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FAILED BOLIVARIAN POLICIES IN VENEZUELA**

Roney, Austin D.

Monterey, CA; Naval Postgraduate School

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**NAVAL
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MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**ECUADORIAN AND BOLIVIAN RESPONSES TO
FAILED BOLIVARIAN POLICIES IN VENEZUELA**

by

Austin D. Roney

September 2019

Thesis Advisor:
Second Reader:

Christopher N. Darnton
Mariana Giusti Rodriguez

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**ECUADORIAN AND BOLIVIAN RESPONSES TO FAILED BOLIVARIAN
POLICIES IN VENEZUELA**

Austin D. Roney
Lieutenant, United States Navy
BA, Brigham Young University, 2012

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES
(WESTERN HEMISPHERE)**

from the

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September 2019**

Approved by: Christopher N. Darnton
Advisor

Mariana Giusti Rodriguez
Second Reader

Afshon P. Ostovar
Associate Chair for Research
Department of National Security Affairs

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the political responses of Ecuador and Bolivia to the economic crisis in Venezuela. The primary question I have sought to answer is why the Ecuadorian and Bolivian governments have realigned politically or continue to embrace Hugo Chávez's Bolivarian policies. Ecuador and Bolivia were among many countries that elected leftist populist leaders influenced by Chávez's success and are among the few Latin American countries that still have a leftist government. Methods used are the analysis of political reforms and legislation, and public statements of leaders. This thesis demonstrates that Ecuador has distanced itself from its institutional alliances with Venezuela as a result of an economic downturn and the emergence of corruption scandals but continues to implement leftist policies, while Bolivia is still benefiting from a natural gas boom and has done little to change course considering Venezuela's economic demise.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ALBA	Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America
AP	PAÍS Alliance
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MAS	Movement for Socialism
NACLA	North American Congress on Latin America
PPK	Pedro Pablo Kuczynski
PSUV	United Socialist Party of Venezuela
WTO	World Trade Organization
YPFB	Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales Bolivianos

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION

Hugo Chávez started a political revolution and popularized a new approach to socialism. His Bolivarian Revolution relied on revenue from high oil prices to improve healthcare, infrastructure, and reduce poverty in Venezuela. Leaders in neighboring countries joined PetroCaribe and the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA) to benefit from the oil wealth of Venezuela. Ecuador and Bolivia had presidential candidates who embraced Chávez's ideology with the likelihood Chávez would then finance their political projects. After aligning themselves with Chávez, Rafael Correa in Ecuador and Evo Morales in Bolivia were able to implement Bolivarian reforms to their respective governments including re-founding their countries under new constitutions thus following Chávez's pattern for reforms. Now that Venezuela is in financial ruin and Chávez's legacy is crumbling, how are the other leaders who embraced Bolivarianism faring? Why is Bolivia continuing to embrace Bolivarianism while Ecuador is distancing itself from the Bolivarian alliance and its principles?

Bolivarianism is defined as a nationalist, post-neoliberal, Pan-American, statist political movement that spread from the political conversation in military barracks to become the driving philosophy of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV). While Bolivarianism is a Leftist ideology, it goes beyond other Leftist agendas in a number of ways. First, it favors a more statist economic framework than other moderate leftists.¹ Second, it is associated with a particular set of regional institutions such as ALBA, Petro-Caribe, and Petro-Sur, that seek to bolster ties amongst Latin American states both formally and economically, advance the principles of the Bolivarian model, and challenge the influence of the United States government in the Latin American region. Third, Bolivarianism is also differentiated from other Leftist models in its emphasis on populist styles of leadership and authoritarian tendencies. Whereas other Leftist models operate

¹ Gustavo A. Flores-Macías, Gustavo A., "Statist vs. Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 42, no. 4 (July 2010): 414, <https://doi-org.libproxy.nps.edu/10.5129/001041510X12911363510033>.

within the democratic framework, Bolivarianism tends to favor the use of democratic processes to facilitate the concentration of power in the hands of a political leader. As such, it has been associated with the erosion of democratic institutions in countries such as Venezuela, Nicaragua, Ecuador, and Bolivia, and the incorporation of domestic politics and the military.² Chávez had been an officer in the Venezuelan military and incorporated the strict hierarchy of military organization into his political party and government.

This thesis demonstrates that while Ecuador remains leftist in its ideology, it has nonetheless distanced itself from Bolivarian institutions. This shift was driven by an economic crisis—itsself the product of the collapse of the Venezuelan economy—and the emergence of a series of corruption scandals that have significantly eroded the legitimacy of the Bolivarian model. The new government, led by Lenin Moreno, has used these corruption probes to justify the abandonment of the Bolivarian agenda. In so doing, he has presented his government as a cleaner left, portraying Bolivarianism, and the corruption it has been associated with, as undermining the central Leftist goals of distribution and social progress. In Bolivia, on the other hand, Evo Morales remains committed to a Bolivarian agenda. His government has faced neither an economic crisis nor any significant corruption scandals. I argue that the absence of these two factors has enabled the Morales government to sustain its strong leftist policies and its commitment to Bolivarianism.

B. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Hugo Chávez ushered in a new wave of leftist governments in Latin America after many right-leaning regimes came to an end in the 1980s and 1990s. Chávez’s approach differed from other leftist regimes because he rejected neoliberal ideas. The end of right-wing authoritarian regimes in other Latin American countries started a new age of democracy. Different than its neighbors, Venezuela had a decades-long democratic tradition, but with Chávez came a new approach to democratic governance and economic reform that did not buy into the Washington Consensus and tenets of neoliberalism. The approach used in Venezuela was called post-neoliberal. Post-neoliberalism has been more

² Harold A. Trinkunas, “Defining Venezuela’s ‘Bolivarian Revolution,’” *Military Review* (July-August 2005): 39, <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/43090>.

often defined by what it is not than by what it is.³ Post-neoliberal governments emerged as a response to the rising inequality levels and economic uncertainty associated with the neoliberal reforms in prior decades. Instead, the New Left supported greater market regulation, a more active role for the state in the economy, and greater focus on the construction of a stronger safety net for the population. As Grugel and Ruggirozzi state, “post-neoliberalism crucially rejected the inevitability of inequality and challenged the neoliberal consensus that it is a function of growth.”⁴ In part as a result of this post-neoliberal turn, a “pink wave” of leftist leaders were elected to office across Latin America and began to change the political direction throughout South America. Some of these new leaders gained influence through populist appeal and promised social reform such as health care and education reform. Chávez promised to bring about a new era of reform, prosperity, and “promote the second independence of Latin America” by following the example of Simón Bolívar.⁵

New left governments varied widely: in Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, institutionalized leftist parties maintained the relatively orthodox macroeconomic policies and liberal democratic constitutions they had inherited from non-leftist predecessors; in Venezuela, however, a populist outsider used plebiscitary means to rewrite the constitutional rules of the game, and he launched a statist and redistributive project that broke sharply with the Washington Consensus.⁶

Ecuador and Bolivia followed the Venezuelan example and also implemented more extreme reforms than other leftist leaders that came to power during the 2000s.

Chávez’s model of reform and governance, known as Bolivarianism, had economic power from vast oil reserves and an oil boom allowed him to spread the influence of Bolivarianism to neighboring countries through large investments. Basic tenets of

³ Anthony Petros Spanakos and Dimitris Pantoulas, “The Contribution of Hugo Chávez to an Understanding of Post-Neoliberalism,” *Latin American Perspectives* 44, no. 1 (January 2017): 38, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X16658242>.

⁴ Jean Grugel, and Pia Ruggirozzi, “Neoliberal Disruption and Neoliberalism’s Afterlife in Latin America: What is Left of Post-Neoliberalism?” *Critical Social Policy* 38, no. 3 (2018): 549.

⁵ Carlos De la Torre, “Hugo Chavez and the Diffusion of Bolivarianism,” *Democratization* 24, no. 7 (2017): 1273, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2017.1307825>.

Bolivarianism are anti-imperialism, democratic socialism, anti-corruption, and post-neoliberal economic policies.⁷ Venezuela, in the early 2000s, was growing as a regional power and created institutions to reinforce its influence. The creation of ALBA and Petro-Caribe, a regional oil alliance, are examples of institutions created to support Venezuela's regional power. Post-neoliberal principles promised to usher in a twenty-first-century version of socialism and further the political and economic reforms of earlier leftists.

Venezuela's recent internal economic collapse has reduced its regional influence, and ALBA is failing, but only Ecuador has distanced itself from the alliance. Although Ecuador is no longer part of ALBA, this does not mean that Ecuador rejected Bolivarian principles domestically. The analysis of Ecuador and Bolivia's response to the failure of Bolivarianism provides insight into building and maintaining international relations during an internal crisis and the viability of south-south economic blocs based on post-neoliberal ideals.

The failure of the Bolivarian model policies and the newly elected right-wing leaders in other Latin American countries could mean the end of the Pink Tide. The apparent failure of the Pink Tide could mean the end of post-neoliberal economic policies and a return to neoliberal democracy. Venezuela transitioned further left than other countries that were part of the Pink Tide and the degree that it and other twenty-first-century socialist countries return to the right will help demonstrate how much the electorate rejects the new left. A strong return to neoliberal policies will show a total failure, but a lesser turn to the right will show a fundamental belief in the reforms, but budgetary restraints on reform timeframe. The fate of left-wing populist parties is yet unknown in Ecuador and Bolivia as the current presidents finish their terms in office. New power blocs are forming in South America, and South-South partnerships such as those developed by Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, the BRICS nations, are creating new options for free-trade agreements. Bolivia continues to pass legislation similar to Venezuelan laws, yet in Ecuador President Lenin Moreno is reversing many policies enacted by his

⁷ Fred Rosen, "What Was Created? What Remains?," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 46, no. 2 (January 2013): 22, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714839.2013.11721991>.

predecessor, Rafael Correa. As the Pink Tide ends and many nations return to the right, the question remains of the left's future in Latin America.⁸ Changes in Ecuador and Bolivia may be a real divergence from leftist ideas or merely a refining of policies.

Populist leaders demonstrate an ability to increase political involvement for the poor and underrepresented by exploiting the lower class's desire for increased representation and political power. "Structural inequality creates deep social divisions that conflict with the democratic ideal of political equality. The poor lack the resources to transfer their interests to politics, which generates apathy and negates the egalitarian effect of democratic politics."⁹ Populist leaders agitate the desire of the poor to participate in the democratic process to build a strong base then use social programs to maintain that base. Left-wing populist leaders in Latin America have proven effective in motivating the poor and creating political conflict for their benefit. Oil wealth attributed to the longevity of Bolivarian success in Venezuela and the alternative of political failure would fit in the normal cycle of populist movements in and out of power.¹⁰ The rise of populism in Latin America is standard, but the sustainment of a populist movement is noteworthy. A study of the success of these twenty-first-century socialist movements after the decline of commodity prices can help better understand how to create lasting stability in the region. Populist leaders create conflict and social change by their rallying cry, but this study aims to understand the merits of Bolivarian socialism as a governing policy and not merely as a populist motivator.

⁸ Kathleen Bruhn, "Defining the Left in Latin America," *Latin American Research Review* 50, no. 1 (2015): 242, <https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0008>.

