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THINK • ANALYZE • PROPOSE

ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN OF SOCIAL MOTIVATION

- ✓ The massive vote in 2027 must reaffirm the country's transformation and consolidate the new wave of democratization.
- ✓ A majority of citizens has decided to participate to prevent corrupt, criminal, incompetent, and traitorous leaders from returning to power.
- ✓ Poor communities will be key, because they now know that what is public can be equal or better than what is private.
- ✓ The 2027 elections will be the non-return of the old society, based on a democratic political culture.
- ✓ Do not give legitimacy to those who preach apocalypse: let them keep counting to 16.

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“ Politics must be measured, above all, by its ability to improve people's lives. El Salvador moves forward because governing means serving, not ideologizing. ”

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Members of the Circle of Political Reflection of El Salvador 21st Century





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Analysis, reflection and political debate aimed at strengthening democracy and national development.

Electoral Campaign of Social Motivation



As shown by the 2019 and 2024 presidential elections, the elections are resolving the old political paradox: living in an antidemocratic democracy like that of the time of ARENA-FMLN. Beyond their ideology, an overwhelming majority of citizens has renewed their desire to participate in the elections to prevent the corrupt, murderers, inept, and traitors to the people from returning to power. After three decades of being the symbol of disillusionment, disappointment, and disenchantment, the political life of the once-great parties was exhausted, and the only thing to which they can aspire is irrelevance.

What must be procured is the massiveness of the 2027 suffrage to give greater legitimacy to the process of reinvention that has, as its emblem, having passed from being the most violent country in the world to being the safest on the continent, which has implied institutional, cultural, and legal changes so that it is social motivation and trust in the



governing group that acts as the counselor at the exit polls after having suffered a voracious bipartisanship that vetoed the autonomy of the suffrage.

The final scrutiny of 2027 must give more momentum to the reinvention of the country, after Nayib Bukele resurrected the electoral regime in 2019 with an unprecedented charismatic leadership. Efforts must continue to be focused on the social transformation that allows consolidating the new wave of democratization—championed by Nayib—that makes the vote a rational act of political culture.

At that point, the paradoxical relationship between the territory of socio-economic development and the territoriality of suffrage questions classic theories of democracy so that they readjust to the new context. In solid democracies, the middle-income sectors are the ones that vote the most, whereas in our country (predated by a rampant corruption and a criminal violence) today it is the poor communities that—expecting that promises will continue to be fulfilled for them, as until now—are going to turn out the most to the ballot boxes, due to the fact that they already know what it means for that which is public to be equal to or better than that which is private. The former, in sociological terms, is defined as “the new territoriality of citizen participation.”

The 2027 elections will be one more step to build the new politics in its historical, geographical, anthropological, political, sociological, economic, and cultural angles. Political sociology poses a great variety of forms of electoral behavior founded on identity factors that contain aspects of a territorial, rational, individual, collective, and imaginary type, and it is the conjunction of those factors that will make electoral behavior a structural fact, and not a conjunctural accident. The political-theoretical challenge consists of fusing distinct approaches to build the theory of reinvention—with the electoral as a weapon—and to fully resolve the old political paradoxes signed by social violence and corruption, so that governability is a consummated fact, not empty words.

In 2027, elections must not be made into a simple ritual, but rather the reaffirmation of the political process of the transition (the territory between the old society that refuses to die and the new one that takes time to be born) in which changes will turn into social transformations.

In the past for which academic opponents long, the parties dedicated themselves to building a State of impunity, very powerful, under the authority of iniquitous leaders who, under the shadow of those, subjected the entire society to their whim to make corruption the perfect dictatorship (which they call “perfect democracy”), perverting all the powers of the State.

In this context arises a new type of elections: that of the continuity of social transformation. 2027 will be the year of no return for the old Salvadoran society on the basis of a democratic political culture that takes its place in front of the opponents who preach apocalypses in the communication media and social networks, to whom no legitimacy must be given by sharing the debate table with them, so that they remain talking among

Based on the above, the vote in 2027 will be—as predicted by all internal and external surveys—a massive political act of rationality and democratic radicalism that will have its feet on the ground and its gaze in the sky, that is to say, in a promising future that leaves behind the years we lived in danger.

