sense, the State may even accumulate debts with private companies participating in the contract, since according to what is established in article 16 of the Reformatory Law to the Hydrocarbons Law and the Organic Law of Internal Tax Regime, the State reserves a margin of sovereignty corresponding to 25% of gross

income from production in the fields covered by the contract. Therefore, the remaining percentage must cover transport and marketing costs, and if there is a remainder it is destined to the payment of the fee for the provision of services, otherwise the values accumulate (Correa, 2014).

On the other hand,

It is important to mention that the manner in which the source and use of the resources of the Central Government budget is recorded does not allow a clear identification of whether oil revenues finance specific activities or programs. However...the Organic Law for the Recovery of the Use of Oil Resources of the State sustains that the resources coming from the oil activity finance solely and exclusively investment initiatives (Cueva & Ortiz, 2013, n.d., p. 35 and 36).

However, according to the Ministry of Hydrocarbons, income generated from oil revenues have financed the development of other sectors of the economy, mainly the electricity sector (collective benefit), which is compatible with the change in the Energy matrix, that is implemented by the current government to reduce dependence on extraction behaviors (InformaRN, 2008; Ministry of Hydrocarbons, n.d.).

#### **3.3.2.1.2. Change of the productive matrix**

The Ecuadorian economy has long been characterized as being based on the export of primary goods with little or no added value (primary-exporter), mainly oil, as well as for importing goods and services with high added value. However, the current government as part of the construction of Socialism of Good Living has promoted the change of the productive matrix. This aims at focusing on a pattern of specialization based on the export of environmentally friendly processed products and services with a higher added value (diversified production), in order to reduce the vulnerability of the economy to the volatility of the prices of raw materials in the world market (Senplades, 2012; Zák, 2014).

The productive matrix is understood as a "...combination, which includes the products, the productive processes and the social relations resulting from these processes...the different combinations of these elements generate a certain pattern of specialization" (Senplades, 2012, p. 7). In this sense, 14 productive sectors have been prioritized, as well as 5 strategic industries, which will be listed in the Table 4:

*Table 4: Prioritized industries*

| Prioritized Industries |   |
|------------------------|---|
| Sector                 | Industry  |
| <b>GOODS</b>           | 1) Fresh and processed foods                        |
|                        | 2) Biotechnology (biochemistry and medicine)        |
|                        | 3) Clothing and footwear                            |
|                        | 4) Renewable energy                                 |
|                        | 5) Pharmaceutical industry                          |
|                        | 6) Metalworking industry                            |
|                        | 7) Petrochemistry                                   |
|                        | 8) Wood Forest Products                             |
| <b>SERVICES</b>        | 9) Environmental services                           |
|                        | 10) Technology (software, hardware and IT services) |
|                        | 11) Vehicles, automobiles, bodies and parts         |
|                        | 12) Building  |
|                        | 13) Transport and logistics                         |
|                        | 14) Tourism   |

SOURCE: Senplades, 2012, p. 15.

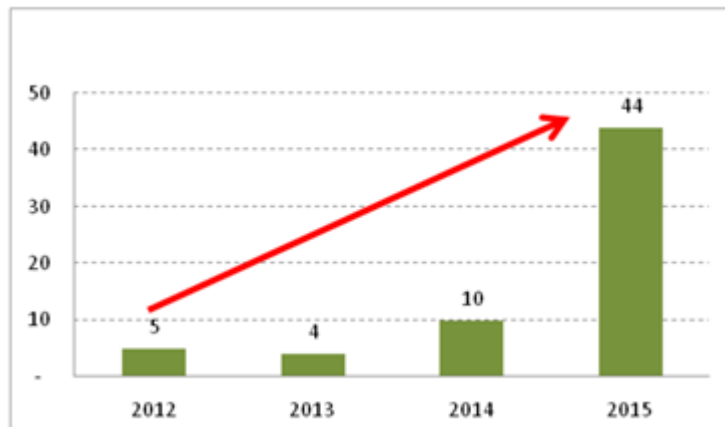
*Table 5: Strategic Industries*

| Strategic Industries           |
|--------------------------------|
| 1) Refinery                    |
| 2) Shipyard                    |
| 3) Petrochemistry              |
| 4) Metallurgy (copper)         |
| 5) Metallurgy (iron and steel) |

SOURCE: Senplades, 2012, p. 15.

With that said, it should be added that the change of matrix also indicates import substitution in order to boost, consolidate, and defend the national industry, which in turn contributes to the creation of greater sources of employment for the benefit of the Ecuadorian people (collective benefits) (Zák, 2014). In accordance with this, the government of the Citizen Revolution has implemented various tax and non-tax incentives in order to attract productive foreign investment to the country, which contributes to generating new industries, new jobs, as well as to facilitate the transfer of technology (Pro Ecuador). Thus, in 2015, 44 investment contracts of this type were approved, which allowed the generation of 4,188 direct jobs, which represents a significant advance considering that in 2014 there were only 10 contracts and 717 direct jobs (Ministry of Production, Employment and Competitiveness Coordinator, 2015).

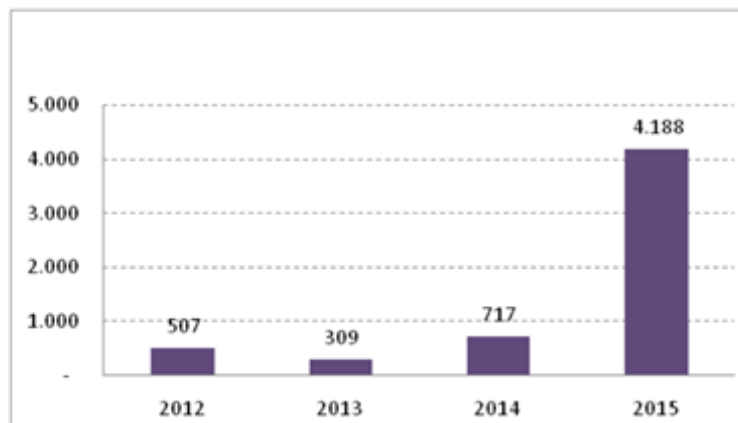
### Number of contracts approved per year



*Figure 13:* Number of contracts approved per year.

**Source:** (Ministry of Production, Employment and Competitiveness Coordinator, 2015, p. 13)

### Direct Employment



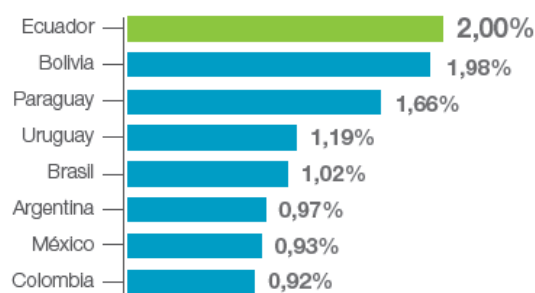
*Figure 14:* Direct Employment.

**Source:** (Ministry of Production, Employment and Competitiveness Coordinator, 2015, p. 13)



In addition, the Ecuadorian government in 2015 designated 2% of gross domestic product (GDP) to investment in higher education, surpassing all other countries in the region (Figure 15). In addition, in the period 2007-2015 it granted around 14,276 scholarships, of which 78% corresponded to the following areas: Life Sciences, Production and Innovation and Natural Resources, and the other 22% to Social Sciences, Arts, Humanities, Education and Exact Sciences. All of this was done in order to promote the formation of human talent (society of excellence), which is also essential for achieving a matrix change (incorporation of technology and new knowledge into production processes) (Senplades, 2012; Senplades, 2016).

#### Investment in higher education with respect to GDP



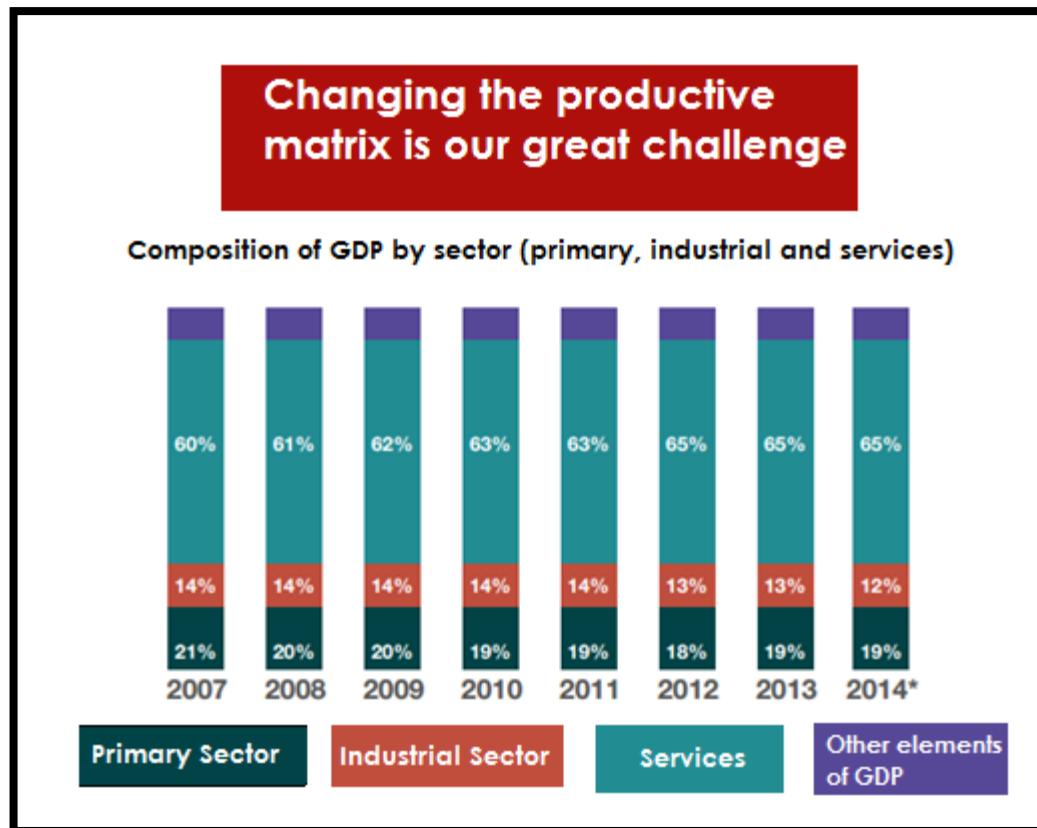
*Figure 15:* Investment in higher education with respect to GDP.

**Source:** (Senplades, 2016, p. 40)

It should be noted that thanks to all these initiatives, exports of Ecuadorian services increased, from \$1,472 million (2010) to \$2,333 million (2014) (Ministry of Foreign Trade).

... the average annual growth of the sector in those four years was of 11.8%, superior to the banana sector, which in the same period obtained a 5.8% growth. In this area, the ECM identified 7 sectors with export potential: Software, construction, advertising/audiovisual, consulting, logistics, teaching Spanish and university education (Ministry of Foreign Trade).

However, in spite of this, until September 2014 the economy continued to produce raw materials and services with a low added value, as can be seen in Figure 16: (Senplades, 2015)



*Figure 16:* Composition of GDP by sector (primary, industrial and services).

**Source:** (Senplades, 2015, p. 55)

On the other hand, in addition to the change of productive matrix, the current government has also promoted the transformation of the energy matrix. This was done in order to counteract the dependence on thermal generation of electricity and to move from expensive and polluting energy generated based on the use of non-renewable and therefore exhaustible resources, such as oil and its derivatives to clean and less costly energy, generated from renewable sources (hydropower, wind energy, solar energy), especially from hydroelectric plants (Coordinating Ministry of Strategic Sectors, 2016; Regulation and Control Agency of Electricity, 2016; Senplades, 2013).

In accordance to this, the Government of the Citizen Revolution has carried out the construction of eight powerful hydroelectric projects: Manduriacu, Mazar Dudas,

Sopladora, Toachi Pilatón, Coca Codo Sinclair, Minas San Francisco, Delsitanisagua and Quijos. It has also constructed the following wind power plants: Villonaco (Loja), San Cristóbal and Baltra (Galapagos). There is also the Puerto Ayora photovoltaic park in Galapagos (Coordinating Ministry for Strategic Sectors, 2016; Ministry of Electricity and Renewable Energy, 2014). In this way, the government sought to increase the production of clean electric energy, so that once the domestic demand was met, the surplus could be exported. Today, this has become a reality, since in addition to energy being an Ecuadorian export product in 2015, 51.78% of the total electricity production came from renewable sources (Coordinating Ministry for Strategic Sectors, 2016; Electricity Regulatory and Control Agency, 2016; Zák, 2014).

In addition, it is worth mentioning that thanks to the use of renewable sources, CO2 emissions have been reduced, avoiding the emission of around 6.29 million tons of CO2 per year, which favors the care of the environment (society in harmony with nature) (Coordinating Ministry for Strategic Sectors, 2016).

Finally, it should be noted that both the change of the productive and energy matrix are linked to Socialism of the 21st Century, specifically with regard to the promotion of a development model compatible with nature, which seeks to minimize negative environmental impacts. This is by means of the incorporation of technology and new knowledge to the productive processes.

### **3.3.2.2. Economic policy**

#### **3.3.2.2.1. Institutionalism**

In economic matters, with the Socialism of Good Living, the market occupied a secondary role in the economy subject to state regulations, as stated in the new constitutional text (article 335 and article 336), where it is established that the State must ensure fair trade and may intervene in economic transactions when necessary. The State

also has the power to sanction the exploitation and practices of unfair competition (man should be above capital) (Constituent Assembly, 2008; Patiño, 2010).

The new government differed in this aspect compared to what had happened in previous governments where the design of economic institutions privileged the private interests of economic elites, as was evident in the bank holiday of 1999. However, with the Citizen Revolution, the State took over the leadership in favor of the great majority, with a view to eradicating the privileges of a few (a change of power relations), which is what Socialism of the 21st Century seeks (Correa, 2017). "An economic model is not an accounting technique, it is a political position. We will always defend the welfare of the great majority, we will always privilege the interest of the entire population over the interests of a few groups" (Correa, 2016, p. 28).

In accordance with this, in the words of the current president, the Central Bank went from being a branch of private banking ("autonomous" entity), to being another instrument of the State, dependent on the Executive Function for the management of the economy (Constitutional Assembly, 2008; Correa, 2017; National Constituent Assembly, 1998). "Today, the Central Bank is part of the structure of the Central Government and must act articulately with the other public institutions in charge of economic management" (Correa, 2017).

#### **3.3.2.2.2. Towards a new model of development: Social and a Solidarity-based Economy**

The Citizen Revolution, towards Socialism of Good Living, has worked on the implementation of a new development model based on a social and a solidarity-based economy, as proclaimed in the first paragraph of article 283 of the new Constitution:

The economic system is social and solidarity-based, it recognizes the human being as subject and end, leans towards a dynamic and balanced relationship between society, state and

market, in harmony with nature, and aims to guarantee the production and reproduction of the material and immaterial conditions that enable good living (Constituent Assembly, 2008, p. 139).

This demonstrates that this is a social economy because human beings are the central axis of the economic activity and is based on the well-being of people, as well as of nature. Therefore, the economy is at the service of life and not vice versa. This logic is evident in several of the policies implemented by the Citizen Revolution, such as the recognition of a decent wage over high profits, the promotion of fair trade, sanctions to exploitation of all kinds, the prohibition of outsourcing and hiring by hours, the promotion of sustainable development with the environment, the recognition of the right of restoration of nature in case of being affected (environmental function), among others (Constituent Assembly, 2008; Larrea A. M., 2010).

It should be noted that it is of a social nature because it seeks to create a plural economy in which the logic of capital accumulation must be subordinated to the collective interest (a thesis also defended by the ideology of Socialism of the 21st Century), where work is considered an essential component. Therefore, it promotes different economic initiatives proposed by the population, in order for them to be the ones who obtain the fruit of their own enterprises (working with dignity), contributing thus to the generation of more sources of work and not only of employment (Larrea A. M., 2010). This economy in turn is supportive because it promotes equality through the redistribution of wealth (Patiño, 2010).

Based on this, the social and solidarity-based economy recognizes forms of organization that were not normally conceived as economic (economic, social and financial inclusion), as is the case of the popular and solidarity-based economy, officially recognized for the first time in the new Magna Carta (Article 283, paragraph 2), where it was also assigned a leading role (Larrea A. M., 2010; National Corporation of Popular and Solidarity Finance, 2015).

A popular and solidarity-based economy is understood as the form of economic organization integrated by units or productive relations at the popular level, that carry out production processes, commercial exchange, financing and consumption, either of goods or of licit services, in order to satisfy needs while generating income (National Assembly, 2011; National Program for Popular Finance, Entrepreneurship and Solidarity Economy (PNFPPEES), National Secretariat for Migrants (SENAMI), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 2012). Consequently, examples of these type of organizations include "Cooperatives, associations, community enterprises, communal banks and banks, personal and family enterprises, artisan workshops, retailers and others..." (Coordinating Ministry for Social Development, 2012, p. 63). Until May of 2015, these totaled to about 8,154 organizations at national level (National Corporation of Popular and Solidarity Finance, 2015).

