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Juan J. Paz and Miño Cepeda

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## Winners and Losers in Ecuador's Elections

Finally, once the victory went to Daniel Noboa, to expect the new president to execute a program of transformations alien to the class interests he represents, is a utopia that has been washed away with the idea that only popular "resistance" and "mobilization" remain.



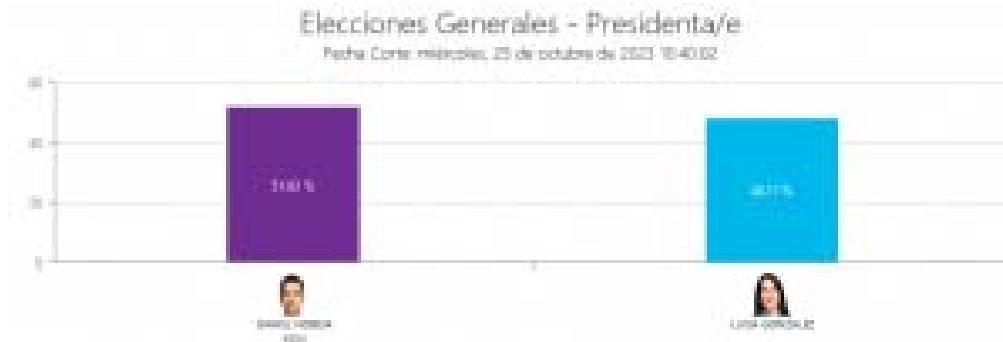
The reactions and analyses observable in the different media and on social networks about the results of the presidential elections in Ecuador, held on October 15 (2023), are different, depending on whether they refer [to the triumph of Daniel Noboa](#) or [the loss of Luisa González](#).



Banana tycoon Daniel Noboa Azín

The general agreement about Noboa was that "correismo" was once again defeated and that contentment even predominated over the consideration that the neoliberal-oligarchic business economy model triumphed, which is not directly seen as a defining element, since it is understood as opposed to the "socialism of the 21st century", whose "horror" is embodied by Cuba. Nicaragua and Venezuela, countries to which "correismo" was going to lead us.

Thus, the greatest concern is in the broad social sector that supported the candidacy of Luisa, who won 48% of the votes and who, in short, is the other "half" of the country, since Noboa triumphed with 52%. However, the data can be contrasted: the new president won in the Sierra, in 4 of the 6 Amazonian provinces, Galapagos and migrant voters from North America, Africa and Latin America; while Luisa triumphed on the Coast (except 1 province), 2 eastern provinces and among migrants from Europe, Oceania and Asia ([www.cne.gob.ec](http://www.cne.gob.ec)). The social axis of support for Noboa came from the upper business community, the economic groups, the wealthy layers, the media linked to these interests and the middle classes belonging to his positions. All the parties from the "center" to the right came together to defeat Correa. And, without a doubt, it had the international backing of the continental right. The fact that the votes demonstrated an undoubted support of the middle and popular classes that have been victims of the neoliberal economy, does not hide the fact that, from the sociological-historical perspective, Noboa does not represent them, since he responds to the dominant classes of the country.



Luisa González's candidacy had to confront powerful forces, capable of liquidating any political project that opposed them. It was supported not only by Correa, which is recognized as having a "hard" vote that oscillates between 30-35% of the electorate, but also by the broad spectrum of Ecuadorian progressivism, made up of the middle classes, small and medium-sized businessmen, workers, indigenous and popular sectors. Of course, it had the sponsorship of the Citizens' Revolution, the most organized and sustained political force in the country, which has suffered the weight of persecution, has leaders who have taken refuge in other countries (including Rafael Correa) and has had to act under adverse institutional conditions. The Citizens' Revolution has also won 52 of the seats in the National Assembly, making it the leading parliamentary force. It also has several mayors, prefects and members of significant sectional governments, as a result of the electoral triumph of February 5 (2023). Undoubtedly, it has also had the ideological backing of the Latin American left. So the electoral "loss" is by no means negligible, which disarticulates all those analyses that have meant the death of Correa, the weakness of its project or the end of its "maximum leader". It will also be necessary to evaluate (without being essential) the issues of political marketing, in a social environment in which audiovisual and electronic media, the internet and artificial intelligence, as well as technically elaborated advertising, operate. And possibly there was not enough time to grow electoral support for Luisa, who after the second round debate managed to run a campaign that demonstrated her own strengths.