Trump and Bukele: Leaders Who Inspire the World



Faced with the failure of partyocracies in the world, leaders emerge with very personal characteristics who exercise public management in a different way, as is the case of President Trump of the United States and President Bukele of El



Salvador. These new leaderships are historical responses to the exhaustion of the lefts and rights that were incapable of resolving the problems of their population.

Donald Trump and Nayib Bukele, both leaderships are key pieces in the breakdown of left-wing ideology at a global level, highlighting a disruptive style and the enormous capacity to connect with the most unprotected and abandoned sectors of the population. In the particular case of President Bukele, he stands out as a great exponent of these paradigm shifts, which center on the renovation and modernization of a State to guarantee the population maximum security and well-being, as an effective reference against any form of delinquency, whether gangs, organized crime, or white-collar crimes.

The leadership of President Trump is characterized by being more confrontational and centered more on his personality; he makes use of pressure to impose his agenda and a marked dependence on personal loyalty above institutions.

This type of leaders express a more sovereign and nationalist style, and their rhetoric prioritizes the interests of their nation more than over other interests; they maintain a disruptive communication, with a simple language, of short sentences lacking traditional academicism, with key messages to elude the public narrative. Some catalog them as extremist leaders who have a great capacity to set the global agenda; they simplify complex messages to dominate the public conversation. It would seem they have a radar to detect shifts in public opinion; they know when to accelerate and when to back down, and how to change the course of things.

In the corporate world, living under that constant pressure, this tenacity gives them a fundamental lesson; these leaders have an enormous capacity to transmit the sense of urgency, that need to act and do it quickly, faithful to their ideas, placing great trust in their work teams. Furthermore, these leaders are characterized by having elevated ambitions and they do not content themselves with modest achievements, and that gives them a great advantage.

However, for their governments to be very effective, it is crucial to stop the best; that is to say, they must surround themselves with exceptional talent to build a strong and powerful country. In the case of Trump, a characteristic that identifies him is that he knows how to negotiate from a position of strength, something very crucial to obtain favorable results. What is indeed certain and admirable is that both leaders, Trump and Bukele, are influencing the world, and their ways of governing are transcending in such a way that they inspire new political leaderships to follow their example.



The Drama of Deaths from Traffic Accidents



Once the extremely grave problem of insecurity and gang violence of a terrorist nature was resolved—which during the three decades of the postwar period left more than 100,000 Salvadorans murdered and a similar number missing—another national drama that demands urgent attention begins to become visible: deaths from traffic accidents.

The figures are alarming. In 2023, 1,256 people passed away; in 2024, the figure increased to 1,303 and, although in 2025 it descended slightly to 1,238, we continue speaking of more than three Salvadorans who lose their lives every day on the country's highways.

The majority of these events are not inevitable. The World Health Organization —OMPS— sustains that the immense majority of traffic accidents are preventable, as they are related to human factors such as speeding, distraction, alcohol consumption, disrespect for regulations, and failures in vehicle maintenance.

In El Salvador, there also persist inherited cultural problems: a scarce road education, the lack of defensive driving, and the habit of ignoring regulations. To this is added the negligence of owners of heavy vehicles and



collective transportation that circulate in deplorable mechanical conditions, causing tragedies that are later attributed to "the brakes went out" or a supposed mechanical failure.

If the country was capable of defeating the scourge of gang terrorism, it must also assume road safety as a national priority. Thousands of innocent lives depend on authorities, transporters, and each driver understanding that this tragedy can and must be prevented.

The Urgent Need to Reinvent the UES



The University of El Salvador —UES—, for decades was recognized as a house of studies with high levels of academic quality; from there graduated great eminences of different fields, among them Doctor María Isabel Rodríguez, the father of President Nayib Bukele who graduated as a Doctor in Industrial Chemistry, to mention some exemplary cases that made clear the role of the UES in the formation of true professionals.