It should be noted that, in addition to recognizing these sectors of the economy, formerly called informal ones, the government of the Citizen Revolution has materialized its support for these initiatives. It has demonstrated this support through many actions, including the creation of new regulations, providing access to credit easy through the public bank, giving priority to goods and services from the popular and solidarity-based economy in public spending, offering training and other state programs aimed at consolidating this sector (Producepyme, Exporta Fácil, National Inclusive Rural Business Program, Inclusive Fair, among others) (Larrea A. M., 2010; National Corporation of Popular and Solidary Finance, 2015).

Thus, the popular and solidarity-based economy has gone from being a practically invisible sector in the past (excluded), with a marginal participation in the national economic system, to becoming an important segment for the Ecuadorian economy. It has contributed in the generation of about 60% of employment at the national level (National Corporation of Popular and Solidarity Finance, 2015) (National Assembly: Press Room, 2016).

### **3.3.2.2.3. Regulation of monopolies**

In order to prevent monopolistic and oligopolistic practices (Article 304, numeral 6 of the Constitution), the Government of the Citizen Revolution issued the Organic Law on Regulation and Control of Market Power (Antimonopoly Law). Its aim was to create the necessary conditions for the development of fair trade in the country (collective benefit). In turn, it sought to encourage the competition for the benefit of consumers, who, in the absence of a greater number of bidders in certain sectors, had been forced to pay higher prices for the purchase of certain goods or services and to comply with the quality-levels available in the market (National Assembly, 2011).

This legal document prohibits and punishes the abuse of market power manifested through conducts such as predatory pricing, tied sales, exclusivity contracts, etc. It also is against unfair practices in economic activities, such as the use of misleading or comparative advertising, the use or imitation of distinctive elements of competition, the stigmatization of other companies by the dissemination of false statements, the disclosure of business secrets without proper consent, among others (National Assembly, 2011).

All domestic and foreign economic operators working in both the public and private sectors are subject to this law. However, it should be noted that the State will have the power to restrict competition in any sector (creation of a state monopoly), provided that it is in the interests of the community for reasons related to the management of strategic sectors, the provision of public services, the technological innovation of the national economy and the benefit of the popular and solidarity-based economy (National Assembly, 2011). Accordingly, the public sector has had a free rein for the creation of state monopolies.

This law has been created to regulate the wealth of economic elites, which highlights the socialist nature of the current government's ideology. "We have taken great steps to reduce the power of large economic groups" (Alianza PAIS, p. 72). In this context, it is

important to note that according to data provided by the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INEC), sales in the different types of companies showed high levels of concentration given that although in 2009 microenterprises accounted for 29.8% of all companies in the country, they accumulated a marginal share of 0.8% over total sales recorded at the national level. In contrast, while the large companies represented only 4.1% of the total companies in the country, they accounted for 71.6% of total sales recorded nationwide (Laboratory of Labor and Business Dynamics, INEC, 2015).

Likewise, in 2013, although microenterprises accounted for 28.3% of all companies in the country, they accumulated a marginal share of 0.7% in relation to total sales recorded at the national level. While large companies, which represented only 3.8% of the total of companies in the country, accounted for 73.4% of total sales recorded nationwide. Consequently, this situation reflects that there have been no substantial changes in the deconcentration of the economy, taking into consideration that the implementation of this law took place in October 2011. As a result, this issue continues to be a challenge for the government (National Institute of Statistics and Census - INEC, 2009-2011).

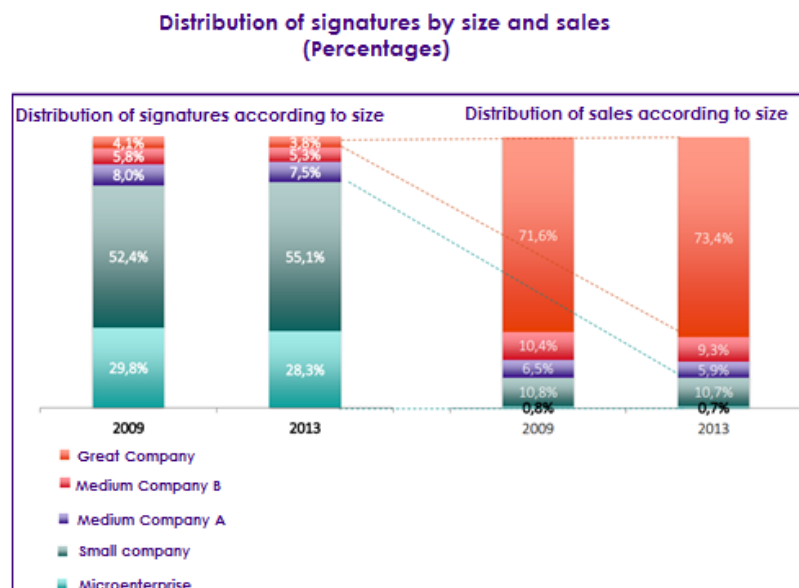


Figure 17: Distribution of signatures by size and sales.

**Source:** (Laboratory of Labor and Business Dynamics, INEC, 2015, p. 15)



### **3.3.2.2.3.1. Media and banking**

In the construction of Socialism of Good Living, special attention was paid to the relationship between private media and private banking, mainly because they are transcendental sectors for society, especially at the social level. The media has been characterized as being under the domination of monopolistic groups, which before the Citizen Revolution had the power to monopolize both sectors. In turn, the priority of the media was not to inform, but to favor the interests of the economic elites of the country, that is, of its owners.

The monopolistic control of the media seriously affects the plurality of information. This is because when the sources of information become limited or strongly reduced in quantity, the information cannot be exposed from other points of view or versions, and the only access to the story is the information from the perspective of a small group that manages the media. This group is an oligopoly, or from a single source, the monopoly, which effectively limits the right to information of the entire society as a whole. When the media is controlled by a small number of individuals or groups, they have the control over the information directly or indirectly (Commission for the Audit of the Concessions of Radio and Television Frequencies, 2009, p. 199).

Thus, since the application of the new Constitution, the shareholding of banks in the media and vice versa was prohibited, as well as participation in any activity other than financial or communicational, respectively (article 312 , Subsection 1 and transitory provision twenty-ninth, paragraph 1). This was done in order to separate both activities and carry out a democratization of the media, which amounts to a progressive deconcentration of the power of the private media (Constituent Assembly, 2008; National Secretariat of Planning, n.d.).

Consequently, several bankers were forced to sell their shares in communication companies (television, radio or news), such as the Egas Grijalva (Teleamazonas) group and the Eljuri group (Telerama), which gave rise to the appearance of new players in the field of communication. According to the Internal Revenue Service (SRI), in 2007 the private media was managed by only 17 business groups, while in 2012 they became 100 (Gehrke, Lizarazo, Noboa, Olmos, & Pieper, 2016).

In addition, the adoption of the Organic Law of Communication (OLC) established an equitable distribution of frequencies for radio and television, considering that the radio spectrum also constitutes a strategic sector according to the new Constitution. Thanks to this, the following distribution was established: 33% for public means (granted directly), 33% for private media and 34% for community media (granted via public tender processes) (National Secretariat of Planning, n.d.; National Assembly, 2013).

With that said, it should be added that with their entry into force in 2013, the new laws introduced several changes in the regulation of the media sector. These include the following: frequency reversal, the introduction of the figure of the "Media lynching", the prohibition on prior censorship of content, the subsequent responsibility of the media, the right to reply and rectification, among others. This not only generated controversy, but also provoked a negative reaction on the part of the communicators, who still see it as a threat to freedom of expression in the country, which is why they called it a "Gag Law" (National Assembly, 2013).

In this context, according to a 2016 public opinion study by the Latinobarómetro Corporation, out of 18 countries analyzed, Ecuador is the country with the highest self-censorship. The results indicated that only 34% of the population sample analyzed considered there is (always and almost always) freedom to speak and critique in country (freedom of expression). This percentage was below that of Latin America (51%), as can be seen in Figure 18: (Corporación Latinobarómetro, 2016)

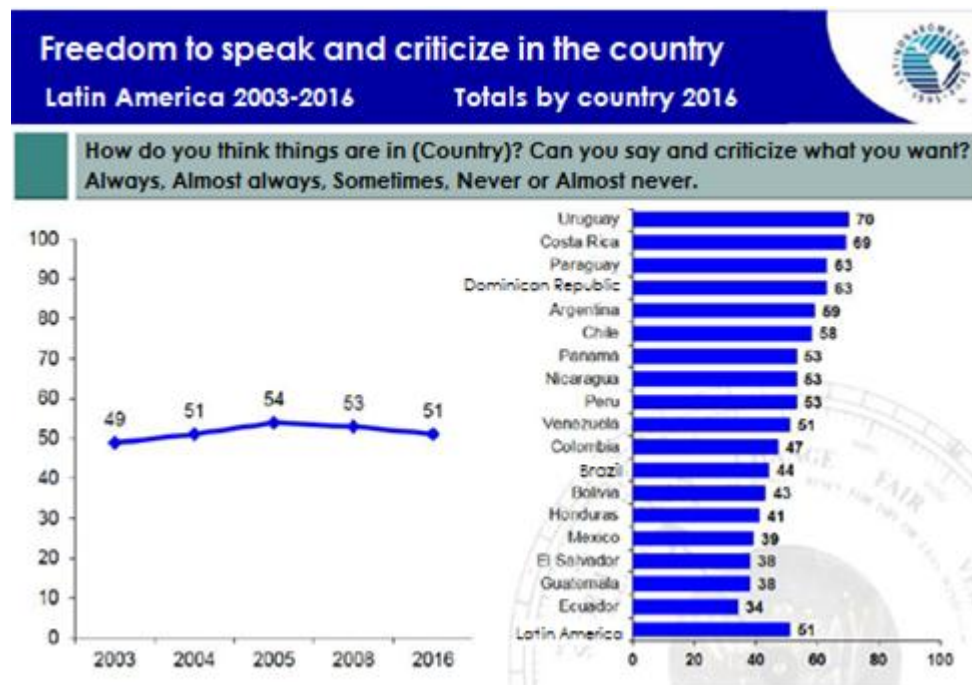


Figure 18: Freedom to speak and criticize in the country.

**Source:** (Corporación Latinobarómetro, 2016, p. 30)

To add to this social sentiment, several international organizations dedicated to the defense of freedom of expression and human rights have agreed on the perception of a serious cut in freedom of expression following the implementation of the LOC in 2013, including the NGO Human Rights Watch (Gehrke, Lizarazo, Noboa, Olmos, & Pieper, 2016). In this report, the following is stated:

The Organic Law of Communication of 2013 grants the government broad powers to limit freedom of expression. The law requires that all information disseminated by the media be "verified" and "accurate," which facilitates retaliation against critical government media, since the officials decide when these inaccurate criteria are met. It also prohibits "media lynching", which it defines as "the dissemination of information [...] that is produced in a concerted and published manner [...] with a view to discrediting a natural or legal person or reducing its public credibility." It also prohibits what it calls "censorship" which, according to the definition contained in the law, includes situations in which the private media do not broadcast issues that the government considers to be of "public interest" (Human Rights Watch, 2017).

According to the executive director of Fundamedios, between 2013 and 2016 there have been about 606 open proceedings, both against journalists and against the national media, of which 462 have resulted in fines ordered mainly by the Superintendency of Communication. Additionally, it indicates that of the total of the cases, 97.45% correspond to processes initiated against private means, compared to 2.21% against public media (Private media were the most fined since 2013, 2017). It is also worth mentioning that up to 2016, 17 media companies were closed and one was temporarily shut down (Neira, 2016).

In contrast, the chief executive maintains the following:

"The media here have become political actors. The political parties were absolutely defeated and the mercantilist media, as we call them, have gained total control. Day and night, these private means talk about politics in the boldest of ways, and when we answer them politically, (They say) 'attack on our freedom of expression'. If they say the government is 'corrupt, mediocre, inept', it is considered freedom of expression. If I say to a journalist 'dishonest', it is an 'Attack on freedom of expression.'"

"The media has so much freedom of expression that every day they can publish it... It is a contradiction in itself. They are ridiculous statements, that on the basis of repetition, they believe that there is a demonstration" (Public Agency of News of Ecuador and South America (ANDES), 2015).

On the other hand, with regard to the new distribution of radio and television frequencies, the current government has given special attention to community media, mainly due to its social and inclusive approach, given its socialist nature. These were not acknowledged in the Ecuadorian legislation until 1995 with the reform of the Law of Broadcasting and Television, where they were categorized as public stations, specifically of communal service. However, their performance was quite limited, since not only were they prohibited from transmitting commercial advertising, but also their programming could only be strictly educational and had to have the approval of the Armed Forces, for reasons of national security (legal discrimination) (Commission for the Audit of the Concessions of Radio and Television Frequencies, 2009; Montesdeoca, 2015).

In addition, the emphasis given to community media is due to, among other things, its recognition in the new regulations. This made the participation and insertion of new

players in the field of media possible (information plurality), specifically community players (Social organizations, communes, communities, towns or nationalities), who were able to participate as owners or managers of community media and access them on equal terms (socialist nature), as established by the supreme law of the State (Art. 16, numeral 3) (National Assembly, 2013).

Furthermore, because they are aimed at achieving a social profitability and since they are non-profit, their earnings are destined to be reinvested in the same medium, as well as in social projects for the benefit of the community or environment to which its owners belong (National Assembly, 2013). It should be noted that its social nature makes these actions directly linked to socialist ideology (value of use over exchange value).

The real reason behind all of these actions was to create informational allies for the current government. This is due to the State taking advantage of the undeniable dependence of the media upon it, which causes the media to only transmit information that is friendly with the regime. This diminishes truthfulness and informational impartiality. Likewise, its creation helps to deconcentrate the power of the private media and destine it to allied sectors.

Thus, in order to promote the creation of these means, the Government of the Citizen Revolution implemented certain incentives for this purpose, including preferential credits for the acquisition of equipment, as well as the exemption of import taxes, training, among others (National Assembly, 2013). In this sense, it should be noted that until 2007, community media did not exist, and the participation of public media was marginal to the total of existing media, representing only 6.8% (Council for Regulation and Development of Information and Communication (CORDICOM), 2014).

However, after the application of the OLC, the situation changed by December 2016, since of 1,045 stations broadcasting AM and FM, 796 are private (76%), public 194 (19%), and 55 are community media (5%). Also, of a total of 577 concessionaires of Televisión Abierta (Open Television), 362 are private (63%), 210 public (36%) and 5

are community media (1%). This demonstrates that there has been a significant advance regarding the deconcentration of frequencies (Telecommunications Regulatory and Control Agency (ARCOTEL), 2016).

Yet, the changes introduced in the new regulations have not contributed to the generation of impartial content by the media, whether private, public or community. This proves to be worrisome, since the lack of objectivity generates mistrust in consumers in relation to the veracity of information, since at first glance it is obvious when there is a bias in information, especially when it comes to political issues. Additionally, the lack of professional ethics on the part of certain communicators who should work without being influenced by their ideologies and whose task is to inform (social responsibility) and not to distort the reality according to their personal interests. However, in many cases they fail to do so.

#### **3.3.2.2.4. External debt**

Due to its socialist essence, Socialism of Good Living flatly rejects the neoliberal recipes imposed by external creditors, mainly by the multilateral credit agencies. These entities require the States that resort to these forms of financing (loans or renegotiations), the implementation of "structural adjustments" that lead to their intrusion into internal affairs, minimization of the state, imposition of policies, privatizations, among other demands that not only violates national sovereignty, but also violates the rights of citizens (Correa, 2017).

In this context, in 2007 Rafael Correa decreed the creation of the Commission for the Comprehensive Audit of Public Credit (CAIC), aimed at investigating the conditions under which the external debt credits were contracted during the period 1976-2006 and why these were requested (Commission for the Comprehensive Audit of Public Credit (CAIC), 2008). External debt refers to a loan acquired by the State from a creditor

abroad, either from international financial organizations (multilateral), government-to-government credits (bilateral), or from a private international bank (commercial). In the Ecuadorian case, this measure has been a source of financing to carry out economic and social development projects by the State (Commission for the Comprehensive Audit of Public Credit (CAIC), 2008).

After a thorough analysis of the facts, the CAIC concluded that the debt acquired between 1976 and 2006 not only violated the supreme rule of the Ecuadorian State and other national laws, but also of the legislations of the creditor States and the statutes of the lenders. In addition, the debt was contracted under conditions in favor of the creditors (excessive profit) and was a disadvantage for the sovereign interests of the Nation (reduction of social investments). This means that there was an unequal relationship between the parties. These conditions, in turn, forced the State to have more and more debts, not to mention the diversion of these funds and the lack of transparency in the processes (Commission for the Comprehensive Audit of Public Credit (CAIC), 2008).

It is because of these and other irregularities identified in the processes of external debt that the government of the Citizen Revolution declared part of this period's debt as illegitimate and illicit, especially with international banks. Consequently, it ordered the cessation of payments of a portion of such debt (commercial debt) corresponding to the Global 2012 and 2030 bonds, which amounted to 32% of the total external public debt (Ecuador will seek discount for repurchase of debt, 2009; Frydman, 2013; Senplades, 2013). It is important to note that the president initiated legal proceedings against the assumptions involved in fraudulent borrowing (Senplades, 2013).

It is important to mention that when making this decision, the president emphasized that he was aware of the possible repercussions that it could bring to the country, especially in the legal area, since it was a unilateral decision. In this context, he stated the following:

We know well who we are facing ...We accept that responsibility, we know what we are facing, but it was impossible for me, as President of the Republic, to allow to continue to pay that immoral debt after hearing the conclusions of the debt audit.