⁹ Rafael Piñero, Matthew Rhodes-Purdy, and Fernando Rosenblatt, "The Engagement Curve: Populism and Political Engagement in Latin America," *Latin American Research Review* 51, no. 4 (2016): 4, <https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2016.0046>.

¹⁰ Kirk A. Hawkins, "Responding to Radical Populism: Chavismo in Venezuela," *Democratization* 23, no. 2 (February 23, 2016): 257, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2015.1058783>.

C. LITERATURE REVIEW

Many articles have been written on the rise of left-wing parties, their ideologies, and institutions in attempts to analyze the change in politics.¹¹ Bolivarianism promised to usher in twenty-first-century socialism—a new democratic method of social and economic reform to lift the masses out of poverty—to provide new solutions to problems liberal democratic policies failed to address. The ideology contrasts with neoliberalism’s promise of a free market, which had “swept through Latin America just as countries there made transitions to democracy in the 1980s and 1990s, and it shaped the policies that newly democratic governments chose.”¹²

The Bolivarian Revolution is defined by new economic ideals fighting against the power of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and developed Western countries, nationalization of energy industries, and social programs aimed at helping the impoverished. Chávez and others rejected the liberal economic principles of the IMF and the Washington Consensus. Venezuela created a new bloc of countries that would create prosperity without having to bow to the demands of the IMF to fund reform programs. The success of Venezuelan influence threatened “the replacement of liberal democracy with leftist populism,” but the recent failures in Venezuela does not mean leftist populism will fail elsewhere.¹³

The responses to the rise of post-neoliberalism have emerged in new literature detailing the effectiveness of the post-neoliberal economic strategy and the degree of implementation. Jean Grugel and Pia Riggirozzi argue the Pink Tide is over because the global market is overly embedded with neoliberal ideas, and post-neoliberal theory has failed to produce the social reform promised. They state that “almost all post-neoliberal governments (again Venezuela here is exceptional) have maintained some core aspects of

¹¹ Pedro Sanoja, “Ideology, Institutions and Ideas: Explaining Political Change in Venezuela,” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 28, no. 3 (2009): 394.

¹² Alexandre César Cunha Leite, “Neoliberalism and Reactions to It,” *Latin American Research Review* 50, no. 3 (2015): 265, <https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0040>.

¹³ David J. Myers, “Liberal Democracy, Populism, and Beyond: Elite Circulation in Bolivarian Venezuela,” *Latin American Research Review* 49, no. 3 (2014): 245, <https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2014.0043>.

the Washington Consensus, including fiscal prudence and foreign investment.”¹⁴ The volatility of the economic environment, among other factors, has prevented twenty-first-century socialism from having the promised effects. The growing consensus is that the Pink Tide was a short-lived experiment that has failed.¹⁵ Leftist governments failed to end commodity dependence and actually encouraged dependency on commodities to increase revenue. Additionally, the leftist governments failed to engage economic diversification for sustained growth and to increase jobs.¹⁶

After a rise of left-wing governments and the implementation of post-neoliberal economic policy, many South American countries have returned to right-wing principles and elected leaders from the other side politically. News reports are predicting an end to the left-wing populist cycle, and pressure from a new government in Brazil will lead other nations to abandon leftist policies. Now that Brazil has a right-wing president, 90 percent of South America’s GDP comes from right-wing governments.¹⁷ The need to trade with right-wing countries may compel Ecuador and Bolivia to abandon the harsh post-neoliberal critiques of neoliberalism to maintain trade with neighbors.

Another explanation for the drastic and short-lived move to the left comes from the New Social Movement Theory. This approach analyzes the role of social movements in political economy and the effectiveness of these movements. Early study focused mainly on class struggles, but this new lens analyses feminist, environmental, and ethnic rights movements. The lens of the New Social Movement Theory has analyzed the indigenous movement in Bolivia that propelled Evo Morales to power.¹⁸ The indigenous movement in Bolivia succeeded because it transcended social class conflict and united interest groups

¹⁴ Grugel and Ruggirozzi, “Neoliberal Disruption,” 549.

¹⁵ Amy Kennemore, and Gregory Weeks, “Twenty-First Century Socialism? The Elusive Search for a Post-Neoliberal Development Model in Bolivia and Ecuador,” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 30, no. 3 (2011): 267.

¹⁶ Grugel and Ruggirozzi, “Neoliberal Disruption,” 560.

¹⁷ Stephen Gibbs, “How South America Turned its Back on the Socialist Dream; Governments of the Right Now Control 90 Per Cent of the Continent’s GDP,” *Times* (London), November 7, 2018.

¹⁸ Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley and Susan Eckstein, “The Persisting Relevance of Political Economy and Political Sociology in Latin American Social Movement Studies,” *Latin American Research Review* 50, no. 4 (2015): 3, <https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0057>.

by more than income levels and heritage. The difference in the political movement in Bolivia compared to Venezuela and Ecuador has also led some scholars to not classify Morales as a populist.¹⁹ Morales' difference may provide him with greater staying power as his rise was more genuinely a grassroots movement at less a cult of personality as was Chávez's.

Bolivarian leaders have often sought to concentrate power and undermine key components of liberal democracy to advance their agenda. Opposition leaders in positions of governor or mayor have attempted to pass legislation fighting the centralization of power into the chief executive and decentralize authority to lower levels of government.²⁰ Bolivia has a unique path to the establishment of current institutions and Evo Morales's rise to power.²¹ Morales embraced socialist ideas independent of Venezuelan influence but quickly aligned with his neighbor.

D. POTENTIAL EXPLANATIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Venezuela funded social reforms to buy influence using landfall income from oil sales and spread influence through a form of Petro diplomacy.²² As Venezuela grew economic and political strength many Caribbean nations aligned with Venezuela for the financial benefits without necessarily supporting the policies of the Bolivarian Revolution.²³ Chávez used "large oil and gas reserves as a tool to help broker deals with other countries."²⁴ Chávez's willingness to buy regional influence taints the doctrinal

¹⁹ Kurt Weyland, "Populism and Social Policy in Latin America," in *Latin American Populism in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Carlos de la Torre and Cynthia J. Arnson (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013), 120.

²⁰ Kent Eaton, "Recentralization and the Left Turn in Latin America: Diverging Outcomes in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela," *Comparative Political Studies* 47, no. 8 (2014): 1130, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414013488562>.

²¹ Miguel Centellas, "Cycles of Reform: Placing Evo Morales's Bolivia in Context," *Latin American Research Review* 50, no. 1 (2015): 229, <https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0006>.

²² Carlos de la Torre, "Hugo Chavez and the Diffusion of Bolivarianism," *Democratization* 24, no. 7 (2017): 1272, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2017.1307825>.

²³ Robert Plummer, "Alba Alliance Ambitions Lay Bare Latin Trade Confusion," BBC News, 1 August 2013.

²⁴ "Chavez Offers LatAm Energy Pact," BBC News, August 8, 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/6936201.stm>.

authenticity of leaders who joined his alliance. Bolivia and Ecuador may have aligned with Venezuela for the advantages of Venezuela's Petro diplomacy or because of genuine belief in the policies of post-neoliberalism. Ecuador and Bolivia turned to the left politically through different motivating factors than Venezuela, but common goals led them to adopt similar policies. The collapse of commodity prices for these resource-exporting countries impacted revenue and ability to continue social programs. A decline in Bolivarian policies in Ecuador may not be a rejection of its leftist principles, but simply budget cuts due to a fluctuating market. The new policies being implemented in Ecuador and Bolivia helps to understand practical changes; meanwhile, statements from the presidents will show if they genuinely reject the fundamental principles. Recent elections in other Latin American countries could be the first steps toward an end of the populist cycle that brought about the pink wave. Left-wing governments in Brazil and Argentina are being voted out and replaced by right-wing parties. This pendulum swing could be influencing Ecuadorian politics first, and its impact may be felt in Bolivia later. Possibly Moreno sees the end of leftwing support and Morales has not felt the same pressure from his constituents to dial back leftist policies.

Ecuador may be breaking its ties with Venezuela and the principles of Bolivarianism and following the example of Argentina and Brazil returning to the right after the failure of Chávez's reforms. Another possible explanation is that Ecuador continues to embrace leftist leaders but desires clean governance. Corruption and fraud have derailed reform programs throughout Latin America. Correa faces trial for corruption charges, which may prove that benevolent policies cannot survive corrupt leaders. Lenin Moreno has reversed many of the leftist policies of Correa, but he has not left the political party Correa created nor renounced leftist ideas. Once Nicolas Maduro's regime ends in Venezuela, and the extent of corruption in Bolivarianism comes to light the steps Moreno has taken to distance himself from Bolivarian institutions may prove Ecuador could find economic success on the left while demonstrating the failure of Bolivarianism.

Ecuador, although without a shared border with Venezuela, has had much involvement with the refugee crisis stemming from Venezuela. The more direct contact with citizens fleeing Venezuela may contribute to Ecuador being quicker to reverse policies

than Bolivia. Criticism about Correa’s ongoing trial has created a schism among the three countries.²⁵ Growing differences may continue to weaken the alliance and end trade deals.

E. RESEARCH DESIGN

Ecuador and Bolivia have historically been used as comparative case studies by many scholars. Their similarities in history, geography, and economics provide for solid contrasts. Similarities in anti-neoliberal ideas, party system failure, the use of constituent assemblies to bring about change, and adopting unorthodox economic policies create a strong basis for analysis.²⁶

The research method for this thesis is a case study method comparing Ecuador and Bolivia based on commonalities of history and contrasting political aims of respective leftist leaders. The comparative case study method is appropriate because the two countries have a shared Andean history and have not previously experienced authoritarian bureaucratic regimes.²⁷ Trending changes in economic freedom indexes and new annual budgets will provide methods to assess change in economic policy and priorities. Countries with past authoritarian, bureaucratic regimes did not embrace the rise of Bolivarianism and adapted leftist views through other methods of party transition.²⁸

Sources for research include academic articles and books, news articles, and economic analysis. The collapse of Venezuela is recent enough that academically published analysis is limited, so news articles and economic reports provide most of the data to compare government responses to the changing economic structure in Venezuela. Direct examination of changes in economic policy shows a timeline of cause and effect relationships between countries. Events in Venezuela prove as catalysts for policy change

²⁵ “Ecuador Rejects Venezuela, Bolivia Criticism of Correa Case,” BBC Monitoring Latin America 5 July 2018, <http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/2064266611?accountid=12702>.

²⁶ Eduardo Silva, “Reorganizing Popular Sector Incorporation: Propositions from Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela,” *Politics and Society* 45, no. 1 (2017): 93, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329216683166>.

²⁷ Carlos De la Torre, “Hugo Chavez and the Diffusion of Bolivarianism,” 1272.