The UES, with the development of the armed conflict, became a reference point, a recruitment field, of military training, of political (guerrilla) formation, and of other evils that brought about its abysmal fall until today. We cannot generalize our concept because indeed we know of true professionals from different branches of study who labor there and make supreme efforts to provide quality in their teachings (these are poorly looked upon).

By now, it is important for the Salvadoran government to start thinking about a radical reconversion of the UES, likewise, the purging of the fossilized, terrible leftist-of-lies and rightist-of-truth professors.

However, we can affirm that there exist radical and intolerant groups inside that house of studies who use it solely as a platform for visceral and defamatory attacks toward the present government and the President, and above all, against those of us who responsibly express our points of view regarding the achievements and advances of the current government led by President Nayib Bukele; and the thing is, these individuals who move in the anonymity of social media accounts (very cowardly) long for the times of FMLN corruption, because deep down they endorse the acts of corruption inside the UES—proofs there are plenty and recognized by different communication media—and they also long for the times of gangs, since the sympathy they have with these terrorist groupings is noticeable, by asking for them to be freed they become accomplices of an obscurantist period of our country.

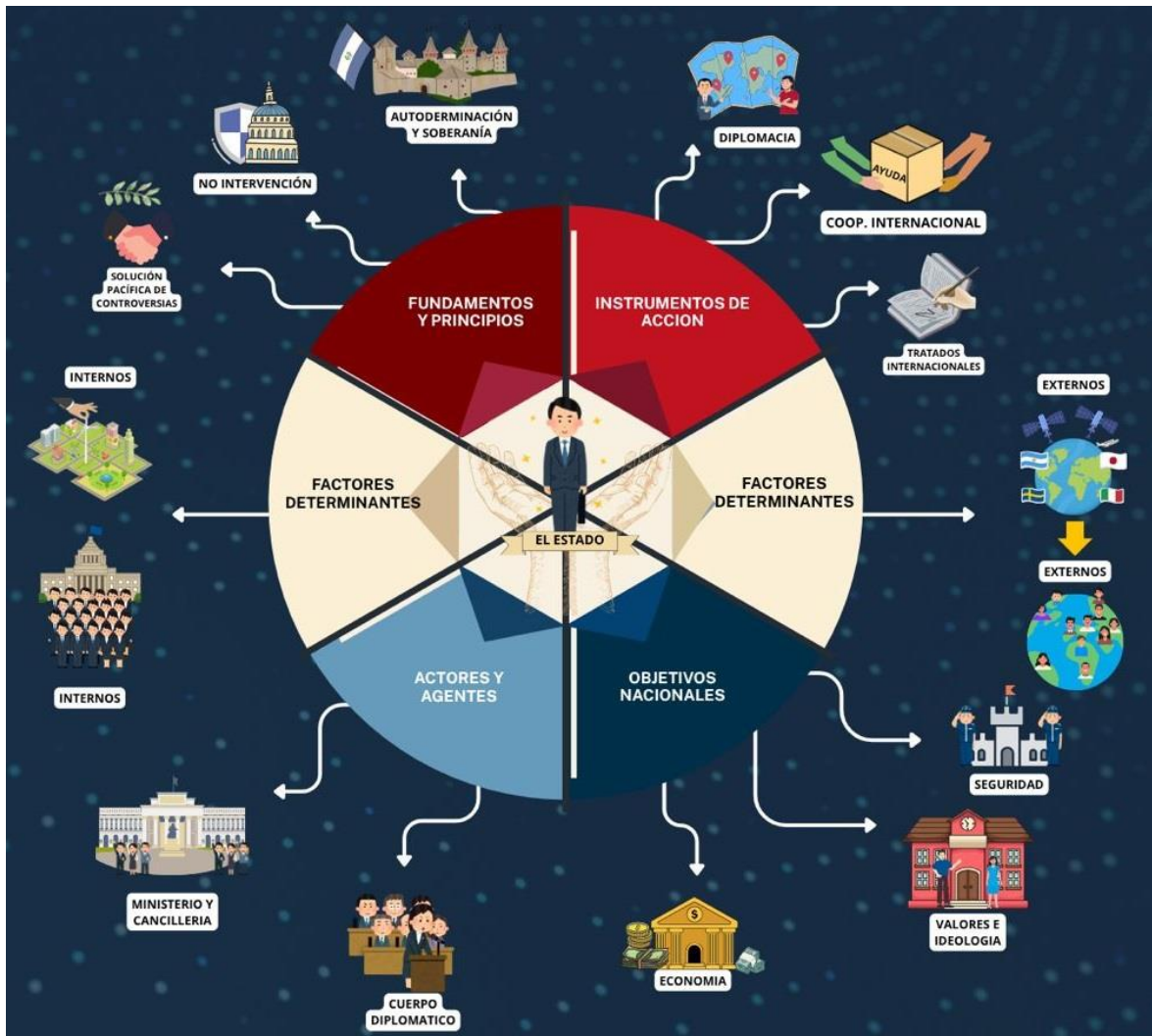
The Foreign Policy of El Salvador

Since Nayib Bukele assumed the presidency in the year 2019, the foreign policy of El Salvador experienced a **180-degree shift**, due to the fact that it focused fundamentally on the power of the State exercised by the Salvadoran government and led by President Bukele. He constructed a novel way of doing national politics in the country upon which he erected international relations; likewise, he broke the traditional, historical, and theoretical molds of presidentialism, framing and characterizing itself by the irruption of new and reformed political-diplomatic variables.

El Salvador's foreign policy is the reflection of its internal policy, and it is what determines diplomatic and consular relations, international trade, humanitarian law, and public international law, as well as treaties,



conventions, pacts, and concordats. The Salvadoran government prioritizes the interest and benefit of the citizen to achieve social well-being within a context of fraternity, solidarity, justice, peace, security, democracy, and respect for human rights.