We are still studying legal strategies with national and international lawyers to challenge a debt that, I insist, is immoral and illegitimate, but we still have to demonstrate at an international level that it is illegal. And with this we have great problems because the country gave up everything because of the “entreguismo” (giving in) nature of those who negotiated those debts and those contracts, but we continue looking for the legal exits.

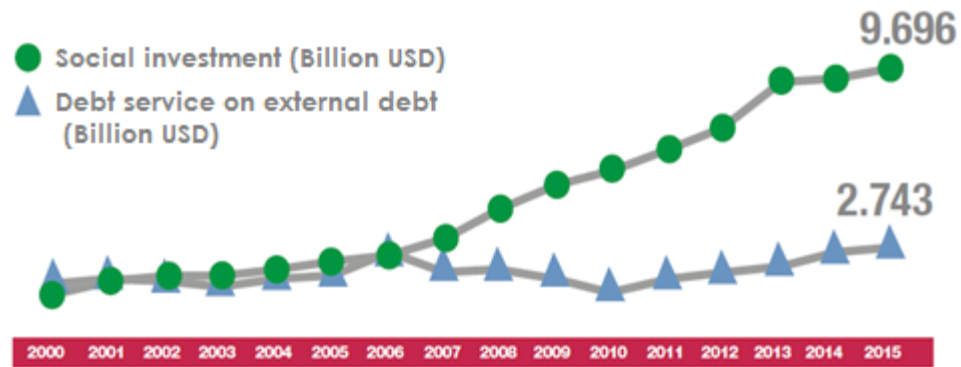
Meanwhile, we will not continue to pay that external debt, and we will present to the creditors, in the coming days, a restructuring plan to avoid a complicated, cumbersome and perhaps painful litigation. This plan acts as a quick exit to the problem that satisfies Ecuador with the legitimacy of the debt. Of course, not all debt is illegitimate and immoral, but a large portion of it is and that is why we are willing to present a restructuring plan that also allows creditors to recover part of their bonds, but without demanding the amount that those bonds nominally represent... (Ecuador Immediate, 2008)

Finally, in 2009 the government managed to repurchase, at the market value, 93% of the Ecuadorian debt contained in the bonds mentioned, that is, approximately one-third of the nominal value (the citizen, 2014; Frydman, 2013). Thanks to these measures, the State not only managed to reduce its real external debt without going against the international banks (saving \$8 billion dollars), but also was able to exercise sovereign management over it, and consequently favor social investment over its payment (Figure 19). In this sense, although there is no official information regarding the destination of the goods, according to a publication in the newspaper *El Telégrafo* these extra resources were redirected to cover social expenses, such as education, health and employment, in order to improve the living conditions of Ecuadorian society (Savings on external debt payments are used for social work, 2012).

Nonetheless, as a consequence of this action, the State has seen its financing options reduced, especially with the international financial institutions, and as a result the country has had to resort to other options, such as intergovernmental loans, mainly with the Chinese government. In addition, obtaining credit has also become difficult because Ecuador is considered a high risk country, the second highest in the region (after Venezuela), which in other words reduced its reliability in the international context (Herrera, 2015; Orozco & Angulo, 2016).



**We prioritize social spending:  
the human being above capital**



*Figure 19:* Social investment and debt service on external debt (Billion USD).

**Source:** (Senplades, 2017, p. 65)

On the other hand, as a result of the restructuring of priorities of the State budget, compared to 2006, "...the debt service accounted for 24% of the State budget, equivalent to \$2.390 billion, while public investment only reached \$1.976 billion" (Alianza PAIS, 2016). In contrast, in 2015 social investment increased to \$9.696 billion, while external debt service decreased to \$2.743 billion (Senplades, 2017).

Finally, it should be noted that in relation to this issue, changes were also made to the new Constitution of 2008, which, among other things, establishes that public debt must not violate national sovereignty or violate the rights of Ecuadorians, nor of the environment (Art. 290, numeral 2). Likewise, it is required that the conditions established by the lenders for the renegotiation of the external public debt, must necessarily benefit the country above all things (Article 290, numeral 3) (Constituent Assembly, 2008).

### 3.3.2.3. Social policy

As a consequence of the implementation of the neoliberal model that characterized the governments that preceded the Citizen Revolution, living conditions deteriorated, resulting in an increase in unemployment (Figure 20), underemployment (Figure 21), inequalities (Figure 22), labor instability and the number of Ecuadorian emigrants who, in search of better opportunities, went abroad (Paz & Cepeda, 2015). Similarly, public services (education, health, social security, etc.) were poorly viewed by society, not only because of their inefficiency, but also because of their low coverage. This was due to the lack of state investment in this sector because it prioritized the payment of external debt. Likewise, they began to be considered as more goods in the market, and its acquisition was in function of the clients' purchase capacity. Consequently, the private initiative was the only privileged one, which diminished the quality of life of the Ecuadorian population (Espinosa, n.d.).

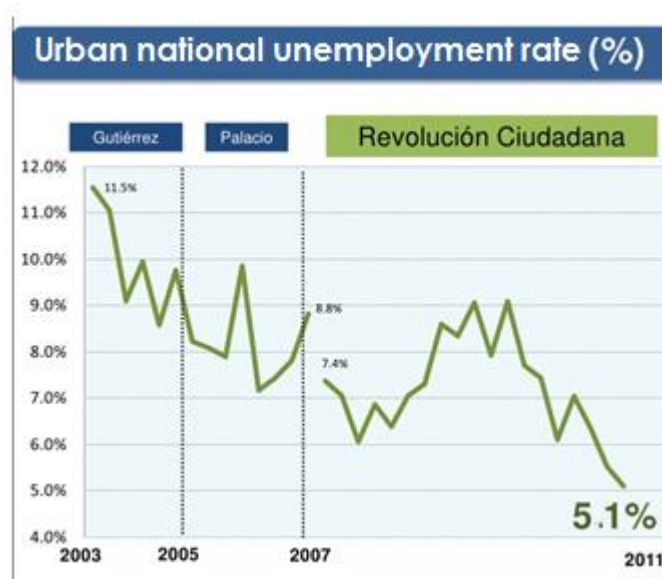


Figure 20: Urban national unemployment rate (%).

Source: (Senplades, 2012, p. 29)

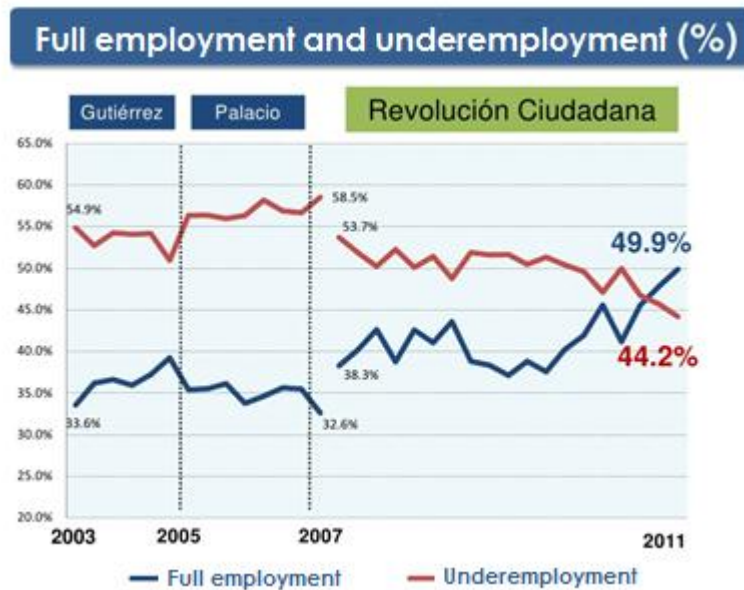


Figure 21: Full employment and underemployment.

Source: (Senplades, 2012, p. 30)

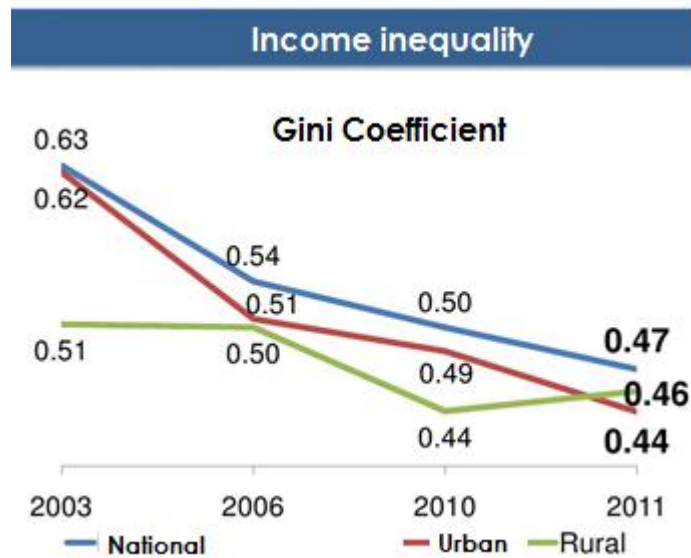


Figure 22: Income inequality.

Source: (Senplades, 2012, p. 37)

However, with the rise of Rafael Correa to power, this situation changed significantly (Figures 20, 21 and 22), since from the beginning, his government promoted a new

model of development proper to Socialism of Good Living. It was aimed at progressively settling the social debt with the Ecuadorian population, prioritizing their welfare over economic interests. This was made possible through several measures, many of which have already been detailed in previously, which among other things, have made the financing of social policies for the benefit of Ecuadorians possible. Thanks to the current president's will to fight for this issue, significant progress has been achieved in this area. It is clear that concrete actions have been carried out, among which the following stand out:

#### **3.3.2.3.1. Human Development Benefit**

Throughout his administration, President Rafael Correa has implemented a series of social policies aimed at improving public services (health, education, social security, among others). At the same time, he has continued other policies based on direct transfers and subsidies granted by the State to the most vulnerable sectors (human development benefit, housing benefit and gas subsidy), in order to cover their basic needs and improve their quality of life (Senplades, 2013).

It is important to highlight that in the case of direct transfers, specifically the Human Development Benefit, formerly known as Bono Solidario, the government of Jamil Mahuad (1998) implemented them as an unconditional temporary measure (monthly transfer). There were initially granted to economically compensate the poorest people (especially the mothers of the sector) for the elimination of subsidies. Yet, this measure has remained in force until today (Bonilla, 2013; Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion, 2016).

However, as part of the construction of Socialism of Good Living, it has undergone several modifications, mainly in its original conception. Today, it is aimed at helping the

most vulnerable groups (mothers, senior citizens and disabled people with limited resources). This aid has become an opportunity for this sector, as a "leverage for development" in the words of Doris Soliz, former Minister of Economic and Social Inclusion (Bonilla, 2013) (Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion). This is because, through this mechanism, access to credits ("Human Development Credits") has been facilitated, and up to \$1.200 dollars (monthly transfer accumulated in two years ) can be offered to productive enterprises in this sector, in order to contribute to their insertion in the labor system (economic and social inclusion) (Bonilla, 2013; Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion, n.d.). This also will help to abandon the aid program in the future and "...to overcome production and cultural poverty" (Alianza PAIS, 2006, p. 39).

With Correa's rise to power, there was a doubling of the Human Development Benefit from 15 to 35 dollars in 2007, and 35 to 50 in 2012 (current value). In addition, a focused delivery was established, based on periodic studies used to determine the degree of vulnerability of families, in order to cover households that had not been taken into account (exclusion) and because of their conditions, applied for aid. On the other hand, the studies also helped to determine those households that received the benefit but did not meet the requirements to be beneficiaries of it (Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion, 2016).

In addition, it should be noted that since the Citizen's Revolution, this monetary transfer has been conditional on the fulfillment of several requirements set by the Deputy Ministry of Social Security and Mobility. These requirements determine that families receiving the benefit have the obligation to register their children between 5 and 18 years of age in educational centers with a minimum attendance of 90% of the school calendar, as well as to take their children under 5 years of age to regular medical visits in health centers (joint responsibility in education and health) (Bonilla, 2013; Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion, n.d.).

The following figures will present the effectiveness of the Human Development Benefit in relation to the improvement in the living conditions of its beneficiaries:

- The benefit has had a positive effect on the family income, accounting for between 40% and 50% of it. This results in an increase in the level of family consumption. It should be noted that the share of the bond in the family basket went from 9% in 2007 to 10% in 2015 (Figure 23). In conclusion, the beneficiaries of the bond had greater access to a minimum consumption. (Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion, 2016)

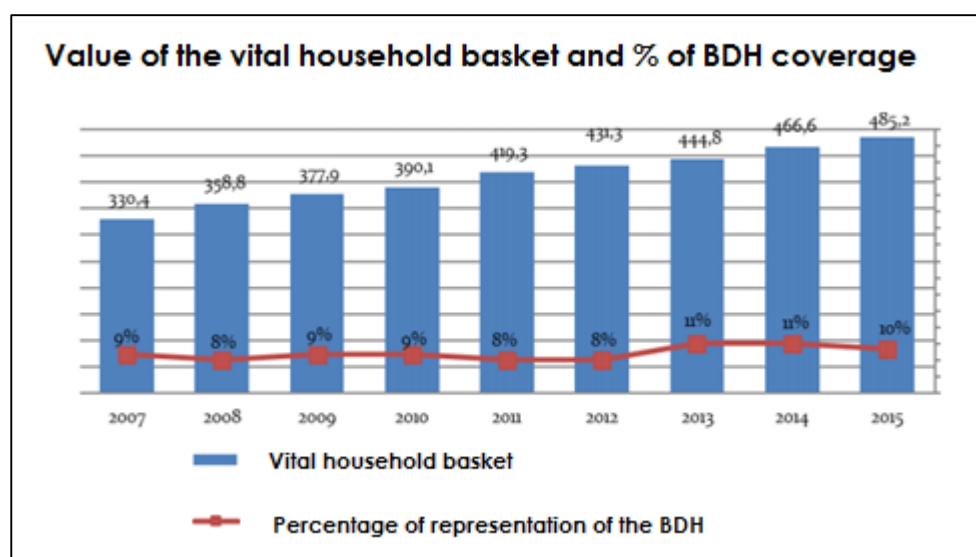


Figure 23: Value of the vital household basket and % of BDH coverage.

**Source:** (Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion, 2016, p. 14)

- Due to the mandatory responsibility in terms of health and education in children and adolescents, the following advances have been demonstrated:
  - A significant reduction in child labor (children who work and are not receiving an education) from 2.5% in 2006 to 0.5% in 2013 (children between the ages of 5 and 14) and from 17.5% in 2006 to 6.8% in 2013 (children and adolescents between 15 and 17 years old) (Inec, Unicef, 2015),
  - A reduction in the infant mortality rate from 28.3 percent in 2006 to 21.6 percent in 2015 (World Bank, 2015),

- A reduction in chronic malnutrition in children under 5, according to the Inec's "Living Conditions Survey 2014", from 25.8% in 2006 to 23.9% in 2014 (América Economía, 2016).
- A reduction in income poverty, from 37.6% in 2006 to 22.9% in 2016 (Senplades, 2017).

However, despite the fact that the human development benefit has had a favorable impact on the living conditions of its beneficiaries, and even though the State has facilitated support for its projects (accessible credits), this measure has not stopped being of a paternalistic nature. This is because it contributes in the generation of a conformist culture among the population. In many occasions, citizens often have a passive attitude, waiting for state aid to meet their basic needs, which, in turn, can contribute to reduce their initiative and creativity. As a result, although this is not the objective of Socialism of Good Living, the reality demonstrates that the solidarity benefit is a double-edged sword, which may even go against Socialism of the 21st Century, which rejects paternalism.

#### **3.3.2.3.2. Social investment**

According to what was previously presented, Socialism of Good Living has privileged social investment. As a result, since Rafael Correa's rise to power (2007), this factor has had a significant and sustainable growth over time, as can be seen in figure 24:

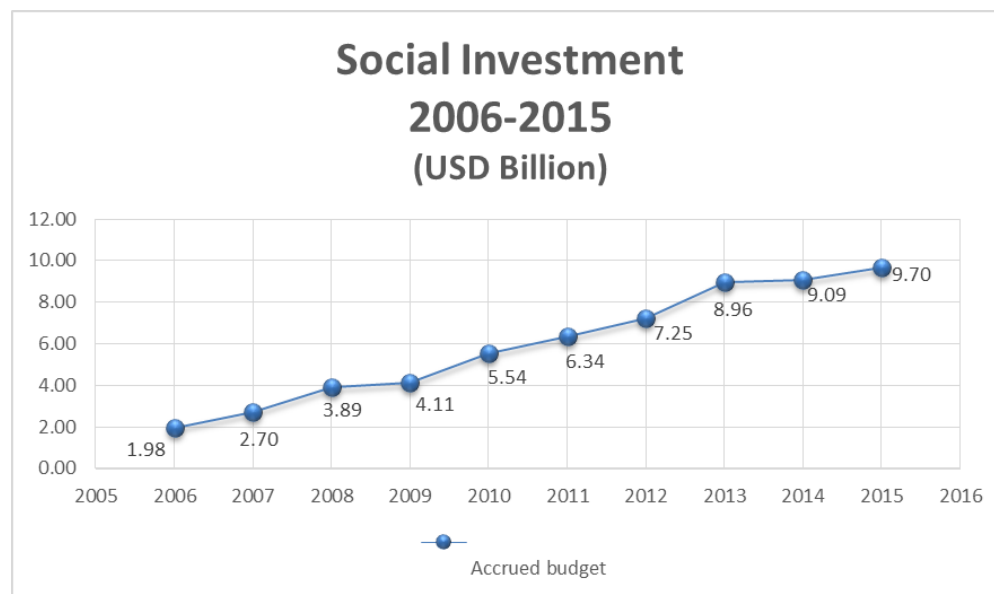


Figure 24: Social Investment 2006-2015.