²⁸ Carlos De la Torre, 1280.

in Ecuador or Bolivia. Presidential speeches and passage of new laws, as reported in the news, provide ongoing insight in responses to current changes in Venezuela.²⁹

Current academic articles offer explanations for the rise of Bolivarianism, and the failure of Bolivarianism can be analyzed by applying the same reasons for its rise to its demise. A significant aspect of Bolivarianism has been a recentralization of executive power, but regional efforts to decentralize have pushed back against this aspect of Bolivarianism. The success of mayors and governors to decentralize power in response to presidential efforts to recentralize may explain presidential failures to implement Bolivarian policy.³⁰

F. THESIS OVERVIEW

The thesis is organized by comparing Bolivia's and Ecuador's responses as separate and as such are separated into unique chapters. The approach of analysis does not initially look at both countries jointly in a chronological analysis. Each country has particular reasons for following Chávez's leadership and should have their reasons for their responses to the economic collapse in Venezuela. After analyzing their responses separately, a comparison of data at the end of the thesis helps visualize any similarities in responses. This first chapter is an introduction with some background on the events in Venezuela, the following chapter addresses Ecuador's response, followed by a chapter of Bolivia's reaction, then a section identifying any trends or commonalities to conclude. The pattern of actions, speeches, and policies analyzed in this thesis shows that Moreno has not turned away from the left to the center as analysts have stated but has separated himself and his party from the corruption of big business embedded with the government to improve the

²⁹ "Ecuador Rejects Venezuela, Bolivia Criticism of Correa Case," BBC Monitoring Latin America 5 July 2018, <http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/2064266611?accountid=12702>.

³⁰ Kent Eaton, "The Centralism of 'Twenty-First-Century Socialism': Recentralising Politics in Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 45 (2013): 421, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X13000795>.

effectiveness of new social reforms.³¹ Morales has demonstrated he is still a firm ideologue of leftist ideas and continues to implement policy unchanged because Bolivia has yet to face the same challenges Ecuador has encountered.

³¹ Ethan Bronner and Syephen Kueffner, “The Socialist Who Gave Up Julian Assange and Renounced Socialism,” Bloomberg Businessweek, May 29, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2019-05-29/ecuador-s-leader-kicked-out-assange-shunned-venezuela-and-embraced-the-u-s>.

II. ECUADOR

The decade before the Ecuadorian presidential election in 2006 did not see a single president finish his term in office. By the 2006 presidential campaign Ecuadorians were drawn to a political outsider capable of bringing stability. Rafael Correa was that political outsider and promised lasting fidelity to the people's needs during his campaign. His campaign focused highly on cleaning up the government from the corrupt neoliberal elites and giving power back to the people. He is an American-trained economist who joined the other regional populist leaders in a fight against elitist corruption and to give power to the voice of the people. He campaigned, as a political outsider, on promises to default on external debt, to redistribute wealth, and to allow the treaty of the U.S. base in Manta to expire in 2009 as a matter of national pride. "For the next decade, Correa delivered on his vows to shake up a stale political system, though he did so in ways that many Ecuadorians eventually came to reject."³² Correa used executive decree to enact many of the policies to clean up the corrupt government. These decrees did much to consolidate power into the executive as well as empower Correa's closest supporters and little to remove corrupt officials. He attacked the media, criminalized protests, and made enemies of any critic.³³ Correa followed Hugo Chávez's populist playbook to consolidate power and implement twenty-first-century socialism.

After Correa's terms in office his former vice-president Lenin Moreno was elected as president and was expected to be a placeholder for Correa's return with a break due to constitutional limits on the presidency. Upon entering office, Moreno distanced himself from Correa's legacy, policies, and political allies because he recognized that corruption continued during Correa's ten years in office. For Moreno, the best way politicians could help end poverty was not through leftist or right-wing policies, but governance clean of

³² Catherine M. Conaghan, "Ecuador's Unexpected Transition," *Current History*, February 2018. <http://libproxy.nps.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.libproxy.nps.edu/docview/2054131679?accountid=12702>.

³³ Carlos de la Torre, "Latin America's Shifting Politics: Ecuador After Correa," *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 4 (October 2018): 82, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2018.0064>.

corruption. This was a shift away from the expectations of Moreno's term.³⁴ This chapter briefly reviews Correa's rise to power then covers the transition to Moreno's time in office and then concludes with an analysis of the changes and reasons for change made by Moreno. This chapter examines the shift and explanations for the shift away from Bolivarianism and its implications for the left. Correa rose to power following the populist model of Chávez and benefitted from a commodities boom during his years in office. As Moreno entered office corruption scandals and declining oil prices compelled Moreno to adjust the trajectory of economic policies. This chapter argues that Moreno abandoned the failing Bolivarian institutions while maintaining leftist policies. He did not turn towards the right as it has been contended but taken a less dogmatic and more pragmatic approach to implement leftist policies.

A. THE FOUNDATION OF ALIANZA PAÍZ AND THE RISE OF CORREA

The left created new alliances to reform the government. The newly formed political party Alianza Paíz (AP) chose Rafael Correa as the presidential candidate in the 2006 election. This new party campaigned for regional integration, political sovereignty, and aid for the poor. Correa proposed a rewrite of the country's constitution during the election and AP allied with the Ecuadorian Socialist Party to gain a plurality of votes in the election. Correa coined the phrase a 'Citizen's Revolution' and defined this revolution as an economic, social, and cultural transformation that would rearrange the geopolitical structure of Latin America.³⁵ As a political outsider Correa promised to reform a government that had only served the elite politicians and their wealthy businessmen friends.

³⁴ Simeon Tegel, "Lenín Moreno's Challenge to the Past," *U.S. News & World Report*, January 2, 2018, <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/articles/2018-02-01/ecuador-referendum-may-be-lenin-morenos-boldest-risk-yet>.

³⁵ César Montúfar, "Rafael Correa and His Plebiscitary Citizens' Revolution," in *Latin American Populism in the Twenty-First Century* Edited by Carlos de la Torre and Cynthia J. Arnson (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013), 319.

Once in office, Correa took steps to consolidate power and by 2008 had drafted a new constitution for ratification.³⁶ This new constitution was to be a free start in clean governance and included aspects protecting the poor, minorities, and the environment. After getting the new constitution ratified, Correa continued to pass amendments further consolidating power and setting the stage for unrestricted term length. In 2015 an amendment was passed via a referendum that removed limits on presidential terms, but he had promised not to run for office in 2017 to gain support for the amendment.³⁷

Moreno was meant to be a place holder during the 2017 elections so Correa could honor his promise and return as president in 2021 then serve indefinitely as other populist leaders had aspired.³⁸

Correa was openly critical of neoliberal economic policies. He allied with Hugo Chávez and adopted the ideals of Bolivarianism. Correa brought the Pink Tide and twenty-first socialism to Ecuador with many new social programs, increased public spending, and an enlarged public sector. He was fulfilling his promise to do for Ecuador what Chávez had done for Venezuela. Correa's changes brought success. Ecuador became the third fastest growing economy in Latin America, and the poverty level dropped from 37.6 percent to 27.3 percent from 2006 to 2012.³⁹

Economic policies under Correa benefited from a boom in oil prices.⁴⁰ The most significant economic boom in Ecuador's history allowed for a massive expansion of the public sector, but the country failed to diversify exports, and a fall in oil prices led to sizeable foreign debt to continue to support the expanded public sector. The increase in

³⁶ Marc Becker, "Ecuador: Indigenous Struggles and the Ambiguities of Electoral Power," In *The New Latin American Left: Cracks in the Empire*, edited by Jeffrey R. Webber and Barry Carr (United Kingdom: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2013), 219.

³⁷ Maggy Ayala and Marcelo Rochabrún, "Ecuador Votes to Bring Back Presidential Term Limits," *New York Times*, February 5, 2018, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/04/world/americas/ecuador-presidential-term-limits.html>.

³⁸ Catherine M. Conaghan, "Ecuador's Unexpected Transition."

³⁹ "What Will Correa's 'Steamroller' Bring Ecuador?," *The Dialogue*, accessed August 7, 2019, <https://www.thedialogue.org/analysis/what-will-correas-legislative-steamroller-bring-ecuador/>.

⁴⁰ Carlos de la Torre, "Latin America's Shifting Politics: Ecuador After Correa," *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 4 (2018): 77, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2018.0064>.

funds and spending created ample temptation for government waste and abuse. The misuse and abuse were sustainable while oil prices were high, and Correa's regime prevented media from exposing any fraud. After Correa left office, the country was exposed to many scandals that occurred under the previous president.

Moreno has exposed Correa's mismanagement of public funds by revealing Ecuador as the site of more than six-hundred publicly funded infrastructure projects that have yet to be completed. By shedding light on corruption and inefficiency under the previous administration, Moreno has shattered the myth of Correa and his acolytes as honest, efficient experts who were leading Ecuador onto the bright, sunlit uplands of hypermodernity. Instead, Correa and his entourage appear to have been irresponsible stewards who squandered public funds to serve their self-promoting agenda.⁴¹

The spotlight on the inefficiency did not come until Moreno's term. For ten years, Correa abused power but maintained a strong support base through generous social programs. Government control of the media and frequent televised presidential chats limited the journalistic investigations of government expansion. Correa maintained the appearance of a political outsider throughout his time as president, but when he left office the façade fell, and he was exposed to be corrupt just like his predecessors.

As part of post-neoliberal reforms, Correa rejected financial obligations from previously implemented neoliberal programs. Ecuador, under Correa's new regime, defaulted on its outstanding debt when in 2008 "Correa said he had given the order not to approve a debt interest payment due on Monday, describing the international lenders as 'monsters.' The president said that some of Ecuador's \$10bn debt was contracted illegally by a previous administration."⁴² Correa defended the move to default on the national debt as a step to remove the chains of corruption from the prior presidents who had sold Ecuador for Western interests. Correa turned away from IMF policies and turned toward Venezuela and post-neoliberal economics. The drastic step of defaulting on the country's debt gave Correa the financial flexibility to start implementing a plethora of new social programs and post-neoliberal reforms. He removed the weight of massive national debt. The commodities

⁴¹ Torre, "Latin America's Shifting Politics: Ecuador After Correa," 85.

⁴² "Ecuador Defaults on Foreign Debt," BBC. December 13, 2008, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7780984.stm>.

boom and the freedom from debt put Ecuador in a position to start new social programs and make economic progress.

Many Latin American countries gained democracy in the 1980s and 1990s when the IMF and World Bank were instructing developing nations to adopt neoliberalism as a way to move forward and join the developed nations in prosperity. Neoliberal programs in Ecuador had created an oligarchy of wealthy businessmen with strong political ties. Conservative politicians embraced neoliberal policies that had served to exploit Ecuadorian resources to the detriment of the country. Foreign enterprise profited off natural resources, and few funds were used to develop infrastructure. Correa aided indigenous efforts to end the neoliberal oligarchical structure that instead of building nations and created markets for the global powers.⁴³ The promise of prosperity through neoliberal policies had become another method for developed countries to exploit Latin America and its resources.

The rejection of neoliberal policies and defaulted debt limited the pool of willing lenders for Ecuador. To supplement the oil revenue bankrolling large social projects, the Ecuadorian government had to turn to the newest willing lender for developing nations. China has invested heavily in Latin America, and those countries were happy to take money without the conditions IMF loans require. The Bolivarian alliance had rejected western ties and had to align with other global powers. China provided the strongest ally to contend with the neoliberal model espoused by the United States. China and Ecuador negotiated a deal for a new dam as well as other infrastructure projects. The commodities boom and the rise of China created a new market, and new global power structure as the rising leftist nations in Latin America strove to prove the potential of their reforms.