President Bukele, through the public policy of the **Territorial Control Plan**, managed to liberate territorial integrity and exercise the fundamental principles of international law—for example, sovereignty at a national level—in addition to the liberation of more than 6 million inhabitants who were literally hostages of the *maras* or gangs. This condition was indispensable to exercise at an international level the self-determination of States, and the sovereign equality of the Salvadoran State before the international community.

Positions on International Conflicts



El Salvador has expressed itself in favor of the **peaceful settlement of disputes** in international conflicts; for example, in the case of Ukraine-Russia, although it really is a military conflict of the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization —NATO— against Russia on Ukrainian territory. Likewise, in the Middle East war, where the States of Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, Iran, Yemen, and 16 more States are involved due to having US military bases.

The fact of leaning in favor of the peaceful settlement of disputes is because El Salvador is in favor of non-intervention in the internal affairs and military conflicts of other States, assuming a peaceful, neutral diplomatic position for the benefit of international peace and security. El Salvador, in accordance with the purposes of the United Nations —UN— contemplated in its founding Charter, fosters:

“among nations friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.”

Since Nayib Bukele assumed the presidency, his government has been characterized by providing international cooperation in humanitarian matters to other countries when they were hit by hurricanes, storms, a pandemic, and earthquakes. This solidarity has been recognized and appreciated in the international sphere due to the fact of being the first or one of the first to help the citizens of other countries.

Objectives and Key Actors

The foreign policy of El Salvador is the exogenous prolongation of the synthesis of the set of public policies, governances, plans, and government programs that constitute the content of the diplomatic strategies executed in the countries where embassies and consulates are accredited, as well as with national diplomats stationed in other countries that host specialized international bodies of the UN and other organizations or entities of a worldwide, regional, or continental nature.

The principal objective of Salvadoran foreign policy is:

- The defense of national interests.
- Exercising the right to sovereignty and the self-determination of the country.
- Non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.



- Contributing to maintaining international peace and security through supporting the peaceful solution of controversies via international law.