**Source:** Own creation based on information from: (Coordinating Ministry for Social Development, 2015) (Undersecretary of Budget, 2014) (Undersecretary of Budget- National Directorate of Budget Consistency, 2013) (Undersecretary of Budget- National Directorate of Budget Consistency, 2012) (Undersecretary of Budget- National Directorate of Budget Consistency, 2011) (Ministry of Finance; Coordinating Ministry for Social Development; Unicef, 2010) (Ministry of Finance of Ecuador, 2009)

Thus, the evolution of this budget demonstrates a reconfiguration of priorities by the government, in favor of majorities and above particular interests.

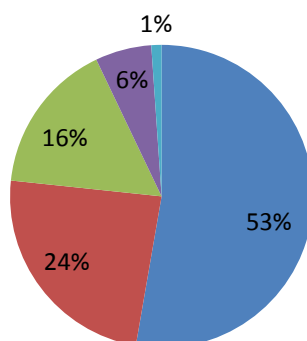
... the fate of social resources demonstrates the power relations within a society, and the data unequivocally show that before the creditors, the bankers, and the international bureaucracies were the ones in charge in Ecuador. Yet, nowadays it can be said that the people are in command (Correa, Keynote Conference: Economics for Development case Ecuador (Genoa), 2017, p. 9).

On the other hand, it should be noted that social spending includes the resources destined to: Health, Education, Labor, Social Welfare, and Urban Development and Housing. Education (53%) and health (24%) are the sectors with the highest participation in the period 2007-2015, as can be seen in Figure 25:



## SOCIAL INVESTMENT EXECUTED BY SECTOR 2007-2015

■ Education ■ Health ■ Social Welfare ■ Urban Development and Housing ■ Job



| BUDGET EXECUTED BY SECTOR<br>2007-2015 |             |
|--|-------------|
| SECTOR                                 | USD BILLION |
| Education                              | 29.75       |
| Health                                 | 13.51       |
| Social Welfare                         | 9.17        |
| Urban Development and Housing          | 3.38        |
| Job                                    | 0.62        |

*Figure 25:* Budget executed by sector 2007-2015.

**Source:** Own creation based on information from: (Coordinating Ministry for Social Development, 2015) (Undersecretary of Budget, 2014) (Undersecretary of Budget- National Directorate of Budget Consistency, 2013) (Undersecretary of Budget- National Directorate of Budget Consistency, 2012) (Undersecretary of Budget- National Directorate of Budget Consistency, 2011) (Ministry of Finance; Coordinating Ministry for Social Development; Unicef, 2010) (Ministry of Finance of Ecuador, 2009)

### **3.3.2.3.2.1. Education**

Socialism of Good Living assigns a primordial role to education, since it considers that the advances in this sector go hand in hand with the national development. In other words, through the formation of human talent inside and outside the country. It should be noted that although the Government of the Citizen Revolution recognizes academic excellence through the granting of scholarships in the most prestigious universities worldwide, it sets as a condition the return of the scholars to the country after completing their studies abroad. To ensure beneficiaries of the scholarship to pay back the government, they must work in Ecuador for twice the duration of the funded studies, in an uninterrupted manner (Secretariat of Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation, 2016).

In this way, the benefit ceases to be individual and becomes collective (socialist nature), given that thanks to this modality, new knowledge enters the country and can be used in favor of national development. This is the reason why scholarships are only granted in areas that considered relevant, such as: Engineering related to industry and construction, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), Education, Health, among others (Secretariat of Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation, 2016).

On the other hand, given the importance assigned to education, over the ten years of management specific achievements have been made, among which the following stand out:

- Free public education up to the third level through the elimination of tuition and other fees (Constituent Assembly, 2008).
- Free uniforms as part of the "Hilando el Desarrollo" program, whose beneficiaries are pre-primary education students (urban and rural areas) and primary students (rural areas) of fiscal and fiscomisional establishments, as well

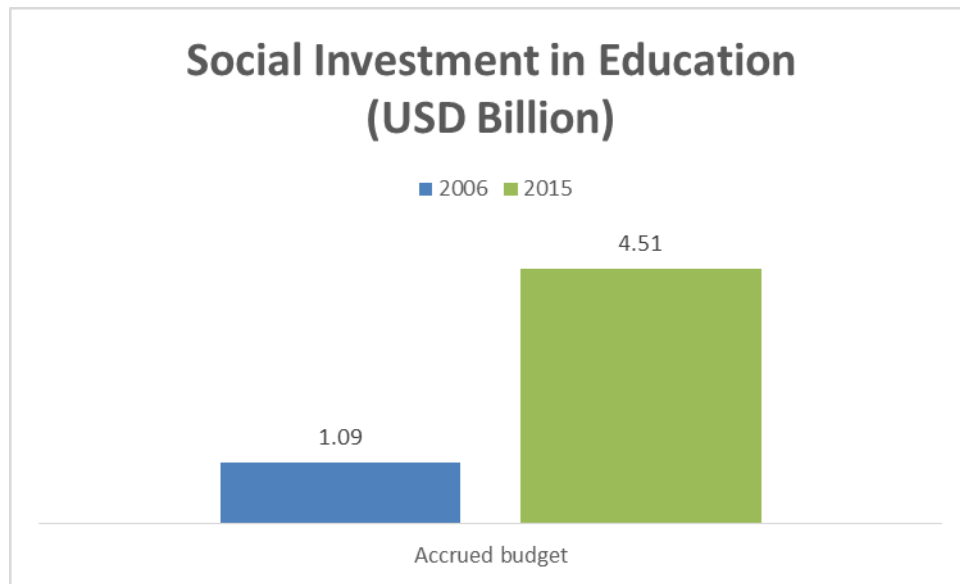
as for students of all grades who attend the Millennium Educational Units (Ministry of Education, n.d.).

- Free school books for students who attend fiscal and fiscomisional schools throughout the country, from first grade of primary school to the last year of high school (Ministry of Education, n.d.).
- Free breakfast for students thanks to the School Feeding Program, whose beneficiaries are children and adolescents between the ages of 3 and 14 of public, semi-public and municipal establishments (urban and rural areas) (Ministry of Education, n.d.).
- A significant increase in the number of students enrolled in public schools (54%), from 2,381,939 students during the 2007-2008 school year, to 3,802,431 students enrolled during the 2015-2016 school year (Senplades, 2017).
- The accreditation of 204 public schools, which today have international baccalaureate certification (improvement in educational quality) (International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO), 2017; Ministry of Education, n.d.; Senplades, 2017).
- The granting of 19,586 scholarships for undergraduate education (as of December 2016) (Senplades, 2017).
- The construction of 124 Millennium Educational Units (MEU). As of January 23, 2017, seventy-one of these schools have been operating, while the other fifty-three are still under construction. It should be noted that this has been an emblematic project of the Citizen Revolution whose purpose is to improve school infrastructure at different levels of education (pre-primary, primary, and high school) in sectors previously forgotten, in both urban and rural areas (Ministry of Education, n.d.). However, this issue has generated controversy due to the fact that certain indigenous sectors have resisted the closing of schools near their homes, due to the location of MEUs, which despite having a strategic location, are still distant for certain rural sectors (Pérez & Borja, 2017).
- International recognition of excellence and innovation in literacy by UNESCO. This entity awarded the "Rey Sejong" prize to the Ministry of Education (2014),

for the "Basic Education for Young People and Adults" project, which between 2011 and 2013 has benefited more than 325,000 citizens (The citizen, 2014).

With the Basic Education Project for Young People and Adults, the Ministry of Education made it its goal to reduce illiteracy to 2.8%, that is, to literate 278,742 people. However, the program exceeded this goal since more than 325,000 people from all over the country became literate (The citizen, 2014).

- Significant increase in funds destined for this sector, as can be seen in Figure 26:



*Figure 26:* Social Investment in Education.

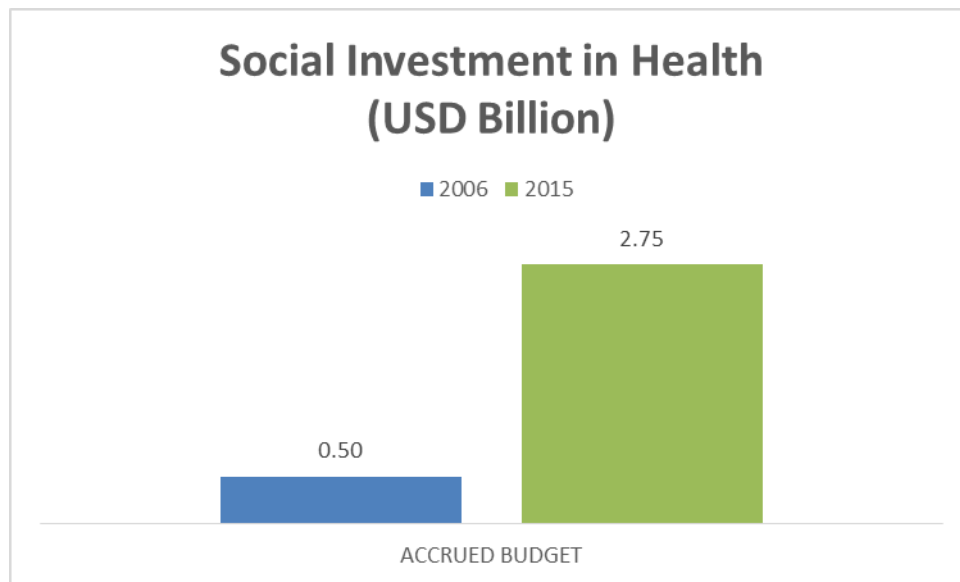
**Source:** Own creation based on information from: (Coordinating Ministry for Social Development, 2015; Ministry of Finance of Ecuador, 2009)

#### **3.3.2.3.2.2. Health**

According to what has been previously written, health is the other sector that has been prioritized by the Citizen Revolution, given the direct relationship between the provision of this service and the well-being of citizens, as well as to respond to urgent

personal and collective demands (Socialism of the 21st Century) in search of improvements in this sector. That is why progress has also been made in this field, among which the following stand out:

- Regaining of confidence in free public health services, which is demonstrated by the increase in the services provided by establishments in this sector, from 16 million in 2006 to 41 million in 2016 (Senplades, 2017).
- Thirteen hospitals and sixty-three health centers have been built throughout the ten years of management. In addition, twenty-two hospitals have been renovated (Senplades, 2017).
- International accreditation of 40 hospitals in the country (improvement in quality according to international standards) (Sosa G., 2017).
- Increase in per capita expenditure on health, from \$41.89 in 2006 to \$169.2 in 2015, which is due to the increase in the funds designated to this sector (Figure 27) (Pan American Health Organization, 2008; Senplades, 2017).



*Figure 27:* Social Investment in Health.

**Source:** Own creation based on information from: (Coordinating Ministry for Social Development, 2015; Ministry of Finance of Ecuador, 2009)

### 3.3.2.3.2.3. Road Improvements

Road improvements are another outstanding and tangible feature of the Citizen Revolution. This stems from the large investment in this sector (public works) during the 2007-2015 period, which corresponds to the current government. The investment has been 6 times higher than the one carried out by the three previous administrations together as can be seen in Figure 28 (Agencia Pública de Noticias del Ecuador y Suramérica (ANDES), 2016).

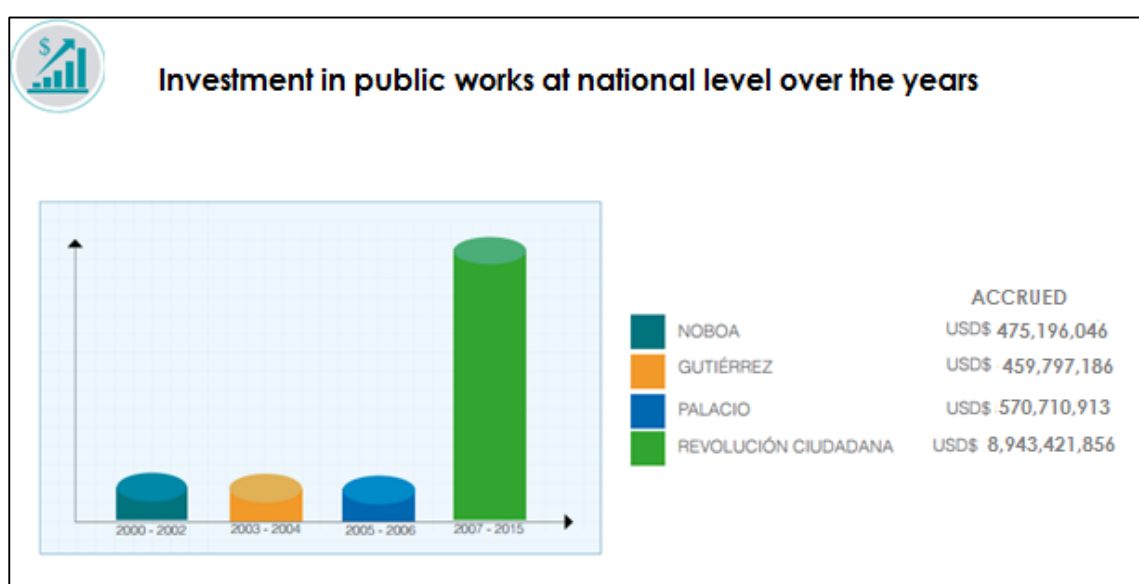


Figure 28: Investment in public works at national level over the years.

**Source:** (Ministry of Transport and Public Works, 2015, p. 10)

In fact, the government of the Citizen Revolution, through the Ministry of Transport and Public Works, has directed this investment to the construction of emblematic projects in this area, such as the Spondylus Route, the Troncal Amazon, the Manta-Manaos Multimodal Project, among others. It has also helped in the reconstruction, expansion, improvement and consequent maintenance of roads in the country. As a result, this investment has created a source of employment, especially for

the inhabitants of the sectors close to where the roads are built. This is thanks to the Ministry of Transport and Public Works, since it demanded the hiring of locals (Ministry of Transport and Public Works, 2012).

Another reason why Socialism of Good Living prioritizes the development of road infrastructure is its impact on the social and economic development of the country. In addition to improving the well-being of citizens, since it facilitates the mobility of people (national and international connectivity), it enhances the tourism sector and also encourages and favors trade. This is because the access to quality roads contributes to reducing costs in terms of maintenance and the operation of land transportation means (reduction in mobilization time), which also increases the competitiveness of economic operators (Ministry of Transport and Public Works, 2017).

Finally, it should be noted that, thanks to all the advances in this sector, according to the global competitiveness report 2013-2014, created by the World Economic Forum, Ecuador ranks 50th worldwide, out of 148 countries. In contrast, the perception of the Ecuadorian population regarding the quality of roads in the country is ranked in second place in South America (after Chile) (Agencia Pública de Noticias del Ecuador y Suramérica (ANDES), 2014; World Economic Forum, 2013).

#### **3.3.2.3.3. Work reforms**

Throughout his administration, Correa has promoted several reforms in the labor field, among which the ban on outsourcing and labor intermediation stands out, as stated in Article 327 of the Constitution:

The employment relationship between workers and employers will be bilateral and direct.

It prohibits any form of precariousness, such as labor intermediation and outsourcing in the usual activities of the company or employer, hiring by hours, or any other actions that affect the rights of workers individually or collectively. The failure to comply with obligations, fraud, simulation, and unjust enrichment in labor matters shall be penalized and sanctioned in accordance with the law (Constituent Assembly, 2008).

According to the president, what motivated this reform was the abuse in the outsourcing and the hiring by hours, which diminished the labor stability of the population. This method was used by employers to evade work responsibilities, in other words to avoid paying the benefits that workers had by law, such as their affiliation with the IESS (Ecuadorian Social Security Institute), payment of utilities and bonus salaries, liquidation, among others (Correa, 2008).

Additionally, it introduced the concept of a dignified salary, understood as an income that allows a family to overcome poverty. In this context, although the payment of the minimum wage contributes to avoid unemployment, the new legislation establishes that if each worker is not paid the dignified wage, no company can declare profits (Correa, 2014). This measure was enforced because there were large companies whose profit value assigned to each worker was disproportionate when compared to the salary that each one usually received.

With these measures, the government wanted to ensure a balance between the companies' profits and salaries in order for workers to receive a fair pay for their work and according to the solvency of the company. "The minimums should be paid only when necessary. However, no company should declare profits if it does not pay its workers a wage that we can qualify as fair" (Correa, 2008, p. 26).

In conclusion, Socialism of Good Living believes that the work of the human being cannot be considered as another commodity in the market, nor the salary as a price to pay for the it. This is because the movement considers, above all, the ethical value of work and this is how it is linked to Socialism of the 21st Century (preponderance of the value of use over the exchange value) (Public Agency of News of Ecuador and South America (ANDES), 2017).