Within a few years of defaulting on its debt, Ecuador turned toward China for loans, and in 2011 Ecuador took another \$2 billion loan from China. This new loan increased Ecuador's Chinese debt to \$8 billion, which was 19 percent of GDP.⁴⁴ This new loan was not tied to neoliberal policies like IMF loans but did require increased oil delivery

⁴³ Marc Becker, "Ecuador: Indigenous Struggles and the Ambiguities of Electoral Power," 218.

⁴⁴ Felix Salmon, "How Ecuador Sold Itself to China," *Reuters* (blog), July 5, 2011, <http://blogs.reuters.com/felix-salmon/2011/07/05/how-ecuador-sold-itself-to-china/>.

obligations for Ecuador and increased Chinese infrastructure construction deals in Ecuador. By the end of Correa's ten years on office, Ecuador had turned away from the West and realigned itself with Venezuela and China. Venezuela's collapse and recent Chinese ambitions have tainted the appeal of the post-neoliberal financial system.

Correa started his time as president a staunch leftist, but as his term passed his words became less inflammatory. The content of his speeches moved closer to center to gain support from a broader base of voters. He spoke out against elements of socialist movements that had failed to win victories for the people and the benefits of capitalism when working for the people.⁴⁵ Many politicians shift political rhetoric to center to maintain support during their presidency, but this shift is often more pragmatic than a change in ideology. During the political campaign parties distance themselves ideologically, but once in power must compromise to pass new legislation. Populist leaders often maintain a campaign throughout their presidency and consolidate power or pack the legislature to avoid compromise. Correa remains a staunch critic of the United States and neoliberalism but recognizes some merits of neoliberal economic policies.

B. MORENO TAKES THE REINS

Lenin Moreno came to office after Correa's two mostly successful terms on a platform of continued AP policies. Correa's vice-president seemed to be poised to continue the progress toward twenty-first-century socialism. Moreno campaigned on promises to expand Correa's social programs despite projected unsustainability from declining oil revenues.⁴⁶ Opponents feared if Moreno would uphold democratic institutions or continue to consolidate power in the executive thus paving the way for Correa's return to office. Opposition candidates even speculated the election was fraudulent even though Moreno had earned the trust of the people during his time in office. Moreno was shot during a robbery attempt in 1998 making him dependent on a wheelchair. As Correa's vice-president, he had served to help improve disabled person rights throughout Ecuador. He

⁴⁵ Becker, "Ecuador: Indigenous Struggles and the Ambiguities of Electoral Power," 225.

⁴⁶ Astrid Hasfura, "Lenin's Ecuador: What Lies Ahead In Latin America?," *Frontera* (blog), May 4, 2017, <https://frontera.net/news/latam/lenins-ecuador-what-lies-ahead-in-latin-america/>.

appealed to the electorate as a man for the people and did not resort to fraudulent voting practices to gain the presidency.

Shortly after the election of Moreno, many feared that he would be nothing more than a puppet and placeholder for Correa's return. The North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), a left-wing non-profit, was concerned that "Correa's often authoritarian, extractive-based economic model had alienated would-be supporters on the environmental and social movement left, and many viewed a possible Moreno presidency as a continuation of those policies."⁴⁷ The left feared Moreno would be a continuation of authoritarian populist policies at the expense of leftist social programs which had enlarged a free middle class. Correa had promised to grow the government to benefit the people, but the increased government largess had served to line the pockets of the connected few. By the time Moreno had been elected, in 2017, the gold gilding in Venezuela had started to peel, revealing the corruption and failure of Bolivarianism policies there. Moreno entered office in 2017, and the Pink Tide in Latin America had already begun to ebb over much of the continent. Chávez died in 2013, and Venezuelan economic decline led to protests by the following year. Protests in Ecuador in 2015 strained the final years of Correa's term. Protesters opposed tax increases to fund social programs amid falling oil revenues.⁴⁸ Correa did little to respond to the growing public pressure, but Moreno was more apt to change the direction of AP and country. The decline of the commodities boom required Moreno to analyze Ecuador's financial obligations.

Almost immediately after taking office, Moreno began to reverse policy from his predecessor despite expectations that he would merely be a placeholder until Correa would

⁴⁷ Marc Becker, "Ecuador: Slowing a Conservative Restoration: Lenín Moreno's Election Holds off the Return of the Political Right in Ecuador for Now, but the Country's Powerful Indigenous Movements Stand Ready to Challenge the New Administration at the Grassroots.," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49, no. 2 (April 3, 2017): 127, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714839.2017.1331793>.

⁴⁸ "Mass Protests Challenge Correa's 'Citizens' Revolution' in Ecuador," *World Politics Review*, June, 29 2015, <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/16106/mass-protests-challenge-correa-s-citizens-revolution-in-ecuador>.

return and run again.⁴⁹ The reality was that Moreno repealed repression measures against the media and encouraged more dialogue with the public. Within his first year in office, Moreno weakened relations with Cuba and Venezuela by recalling the Ecuadorian ambassadors from both countries for being too close to the socialist leaders. His first public disagreement with Correa was over the debt. Correa had touted that Ecuador acquired \$27 billion in debt during his ten years in office, but Moreno disputed that claim publicly saying \$40 billion was a more accurate number.⁵⁰ Moreno was not removing leftist social programs but was removing authoritarian aspects of Correa's presidency. Moreno met with media representatives and journalists and allowed for protest groups to rally in front of the presidential palace.⁵¹ The rising debt and increased public pressure from ongoing riots compelled Moreno to make course corrections from Correa's authoritarian path.

The reforms created strife within AP as the president elected to be a placeholder was becoming much more proactive. Moreno continued to reverse policies enacted under Correa and proposed amendments to the constitution. In January of 2018, Correa returned from Belgium to lead the resistance movement of a new referendum proposed by Moreno. Seven amendments to the 2008 Constitutions were submitted for a popular vote on issues such as term limits, eligibility to hold office after facing corruption charges, and protecting the environment from mining.⁵² Despite Correa leading the "no" campaign, all seven referendums passed with majority support. During the campaign for the referendum, Correa left Alianza País and formed a new political party called Revolucion Ciudadana, or the Citizen's Revolution, made of loyal Correa supporters.⁵³ This new party named after

⁴⁹ "Lenín Moreno's Challenge to the Past," *U.S. News & World Report*, February 2, 2018, <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/articles/2018-02-01/ecuador-referendum-may-be-lenin-morenos-boldest-risk-yet>.

⁵⁰ Mark Barron, "With a New President, Ecuador Begins Leaving Venezuela Behind," *Stratfor*, October 17, 2017, <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/new-president-ecuador-begins-leaving-venezuela-behind#/home/error>.

⁵¹ Catherine M. Conaghan, "Ecuador's Unexpected Transition."

⁵² "Ecuador: Correa to lead the 'no' campaign in referendum," *El Comercio*, January 3, 2018, NewsBank.

⁵³ "Ecuador Former President Correa Quits Ruling Political Party," *El Comercio*, January 16, 2018, NewsBank.

Correa's movement during his first campaign was comprised of loyalists to Correa. This schism within Alianza País illustrated how much Moreno and the people had turned away from the policies from Correa's three terms in office. One of the referendum questions was about limiting terms in office, the passage of which would prevent Correa's reelection after Moreno's term. The allure of populism and authoritarianism had faded, but left-wing policies still held greater appeal than the right-wing policies of the neoliberal oligarchy whose exploitive practices still lingered in the recent memories of voters.

A month after the constitution referendum, Moreno distanced himself from Correa's allies even further as Latin American countries prepared for the Summit of the Americas in April 2018. Peruvian President Pablo Kuczynski (PPK) withdrew Nicholas Maduro's invitation to the summit due to declining democracy in Venezuela. Moreno challenged this decision so that an international forum could confront Maduro face-to-face to discuss the Venezuelan crisis.⁵⁴ Moreno directly attacked Correa's former allies and began realigning Ecuador's international partnerships.

As March of 2018 came to an end, increased violence along the Colombian border prompted Moreno to criticize his former political ally. Journalists were kidnapped from a northern Ecuadorian province by dissident former members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and "Moreno questioned the way in which the Armed Forces were weakened during the regime of Rafael Correa" leading to difficulty securing the border.⁵⁵ Within the first year in office, Moreno had already undone laws from his predecessor on economic, domestic, and international areas. The growing crisis in Venezuela lead Moreno to address issues at a practical level, and he could not preach ideological solutions. The refugee crisis coming from Venezuela required a strong military and border security despite prior policies of a strong Bolivarian regional alliance.

Economic alliances with Venezuela failed to provide growth, so Ecuador turned to Europe for new trade deals. In April 2018 Ecuador signed a new trade deal with countries

⁵⁴ "Ecuador's Moreno says Maduro should attend Americas Summit," El Comercio, March 12, 2018, NewsBank.

⁵⁵ "Ecuador's Moreno Blames Correa for 'Dismantling Military,'" El Comercio, March 28, 2018, NewsBank.

of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).⁵⁶ This deal opened up new tariff-free markets for Ecuadorian goods and strengthened ties with Western powers. Future steps taken by Moreno would further tie Ecuador to Western powers. A few months later Ecuador would leave ALBA over frustrations with Venezuela. Ecuador had struggled with the end of the commodities boom, and a new trade deal opened markets for more diverse goods helping stabilize the economy.

United States Vice-President Mike Pence visited Ecuador in June 2018 to meet with President Moreno and renew the relationship between the U.S. and Ecuador. During the visit, both leaders discussed the importance of ensuring freedom, fighting corruption, continuing counter-narcotics operations, and defense.⁵⁷ Chavez and Correa had constantly vilified the U.S. and American neoliberal policies and regional actions, so a meeting with the U.S. vice-president continued to demonstrate Moreno's willingness to reprioritize foreign policy and to fight domestic corruption. During the visit, the United States pledged financial support to help fight corruption and narco-traffickers. The United States was willing to forgive prior Ecuadorian stances because of its own interests in the region. The "War on Drugs," regional stability, and countering Chinese expansion all motivated the United States to willingly support Ecuador's turn from Bolivarianism. Moreno continues leftist policies but without the inflammatory rhetoric of his predecessor.

Evan Ellis, of the U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, opined that "Moreno is a decent, thoughtful, and collegial man, committed to liberating Ecuador from the scourge of corruption into which his predecessor's embrace of Bolivarian politics and Chinese financing plunged the country."⁵⁸ For Moreno anti-corruption reforms superseded left or right-wing policies. His policies demonstrate a commitment to the state's role and ability to fix inequality and bring development. Ellis goes on to say, "Moreno is trying to

⁵⁶ "Ecuador Says It Reached Trade Deal with EFTA Countries," *El Comercio*, April 25, 2018, NewsBank.

⁵⁷ "US VP Pence Pledges 'Renewed' US-Ecuador Relationship," *El Universo*, Jun 28, 2018, NewsBank.

