

# Dictatorships in Twenty-First-Century Latin America

Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua,  
Ecuador, and El Salvador

Oswaldo Hurtado

*Translated by Barbara Sipe*

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD  
*Lanham • Boulder • New York • London*

Published by Rowman & Littlefield

An imprint of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.  
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706  
www.rowman.com

86-90 Paul Street, London EC2A 4NE

Copyright © 2023 by The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.

*All rights reserved.* No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without written permission from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote passages in a review.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Names: Hurtado, Osvaldo, author.

Title: Dictatorships in twenty-first-century Latin America: Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Ecuador, and El Salvador / Osvaldo Hurtado; translated by Barbara Sipe.

Description: Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2023. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022033686 (print) | LCCN 2022033687 (ebook) | ISBN 9781538171073 (cloth) | ISBN 9781538171080 (paperback) | ISBN 9781538171097 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Latin America—Politics and government—21st century. | Dictatorship—Latin America—History—21st century. | Authoritarianism—Latin America—History—21st century. | Political culture—Latin America—History—21st century.

Classification: LCC F1414.3 .H87 2023 (print) | LCC F1414.3 (ebook) | DDC 980.04—dc23/eng/20220823

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022033686>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022033687>



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

# Contents

Preface	vii
Acknowledgments	xiii
<b>PART I: NEW FORMS OF DICTATORSHIP</b>	1
Chapter 1: The Concept of Democracy	3
Chapter 2: From Military Dictatorships to Civilian Dictatorships	9
Chapter 3: Dictatorships of the Twenty-First Century	15
Chapter 4: The Governments of Hugo Chávez and Nicolás Maduro	31
Chapter 5: The Government of Evo Morales	61
Chapter 6: The Government of Daniel Ortega	75
Chapter 7: The Government of Nayib Bukele	93
<b>PART II: THE GOVERNMENT OF RAFAEL CORREA</b>	103
Chapter 8: The Correa-Tailored Constitution of 2008	105
Chapter 9: The Process of Concentrating Power	121
Chapter 10: The Ruse of Citizen Participation	135
<b>PART III: DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN AN AUTOCRATIC REGIME</b>	147
Chapter 11: The Rule of Law	149
Chapter 12: The Division of Power	155
Chapter 13: The Independence of the Justice System	161

Chapter 14: Freedoms, Guarantees, and Rights	177
Chapter 15: Government Transparency	193
Chapter 16: Political Pluralism	207
Chapter 17: Alternation in Power	215
Chapter 18: Free Elections	221
<b>PART IV: PERSPECTIVES ON AUTHORITARIANISM</b>	231
Chapter 19: The International Community	233
Chapter 20: Causes of the Dictatorial Drift	245
Chapter 21: The Arduous Path of Democracy	257
References	265
Index	281
About the Author	293