Human labor has an ethical value because it is not an object, it is a subject. It is not a means of production, it is the very end of production, and a vital form of filling our existence. The salary is bread, sustenance, dignity, and one of the fundamental instruments of distribution, justice and equity (Public Agency of News of Ecuador and South America (ANDES), 2017).

#### **3.3.2.3.4. Reduction of inequality**

The redistributive policies implemented by the current government have paid off, both in reducing inequalities and in the fight against poverty (priority issues), as data confirms. With the government of the Citizen Revolution, income poverty declined by 14 percentage points, from 37.6% in 2006 to 22.9% in 2016 (Senplades, 2017). In addition, inequality in terms of income also decreased from 0.53 in 2006 to 0.45 in 2014 (gini coefficient). Finally, according to a World Bank study titled "Taking on Inequality," Ecuador ranked first in Latin America in terms of reducing inequality between the rich and the poor, during the 2009-2014 period (Telesur, 2016) (World Bank, 2016). In contrast to what happened in 2004-2009, where "... Ecuador ranked eighth, which shows progress in recent years" (Telesur, 2016).

#### **3.3.2.4. Foreign policy**

The Citizen's Revolution, directed towards Socialism of Good Living, cannot triumph in isolation because of its socialist essence, since beyond wanting to generate an individual transformation, it seeks to transcend national boundaries to position itself at a regional and global level. In this context, it promotes a joint transformation with the rest of the Latin American countries, which will lead them to "...take back the flags of the heroes of the first Independence and work on the integration of the nations of the Patria

Grande..." (Patiño, 2010, p. 138). This will lead to the restoration of the ideals of union, justice, equity, sovereignty, and freedom that were fought by the great revolutionaries, among whom the liberator Simón Bolívar on behalf of Latin America stands out as well as Eloy Alfaro in the case of Ecuador. In this way, all nations will advance together towards the construction of Socialism of the 21st Century (integrative process) (Patiño, 2010).

... separated, it will be that transnational capital that imposes the conditions on us; United, it will be our peoples who impose conditions on capital. The Patria Grande, comrades, is no longer only a dream of our liberators, but the best, and perhaps only, way to obtain our second and final independence (Correa, 2014, p. 16).

In accordance to this, the Ecuadorian president has been firm in the defense of national sovereignty, referring not only to obtaining territorial self-determination, but also for autonomy in economic, financial, cultural, environmental, energy, food, etc. (Senplades, 2007). It has also been clear that, in order to guarantee it, it is essential to develop strategies that gradually reduce the dependence that the country has been subjected to for so many years, both ideologically, politically and economically. It would be ideal if this action goes beyond the national borders and becomes a joint work with the countries of our region, with which, among other things, the same conflicts are shared (Senplades, 2007).

In this context, the Ecuadorian government has focused on implementing a foreign policy aimed at strengthening regional integration (of South America) through various organizations. These include the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA), the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), the Andean Community of Nations (CAN), the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR), the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), regardless of the guidelines derived from political hegemony and US interests (Senplades, 2007) (Senplades, 2013).

In this sense, it is important to point out that since its beginning, Correa has maintained fraternal relationships with the governments considered part of the new Latin American left, especially with Venezuela, Cuba, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, which has resulted in a marked distancing with the US government (Center of Political Studies

for International Relations and Development (CEPRID), 2013). In addition, the failure to renew the agreement with the United States in relation to the Manta Base, which expired in November 2009, also deteriorated bilateral relations as well as the refusal to sign a Free Trade Agreement with this country and the unilateral and irrevocable waiver of the Andean Trade Promotion and Drug Eradication Act (International Trade Administration, n. d; Jaramillo-Jassir & Tibocha, 2008; National Secretariat of Communication, n. d.).

On the other hand, in contrast to the neoliberal model where international relations are based on inter-State trade, Socialism of Good Living promotes preferentially intergovernmental relations, seated on strong bases, in order to make real integration feasible. Therefore, this new socialist project has been working on the construction of a new model of international relations, based on common social, political and cultural features that can become true cohesion factors, both regionally and globally, while favoring South American integration. The basis of this integration has been the consolidation and promotion of anti-imperialism as a region (common anti-imperialist discourse) (Patiño, 2010). "Integration is an anti-imperialist response and anti-imperialism is a response of integration" (Patiño, 2010, p. 138).

Finally, it should be noted that the Citizens' Revolution has focused on strengthening the cooperation links between countries, especially at the Latin American level. This is equivalent to the creation of ties that lead to the transmission not only of resources, but also of knowledge (such as the exchange of students and teachers) and of experiences "...that allow people from other parts of the world to benefit from what is created in the country" (Senplades, 2013, p. 345). It has also favored the consolidation of relations with countries other than those of the traditional blocks such as China, South Africa, Qatar, Russia, India, among others, as part of the recognition of a multipolar world (Patiño, 2010; Senplades, 2013).

### **3.3.3. Consolidation of the State's role in planning**

Democratic planning is another essential aspect of Socialism of the 21st Century. Starting with the restructuring of public institutions, Socialism of Good Living assigns a preponderant role to planning given that it considers it as a transcendental instrument in the formulation and execution of public policies, as well as in the budget execution of the State. This is because it not only allows to define jointly the government programs and the goals to be met (where they want to go), but also allows these to be put into writing which leaves behind proof for the subsequent evaluation of its achievement.

Planning and investment go hand in hand. Never again will the investment of citizens' resources respond to political pressure or to the interests of the elites who have stripped the country. Public resources no longer fuel the fortunes of oligarchies. Now public investment is an engine of the economy that is complemented by private investment. This resource planning allows us to adequately address recurrent international economic and financial crises, and reduces our external dependence (Alianza PAIS, p. 18).

In this context, the Citizen Revolution consolidates the national planning system and emphasizes its participative and decentralized nature (Grijalva, 2009). As a result, planning is considered participatory because the State establishes mechanisms that encourage citizen participation at different levels of government (National Assembly, 2010). It is also decentralized, since the Decentralized Autonomous Governments (regional councils, provincial councils, metropolitan councils, municipal councils and rural parochial boards) are responsible for developing their own Development plans and territorial ordering according to national policies, given their political, administrative and financial autonomy from the central government (Constitutional Assembly, 2008; National Assembly, 2010).

Thus, through the Constitution of Montecristi, the creation of a National Decentralized System of Participatory Planning (article 279), aimed at coordinating the interaction of all the actors involved in development planning, was established (Constituent Assembly, 2008; National Assembly, 2010). This system, according to

article 279 of the constitutional text, is made up of a National Planning Council that includes the different levels of government, with the participation of the citizens and also has a technical secretariat (Senplades) for the respective administration and coordination of the system as a whole (Constituent Assembly, 2008; Senplades, n.d.). The President of the Republic chairs this council and it is in charge of the approval of the National Development Plan, which is the instrument that guides government management and the implementation of the state budget. Consequently, this plan is binding for the public sector and indicative for the other sectors (Constituent Assembly, 2008).

Finally, it is worth mentioning that at the International Seminar on Regional Foresight (2015), the ECLAC Executive Secretary, Alicia Bárcena, highlighted the usefulness of the planning that has been developed in the country, in addition to the contribution of Senplades in the process (National Secretariat of Communication, n.d.).

"Senplades has been an institution that has generated a lot of regional consequences. It has very concrete results on how to link planning between local and subnational sectors. Why do we put planning in the center? Because if you have an idea of where you want to go, it is easier to prioritize resources (...) For example, Ecuador has defined that it wants to go towards the substitution of imports of petroleum products and has invested in hydroelectric plants. That's the way to be prospective," said the National Secretariat of Communication.

### **3.3.3.1. Decentralization**

Starting from the relevant role played by decentralized management (at all levels) in the construction of Socialism of the 21st Century, as a means to effect the participation of the masses, Socialism of Good Living has focused on decentralizing and gradually deconcentrating skills of the State, that is, political and administrative power. This is in order to optimize the distribution of resources and to bring greater (coverage) and better (quality) public goods and services to the population, from all corners of the country (territorial equity) (Alianza PAIS, n.d.; Senplades, 2014).

Decentralization is understood as the political reforms aimed at transferring or distributing resources, responsibilities, as well as authority from the central government to the Decentralized Autonomous Governments (GADs) that constitute local authorities (Senplades, 2015). Meanwhile, deconcentration refers to the transfer of competencies and services from a national entity such as a ministry, to its dependencies, whether at the zonal, district or circuit level. However, the central entity retains control and leadership in order to provide quality and efficient services (Senplades, 2012; Senplades, 2014).

In short, decentralization and deconcentration seek to ensure that economic resources, responsibilities, services and benefits are not concentrated in certain places, but that all of it be administered, in an equitable and responsible manner, in all corners of the country (SENPLADES, 2012, p. 3).

In this line, it should be noted that in terms of decentralization, the distribution of state resources to the Autonomous Decentralized Government (GAD) has been a weakness for the regime. SENPLADES published favorable indicators in reference to the distribution of resources for the GAD during the government of the Citizen's Revolution, and has also indicated a considerable increase in the resources designated to it (Figure 29). However, several complaints have been made by the representatives of the GAD, who blame the State for the lack of resource designation or for the delays in funding. In turn, the GAD uses it as a way to get away with not completing its job.

### Transfers to Decentralized Autonomous Governments (GAD) (USD Billion)



Figure 29: Transfers to Decentralized Autonomous Governments (GAD).

**Source:** (Senplades, 2017, p. 12)

On the other hand, as mentioned before, Socialism of Good Living has been aimed at achieving a greater presence of the State in terms of institutions and services in local territories, closer to citizens, as well as a more equitable presence. This was done in order to combat the centralism of neoliberalism, which resulted in a disorderly development of territories, many of them without access to basic services (Senplades, 2014). "Historically, centralism has caused the state's public management to be concentrated in Quito, Guayaquil and Cuenca, and the rest of the country was forgotten" (Senplades, 2014, p. 33).

It should be noted that decentralization has not only occurred in planning, but also in terms of the transfer of responsibilities to the GAD, such as irrigation and drainage competition (provincial GAD), transit responsibilities, land transport and road safety (municipal GAD), among others (Senplades, 2015). In this context, until 2016, a total of 11 competencies have been transferred to the GAD, at a provincial, municipal and parish level (Senplades, 2016, p. 18).

### **3.3.3.2. Participatory democracy: citizen democracy**

As part of the construction of Socialism of the 21st Century, both in Ecuador and in other Latin American countries, there has been a reconceptualization of democracy, due to the fact that for a long time political participation has been reduced to the mere act of voting (Patiño, 2010). Nonetheless, democracy presupposes the active, effective and responsible participation of the population in public decision-making, as a manifestation of "... autonomy, freedom and social struggle" (Ocles, 2010, p. 97)

Therefore, Socialism of Good Living seeks to forge a radical democracy based on dialogue and continuous debate, where Ecuadorians are the managers of its development through their participation, which makes the construction of citizenship essential or, in other words, "subjects of law that can exercise power" (Patiño, 2010, p 133). For this, the population must be trained and skillful that allows it to develop effective and useful proposals for the public administration (Patiño, 2010; Ocles, 2010). In addition, it promotes the creation of organizations in all its modalities, as a manifestation of popular sovereignty and of training at a collective level (Patiño, 2010) (National Assembly, 2010). "To this participatory radical democracy we call it citizen democracy" (Patiño, 2010, p. 134).

In this context, the Montecristi Constitution, among other things, brought with it a innovative ways to divide the powers of the State, since, unlike the 1998 Constitution that established only three traditional functions (Legislative, Executive and Judicial), the new Constitution added two others: the Function of Transparency and Social Control and, the Electoral Function. A brief summary of these functions' responsibilities are described below:

- 1. Executive Function:** It is exercised by the President of the Republic who is the Head of State and Government and therefore is in charge of public



administration. In addition to the President, this function is made up of the Vice President and the Ministers of State (a position that is appointed by and can be removed by the president). It should be noted that the President is elected by popular vote for a period of four years, with the possibility of a one-time re-election (the same applies to the Vice-President) (Constituent Assembly, 2008).

**2. Legislative Function:** It is exercised by the National Assembly and is made up of assembly members who are elected by popular vote to exercise their functions for a period of four years. Among its main powers is the expedition, codification, reform and repeal of the laws, the oversight of public administration, the criminal prosecution of the President of the Republic or the Vice-President when requested by the competent authority, provided that it is supported by a two-thirds vote of its members and is a duly substantiated request, among others (Constituent Assembly, 2008).

**3. Judicial Function:** The new Constitution divides the administration of justice into two parts:

- Ordinary Justice, headed by the Council of the Judiciary and in turn conformed by jurisdictional, administrative, auxiliary and autonomous bodies, which are responsible for the administration of justice. Its members are selected through a public competition of merit and opposition (Constituent Assembly, 2008) (National Assembly, 2009).
- Indigenous justice, based on ancestral traditions and exercised by the authorities of indigenous communities at the jurisdictional level. This is achieved through its own procedures to solve internal conflicts, as long as they do not go against the Constitution (Constituent Assembly, 2008).

**4. Function of Transparency and Social Control:** It is in charge of the control of the public administration, as well as of the natural or juridical persons who, although part of the private sector, perform activities of public interest. That is, to make sure that public management is carried out with responsibility, transparency (accountability), efficiency and equity, in order to combat corruption (FTCS) (Constitutional Assembly, 2008). In addition, it ensures compliance with the rights of the population and promotes their participation in

matters of general interest (participatory democracy) through the Citizen Participation Council and Social Control. Finally, it should be noted that for its purpose, in addition to the aforementioned council, it is made up of the Office of the Ombudsman, the Comptroller General of the State and superintendencies, whose authorities are designated by means of a public contest of opposition and merits (Constituent Assembly, 2008).

- 5. Electoral Function:** It is in charge of guaranteeing the exercise of the political rights of the population, those that are related to the electoral activity and its political organization (Constituent Assembly, 2008). It is comprised of the National Electoral Council (formerly called the Supreme Electoral Tribunal) and the Electoral Dispute Tribunal, whose members are appointed by the Council of Citizen Participation and Social Control through a public contest of opposition and merits (Constituent Assembly, 2008) (National Assembly, 2009). Finally, it should be noted that the President of the National Electoral Council is the representative of this function (Constituent Assembly, 2008).

On the other hand, in addition to the constitutional text, there is more legislation directly related to citizen participation, for which the Organic Law of Citizen Participation stands out since it constitutes the road map for the functioning of participatory democracy in the country. Within its legislation it establishes instances and mechanisms of participation for the different levels of government, which will be listed below: (National Assembly, 2010; Ocles, 2010)

## INSTANCES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

| Nationally  | Locally   |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National equality councils</li> <li>• National planning council</li> <li>• Plurinational and Intercultural Citizen Assembly for the Good Living</li> <li>• Sectoral citizens councils</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local assemblies</li> <li>• Instance of citizen participation at the local level</li> <li>• Local tips for planning</li> </ul> |

## MECHANISMS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

| Of direct democracy   | Of public management  |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Popular normative initiative</li> <li>• Referendum</li> <li>• Popular consultation</li> <li>• Recall of the mandate</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public hearings</li> <li>• Popular cabildos</li> <li>• Empty chair</li> <li>• Veedurías</li> <li>• Observatories</li> <li>• Advisory Councils</li> </ul> |

*Figure 30:* Instances of citizen participation and mechanisms of citizen participation.

**Source:** (Own creation based on information from: (National Assembly, 2010).

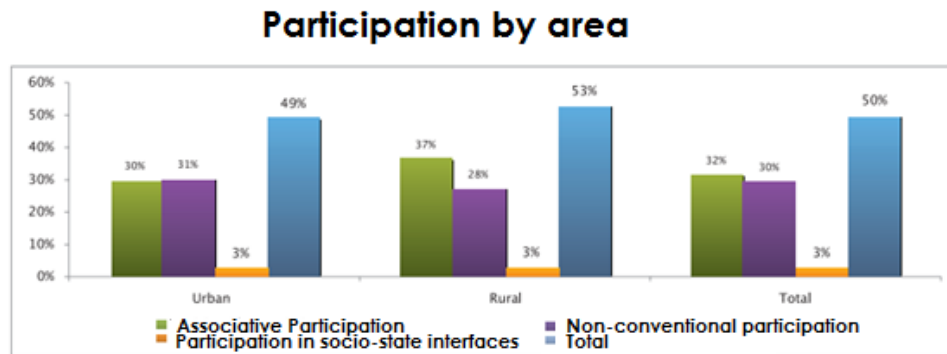
In this way, Socialism of Good Living provides the spaces necessary for citizen participation to take place in practice, thus contributing to a democratic State-Society deliberation and also impelling a constant monitoring by the population on government mandates. This is made possible through social control and transparency that requires public or private officials to perform activities of public interest, as well as through a mandatory accountability that can be requested once a year since the free and timely

access to this information constitutes a citizen right (National Assembly, 2011; Patiño, 2010; Senplades, 2012).

Citizen Participation is connected to the whole cycle of public policies. In the planning phase, it creates conditions of collaboration and deliberation for the consensual formulation of the public agenda. In the budgeting phase, it ensures that citizen mandates are reflected in the national budget. In the implementation phase of policies, programs and projects, participatory monitoring is applied. And in the phase of results evaluation, it promotes the accountability of goals and public investments (SENPLADES, 2012, p. 9).