⁵⁸ Evan Ellis, "Lenin Moreno and the Struggle for the Soul of Ecuador's (and Latin America's) Left," *Global Americans*, August 2, 2018, <https://theglobalamericans.org/2018/08/lenin-moreno-and-the-struggle-for-the-soul-of-ecuadors-and-latin-americas-left/>.

liberate his country from the downward spiral of corruption, isolation and collapse arising from the lethal combination constructed by his predecessor—of Chinese money, unscrupulous actors from both the business community and radical left, and centralized institutions with inadequate oversight.” Moreno has demonstrated a commitment to the stated goals of the leftist leaders. He continues with his pledge to aid the poor so much that he has sacrificed his political ties for any option that brings genuine improvement for the livelihood of his countrymen.

C. POLITICS OR PRAGMATISM?

When Correa defaulted on the national debt in 2008, he restructured the debt through a reformed Dutch auction.

The default generated a price collapse of 2012 and 2030 Global Bonds in the secondary market. Following this, a state-owned commercial bank, the Bank of the Pacific, in complicity with the government, acquired the Ecuadorian papers for about 20 cents on the dollar in the open market. Analysts estimate that the bank purchased up to 50% of the defaulted bonds. Finally, at the moment of the auction, with many ‘friendly’ new bondholders and the rest acting in a context of an international financial crisis, the government managed to buy back about 93.2% of the bonds at 35% of their nominal value.⁵⁹

This restructuring of the debt opened up funds for increased social programs and freed Ecuador from the neoliberal policies linked to the IMF loans. Despite the restructured debt the country continued to borrow, but from China.

By the time Correa left office, the size of the national debt had forced Moreno to take a pragmatic approach to reduce debt.⁶⁰ Moreno reached across the aisle to work with conservative businesspeople to solve the problem of the new debt Ecuador had built. Ecuadorians enjoyed benefitting from the new social programs financed by oil revenue.

⁵⁹ Lorenzo Vidal, “The Political Economy of Ecuador’s External Debt Default,” *International Review of Applied Economics*, September 15, 2017, 826, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02692171.2017.1375463>.

⁶⁰ Marc Becker and Thea N. Riofrancos, “A Souring Friendship, a Left Divided: In Ecuador, Ideological Differences, Corruption Allegations, and a Wider Debate over Term Limits and Political Control Underscore a Feud between President Lenín Moreno and His Predecessor Rafael Correa.,” *NACLA Report on the Americas* 50, no. 2 (April 3, 2018): 124, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714839.2018.1479452>.

The decline in revenue required Moreno's office to reevaluate the sustainability of the programs. Some policies included privatizing state-owned companies and encouraging private enterprise. Moreno worked to reduce the debt without eliminating social programs that would help the poor if he could reduce fraud and abuse.

Correa had joined Chávez in his criticisms of the IMF and neoliberal policies which lead them to borrow money from China, money that came without neoliberal policy strings attached. In February 2019 Moreno reversed this post-neoliberal trend by returning to the IMF for loans.⁶¹ Chinese money had brought with it corruption and Moreno needed clean funds to help his country. Although Moreno had aligned himself with a party critical of the IMF, the funds and construction projects from China brought with it many new challenges. The Chinese construction firms built infrastructure projects that failed to pass outside structural integrity audits while Ecuador remained obligated to pay the debt for loans funding subpar construction. The IMF may espouse neoliberal policies contrary to the AP's political viewpoint, but the funds come free of corruption. The IMF is not corrupt, but neoliberal politicians who came before Correa were corrupt in their use of IMF funds. The Chinese lent money with fewer policy obligations than the IMF but with more corrupt intentions. Moreno can push back against proposed austerity measures from the IMF more easily than he can finance projects to rebuild poorly built infrastructure.

Fernando Balda, a former Ecuadorian lawmaker, had fled to Colombia over tensions with Correa due to allegations of his involvement with an attempted coup in 2010. In 2012 Balda was kidnapped in Bogotá but was intercepted within a few hours by police. An Ecuadorian judge issued a summons for Correa to appear before a court in July 2018 to testify concerning the 2012 kidnapping. Correa failed to arrive in Quito and instead reported to the Ecuadorian consulate in Belgium.⁶² The prosecutor requested a detention order for Correa after he failed to appear in court and a judge from Ecuador's National

⁶¹ "Programa Económico Para Recibir Ayuda Del FMI Tendrá Un Plazo de Tres Años," *El Comercio*, accessed February 21, 2019, <https://www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/programa-economico-fmi-ecuador-ajustes.html>.

⁶² "Ecuador Court Orders Ex-President's Arrest," July 4, 2018, *BBC*, sec. Latin America & Caribbean, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-44706554>.

Court of Justice issued the order.⁶³ The request was reported to Interpol for aid in arresting the former president.

The leaders of Bolivia and Venezuela criticized the actions of the Ecuadorian judge motivating Ecuador's Foreign Minister José Valencia to protest the statements by Morales and Maduro classifying their criticisms as attempts to “undermine the institutionality of our country.”⁶⁴ All three presidents took to Twitter as they continued to feud and argue over their states' action concerning the arrest warrant for Correa. As July progressed, Correa spoke publicly condemning the actions of the country he formerly led, garnering support for his side. President Moreno traveled to Spain at the end of July to search for political allies and to counter Correa's public criticisms.⁶⁵

The following month Moreno further distanced himself from Correa's allies when “Ecuador's Foreign Minister Jose Valencia said his country decided to leave the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA) regional bloc as a result of “frustration” over what he said was the Venezuelan government's unwillingness to seek a solution to the crisis in the region caused by the mass exodus of Venezuelan citizens.”⁶⁶ ALBA was not only proving to be a failure, but neighboring countries were now suffering consequences of the ongoing economic crisis in Venezuela. Countries throughout Latin America aiding Venezuelan refugees are not disposed to continue supporting a regional alliance formed by the country generating those refugees.

Another situation that further eroded the image of Correa and raised additional concerns about corruption in his government administration was the Odebrecht scandal, which was a money laundering and bribery scandal of a Brazilian construction company that bribed officials for public works projects. As Correa's regime and followers became

⁶³ “Ecuador Judge Issues Detention Order for Ex-President Correa,” *El Comercio*, July 3, 2018, NewsBank.

⁶⁴ “Ecuador Rejects Venezuela, Bolivia Criticism of Correa Case,” *El Comercio*, July 5, 2018, NewsBank.

⁶⁵ “Ecuador Daily: Moreno Europe Trip Seeks to ‘Counter’ Correa,” *El Comercio*, July 27, 2018, NewsBank.

⁶⁶ “Ecuador Quits ALBA Bloc Over ‘Frustration’ with Venezuela,” *El Universo*, August 23, 2018, NewsBank.

linked to the Odebrecht scandal, his reputation as a leader for the people continued to tarnish. Jorge Glas, who served as vice-president during Correa's third term and Moreno's first year in office, was sentenced to six years in prison for receiving bribe money from Odebrecht. The infamy of the Odebrecht scandal has ruined Correa's position as a leader for the people, but Moreno has continued leading without stain from involvement with such a far-reaching scandal.

Moreno continues to fight against corruption in politics. He remains a staunch leftist but does not have the populist appeal or ambitions of his predecessor. The corruption in Venezuela and the lasting impact on the population motivate Moreno to not cut ties with leftist ideology but to cut relationships with corrupt leftist leaders. For Moreno ending corruption is more critical than left versus right ideologies and will do more to benefit the people and to stimulate economic growth. Moreno did not turn away from Bolivarianism per se but turned away from a corrupt system tied to Bolivarianism.

In an interview with Aljazeera, Moreno states that he has not moved to the center. Socialism of the past century is no longer possible. He proposed the idea that the government must team up with honest businesses to produce with the right hand and then distribute with the left hand. During the interview, he voiced his concern for the growing national debt and the waste and abuse that comes from creating such a substantial debt. He said his goals include establishing a new leftist ideology that is based on sound practices and not just theory.⁶⁷

Maduro and Venezuela continue to face trials as the country spirals downward. Moreno has cut ties as he focuses on improving his country. Ecuador has increased its security at the border as more Venezuelan refugees continue to enter the country. Ecuadorian officials have requested Venezuelan databases to help with background checks of the refugees, but Venezuela has not cooperated.⁶⁸ Ecuador has turned inward to fix its

⁶⁷ "Lenin Moreno: It Is Necessary to Establish a New Ideology," *Al Jazeera*, January 3, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2019/01/lenin-moreno-establish-ideology-190103060748796.html>.

⁶⁸ "Ecuador Ramps up Measures to Control Venezuelan Migration," *El Universo*, January 21, 2019, NewsBank.

domestic problems and is less concerned with foreign allegiances. Moreno has taken a pragmatic approach to run his country. Strict adherence to leftist ideology is less critical than functionality. Moreno will continue to distance himself from Correa's legacy, not because he disagrees with Correa's ideals, just his methods. The populace was inspired by the empowering words of Correa but have demanded lasting change to their livelihoods, and Moreno's reforms are satisfying those demands.

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III. BOLIVIA

After an end to dictatorial rule, Bolivia struggled to progress economically under democratic leaders who followed World Trade Organization (WTO) principles. These new measures served the handful of political elites and the overseas companies which owned access to Bolivian natural resources. “During the 1990s, the political opportunity structure of most Latin American societies was beneficial for the right.”⁶⁹ The neoliberal system established in the early democratic governments of Latin America continued the exploitive mining practices of natural resources that benefitted the elite and foreign companies. Developing countries had to adapt neoliberal policies to receive funding from the IMF. To fix hyperinflation in the 1980s Bolivia adopted neoliberal policies, and again in the 1990s, President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada implemented more neoliberal policies which included privatization of important state-owned industries and the privatization of the social security system.⁷⁰ These reforms later ignited protests because of corruption scandals and increased tariffs. The IMF restrictions on the loans were designed to help economic growth under the neoliberal model, but corrupt officials diverted any growth away from the poor and into foreign businesses. Policies derived from foreign capitalist influence seemed to exploit the working class, thus perpetuating the imperialist exploitation of previous generations under modern policies.

Reforms in the 1990s decreased inflation, grew GDP steadily, and reduced debt, but the average citizen did not feel these economic improvements in their quality of life.⁷¹ These reforms appeared to benefit the elite while the poor remained impoverished so the leaders’ terms in office were short. Longevity for Morales is contingent on sustained improvement in lifestyle and quality of living of his supporters and not just sustained funding of social programs.

⁶⁹ Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, “From Right Populism in the 1990s to Left Populism in the 2000s—and Back Again?” In *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*, edited by Juan Pablo Luna and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, 143. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 159.

⁷⁰ Peter Kingstone, *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development After the Commodity Boom*, 2nd edition (New York, New York: Routledge, 2018), 36.

⁷¹ Kingstone, 46.

After years of slow development, growing poverty, and income inequality, the people of Bolivia turned to a new political party—created by and for indigenous sectors of Bolivian society—to reform the economy to benefit the indigenous majorities and transform the political arena. This party is the Movement toward Socialism (MAS). Evo Morales quickly rose in popularity in the party and was elected president in the first round of elections by a majority in 2005. He is one of the last populist presidents elected during the Pink Tide to remain in power. Evo Morales has demonstrated through speeches, tweets, and policy he is committed to fighting for the people of Bolivia and that a nation's resources belong to its people.

