



INFORMATION BULLETIN

Circle of Political Reflection Siglo XXI

— 21ST CENTURY —

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



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THINK • ANALYZE • PROPOSE

THE DISASTROUS CITIZENIZATION OF THE FMLN

- ✓ When the FMLN announced the so-called "citizenization" of its candidacies, it was the implicit recognition of its sad reality: that there are no members in that party capable of regaining the people's favor, lost after their corrupt and treacherous public administration in the 2009–2019 decade.
- ✓ Opening candidacies to people from "civil society" was an attempt to fish outside the party what it could no longer find inside.
- ✓ Two people took particular advantage of that opportunity: one to seek a candidacy for deputy and the other for president.
- ✓ The experiment turned out to be counterproductive: they did not show the support they claimed to have in an imagined "social movement", nor did they find the expected backing within the FMLN or among the groups aligned with the left.
- ✓ Questioning and even rejection emerged from party members and from people in their ideological circle.
- ✓ The "citizenization" has been a complete disaster for the FMLN. The new arrivals, far from contributing to its recovery, are sinking what remains of those four letters even further.
- ✓ In its desperation, the party ended up picking anyone available, as perfectly described by an old popular expression: "chinche y talepate". After this fiasco, everything points to an even smaller electoral base and a slow but inevitable extinction.



THE NEUTRALITY OF JOURNALISM OR MEDIA LYNCHING

- Journalism must be neutral and seek the truth through in-depth analysis.
- There is so-called "progressive" journalism that, while claiming to defend victims and human rights, actually defends the interests of the groups that finance it.
- Its mission has deviated: it seeks only to monetize and follows the line of thought imposed by its financiers.
- Real information is omitted and there is a systematic attack on people, leaders or sectors through disinformation and media lynching without technical basis.



POPULAR REJECTION

FMLN officials and henchmen were repudiated for their corrupt and treacherous management in 2009–2019.



ELECTORAL DISASTER

The "citizenization" brought no support and only deepened the electoral decline of the FMLN.



MEDIA AT THE SERVICE

Biased journalism protects the interests of the groups that finance it and attacks with false narratives and no basis.



DIRECTIONLESS OPPOSITION

Opponents without proposals who attack, lie and act against the well-being of El Salvador.

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“ Politics must be measured, above all, by its ability to improve people's lives. El Salvador moves forward because governing is to serve, not to ideologize.



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NEWSLETTER

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The Disastrous Citizenization of the FMLN



When the FMLN announced the so-called "citizenization" of its candidacies, it was the implicit recognition of its sad reality: that within the membership of that party there are no people capable of winning back popular favor, lost after its corrupt and treacherous public administration in the 2009–2019 decade, when its officials and lackeys earned enough merits to be rejected by the population. Thus, opening candidacies to individuals from "civil society" was an attempt to fish outside the party for what it could no longer find inside.

Two people took advantage of that opportunity in a particularly visible way: one to seek a candidacy for deputy and another for the presidential candidacy. The experiment ended up being counterproductive. In addition to failing to demonstrate the support they claimed to have in an imagined "social movement," they also failed to find the expected backing within the FMLN itself or among forces aligned with the left. In both cases, questions and even rejection arose from the party's own militants and from people within their ideological circle.



In recent days, however, the episode has descended even further on the scale from the political to the personal. The public exposure of intimacies and private conflicts, completely foreign to political debate, has turned the matter into a kind of crude soap opera. Citizens have no reason to be spectators of personal misfortunes, conflicts, and embarrassments that should be resolved in the private sphere. Politics can hardly gain credibility when those who aspire to represent it end up turning their personal problems into a distasteful public spectacle.

The conclusion is clear: the "citizenization" of candidacies has been a complete disaster for the FMLN. The newcomers, far from contributing to its recovery, are finishing off what remains of those four acronyms. In its desperation, the party ended up picking up any available profile, as an ancient popular expression perfectly describes: "*chinche y talepate*" (bottom of the barrel). Following this blunder, everything points toward an even greater reduction of its electoral support and a slow but irremediable extinction.