In addition, the creation of laws and institutions aimed at promoting citizen participation has not been enough to make it effective, which is based on the following indicators:

- Although voting in the country is mandatory, in the first decade of the millennium, Ecuador reached an average absenteeism of 27.8%, placing it in third place (after Colombia 54.9% and Paraguay 35, 7%) with more absenteeism from a total of 11 countries that are under the same conditions, with the exception of Colombia and Nicaragua where voting is not mandatory (Senplades, 2012).
- According to the data provided by the National Survey of Citizen Participation (ENPC-2008) applied by INEC, participation in social-state interfaces, in other words, in spaces provided by the State, reached a marginal figure (3% ) in 2008, as compared to nonconventional participation (protests, protests, uprisings, among others) and associative participation, as can be seen in Figure 31: (Senplades, 2012)



*Figure 31:* Participation by area.

**Source:** (Senplades, 2012, p. 122)

#### **3.3.4. Consolidation of the State's role in redistribution aspects**

As previously stated, Socialism of Good Living has focused on the development of redistributive policies in various areas, mainly in relation to the distribution of the means of production and wealth. This is because this ideology wished to promote equitable access to these resources (fair distribution) and at the same time generate opportunities, especially for those who need them the most (inclusion), in order to combat inequality and poverty. What is sought with these measures is to lay the necessary foundations for society to raise awareness of the importance of its contribution in the national development process, highlighting that not everything is in the hands of the government, but actually, it is a teamwork effort, where everyone should be encouraged to do their bit (solidarity).

In an equitable society, individual effort and skill must be the most important determinants of a person's income and wealth; rather than circumstances and factors that cannot be controlled (such as family income and level of education, gender or ethnic group, or place of birth) (Blackman, 2015, p.7).

### 3.3.4.1. Redistribution of land

Socialism of Good Living has put emphasis on the agricultural sector, given its importance in the national economy. According to statistics from the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INEC), this branch of activity along with livestock, hunting and forestry, and fishing has had the highest employment participation in the last 10 years, with a 25.6% of participation in December 2016 (National Statistics and Census Institute (INEC), 2016).

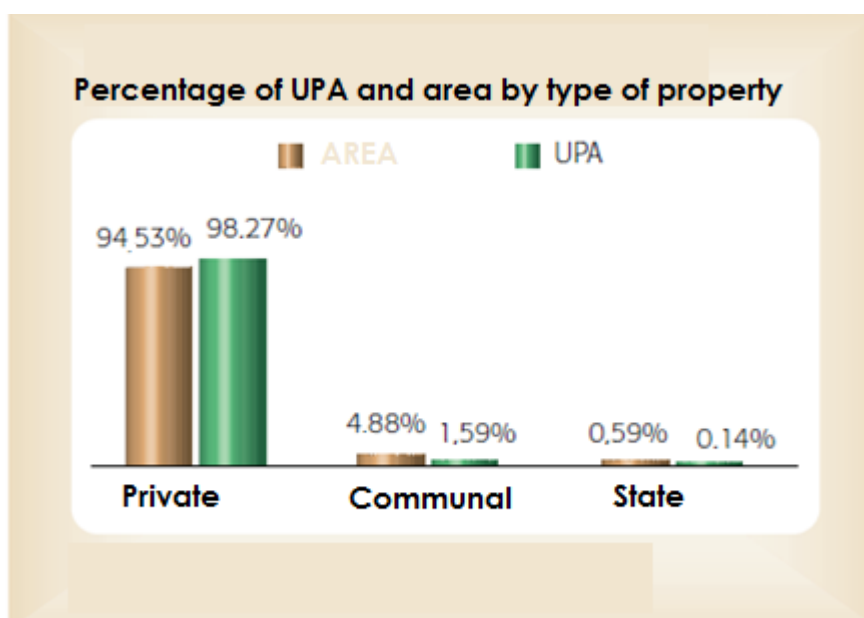
The main source of employment is agriculture, which represented 25% of the Economically Active Population (EAP) only in 2014. Its contribution to the GDP in the last eleven years averaged 8.5% ... and is ranked as the sixth sector that contributes to the country's production" (Revista Agro, 2015).

According to data provided by the National Agricultural and Livestock Census (INEC), the land is concentrated in few hands of the private sector (94, 53%), as can be seen in Figures 32 and 33. Socialism of Good Living has undertaken several actions aimed at redistributing land in a way that benefits the neediest sectors, especially small and medium producers of peasant family agriculture (inclusion). This is necessary in order to promote equitable access to this resource as a means of production and to reduce its concentration, as well as to encourage the use of abandoned lands or those that are not being cultivated in accordance to their potential performance (Research System on Agrarian Issues in Ecuador (SIPAE), 2011). Thus, the State intervenes as an agent that generates symmetries at a social, political and economic level, attributed by Socialism of the 21st Century (Guerra, 2007).

| Number and area of UPA, by type of property |         |            |            |            |
|---|---------|------------|------------|------------|
| Kind of property                            | UPA     |            | AREA       |            |
|   | Number  | Percentage | Hectare    | Percentage |
| Private                                     | 828,267 | 98.27      | 11,680,469 | 94.53      |
| Communal                                    | 13,408  | 1.59       | 602,862    | 4.88       |
| State                                       | 1,228   | 0.14       | 73,261     | 0.59       |
| Total                                       | 842,881 | 100        | 12,355,831 | 100        |
| *Note: UPA=Agricultural production unit     |         |            |            |            |

Figure 32: Number and area of UPA, by type of property.

**Source:** (Research System on Agrarian Issues in Ecuador (SIPAE), 2011)



*Figure 33:* Percentage of UPA and area by type of property.

**Source:** (Research System on Agrarian Issues in Ecuador (SIPAE), 2011).

In this context, the Citizens' Revolution has undertaken several reforms in agrarian matters in the new Magna Carta. These are aimed mainly at promoting the equitable redistribution of both resources and wealth (article 3, numeral 5); To guarantee to the municipalities, communities, peoples and indigenous nationalities the conservation of their communal lands for their use and enjoyment of the usufruct derived therefrom (article 57, paragraphs 4, 5 and 6); To guarantee food sovereignty (Article 281, paragraph 1); To regulate the use and access to the land (article 282, subsections 1 and 2); And to ensure fair trade (Article 336). In addition to these standards, the National Plan for Good Living 2013-2017 is also important because it deals with the Agrarian Revolution and indicates that this not only involves the redistribution of land, but also the facilitation of access to credit and irrigation, the provision of technical assistance and

the promotion of fair trade, which translates into a change in productive conditions (Alianza PAIS, n.d.; Senplades, 2013).

What was established in the Organic Law of Rural Lands and Ancestral Territories that was created in this government is also important to mention, which among other things allows the expropriation of productive rural lands, which under private ownership have not been used in more than two consecutive years (non-fulfillment of the social function), unless it proves a fortuitous event or force majeure. Likewise, productive rural lands may be expropriated, which under private ownership cause serious damage to the environment (non-fulfillment of the environmental function), which is considered a crime if the damage has not been fully repaired (National Assembly, 2016).

In order for the productive rural lands to be taken advantage of, the present government has implemented the expropriation resource so that these lands can be used for the benefit of the community (state intervention). In this context, the current government created the National Land Fund as an instrument of social policy aimed at redistribution of productive land so that they can be used by producers with little amounts of land, low quality land or little access to this resource, as long as they comply with the requirements of law. It also offers credit facilities and incentives for production (National Assembly, 2016; Sosa G. F., 2016).

In the same way, through the new regulations, an Agrarian Authority (Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, Aquaculture and Fisheries - MAGAP) was created to provide land (through land fund administration), technical assistance, access to credits, training, among other productive incentives to small and medium producers of peasant family agriculture (National Assembly, 2016; Telesur, 2016).



### **3.3.4.2. Changes in the approach to tax collection**

In the context prior to Rafael Correa's electoral triumph, the application of neoliberal policies contributed to the increase of inequalities in terms of income in the country (Espinosa, n.d.).

A new oil boom was experienced in the early years of the current century. It did not benefit the majority of the population since its surpluses (due to the international rise in oil prices) were used mainly for the payment of public debt...over financing of social policies. As a result, the large traditional economic groups (bankers and merchants), particularly those associated with imports, were the largest beneficiaries, increasing inequalities in income distribution: the richest quintile rose from 51.7% in 1990 to 57.0% in 2006, while the poorest quintile fell from 32.9% to 24.1% during these years (Espinosa, n.d., p. 92-93).

In fact, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), since its inception in 1997, has been characterized by the implementation of tax systems full of benefits and exemptions in favor of power groups with higher incomes, such as the predominance of indirect taxes above the direct ones (Espinosa, n.d.). In addition, although these measures sought to promote a culture of taxation at that time, the economic model did not contribute to the cause given that there was not an equal redistribution of wealth. This led to the evasion of taxes by many wealthy people (Paz & Cepeda, 2015).

However, with the Citizen's Revolution government, this entity changed its focus towards the application of a tax policy based on the redistribution of wealth, which prioritizes direct and progressive taxes, as established in the new constitutional text (art. 300). This policy focuses on control of the higher classes, in order to pursue tax evasion (Constituent Assembly, 2008; Paz & Cepeda, 2015).

In turn, Rafael Correa's government has been characterized by putting an emphasis on tax collection, mainly pressuring those who are wealthier. This situation has generated several confrontations, mainly with the business sectors of the country, as well as with the dominant elites. It should be noted that according to the president, most of the state income comes from tax collection, and emphasizes that this is not due to the

creation of more taxes, as the opposition points out, but to the efficiency in collecting them because "Now they cannot evade them" (Ecuador Immediate, 2016).

As a result, according to the Internal Revenue Service data, as of December 2016 tax collection, increased three times (\$13.387 billion) more than the amount collected in 2006 (\$4.672 billion), which shows great advances in this sector (Senplades, 2017). With this increase, the resources the State directed towards social investment also increased, as can be seen in Figure 24, in other words, the welfare of the masses have been prioritized over particular interests.

In this context, the current government has paid special attention to Income Tax, since it is directly related to the income generated. Therefore, those who earn more pay more. Thus, for its effect, the IRS obtained information from 115 important economic groups of the country who were "... wealth concentrators and that demonstrated high degrees of oligopoly in the Ecuadorian economy" (Paz & Cepeda, 2015, p. 218). This was done to carefully monitor tax payments of those power groups. Likewise, the scale of the tax increased from 25% to 35% (Paz & Cepeda, 2015).

Therefore, Socialism of Good Living made a series of innovations in tax matters in order to generate a greater redistribution of wealth in favor of the most needy, supported by a proportional contribution in relation to income, where the policy of "... higher taxes for the rich ..." was established (Blackman, 2015, p.6). An example of this is the creation of the tax on the exit of foreign currency and the changes of income tax policies, specifically in relation to the income from inheritances, legacies and donations, among others (National Congress, 2004; Paz & Cepeda, 2015).

In reference to taxes on inheritances, legacies and donations, it should be noted that this modification was introduced under the socialist logic that seeks to avoid the domination and perpetuation of the aristocracy, that is, the acquisition of power based on inherited titles and assets (family businesses). In contrast, the new socialist project promotes the attainment of power based on merit (democracy) (Presidency of the Republic of Ecuador-SECOM, 2015). Finally, this socialism has also promoted the

practice of eco-efficient behavior through the payment of taxes, such as the creation of environmental tax on vehicle pollution.

### **3.3.5. Characteristics of Socialism of Good Living**

Based on the analysis presented previously, the following characteristics can be used to describe Socialism of Good Living:

#### **3.3.5.1. Political - Ideological**

- It seeks to break old dominant patterns (oligarchy, partisanship, neoliberal practices, privileges, among others).
- Rejects the prevailing hegemonic system (neoliberalism and capitalism), which is why it is based on alternative proposals.
- Its movement brings together leftist organizations of all kinds and therefore, its members are diverse.
- It seeks to radically change the current structures in all areas, especially with regard to the institutional framework of the State. Therefore, its starting point is the drafting of a new Magna Carta and the consequent dismantling of the legislature characterized by the predominance of party-ocracy (via popular election).
- It is based on a peaceful revolution: the Citizen's Revolution, whose only battle takes place at the polls. "For us, bullets are votes..." (Correa, 2009, p. 4).

- Its strength lies in the simultaneous managing of the executive and legislative power, in which its goal is to reach a majority in both branches.
- It is based on multi-party system (Correa, 2009).
- It constitutes a progressive construction, whose transformations need to be sustainable over time.
- It is nourished by multiple ideologies, collecting the best of each and discarding the evil, among which stand out: scientific socialism, the social doctrine of the church, liberation theology, Bolivarianism, alfarista ideals, and Latin American Marxism (Alianza PAIS, n.d.; Ramos, 2013).
- This is a new project which is constantly being built.
- It has its own characteristics, according to the current reality and adapts to the needs and specificities of the Ecuadorian people.
- It is based on principles and not on models or recipes.
- It is against standardization.
- Although it is a socialist project, it is not Marxist. Nonetheless, scientific socialism highlights the following: the preponderance of labor over capital, the relevant role of collective action as opposed to individualism, the preference for the generation of values of use over exchange values, the search for justice in all areas and the emphasis on planning.
- It is a revolutionary, secular and pluralistic project (Alianza PAIS, n.d.).
- Its main purpose is to reach the Good Living or Sumak Kawsay, that is, the attainment of a dignified and desirable quality of life, in harmony with nature and with present and future generations, and not under any type of domination.
- It is based on the consolidation of the role of the State in all areas, in order to regain its powers that include regulating, planning and redistribution, as well as enforcing their social mission. However, it should be emphasized that this ideology is not based on statism, given that in this new socialism there are public and private companies and citizen participation is assigned a relevant role, fostering the necessary spaces for its materialization (Larrea A. M., 2010).

- The regulatory role of the State takes on a leading role, especially in the management of the strategic sectors, which is why public companies have a relevant role in this management. In this particular case, the predominance of the public is privileged, so that the benefits are for the use of the community (prioritizes the well-being of the community above private interests).
- As for the provision of public services, it seeks the predominance of public enterprises, where the private sector participates only in exceptional cases, as long as it is in the interests of consumers.
- It seeks for the citizenship to regain confidence in public enterprises.
- It cannot succeed in isolation and that is why it promotes a joint transformation with the rest of Latin American countries, in order to advance together towards the construction of Socialism of the 21st Century (integrative process) (Patiño, 2010).
- It defends national sovereignty.
- It encourages the development of strategies that contribute to reducing the ideological, political and economic dependence to which the country and the region have been subject (Senplades, 2007).
- It favors regional integration, especially at the level of South America through its own institutions, regardless of the guidelines derived from political hegemony and US interests.
- It maintains fraternal relations with the governments considered part of the new Latin American left, especially with Venezuela, Cuba, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil.
- It promotes international relations, preferably intergovernmental, that go beyond trade between states, based on common social, political and cultural features, both regionally and globally, while favoring Latin American and South American integration (Patiño, 2010).
- It manages an anti-imperialist discourse, based on the rejection of US interventionism in the country and in the region.
- It stimulates fair international negotiations, based on solidarity between States. "...We will encourage negotiation mechanisms that recognize the

reality of unequal development and solidarity-based relations among partners rather than a false equality between countries" (Alianza PAIS, 2006, p. 43).

- It promotes integration in defense, science and technology, research and other strategic areas. (Alianza PAIS, n.d.)
- It encourages the strengthening of cooperation links between countries, especially at a Latin American level (Patiño, 2010; Senplades, 2013).
- It favors the consolidation of relations with countries other than those of the traditional blocks, as part of the recognition of a multipolar world (Patiño, 2010; Senplades, 2013).
- It privileges teamwork in State-Society (collective action).
- It promotes solidarity at all levels.
- Planning has a transcendental role in the formulation and execution of public policies, as well as in the budgetary execution of the State.
- It strengthens the national planning system and emphasizes its participatory and decentralized nature (Grijalva, 2009).
- It promotes decentralization and the progressive deconcentration of State competencies (political and administrative power), in order to optimize the distribution of resources and offer greater (coverage) and better (quality) public goods and services to the population in all corners of the country (territorial equity).
- It seeks to achieve a greater State presence in terms of institutions and services in the local territories, that make it reachable to citizen, as well as a more equitable presence (Senplades, 2014).
- It seeks to forge a radical participatory democracy (citizen democracy) based on dialogue and continuous debate, where citizens, through their participation, are the managers of their own development, so that their political participation is not reduced to the mere act of voting (Patiño, 2010).
- It promotes the construction of "qualified citizenship", which contributes with effective and useful proposals for the public administration (Patiño, 2010; Ocles, 2010).