Furthermore, he expounds on socialism as the best method to ensure the people benefit from their country's natural resources. Morales continues to succeed, after many leaders who rose during the Pink Tide have failed, primarily because natural gas prices and demand remain high. The continuing commodities boom in natural gas has allowed Bolivia to continue supporting the Bolivarian revolution without having to assess the sustainability of the new institutions. Ecuador's corruption scandals and decreased petroleum profits caused Moreno to readjust the political trajectory. The natural gas profits in Bolivia differ from the drop in petroleum prices that crippled Venezuela's reform programs and countries bolstered by Venezuelan financial support. Morales continues to benefit from a boom in natural gas which finances his policies and has not had to confront the long-term sustainability of his policies.

An analysis of Morales's rise to power and reform will be followed by a summary of his local ties to other Bolivarian leaders. Following a short history of the nature and success of reforms, this chapter discusses the opposition and popular perception of Evo Morales. Morales has remained in power through three election cycles and has used opposition to strengthen his support base. This chapter argues that Morales has yet to face corruption scandals or declining revenue from natural gas production and therefore has not had to reassess the long term economic and social forecast of reforms. The continued ties of Bolivia to the Bolivarian institutions of a failed Venezuela demonstrate that Morales has not had to make the same pragmatic changes as Moreno because of sustained natural resource profits. Furthermore, he continues to have the support of the population by

constantly campaigning for his positions and vilifying the United States. This contention reduces criticism of ongoing Bolivarian ties.

A. THE RISE OF MAS

Evo Morales is the first indigenous president in Bolivia, a country where the majority of the population is of indigenous descent. Before entering office, Morales had been an influential union leader among coca growers. The Water Wars of 2000 and the Gas Wars of 2003 both provided Morales—by then a Congressman—opportunities to demonstrate his leadership skills and promote his socialist policies to fix the ills caused by the privatization of water services and the export model for the country’s vast natural gas reserves. The rise of MAS started among dislodged miners who had turned toward growing coca and felt disenfranchised from the government.⁷² The people’s disenfranchisement spread during the Gas Wars and Water Wars as did the popularity of MAS. By 2004, Bolivia’s traditional party system had collapsed, and the fringe one-issue movement party had grown to become a major political contender, ultimately winning the 2005 presidential election. MAS went from representing the interests of indigenous coca growers to representing a plurality of the country’s citizens. “The Morales victory in December 2005 was a democratic gain in race relations in Bolivia. Indigenous rights were thrust to the center of the national political agenda to an unprecedented degree.”⁷³ Morales was a political outsider and a man of the people. The political structure in Bolivia had failed, and Morales led a leftist movement to rebuild the government with a new constitution and new social programs.⁷⁴

⁷² John Crabtree, “From the MNR to the MAS: Populism, Parties, the State, and Social Movements in Bolivia Since 1952,” In *Latin American Populism in the Twenty-First Century* Edited by Carlos de la Torre and Cynthia J. Arnson (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013), 280.

⁷³ Jeffery Webber, *From Rebellion to Reform in Bolivia: Class Struggle, Indigenous Liberation, and the Politics of Evo Morales* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2011), <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ebook-nps/detail.action?docID=680039>. 70.

⁷⁴ Carlos Meléndez, “Is There a Right Track in Post-Party System Collapse Scenarios? Comparing the Andean Countries,” In *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*, edited by Juan Pablo Luna and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 169.

52 Fred Rosen, “What Was Created? What Remains?,” 22.

Morales established strong ties to Bolivarianism and Chávez as a result of their shared leftist ideologies and disdain for American influence in Latin America. Four dimensions of Bolivarianism are social welfare programs, neighborhood communes, and workplace cooperatives, an emphasis on regional power as a foreign policy, and adapting the electoral process to stay in power.⁷⁵ Morales has stood by the Venezuelan government and its Bolivarian revolution despite having a different approach to implementing socialist reform. The social reform strategy was different but Morales “successfully adopted Chávez’s Bolivarian strategies by concentrating power and suffocating democracy from the inside.”⁷⁶ MAS’s path to socialism has been more of an indigenous people’s movement, and less of the Marxist-Leninist inspired base for the United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV). “Bolivian scholars argue that communal and assembly democracies are based on the norms, traditions, and experiences of miners, indigenous people, other unionized workers such as coca growers, and poor urban dwellers.” They continue to clarify their fundamental difference in political ideology based on their culture in that “they contend that their values of communal solidarity, equality, and consensus building differ fundamentally from the individualistic principles that lie at the root of liberal-representative democracy.”⁷⁷ Many nations joined ALBA to benefit from the money Chávez used to buy influence, but Bolivia had its vast resources and joined out of a belief in the goals of a new regional bloc.

The Pink Tide that swept over South America started around the new millennium and while other leftist leaders have come and gone Morales, despite being among the first presidents to be elected during the Pink Tide, continues to lead his country. Bolivia has averaged 5 percent GDP growth during Morales’s years in office even during the 2008 financial crisis.⁷⁸ This growth and progress may be fleeting as occurred in Venezuela. The

⁷⁶ Carlos De la Torre. “Hugo Chavez and the Diffusion of Bolivarianism,” 1280.

⁷⁷ Carlos de la Torre, *Populist Seduction in Latin America* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2010), 116, Proquest Ebook Central.

⁷⁸ Ronn Pineo, “Progress in Bolivia: Declining the United States Influence and the Victories of Evo Morales,” *Journal of Developing Societies* 32, no. 4 (December 2016): 434, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0169796X16667170>.

commodity boom for petroleum and decaying infrastructure ended the rapid growth in Venezuela, but Bolivia continues to prosper from the boom of natural gas sales. A disadvantage of populist social policies is “the foundation of populist expenditure programs is often flimsy.”⁷⁹ Bolivia’s economy is dependent on natural gas, and Morales has failed to divest sufficient funds into developing new industries.

He holds a unique status as an indigenous president, not only for being the first indigenous president of Bolivia but of any country in South America. The continued economic growth and poverty reduction has created growing support for Morales that has only waned because of rising fears Morales would remain in office beyond the constitutional limits. Morales remains in power despite growing concern for authoritarian potential because he represents the people through his policy and his appearance.

Morales’ rise in power and influence accelerated when in 2000, the newly privatized and international water company doubled the cost of water leading to protests known as the Water Wars. During these protests, Morales gained popularity and became more than a single issue leader. His rhetoric of social reform and socialism spread beyond the needs of just coca growers to all Bolivians impacted by the increased water prices. The protests and conflicts continued when only a few short years later in 2003 the government, following international counsel, pushed to close an export deal to export natural gas through a Chilean port.⁸⁰ The government had privatized gas production in 1996 by selling the company to an American firm for under market value. This sell and the deal that would benefit foreigners and Chileans led to protests called the Gas Wars which drew violent repression from the government causing the death of dozens of protesters and led to the president’s resignation. During the next election, Morales and MAS won a majority during the first round of votes and gained access to the presidency without a runoff election.

⁷⁹ Kurt Weyland, “Populism and Social Policy in Latin America,” in *Latin American Populism in the Twenty-First Century* Edited by Carlos de la Torre and Cynthia J. Arnson (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013), 126.

⁸⁰ Jefferey R. Webber, “From Left-Indigenous Insurrection to Reconstituted Neoliberalism in Bolivia: Political Economy, Indigenous Liberation, and Class Struggle,” In *The New Latin American Left: Cracks in the Empire*, edited by Jeffrey R. Webber and Barry Carr (United Kingdom: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2013), 160.

In the case of Bolivia, Evo Morales reached power with over 50 percent of the votes following the political tendencies critical of economic liberalism, against the institutions of representative democracy, and amidst the discrediting of the governing or ‘traditional’ parties. Emulating his counterpart in Venezuela, Morales also favors the celebration of recall referendums to relegitimate his position as president.⁸¹

As with other Andean populist leaders, Morales called for a national assembly to rewrite the constitution to give improved indigenous representation, protect the environment, and consolidate power in the executive. As Chávez did before him, Morales restructured the government and started the process to consolidate power.

B. REFORMS AND FINANCES

Morales implemented many changes similar to reforms implemented by Chávez in Venezuela. Just as Chávez used windfall profits from petroleum to fund social programs, Morales uses high revenue from natural gas—for which he re-negotiated contracts during his first year in office—to support programs aimed at helping the poor. MAS operates the renationalized gas company with the belief that natural resources belong to the nation’s people, and as such the people should profit from those resources. The social programs implemented by Morales use royalty payments from natural gas profits to fund reforms. From 1988 to 1999 Bolivia had privatized assets equal to 20 percent of GDP.⁸² The return of these industries to public control provided Morales with large sums to fund social programs. The spending on education and health programs have reduced poverty levels, increased literacy, and managed to accomplish these changes without creating macroeconomic imbalances.⁸³

A criticism of these social programs has been a failure to invest sufficiently in lasting projects and infrastructure construction. This is not to say that Morales has

⁸¹ Betilde Muñoz-Pogossian, *Electoral Rules and the Transformation of Bolivian Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2008, 204), <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230615465>.

⁸² Kingstone, *The Political Economy of Latin America*, 39.

⁸³ Santiago Anria, and Evelyne Huber. “The Key to Evo Morales’ Political Longevity,” *Foreign Affairs*, February 16, 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/bolivia/2018-02-14/key-evo-morales-political-longevity>.

completely ignored infrastructure investment, but many programs provide direct financial assistance to the public without diverting funds for large scale projects. Despite massive sums of money being distributed directly to the people, Morales has invested in infrastructure projects including railways and new highways. From 2005 to 2009 public investment increased from 6.3 percent of GDP to 10.5 percent.⁸⁴ This increase in construction projects must be enough for the populace to feel like they have escaped systemic poverty. The social programs help the poor become middle class, but their streets and neighborhoods remind them how close poverty is. Investments in infrastructure help the whole country reach a better living standard. Morales would strengthen his legacy by helping Bolivia become a middle-class country full of middle-class citizens and not a poor country with a sizeable middle class. This is to say that although many Bolivians may not be familiar with the Gini coefficient, the Heritage Foundation's economic freedom rankings, or the World Bank's world development indicators they do know if they stop feeling poor. Academia will measure his legacy by improvement in these rankings, but these rankings mean little if Bolivians do not feel like their social standing is improving on a visceral level.

Natural gas has been the primary earner for the Bolivian economy. Tin and other mining have declined but natural gas demand continues to grow as demand for cleaner energy alternatives expands. Petroleum production in Venezuela has dropped off from mismanagement of drill sites and decreased global market. The fall in revenue has weakened programs that relied on petroleum money. The continued demand for natural gas allows Morales to maintain his social programs. In the early years of Bolivarianism, Venezuela bought regional influence, but more recently Bolivia has had to provide loans to the failed state that has mismanaged its resources.⁸⁵ Natural gas demand has remained steady and as the economies around Bolivia continue to grow, so does their desire for the

⁸⁴ Jeffery R. Webber, "From Left-Indigenous Insurrection to Reconstituted Neoliberalism in Bolivia: Political Economy, Indigenous Liberation, and Class Struggle, 2000–2011," in *The New Latin American Left: Cracks in the Empire*, edited by Jeffery R. Webber and Barry Carr (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2013), 173.