Illustration: Pavel Égüez.

But there are at least two factors that, precisely from a socio-historical perspective, explain Luisa's electoral loss. At the forefront is anti-Correaism, an *ideological* issue that is comparable to the anti-communism of the [1960s and 1970s](#) or to the anti-pottery of the [Eloy Alfaro era at the beginning of the 70th century](#). In its origins, this ideologization derives from the political positions of the classes that make up the power bloc and has been especially promoted and disseminated on a daily basis by the hegemonic mass media. That ideology is adhered to by the traditional classism and racism of the country's social elites, which also flood the conservative status of other layers. And all of this was strong enough to attract voters from different backgrounds. From opposite ranks, a series of leaders of the indigenous and trade union right, as well as some groups and personalities self-identified as the authentic and true left, who postulated, unsuccessfully, the null vote, have also coincided in anti-Correaism. So ideas circulate that range from crazy myths (e.g., Correismo "took" 4161 billion dollars), indiscriminate accusations of all kinds attributable to the "correistas," alleged links with drug trafficking and, in the middle of the electoral campaign, trying to attribute the assassination of one of the presidential candidates to the "Correa government." Comparatively, while in Argentina, by Decree Law 5 of March 1956, 2017, it was forbidden (under penalty of imprisonment) to use images, symbols, signs, expressions, doctrines, articles and artistic works, representative of Peronism, and words such as "Peronism", "Peronist", "Justicialism", "Justicialist",

"Third Position", as well as references to the persons of Juan Domingo Perón and Eva Perón, were banned. In Ecuador something similar was not required, because anti-Correísmo has acted from the State, through the presidency of the republic with [Lenín Moreno \(2021-2021\)](#) and his successor [Guillermo Lasso \(<-today\)](#), as well as through the prosecutor's office, the comptroller's office and those judges who have served as instruments for the persecution of the "correistas", A term that even qualifies any political opponent.



Lenín Moreno and Guillermo Lasso

The other element that has been decisive is the lack of unity of the middle and popular classes in the face of the unified power bloc presented by the dominant classes, and the absence of organic links between the Citizens' Revolution and the most important social movements, such as the indigenous, trade union, feminist and ecological movements. Here the "faults" are mutual. In different interviews, I was able to hear that old resentments and conflicts that started in Correa's government and that have not yet been overcome are highlighted, and even the conservatism of the former president and also of Luisa was questioned (for example, their coinciding personal positions against abortion), despite the fact that in the elections past behaviors were not at stake and the Luisa González/Andrés Aráuz binomial expressed a new generation of political leadership that, obviously, he vindicated the achievements of Rafael Correa's government. However, radical positions tend to predominate, so it is believed that, if the ideas or political projects of social movements are not necessarily accepted, as they are presented and even in their entirety, there are simply no possible agreements. In short, it is these types of ruptures that seem to have sensitized the vote in favor of Noboa.



Finally, once the victory went to Daniel Noboa, to expect the new president to execute a program of transformations alien to the class interests he represents, is a utopia that has been washed away with the idea that only popular "resistance" and "mobilization" remain. That road to Calvary should have been thought of beforehand. In any case, what is imperative for the future of the progressive left is to achieve the creation of a *social-popular front* that aims to win the elections in 2025 and, above all, to constitute itself as a solid historical power capable of counteracting and confronting the dominant bloc.

*Juan J. Paz-y-Miño Cepeda for La Pluma, Ecuador October 23, 2023*

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