- It promotes the creation of grassroots organizations in all its forms, as a way of manifestation of popular sovereignty and of training at a collective level (National Assembly, 2010; Patiño, 2010).
- It recognizes five functions of the State: Legislative, Executive, Judicial, Transparency and Social Control, and Electoral.
- The popular election is applied as the means of appointing authorities, both for the Executive and the Legislative powers.
- It establishes the competition of opposition and merits as the means of designation of the authorities of the Judicial Function, of the Transparency and Social Control Function, and of the Electoral Function.
- In addition to ordinary justice, it recognizes indigenous justice (inclusion).
- It ensures compliance with the rights of the population and promotes their participation in matters of general interest (Constituent Assembly, 2008; Transparency and Social Control Function, n.d.).
- It establishes instances and mechanisms that encourage citizen participation at different levels of government (participatory democracy) (National Assembly, 2010).
- It promotes a democratic State-Society deliberation.
- It promotes the monitoring of government mandates (social control) through mandatory accountability (transparency), whose free and timely access constitutes a citizen right (National Assembly, 2011; Senplades, 2012).
- It prohibits the confiscation of property without due financial compensation to its owners.
- It permits the expropriation of property, as long as it is "... for reasons of public utility or social and national interest..." (Constituent Assembly, 2008, p. 151), that is, for collective welfare (Constituent Assembly, 2008).
- It promotes the gaining of power based on merit (democracy) (Presidency of the Republic of Ecuador-SECOM, 2015).

### **3.3.5.2. Leadership**

- The power of the leader is legitimized at the ballot box.
- The presidential leader in turn leads the socialist movement.
- The leader of the head of state is characterized by being highly intelligent and at the same time technical. However, the movement's weakness is that it is presided by leader who is difficult to replace, given that in the event of partial or total absence, the movement risks losing its privileged position at the political level, which in turn jeopardizes the fate of the new Socialist project as such.
- The leader presents a defiant attitude towards the opposition.

### **3.3.5.3. Social aspects**

- It is not a homogenous society and instead recognizes and respects differences (plurinational, intercultural and secular).
- It seeks the universalization of basic services.
- It promotes the democratization of the media in order to offer diverse information (Constituent Assembly, 2008) (National Secretariat of Planning, n.d.).
- It strengthens the public media and at the same time encourages the creation of community media due to its social and inclusive approach.
- It prioritizes the development of road infrastructure, mainly due to its impact on the social and economic development of the country.
- It prohibits outsourcing, job intermediation and hiring for hour intervals (unstable labor), in order to avoid the violation of workers' rights (exploitation).



- It promotes a decent salary, which is equivalent to a fair remuneration for workers, according to the solvency of employers.
- It rescues the ethical value of human labor and wages (the human being above capital).
- It seeks to reduce social gaps, through the implementation of redistributive policies.
- It seeks to progressively settle social debt with citizens, prioritizing their welfare over economic interests.
- It views conditional monetary transfers as an opportunity for the progress of the most vulnerable sectors. This is because this mechanism facilitates access to credit for the population's productive enterprises, in order to contribute to their insertion in the labor system (economic and social inclusion), so that in the future they can overcome poverty (Bonilla, 2013; Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion, n.d.).
- It uses conditional monetary transfers as a strategic tool to improve the living conditions of children and adolescents (co-responsibility in education and health).
- It prioritizes social investment in education and health.
- Education takes on a primary role, considering that the advances in this sector go hand in hand with national development through the training of human talent inside and outside the country. That is why, in addition to free public education and improvements in infrastructure, it seeks to provide students with additional resources that are free as well, which in one way or another affect their academic performance, such as books, breakfast, technology, among others, with the purpose of offering a quality education, adhering to the international standards.
- It recognizes academic excellence through the awarding of scholarships at the most prestigious universities at the national and world level (Secretariat of Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation, 2016).
- It favors the entrance of new knowledge to the country, especially in the relevant areas such as education and health, in order that they can be used in

favor of the national development (collective development) (Secretariat of Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation, 2016).

- In educational matters, it prioritizes the sectors with the greatest deficiencies, in order to provide them with the infrastructure and the appropriate technology (Millennium Educational Units), and in this way advance in the universalization of the service (inclusion).
- It seeks the eradication of illiteracy.
- It prioritizes investment in health, given the direct relationship between providing this service and the well-being of the population. This is through improvements in infrastructure, in the provision of technology and above all in the quality of service, even complying with international standards.
- It generates opportunities, especially for the poorest (inclusion), in order to combat inequality and poverty.

#### **3.3.5.4. Economic aspects**

- It seeks to overcome its extraction-based economy, by not stopping it abruptly, but instead by investing the resources generated from this activity in the development of other sectors of the economy in order to gradually reduce dependence on the extraction of resources.
- In order to overcome the extractivist pattern, it promotes the generation of other sources of wealth based on a more diversified, environmentally friendly and higher value-added production, through the use of technology and the incorporation of new knowledge to productive processes, which translates into a change of the productive matrix (import substitution) and the energy matrix.
- It promotes the export of processed products and services.

- It promotes the transformation of the energy matrix in order to replace expensive and polluting energy, generated by the use of non-renewable resources (oil and its derivatives), with cleaner and less costly energy, generated from renewable sources (hydropower, wind energy, solar energy). This energy is generated not only to satisfy the national demand for electrical energy, but also as an export product.
- It favors productive foreign investment, through tax and non-tax incentives. However, these investments must comply with social conditions established by the State (Pro Ecuador) (Alianza PAIS, 2016).
- It assigns a relevant role to the national industry in the economy (source of employment), for which it seeks to protect it from endogenous and exogenous factors.
- The market is given a secondary role in the economy, subject to the regulations of the State, in a way that the State works to benefit the great majorities (change of the relations of power) (Correa, 2017; Patiño, 2010). "The market is a good servant but a lousy master!" (Alianza PAIS, p. 71).
- With regard to economic institutions, the Central Bank ceases to be an autonomous entity, and becomes an instrument of the State, dependent on the Executive Function for the management of the national economy (Correa, 2017).
- It promotes the implementation of a new development model based on a social and solidarity-based economy, which fosters equality through the redistribution of wealth and where the human being is the central axis of all economic activity (Larrea A. M., 2010; Patiño, 2010).
- It seeks to forge a plural economy, in which the logic of capital accumulation must be subordinated to the collective interest, with work being an essential component (Larrea A. M., 2010).
- It gives support to the different economic initiatives of the population, through the generation of more sources of work and not only through employment (dignifying work) (Larrea A. M., 2010).

- It recognizes by means of regulations, forms of organization that were not normally conceived as economic (economic, social and financial inclusion), as is the case of popular and solidarity-based economy, which is also assigned a leading role in the national economy (Larrea A. M., 2010; National Corporation of Popular and Solidarity Finance, 2015).
- It supports initiatives from the popular and solidarity-based economy, especially through credit facilities (public banking), training and other state programs aimed at consolidating this sector (Larrea A. M., 2010; National Corporation of Popular and Solidary Finance, 2015).
- It rejects monopoly and oligopolistic practices, which is why these are controlled through regulations.
- It prohibits and sanctions the abuse of market power.
- It forbids the shareholding of banks in the media and vice versa, in order to separate both activities.
- It questions the payment of the foreign debt incurred in previous administrations.
- As for public debt, it prohibits conditions that violate national sovereignty or that violate the rights of citizens, as well as of nature. In addition, it demands that the negotiation conditions established be directed to benefit the country above all things (Constituent Assembly, 2008).
- It exercises sovereign management over the external debt, favoring social investment over its payment (it puts the human being above capital).
- It promotes equitable access to the means of production, through its redistribution (fair distribution).
- It seeks to improve the productive conditions in the agricultural sector.
- It promotes that productive rural lands in condition to be exploited are taken advantage of, or otherwise expropriated for the benefit of the community (state intervention).
- It prohibits landed estates, as well as the concentration of land (Constituent Assembly, 2008).
- It forbids the privatization of higher assets (Constituent Assembly, 2008).

- It privileges small and medium agriculture producers of peasant family through credit facilities, incentives for production, technical assistance, technology and training.
- It prioritizes food sovereignty.
- It recognizes the following types of property: public, private, community, state, associative, cooperative, and mixed, all of which must assume a social and environmental role (Constituent Assembly, 2008).
- It promotes fair trade, with the intervention of the State as a regulatory agent.
- It is against speculation.
- It seeks to eradicate the privileges of elites (minorities), for which it promotes policies based on the great majority over individual interests (change in power relations).
- It promotes the application of a tax policy based on the redistribution of wealth, which prioritizes direct and progressive taxes, and emphasizes control over the upper strata (economic elites) (Constituent Assembly, 2008; Paz & Cepeda, 2015).
- It pursues and sanctions tax evasion.
- It seeks to avoid the domination and perpetuation of the aristocracy, that is, the obtaining of power based on titles and inherited goods (family businesses) (Presidency of the Republic of Ecuador-SECOM, 2015).

#### **3.3.5.5. Environmental aspects**

- It promotes the responsible exploitation of natural resources, through proper planning, with appropriate technical advice and incorporating new technologies into production processes, in order to avoid negative environmental impacts.
- It promotes the sovereign management of natural resources, so that the benefits remain in the country for collective enjoyment.
- It encourages eco-efficient behaviors.
- It recognizes environmental rights and sanctions any act or activity that could damage them (ecological sustainability).

## **Chapter 4: Analysis of the parallelism between Traditional Socialism and Socialism of the 21st Century under the figure of Rafael Correa**

Based on the analysis of the previous chapters, this chapter will proceed to compare Traditional Socialism and Socialism of the 21st Century in Ecuador, also called Socialism of Good Living, in order to be able to determine common features and traits that distinguish these two types of socialist manifestations.

### **4.1. Similarities**

| <b>SIMILARITIES</b>   |
|---|
| They are born as alternatives to the prevailing hegemonic system: capitalism.   |
| They were adapted to the current conditions of the countries where they were implemented.   |
| They dismantled the old bourgeois state apparatus and replaced it with a new one, according to the new ideals of the regime.  |
| The movement/party leads the revolutionary process and is its fundamental driving force (vanguard party).   |
| The leader of the government leads the movement/party promoting the socialist project.  |
| The movement/government party monopolizes the power.  |
| The human being prevails over capital (economy free of exploitation).   |
| They promote collective actions.  |
| They seek to achieve justice in all areas.  |
| They cannot triumph in isolation since they seek that the socialist construction be extended to other countries (Integrative process).  |
| They seek to suppress the privileges of minorities.   |
| They refused to pay the foreign debt contracted by the previous administrations, declaring it illegitimate, in order to free their countries from capitalist economic dependence. |

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| <p>The giving up of their past foreign debt had negative consequences for the country:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional Socialism: it suffered an external blockade.</li> <li>• Socialism of Good Living: the State's financing options reduced, especially with international financial institutions, which led to it having to resort to other loan options. This action also increased the country's risk that reduced its reliability in the international context (Herrera, 2015; Orozco &amp; Angulo, 2016).</li> </ul>   |
| The heads of state concentrate political power.   |
| Its leaders act peaceful with other states.   |
| They have a marked opposition, led mainly by economic elites. However, this has not been strong enough to overthrow its leaders.  |
| The state retains the monopoly of the relevant sectors of the economy.  |
| They use different means of communication to highlight the achievements of their regime.  |
| The Church is separated from the State. (Cousin, 2002)  |
| They give great importance to education and that is why they prioritize investment in this sector, mainly through the construction of educational establishments (Lenin).   |
| They seek to eradicate illiteracy (highly important aspect).  |
| "The literacy of all citizens of a country is the first step to abolish the monopoly of knowledge" (Stoletov, 1970, p. 15)  |
| Education is a citizen's right.   |
| They seek to universalize education (equal opportunities and social justice) (Stoletov, 1970).  |
| They promote a strong nationalist feeling (national patriotism).  |
| The drafting of a new constitution constitutes the starting point of both regimes.  |
| Planning takes on a preponderant role.  |
| Economic planning prioritizes areas relevant to the development of the national economy, among which the electric sector stands out (Stalin).   |
| The planning of the economy is focused on boosting the industrial sector, in order to improve the national economy.   |
| They favor associativity in agriculture.  |
| They implemented measures to limit the growth of the bourgeoisie.   |
| They seek to improve the working conditions of the working class (suppress exploitation).   |
| They recognize the fundamental role that women play within society (equality between men and women), for which they are assigned an active role in the construction of the socialist project.   |
| The State apparatus appears increasingly consolidated and is far from becoming extinct.   |
| The regulatory role of the State takes on a leading role  |
| <p>It lacks content in the following specific aspects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In Traditional Socialism, the dictatorship regime of the proletariat lacked content, since the working class, which was supposed to be the pillar of the new Communist State, had ceased to exist politically, that is, as social class.</li> <li>• In the Socialism of Good Living, citizen participation lacks content since participation is still reduced to the mere act of voting and it is optional, given that despite the fact that voting is mandatory and implies pecuniary and civil sanctions in case of non-compliance, absenteeism in electoral appointments has not yet been</li> </ul> |



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| eradicated.   |
| Freedom of expression has been limited.   |
| <p>They dissolved the Legislative branch with opposition majority.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional Socialism: Constituent Assembly.</li> <li>• Socialism of Good Living: Congress.</li> </ul>  |
| <p>The government lost support, which puts at risk the continuity of the regime:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional Socialism: The government lost the support of the peasant masses, a situation that put at risk the continuity of the regime, since it was a predominantly peasant country (Sica, 1981).</li> <li>• Socialism of Good Living: The government was supported by the great majority, which was evident in its repeated electoral victories, as well as in the non-interruption of its president's regime. However, it should be noted that although the current government has reached historic figures regarding the approval of its government (74% in 2007), in 2016 it presented the lowest figure of all its years of government, corresponding to 40%, reflecting a considerable loss of support (Appendix A) (Corporación Latinobarómetro, 2016).</li> </ul> |
| A certain degree of contradiction exists between the original values of its leaders and the political and social praxis (Valenti, 2006).  |

## 4.2.Differences

| DIFFERENCES  |   |
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| Traditional Socialism  | Socialism of Good Living  |
| Opposition was forbidden (ideological intolerance), yet existed illegally. Freedom of organization (suppression of elementary liberties) was also prohibited (Lettieri, 2001). | Opposition is allowed. Which is why it promotes the creation of grassroots organizations in all its forms, as a form of manifestation of popular sovereignty (National Assembly, 2010; Patiño, 2010).               |
| The opposition was persecuted, repressed and in many cases, executed (political prisoners, purges, labor camps, etc.)  | It creates the necessary legal conditions to sanction the opposition's constant media lynching, which in a certain way results in a different type of persecution, based on the law (Organic Law of Communication). |
| Because of Russia's underdevelopment, capitalism was only beginning to develop   | Capitalism and neoliberalism are fully implemented, not only in the country, but  |

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| in that country (primitive capitalism in advance), therefore, the bourgeoisie was weak.   | at the global level, which is why there is a strong bourgeoisie represented by the elites.   |
| It gains power through revolutionary means, through the use of force (dictatorship of the proletariat).   | It gains power through democratic means, through popular election.   |
| It is based on an armed revolution.   | It is based on a peaceful revolution: the Citizen Revolution.  |
| Practical application of Marxism, although with its leaders own contributions (Russification of Marxism).   | It is defined as a socialist project and is non-Marxist.   |
| Marxism was considered the sole owner of the truth (Cousin, 2002).  | It is nourished by multiple currents of thought, among which are scientific socialism, the social doctrine of the church, liberation theology, Bolivarianism, the alfarista ideals, and Latin American Marxism.  |
| It sought to achieve the suppression of capitalism and the consequent construction of a communist society, under Marxist influence, that is, without classes and without a state. However, this did not occur in practice since the state, far from disappearing, was further consolidated. | Its main purpose is reaching the Good Living or Sumak Kawsay, that is, the attainment of a dignified and desirable quality of life, in harmony with nature and with present and future generations, and not under any type of domination.  |
| The Communist Party made all the decisions, not only Russia's, but also of the States that made up the Soviet Union, thus limiting their governmental autonomy (centralization) (Andrés & Clavero; Duverger, 1980).   | It promotes the decentralization and progressive deconcentration of State powers (political and administrative power), in order to optimize the distribution of resources and to bring greater (coverage) and better (quality) public goods and services to the population in all corners of the country (territorial equity). |
| The existing proletariat was scarce (lack of maturity as a class).  | The proletariat makes up the majority class.   |
| The regime was aimed at improving the living conditions of the working class, which, because of its underprivileged status, was exploited.  | The regime aimed at improving the living conditions of the large majority, especially of the popular sector, which, because of its low economic status, has lived in a situation of exclusion.   |
| It was a one-party regime (single party). The governing party, that is to say, the communist party, was the only one allowed (political hegemony).  | It is based on a multi-party system. Coexistence of various political trends. Nonetheless, despite this, the ruling party has managed to position itself as a hegemonic party (the country's first   |