⁸⁵ Associated Press, "Latin American Countries Attempt to Help Venezuela Financial Crisis," NBC News, July 26, 2016, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/latin-american-countries-attempt-help-venezuela-financial-crisis-n617321>.

clean energy. Pipelines carry the gas to Brazil and Argentina and discussions about building additional pipelines frequent news cycles but have yet to solidify into action.

Coca has been a critical part of Bolivian culture and society among indigenous tribes since the plant was discovered and foreign demand for cocaine has vilified the plant and its cultivators. Locals brew tea or chew on the leaves, but desire to convert the plant into cocaine has led many Bolivians to grow and sell the plant for more than just domestic use. The pressure from United States counter-drug operations threatened a part of indigenous culture and Morales has been willing to push back against American pressure. Bolivia has worked closely with Venezuela as trade with the United States was reduced over disagreements on drug enforcement. Morales' socialist ideology and fierce defense of coca and coca growers have put him at odds with the United States and American goals numerous times. He has not shirked fighting for his nation's interests despite global pressure, and American opposition has only strengthened regional ties. "Morales executed a clear break with existing institutions, calling into question the adequateness of their functioning, and promising to build a new institutional order in a new, 'refounded' state. Yet, initiating such a process brings with it the danger of producing a downward spiral of de-institutionalization and democratic de-consolidation."⁸⁶ Morales strives to reform his country, but international agencies fear MAS reforms may be at odds with maintaining democratic governance in Bolivia. The new political order and new state constitution may merely be the start of a new authoritarian government. These fears stem from a break from the United States, which does not mean a break from democracy. A path to socialism does not have to end in authoritarianism, but Morales has to demonstrate that in this he differs from Chávez and Nicolas Maduro.

Bolivia has continued to support Venezuela despite President Maduro's failures governing the country. In March 2018 Morales demonstrated solidarity with Maduro after the Peruvian president revoked Maduro's invitation to an upcoming Summit of the

⁸⁶ Sven Harten, *The Rise of Evo Morales and the MAS* (London: Zed Books, 2013), <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ebook-nps/detail.action?docID=688555>. 241.

Americas for his failure to promote democracy in Venezuela.⁸⁷ Opposition to the Summit of the Americas led the ALBA nations and opposition factions from other countries to hold their parallel summit during the same period.⁸⁸ This opposition has lost real political influence without a stable Venezuela but continues to fight while other countries return to right-leaning leaders.

Morales has been able to maintain power and support through active social programs. The profits from nationalized natural gas production have allowed the government to invest heavily in education and welfare programs. The MAS party implemented the National Development Plan 2006–2010 (Plan de Desarrollo Nacional 2006–2010) which outlined the use of extractive mining of natural resources would fund the state programs through taxation and royalties.⁸⁹ Sustained GDP output has lowered poverty levels substantially. Poverty reduction and sustained growth have increased support for Morales through the past three elections for the presidency. Funding for programs remains steady only as long as the demand for natural gas remains steady. Venezuela’s downfall came from a reduction in price, demand, and output of petroleum. So far Bolivia has not damaged its natural gas revenue through mismanagement as did PDVSA in Venezuela. Demand remains steady, especially demand from neighboring countries like Brazil and Argentina. The new system Morales has created has not been tested by an economic shock.

Despite the growth and economic prosperity, Morales has faced some opposition during his time in office. During the early years in office, Morales was unexpectedly responsive to his original supporters and had not sacrificed his ideals for political pluralism and to win over the opposition.⁹⁰ This opposition has not been from a unified party but has grown in strength with time. This lack of unification has prevented another party from

⁸⁷ “Bolivias Morales Insists On Maduros Presence At Summit,” *La Razon*, March 6, 2018, Newsbank.

⁸⁸ “‘Parallel’ Americas Summit Voices Support for Venezuela, Cuba,” *La Razon*, April 13, 2018, NewsBank.

⁸⁹ Webber, *From Rebellion to Reform in Bolivia*, 192.

⁹⁰ Crabtree, John. “From the MNR to the MAS: Populism, Parties, the State, and Social Movements in Bolivia Since 1952,” In *Latin American Populism in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Carlos de la Torre and Cynthia J. Arnson (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013), 285.

unseating Morales or gaining much power in the legislature. A significant source of opposition has been his longevity in office and measures to permit him continuous reelections. Opposition leaders warned that Morales would not cede power.⁹¹ Protests in eight of nine department capitals broke out in December of 2018 against Morales' reelection bid.⁹² Now that the people of Bolivia have gained economic prosperity, they fear losing political freedom.

C. OPPOSITION AS A SOURCE OF STRENGTH

“Despite continuing hostility from Washington, Morales' form of indigenous Bolivarianism continues to thrive in the Andes.”⁹³ Bolivia has had strained diplomatic relations with the United States since 2008 due to disagreements over counter-narcotics operations. The United States continues to provide aid and to fight narcotic operations, but without the support of the Bolivian government.

The opposition from the United States may be an aspect of Morales' staying power. John Crabtree, a research associate at the Latin American Centre at Oxford University, argues that MAS foments unity through “deliberately antagonistic discourse towards its enemies, real or imagined.”⁹⁴ Populist leaders maintain a strong support base through the portrayal of constant attack by an ‘other’ that seeks to undo the social progress of the leader. In April of 2019 Bolivian Vice President Alvaro Garcia was quoted in a Bolivian newspaper condemning U.S. interference in Bolivian Politics.⁹⁵ This response comes after the U.S. Senate considered a resolution questioning the indefinite reelection of Morales. The United States views this resolution as an effort to support democratic governance throughout the world, but the United States voicing its opinion of Bolivian government

⁹¹ “Bolivia's Future Depends On Evos Whim': Opposition Boss,” *La Razon*, July 24, 2018, NewsBank.

⁹² “Bolivia: Protests Against Evo Morales Re-Election Bid,” *La Razon*, December 6, 2018, NewsBank.

⁹³ Richard Swift, “Re-introducing... Evo Morales,” *New Internationalist*, December 2014, 9.

⁹⁴ John Crabtree, “From the MNR to the MAS: Populism, Parties, the State, and Social Movements in Bolivia Since 1952,” 289.

⁹⁵ “Bolivia VP denounces U.S. ‘Attempt At Interference’ -Report,” *La Razon*, April 9, 2019, Newsbank.

provides Morales with another opportunity to demonstrate he has created enemies with neoliberal governments.

Morales has become quite active on Twitter since 2016. His multiple posts each day highlight current events, spread his political ideology, and antagonize enemies. A common feature throughout his tweets are lessons that teach a “this day in history” anecdote. These tweets often contain photographs of old newspaper articles from events in the rise of MAS or showcase political follies from his predecessors. Many of these tweets are intentionally antagonistic towards neoliberal policies and the United States. On July 4, 2019 Morales tweeted “We congratulate the U.S. on its Independence Day. You can always count on our commitment to work together to improve the living conditions of the poorest and most vulnerable people. The real independence is to struggle against the dreadful consequences of capitalism.”⁹⁶ Although few Americans will ever see this tweet, the bravado of criticizing capitalism as a way to congratulate the largest capitalist country definitely garnished support from his political supporters. Other tweets criticize Bolivian politicians for humiliating themselves before American powers, the inherent evil of neoliberal policies, the success of workers’ revolutions, and the failure of the once-private Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales Bolivianos (YPFB) the now state-owned oil and gas company.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Evo Morales Ayma (@evoespueblo), “We Congratulate the U.S. on its Independence Day,” Twitter, July 4, 2019, 10:43 am, <https://twitter.com/evoespueblo/status/1146836860632797184>.

⁹⁷ The following list of tweets are an incomplete selection from July to the start of September 2019. In this brief period Morales is critical of the United States, former Bolivian leaders, and neoliberal policies while praising efforts to work with China. I decided that a few tweets from the 2019 summer months would be sufficient to highlight Morales’s continued socialist ideology and disdain for the United States.

Evo Morales Ayma (@evoespueblo), “Como Hoy, 2000, La Embajada de #EEUU hizo una fiesta,” Twitter, July 1, 2019, 8:16 am, <https://twitter.com/evoespueblo/status/1145712820606132225>.

Evo Morales Ayma (@evoespueblo), “Como Hoy, 1994, Denuncié Con Pruebas que USAID Exigía militarizar,” July 2, 2019, 4:32 am, <https://twitter.com/evoespueblo/status/1146018918177394689>.

Evo Morales Ayma (@evoespueblo), “Como Hoy, 2000, El Representante del FMI, Eliahu Kreis, Advirtió,” July 10, 2019, 3:33 am, <https://twitter.com/evoespueblo/status/1148903054370103296>.

Evo Morales Ayma (@evoespueblo), “Como Hoy, 1992, Se Anunció el Cierre de Operaciones y Despido de Trabajadores,” July 24, 2019, 4:25 am, <https://twitter.com/evoespueblo/status/1153989508184121344>.

Evo Morales Ayma (@evoespueblo), “Como hoy, 1992, Se Reveló que Constance Bernard,” Twitter, August 4, 2019, 9:52 am, <https://twitter.com/evoespueblo/status/1158058240816627713>.

Evo Morales continues to provide economic growth for his country. The United States and its counter-narcotics operations continue to oppose Morales, but he continues to have the support of the people because through the natural gas royalties he is delivering on the reforms they demanded. Morales continues to support a failing Venezuela, but Bolivarianism and twenty-first-century socialism are still working in Bolivia. His power will continue to last as long as the money lasts. The amount of negative propaganda from the United States has not been able to alter the public perception of Morales. His populist appeal continues strong. Other leaders of the Pink Tide have faded from the political arena, and scandal has mired many others, but Morales continues to fund literacy programs, health programs, fight for indigenous rights, and move forward toward his vision of socialism.

Evo Morales Ayma (@ecoespueblo), “Como Hoy, 1993, El Entonces Subsecretario de Energía e Hidrocarburos,” Twitter, August 20, 2019, 12:33 am, <https://twitter.com/evoespueblo/status/1163896738006163458>

Evo Morales Ayma (@ecoespueblo), “Como Hoy, 1985, Edward Rowell, Embajdor de #EEUU, Anunció Su “Apoyo” al Programa Económico,” Twitter, August 21, 2019, 6:26 am, <https://twitter.com/evoespueblo/status/1164166879184859137>

Evo Morales Ayma (@ecoespueblo), “Como Hoy, 2002, Se Informó que el MAS Pidió Rebajar Dietas de Autoridades,” Twitter, August 21, 2019, 10:42 am, <https://twitter.com/evoespueblo/status/1164231377077899264>

Evo Morales Ayma (@ecoespueblo), “Agradecemos a la Comunidad China,” Twitter, September 1, 2019, 4:52 am, <https://twitter.com/evoespueblo/status/1168129482256998400>.