The main actors of Salvadoran foreign policy are President Nayib Bukele, who is the representative of the State, Vice President Dr. Félix Ulloa, Minister of Foreign Relations Alexandra Hill Tinoco, and the diplomatic corps; then we have what are called **actors of parallel diplomacy**, which is that exercised by deputies and mayors.

The Turning Point: June 1, 2019

The inflection moment that marked the beginning of the new Salvadoran foreign policy occurred precisely at the moment of Nayib Bukele's inauguration, on June 1, 2019, as the constitutional president of El Salvador, when he made the decision **not to invite the illegitimate governments of Cuba, Honduras, and Nicaragua** to his presidential investiture. Nayib Bukele posted on the social network X:

“The information is correct: Juan Orlando Hernández, Daniel Ortega, and Nicolás Maduro are not invited to the inauguration.”

Likewise, a disruption with traditional politics occurred because during the inauguration it was the first time that the population had a presence in the swearing-in ceremony of the president.

In the presidential inauguration, a break with the past was stamped not only in foreign policy—which was practically nonexistent and consequently opaque, a situation even recognized by Héctor Dada Sánchez, vice minister of foreign relations of the government of Francisco Flores (Dada-Sánchez, 2000, p. 100)—but the rupture also occurred in national politics, which did not allow the inclusion of the citizenry and restricted their full and active participation in matters of national interest. Furthermore, in this presidential inauguration, a cabinet was presented that was going to be constituted by 50 percent women, inclusive and representative of the gender composition of the Salvadoran citizenry.

President Nayib Bukele, in the new foreign policy of the Salvadoran government, will privilege **multilateralism**, which meant the opening of new diplomatic relations and the diversification of the destination of El Salvador's exports. In this context, an approach was made with the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China, with the purpose of increasing the bonds of friendship, solidarity, international cooperation, and fraternity with nations in the international concert. With the arrival of Bukele to the



presidency of the country, El Salvador has a positive influence and perception in international relations despite its geographical size, although there are authors who consider El Salvador to have scarce influence in the international system.

Relations with the United States and the Past Legacy

Before June 1, 2019, bilateral relations of El Salvador with the US Administration of Donald Trump were at the lowest level in the history of diplomatic relations between both countries, due to the fact that the FMLN government had a foreign policy that privileged relations with “communist” governments of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Venezuela, with a left-wing and obviously “anti-Yankee” discourse in the sphere of international relations, which was coherent with its domestic policy of maintaining a co-government with the *maras* or gangs: *“Prior to the arrival of Nayib Bukele to power, the relationship between the United States and El Salvador was tense.”*

To such a very low diplomatic level did bilateral relations with the US arrive, that President Donald Trump, *“referred... to El Salvador as a shithole country,”* coupled with the extremely high rates of murders, extortions, and emigration of Salvadorans toward the United States, with the aggravating factor that the FMLN co-governed with the gangs, organized crime, and drug trafficking; El Salvador was truly a “hell” for Salvadorans. The governments of ARENA-FMLN exhibited international prestige loss and distrust.

The current Salvadoran foreign policy has been prudent with the current international order, notwithstanding the evident decrease in prestige due to the lack of prominence and the absence of international initiatives as world change agents in the solution of regional military conflicts of an international nature by the UN and its specialized bodies. A similar situation is presented by the current inter-American system, in particular the Organization of American States —OAS—; to this entity came Secretary General José Miguel Insulza to El Salvador to back and legitimize as an observer the pact of the gangs Mara Salvatrucha-13 and the Barrio 18 with the government of Mauricio Funes, a truce that was in effect between 2012 and 2014.

The Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance —TIAR— was created to protect the States of Latin America, particularly from Soviet expansionism, and currently it has no reason to exist because there is no Cold War, just as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics —USSR— is no longer here and obviously the phantom of communism disappeared. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights —CIDH—, this institution has gone to the extreme of being a tribune for defenders of organized crime under the cover of human rights. The distrust toward the outdated international order is not due to ideological questions, but



because it has already reached the end of its useful life, and it is necessary to create a **new world order** in line with the new international conditions of multilateralism and the emergence of emerging powers of the 21st century.

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