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|  | political force), through a democratic process.   |
| The members of the Communist Party were those who carried out the dictatorship of a virtually non-existent proletariat, through its representatives, which led to the party's monopolization of power, in other words, it was a Party dictatorship (Cousin, 2002; Deutscher, 1997).                            | The movement holds the majority in the Executive and Legislative powers. However, this is a legitimate and democratic attribution, achieved through voting. Consequently, it represents the great majority. It should be noted that although this situation also results in a monopolization of power, it has democratic legitimacy and therefore does not constitute a dictatorship as such. |
| Totalitarian state (abuse of power) (Bachiller Sabuco High School).  | It is a democratic state because it promotes popular participation, and at the same time has authoritarian influences, in the sense that "authoritarianism manifests itself not only in terms of the type of regime but also in respect of freedom of expression" (Corporación Latinobarómetro, 2016, page 22) (Appendix B).  |
| The land was nationalized, without compensation to the owners. This measure coercively abolished landownership of large landowners, and this land was distributed among peasants (Andrés & Clavero, n.d.; Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Corfe, 1991).  | It has created the necessary regulations to enable the deconcentration of land tenure, for its later redistribution in favor of the small and medium peasant producers of the economy. This allows the expropriation of abandoned land or of those that are not properly used, with due compensation to the owners.   |
| The government imposed the nationalization of the main means of production, as well as of banking, industry, transport and trade (interior and exterior), without any compensation to the proprietors (War Communism) (Corfe, 1991) (Andrés & Clavero, n.d.; Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Corfe, 1991). | The State reserves its exclusive control over the strategic sectors of the national economy, according to what is established in the new Constitution approved democratically, via referendum.  |
| The right to vote was limited to certain social classes and was public.  | The right to vote is universal and constitutes an inalienable citizen right, and it is secret.  |
| Private ownership of the means of production was eliminated and with its collectivization, the government became the sole leader of the economy (statism). (Bachiller Sabuco High School; Sica, 1981).   | Private property is allowed in different sectors of the economy, although with restriction in strategic sectors, as well as the services that must be provided by the State (public services). In this new socialism, public and private companies  |

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|  | coexist. Nonetheless, private property is assigned an inalienable social purpose (for example, the payment of taxes), in a way that it not only increases the wealth of a small minority, but also promotes the equal development of the whole society.  |
| The government prioritized war expenditures.   | The government prioritizes social spending.  |
| The government in the wake of War Communism imposed mandatory agricultural requisitions. This, as well as the lack of production incentives, resulted in a shortage of food. | The government provides productive incentives to the agricultural sector, such as access to land, technical assistance, technology transfer, easily accessible credits, training, among others, especially to small and medium peasant family producers in the economy. This was done in order to reduce the concentration of land in a few hands, as well as to guarantee food sovereignty. |
| Education was the main means of spreading communist ideology.  | With regard to education, it is based on freedom of teaching and academic freedom in university education, which means that the content is exempt from any ideological or political bias (Constituent Assembly, 2008).   |
| During War Communism a single salary was imposed and work became compulsory (Research Service of the Joaquín Costa Foundation, 1992).  | Work is considered as a right, as well as a social duty, but not an obligation (Constituent Assembly, 2008). Wages can also differ in all fields of employment, since they are based on multiple variables, such as the level of education, experience, position, among others.  |
| Its leader was dictatorial and personalist (Andres & Clavero; Cousin, 2002; Perrineau, 2016).  | Its leader is patriarchal and personalist, given that everything is decided and determined by the president, both in the Executive and in the Legislative Branch.  |
| Worships the personality of the leader.  | The merit of the revolutionary heroes is honored, as opposed to their deification (Lasso).   |
| The communist model undertaken in the USSR was imposed coercively in other countries, which were under its dominion (satellite states).                                      | It has focused on the diffusion of its ideology in order to be recognized as an ideology that achieves Good Living on a global level and especially in Latin America. Nevertheless, the ideology of Socialism of the 21st Century has been considerably weakened by the recent   |

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|   | electoral defeat of a large part of its political representatives.   |
| Bipolar order (world powers USA and USSR).  | It recognizes a multipolar world.  |
| Stalin imposed several economic measures aimed at eliminating the new bourgeoisie (kulaks) as a class (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Editorial Team Playor, 2011).  | The government implemented several redistributive policies in order to reduce the concentration of wealth and to minimize social gaps, but not to eliminate privileged social classes. However, this has not been completely achieved, which is why it is a topic that is always present in their speech, as a referent of corruption and privileges, and are publicly devaluated.   |
| The state fixed the prices of both goods and services (an economy strongly controlled by the government) "... the state went from being the main actor to being the only actor..." (Bachiller Sabuco High School, n.d.; Cousin, 2002, p.255). | Although the market takes on a secondary role in the economy, prices continue to be fixed by it. Nevertheless, the State acts as a regulator in order to ensure fair trade and accordingly may intervene in economic transactions when necessary. It also punishes exploitation and unfair competition practices.  |
| Stalin's drastic economic planning had a great social cost, because he sought to eliminate private property at all costs, which effectively occurred (Afanasiev and Nogueira, 2012; Cousin, 2002; Lettieri, 2001).                            | The planning of the economy has been directed at promoting and protecting the national industry, regardless of whether they are private, public, mixed or otherwise. It should be noted that although several of the policies implemented have been strongly questioned, especially by the economic elites, as well as by the country's business sectors, the results regarding poverty reduction and reduction of social gaps have been effective. As a result, income poverty decreased by 14% and inequality in terms of income also decreased from 0.53 in 2006 to 0.45 in 2014 (Gini coefficient) (CEPALSTAT, 2014; CEPALSTAT, 2006); SENPLADES, 2017). |
| He believed that socialism could be generalized, in other words, what was considered good for one country could be transferred to others, without considering their own peculiarities (Monedero, The Political Philosophy of Socialism in the | It adapts to the particular conditions of each country, that is, it is not standardized.   |

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| 21st Century, 2012).   |   |
| He believed that uninterrupted growth, without social responsibility, would help to eliminate all the problems of society, without taking into account that this would lead to the depletion of natural resources and thus to environmental destruction (Monedero, The Political Philosophy of Socialism in the 21st Century, 2012). | It promotes a development model compatible with nature, which seeks to minimize negative environmental impacts through the incorporation of technology and new knowledge to the productive processes. |

## Conclusions

In summary, this section will present conclusions based on the emergence of socialism in its different modalities (utopian and scientific), with a focus on the analysis of its implementation in ancient Tsarist Russia, through Real or Traditional Socialism, as well as in the analysis of the predominant reasons that motivated the emergence of the so-called Socialism of the 21st Century, specifically in Ecuador under the figure of Rafael Correa (Socialism of Good Living).

1. Capitalism has caused several social costs in the pursuit of maximum profit at the expense of the exploitation of the labor of others. However, despite its shortcomings, its contribution to the progress and development of mankind cannot be underestimated. It has succeeded in civilizing even the most unreachable nations, as well as greatly boosting international trade, thereby creating links of interdependence between countries.
2. What a society produces, how it produces it, and how its products are exchanged forms the basis of every social order and determines social division into classes (historical materialism) (Engels, 1981).
3. Socialism is the essential product of the struggle between two classes: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (Engels, 1981).
4. The real purpose of the capitalist mode of production is the attainment of surplus value (Engels, 1981).
5. The capitalist's profits are a result of selling products at a higher price than their production costs (accumulation of surplus value) (Engels, 1981).
6. Although Real Socialism emerged as an alternative aimed at overcoming capitalism, in practice it ended up falling into the same errors that it initially criticized: oppression, exploitation, abuse of power, authoritarianism, among others.

7. Despite the blunders of Real Socialism, summarized in an abuse of power, its valuable contribution in the industrialization of the Soviet Union cannot be denied, which went from being a country submerged in the economic and agrarian underdevelopment, to a worldwide industrial power under the Communist banner.
8. In short, Real Socialism, although it was supposed to be the practical application of scientific socialism or Marxism, actually proved to be a Russification of it. This was due to the fact that the Marxist theses highlighted that the communist construction was to be carried out in countries where the proletariat would have reached its maturity, and thus be consolidated as a class, which was evidently only possible in countries with developed capitalism. Consequently, Tsarist Russia was not the best scenario to carry out such a construction given its underdevelopment and weak, if not non-existent, industrialization, not to mention its recent departure from the feudal system. However, Marx had already warned in the Communist Manifesto that his theses should be adapted to the particular context of each country.

In fact, the communist leaders who put this theory into practice (Lenin and Stalin) did indeed make their own contributions. However, although the abolition of private ownership of the means of production was achieved, the state did not become extinct. On the contrary, it was increasingly consolidated. Likewise, the exploitation of man by man persisted because the state became so consolidated, to the point of giving rise to an abuse of power, in a way that its rulers appeared as the privileged class before a people who suffered the ravages of oppressive dictatorships.

9. Among the many reasons for the weakening of neoliberalism in the region are the following: the global economic crisis of capitalism in the present century (2007-2009), the inability of governments to reduce social gaps, the internal political instability and the crisis of traditional parties that were deeply rooted in the political systems of several countries in the region (Chavez, Garavito, & Barrett, 2008; Vilas, 2011).



10. Although the Latin American governments that are part of the new left and that put Socialism of the 21st Century into practice differ from one another, they coincide mainly in the search for social equality, in the democratization of political systems and in the struggle for safeguarding national sovereignty. Finally, it is important to emphasize that the positions of these governments on different subjects have varied according to their current economic situation, as well as the correlation of forces at a national and international level (Harnecker, 2010).
11. The new left is new because of its recent creation, and not by being better or worse than the others (Chavez, Garavito, & Barrett, 2008, p.36).
12. Although the term socialism has been adopting different definitions over time according to the territorial and temporal context in which it has been developed, it is commonly defined as a political ideology that shows disconformity with the current system of organization, calling it unjust and seeking to change it. In this context, it presents an alternative based on the struggle for equality in all areas, which seeks to give ownership a social character based on the elimination of exploitation of man by man.
13. Between 1996 and 2005, Ecuador was constantly undermined by its political system, which not only translated into a loss of legitimacy, but also a loss of credibility towards the State and its institutions (Celi, 2005).
14. The political instability in the country has made it difficult to implement long-term adjustments due to the constant change in the rules of the game, which is why instability has also been extended to the economic and social spheres.
15. Corruption and neoliberalism appear as the common denominator in the overthrowing of three of the presidential mandates (Bucaram, Mahuad and Gutiérrez) that existed between 1996 and 2005 in Ecuador (Long, 2008).
16. The political division in the country has given rise to the existence of a number of parties with a marked and unchanging ideology. In this context, the repeated overthrows of elected governments have shown that they have failed to effectively articulate the interests of the citizens, reflecting a marked

disconnection between them and resulted in a deep crisis of political representation.

17. Rafael Correa's repeated electoral triumphs have taken place in an uncompetitive political context, with a rather fragmented opposition, which in turn has been an aspect that he has taken advantage of (Freidenberg, 2013).
18. Basically, Socialism of Good Living is characterized by being anti-neoliberal in economic aspects, redistributive in social aspects, participatory at the political level and more sovereign in foreign policy (Córdoba, 2010).
19. Through the multiple and consecutive electoral victories of the Alianza PAIS movement, it has been possible to verify its growth to the point of consolidating itself as the first political force of the country, the data confirm it (2014).
20. The current electoral success of the president has marked a “before and after” in the political history of the country, since before his rise to power, the population was accustomed not seeing their presidents complete their mandate or be re-elected. However, Correa not only has been able to exercise the presidency without interruptions, but is also exercising it for the third consecutive time, something never before seen in the history of the country, not to mention that he is the first president of Ecuador to win the elections in the first electoral round (starting from the restoration of democracy) and twice thereafter (elections 2009 and 2013), this is thanks to a citizen support of more than 50% (Freidenberg, 2013; Senplades, 2013).
21. Socialism of Good Living has used democratic processes as political strategies to provide social and political legitimacy to the reforms undertaken by the regime, through the empowerment of citizens in decision-making (citizen participation).
22. Although Socialism of Good Living emphasizes its distancing from previous socialist projects, in practice it has incorporated several elements of Traditional Socialism, which are summarized in the following aspects:
  - Political power is concentrated in the governing party (monopolization of power);
  - In its quest to reduce the power of the bourgeoisie, Socialism of Good Living has limited the exercise of certain citizen rights such as

freedom of expression, which has given an authoritarian tinge to the regime.

23. There are several aspects of Traditional Socialism that have evolved in Socialism of Good Living, which are summarized in the following:

- The importance assigned to education as a means of personal and collective improvement.
- The importance given to the planning of the economy, extending it to other areas of social life, through the establishment of specific goals in areas considered relevant.
- The effort to reduce labor exploitation through regulations that prohibit forms of precarious labor.

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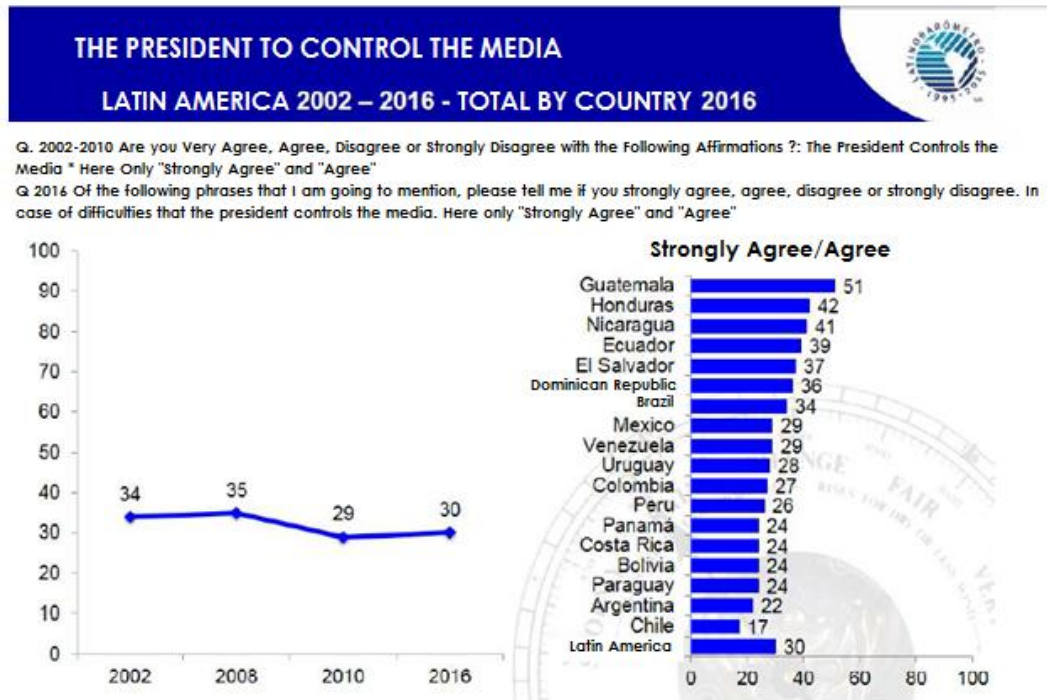
## Appendices

### Appendix A: Government Approval

| GOVERNMENT APPROVAL   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| TOTAL BY COUNTRY 2002 – 2016  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Q. Do you approve the administration of the government headed by the president (name) ...? * Here only "Approve." |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|   | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2013 | 2015 | 2016 |
| Argentina   | 14   | 86   | 73   | 71   | 73   | 52   | 34   | 25   | 40   | 57   | 43   | 42   | 40   |
| Bolivia   | 42   | 24   | 48   | 60   | 54   | 60   | 53   | 57   | 46   | 41   | 55   | 71   | 52   |
| Brazil  | 34   | 62   | 53   | 47   | 62   | 58   | 79   | 84   | 86   | 67   | 56   | 29   | 22   |
| Colombia  | 13   | 64   | 75   | 69   | 70   | 68   | 75   | 72   | 75   | 75   | 53   | 51   | 32   |
| Costa Rica  | 52   | 37   | 50   | 32   | 56   | 55   | 45   | 75   | 53   | 48   | 22   | 36   | 30   |
| Chile   | 50   | 54   | 64   | 66   | 67   | 55   | 59   | 85   | 55   | 28   | 29   | 49   | 28   |
| Ecuador   | 30   | 27   | 20   | 24   | 23   | 74   | 66   | 59   | 58   | 64   | 73   | 50   | 40   |
| El Salvador   | 35   | 48   | 57   | 58   | 48   | 54   | 51   | 83   | 71   | 63   | 66   | 37   | 33   |
| Guatemala   | 12   | 15   | 36   | 44   | 45   | 28   | 46   | 52   | 47   | 43   | 47   | 38   | 56   |
| Honduras  | 57   | 52   | 44   | 39   | 57   | 56   | 35   |      | 51   | 52   | 32   | 62   | 47   |
| Mexico  | 47   | 46   | 41   | 41   | 60   | 60   | 58   | 52   | 59   | 59   | 46   | 35   | 25   |
| Nicaragua   | 84   | 32   | 30   | 32   | 23   | 54   | 32   | 37   | 58   | 50   | 60   | 60   | 69   |
| Panama  | 23   | 14   | 20   | 39   | 57   | 37   | 41   | 80   | 59   | 62   | 43   | 62   | 33   |
| Paraguay  | 5    | 8    | 57   | 39   | 33   | 17   | 86   | 69   | 55   | 49   | 30   | 26   | 29   |
| Peru  | 23   | 10   | 8    | 16   | 57   | 29   | 14   | 26   | 30   | 52   | 39   | 24   | 19   |
| Dominican Republic  |      |      | 21   | 62   | 61   | 48   | 50   | 47   | 45   | 36   | 74   | 82   | 76   |
| Uruguay   | 30   | 16   | 12   | 72   | 63   | 61   | 61   | 74   | 75   | 63   | 61   | 72   | 43   |
| Venezuela   | 51   | 35   | 43   | 65   | 65   | 61   | 48   | 45   | 47   | 49   | 47   | 30   | 20   |

SOURCE: (Latinobarómetro Corporation, 2016, p. 36)





SOURCE: (Latinobarómetro Corporation, 2016, p. 23)