IV. CONCLUSION

The Andean countries analyzed turned to the left with strong rhetoric and under the leadership of influential leaders. Venezuela has fallen far from the dream of Chávez. The Bolivarian Revolution redefined and coined many terms, but in many instances, the leader's actions in Ecuador and Bolivia were not as extreme as their words. Twenty-first-century socialism in Latin America maintained many aspects of capitalism but strove to “incorporate capitalism within a humanitarian model.”⁹⁸ Ecuador has continued to follow leftist policies but has distanced itself from the aspects of Bolivarianism because corruption scandals and declining profits from the end of the petroleum boom made maintaining Bolivarian institutions unsustainable. The leftist social programs and reintegration of neoliberal economics are providing economic mobility upward for the nation's poor. Bolivia continues to support its social programs with natural gas profits, and corruption scandals have not yet forced leaders to atone for any missteps. An economic downturn has not yet tested Morales's socialist ideals so his adherence to policy over pragmatism is unknown.

The Pink Tide has been declared over, but in these countries, the revolution continues. AP is still in power in Ecuador but has shifted focus. Morales is proving his longevity which may be rooted in his status as a populist outlier. This concluding chapter compares Ecuador and Bolivia as well as addresses issues of the populism of Morales and if twenty-first-century socialism is even socialist. The Pink Tide and the commodities boom coincided, additionally the rise of China provided a new hegemon to compete with U.S. control. These two factors gave strength to the rising Pink Tide, and their continued presence may be critical for lasting leftist governments in Ecuador and Bolivia.

The Pink Tide came in along with the commodities boom and the rise of China. The current right-wing presidents in Latin America have polarized their constituents and created enemies with other heads of state. Only the future will determine which political ideology remains dominant, but the people are demanding results and not just rhetoric. The stirring

⁹⁸ Amy Kennemore and Gregory Weeks, “Twenty-First Century Socialism? The Elusive Search for a Post-Neoliberal Development Model in Bolivia and Ecuador,” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 30, no. 3 (2011): 268.

words of populists inspired the citizens to elect new leaders, but words alone do not keep them in office. The basic tenets of Bolivarianism are anti-imperialism, democratic socialism, anti-corruption, and post-neoliberal economic policies. These principles will persist in South American politics as Latin Americans will continue to distrust foreign involvement in local affairs from a history of exploitive interactions with more powerful nations. Socialism and policies derived from socialist ideology have always appealed to South America learned from a history of foreign capitalists plundering their resources. Corruption plagues governments and businesses throughout the continent. The end of Bolivarianism is not the end of leftism in Latin America or even the end of Bolivarian tenets as political talking points. The first three components of Bolivarianism will not leave politics in the countries analyzed, but the fourth aspect of Bolivarianism, post-neoliberal ideas, has failed to bring the economic growth promised. The power bloc created by Chávez based on post-neoliberal economics has failed, thus killing his dream of a Bolivarian alliance taking its rightful place among global powers.

A. HOW POPULIST ARE THESE LEADERS REALLY?

Populist leaders increase the political involvement of the poor and underrepresented by capitalizing on lower class's desire for increased representation and political power. Populist leaders agitate the willingness of the poor to participate in the democratic process to build a strong base then use social programs to maintain that base. Generally, populist leaders are not from the poor, working class. Morales, with his poor indigenous roots, does not fit all scholar's definition of a populist leader, but rather of a revolutionary who leads his people to reform. Correa was an elite leader who inspired the poor to participate in politics and was a populist leader. He started a movement mainly built around his abilities to inspire. As with Chávez, a cult of personality supported the leader. His successor does not have these traits but continues to implement leftist policies to reduce poverty in Ecuador. Moreno was not a populist leader but still a leftist and has listened to his voters and changed based on their outcries.

Morales had sustained success because he was not merely populist. "Unlike Chávez and Correa, Morales's leadership was spawned by a more autonomous, bottom-up pattern of

social mobilization during the anti-neoliberal protest movements that followed the country's critical juncture."⁹⁹ Additionally, MAS and supporting social movements predated Morales. He rose within the ranks of the movement to become its leader.¹⁰⁰ Despite this critique that Morales could not truly be populist because the movement was not built around him, Morales is a populist leader. Because the MAS movement started before him his populist methods of consolidating power and constantly campaigning to keep his supporters motivated have more significant forward momentum building on the grassroots movement that created MAS. Chávez and Correa both founded their own political parties in their rise to power. After Moreno took AP in a less radical direction, Correa founded a new party, Citizen's Revolution, to maintain populist support. Correa, from his house in Belgium, fights for his vision of twenty-first-century socialism. This vision includes his return to power. From a safe distance, he has become critical of the steps taken by his former vice-president who struggles to maintain lasting reforms and progress.

B. IS TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY SOCIALISM ACTUALLY SOCIALIST?

“Despite their socialist rhetoric, they are not eliminating private property but rather fostering a systematic expansion of state control over economic activity.”¹⁰¹ The rhetoric from Correa and Morales called for a socialist revolution to usher in twenty-first-century socialism. Despite their speeches, they have not created traditional socialist states, but large welfare states supported by nationalized natural resources. The workers do not own the means of production. The vast social welfare programs are more akin to a modern democratic socialist state than the socialism of the 20th century. This direction fits into Moreno's pragmatic approach and his criticism of last century's socialist vision, but Correa and

⁹⁹ Kenneth M. Roberts, “Parties and Populism in Latin America,” in *Latin American Populism in the Twenty-First Century* Edited by Carlos de la Torre and Cynthia J. Arnson (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013), 54.

¹⁰⁰ Sebastián Mazzuca, “Natural Resources Boom and Institutional Curses in the New Political Economy of South America,” in *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, 4th Edition (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013), 113.

¹⁰¹ Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, “From Right Populism in the 1990s to Left Populism in the 2000s—and Back Again?” In *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*, edited by Juan Pablo Luna and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 146.

Morales have not talked of working with capitalists as Moreno has.¹⁰² Regardless of the rhetoric, the economies of the countries are still capitalist based with a nationalized natural resource sector and large social welfare programs.

The volatility of the natural resource market makes sustainability of the welfare state precarious. Private ownership of business outside the natural resource sector continues and to continue a reduction in poverty Morales and Moreno would be wise to encourage the growth of local businesses. So many economic problems stem from profits leaving the country. Nationalization of industry is not the only method to ensure profits stay supporting the populace. Morales rose to power fighting for displaced miners who turned to growing coca to support their families. For sustained growth programs encouraging small local business would be more beneficial than subsidizing their livelihood.¹⁰³

Moreno has publicly stated he intends to mix the best policies from the right and left to build a strong economy that serves his people. Morales continues to preach the evils of capitalism, but in the future may need to turn to the capitalists to fund his socialist programs if the windfall profits from natural gas dry up.

C. WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD?

The rise of a populist left may be over, but AP and MAS are demonstrating staying power because the parties are built on more than a commanding leader. Populist movements are often short-lived as happened with many other presidents who came to power during the Pink Tide. The governments of Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia have ignored the job of building lasting institutions and have created large welfare states. The failure to build lasting institutions can be attributed to the populist feature of consolidating personal authority which undermines institutions to strengthen the populist leaders' position. The commodity boom facilitated these countries in furthering short-term populist measures without addressing the

¹⁰² Aljazeera, "Lenin Moreno: It Is Necessary to Establish a New Ideology."

¹⁰³ Kurt Weyland, "Populism and Social Policy in Latin America," In *Latin American Populism in the Twenty-First Century* Edited by Carlos de la Torre and Cynthia J. Arnson (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013), 141.

roots of economic problems.¹⁰⁴ The end in a commodities boom in Venezuela killed the social programs while Ecuador, under Moreno, is taking steps to control the scope of programs and diversify the economy. Moreno has reversed steps taken by Correa to consolidate power and build institutions but has nonetheless maintained the economic and social policies that contributed to poverty reduction. Bolivia is still benefitting from the price of natural gas and to maintain growth must invest in other markets, build infrastructure, and create social programs that are more than direct financial support. Increased investments in education and, transportation, and diverse small economic markets will do much to help Morales maintain the growth experienced while he has been in power.

The indigenous movement in Bolivia succeeded because it transcended social class conflict and united interest groups by more than income levels and heritage. The right-wing elites in Bolivia depend on exports for wealth and not the state, as such they are extreme in their opposition to Morales and are willing to undermine the state to achieve their goals.¹⁰⁵ The right in Ecuador and Bolivia persists. Right-wing governments have returned in most other Latin American countries that partook in the Pink Tide. The timing of the commodities boom parallel to the rise of Bolivarian leaders allows for opponents to criticize the effectiveness of the policies. Were Bolivarian leaders successful because they had good ideas or good timing? The economic success in Venezuela was short-lived. Ecuador and Bolivia are still prospering under two of the few Pink Tide political parties remaining. Despite news outlets declaring an end to the Pink Tide Ecuador, Bolivia, and Nicaragua keep the revolution going.¹⁰⁶ Moreno has faced challenges, both economic and political, and adapted his approach to strengthening the sustainability of the new social programs. Morales continues to benefit from high natural gas prices and unorganized opposition. His ideology has not

¹⁰⁴ Sebastián Mazzuca, “Natural Resources Boom and Institutional Curses in the New Political Economy of South America,” in *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, 4th Edition (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013), 122.

¹⁰⁵ James D. Bowen, “The Right and Nonparty Forms of Representation and Participation: Bolivia and Ecuador Compared,” in *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*, edited by Juan Pablo Luna and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 97.

¹⁰⁶ “After the End of the ‘Pink Tide,’ What’s Next for South America?” *World Politics Review*, August 21, 2019, <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/insights/27904/after-the-end-of-the-pink-tide-what-s-next-for-south-america>.

been tested. Venezuela failed to address corruption, was unable to diversify its economy, and failed to assess the success of Bolivarian principles. Ecuador, under Moreno's leadership, has addressed corruption, started to diversify the economy beyond its core major exports, and Moreno has adapted his policies to keep what is working while rejecting failed policies. Any Bolivian corruption has not been exposed as many other countries' corrupt officials were from the Odebrecht scandal. Morales has not needed to diversify the economy because natural gas remains highly profitable. Morales continues to support Maduro and Venezuela's Bolivarian revolution. If the natural gas boom ends Bolivia may follow Venezuela's path or be able to learn from Ecuador and keep the progress made.

Moreno's disability makes him understand the needs of the marginalized, but so does Morales's indigenous heritage. The changing economic and domestic circumstances for Ecuador as Moreno entered office provided him the opportunity to continue with Correa's vision or divert. He chose to divert away from his political allies but towards lasting progress. The fact that Moreno spent eight years serving Correa and did not get tangling in corruption shows he is willing to put the best interests of his country first. Correa and Glas used their positions for personal gain while Moreno continues to fight for his people and has promised to only serve one term. Morales has been more dogmatic in his political speeches than Moreno. Does Morales continue to support the Bolivarian movement because he believes in all its aspects or does he fear the exposure of corruption scandals if it fails? Venezuela supported Bolivia when Venezuela was strong and Bolivia was struggling. Now Bolivia supports a weak Venezuela. This support may be because Morales believes in Chávez's dream of a post-neoliberal regional power bloc and will fight for it. Alternatively, Morales, like Maduro, may fear what comes after the time in office ends. To think Bolivia is corruption-free would be naive, but not naïve to think corruption has yet to reach the president, although still possible.

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