The Neutrality of Journalism or Media Lynching



The neutrality that true journalism ought to possess has always been a subject of discussion and analysis in international forums.

There is a form of journalism that has come to be called "progressive"—a line of communication focused on leftist or reformist movements, dealing with topics such as social justice and human rights from a left-wing perspective. It claims



to prioritize the defense of the most vulnerable groups, questions the inequalities of the free market, and defends environmentalist agendas against large monopolies.

However, what seems fine in theory turns out in the end to defend the interests of minority groups that finance them. They become defenders of the perpetrators under the banner of social justice and human rights defense, distorting the defense of victims' human rights through rhetoric and narratives.

On the other hand, there is also talk of investigative journalism that seeks to uncover hidden truths of political interest through deep analysis. However, we are witnessing a journalistic sector that deviates from its main mission, seeking only to monetize and subjecting itself to the line of thought proposed by its financier. It seems to be this class of journalism that is proliferating and extending to certain content creators, who promote biased information aligned with the editorial lines of their financiers. Therefore, we face a way of handling information that is biased, distant from reality, and responsive to dark interests.

Real information is omitted, and the objective becomes systematically attacking a specific sector, political leader, party, or individual. The actual news or fundamental achievements are omitted to maintain an exclusively harmful narrative through disinformation and media lynching without technical backing.

Spurious, Stateless, Anachronistic, and Mythomaniacs

**Los opositores políticos
de El Salvador tienen
como principal objetivo
volver al pasado**

In a democratic country like El Salvador, it is logical that a political opposition should exist as part of the democratic game. However, these individuals advocate for returning to the past, and for that reason, they oppose the climate of anti-corruption and zero impunity. Furthermore, in other latitudes, the opposition is constructive and consequently mature in framing its critiques of the ruling party. In the Salvadoran case, opponents exercise their role individually and hold differing approaches on national issues; for instance, the presidential candidate of the FMLN maintains a media antagonism with the secretary general of that political party—that is to say, there are contradictions within a small political clique.



The opponents wish ill upon the country, which in turn makes them stateless, explaining their bitter resentments. These are the same individuals who dream of the country reverting to what it was before, placing them squarely in the category of mythomaniacs who lie about what is actually happening in our country. Among them, we find individuals granted the title of "political analysts" by certain media outlets, who are nothing more than simple political activists. We have plenty of those here in the country who even dare to claim that we live in a dictatorship while going all out speaking against the government of President Bukele.

The truth is that the opponents will continue to be categorized as spurious children, stateless, anachronistic, and mythomaniacs.

From Notebooks to Computers



For a long time, education has been one of the primary tools to transform people's lives and open new opportunities. However, it is not enough to guarantee that children and adolescents have access to a school; it is also necessary to provide them with the tools that allow them to function in the society in which they live. Today, technology is part of our daily lives and the workplace; thus, access to it within education should no longer be considered a privilege, but an opportunity to learn and develop new capacities.

An example of this is the incorporation of technology into the educational system through the distribution of tablets or laptops to children and adolescents across different educational levels, especially in public schools, aiming to ensure these tools reach all students and achieve 100% coverage. For a long time, it was believed that those studying in private schools had greater educational opportunities due to access to better technological resources. However, incorporating



these tools into the public system contributes to narrowing that gap and broadening learning opportunities for students who previously lacked access to such resources.

Handing out notebooks, books, and other educational materials remains important and necessary. However, we live in an era marked by communications, technology, and globalization. Therefore, there is a risk of falling behind if, from an early age, students do not have the opportunity to learn how to use a computer, manage basic software, and develop digital skills that may later be necessary both to continue their studies and to enter the workforce.

For a long time, it was also thought that the best educational opportunities were located primarily in urban areas. Incorporating technological tools into schools can help reduce this territorial inequality, as a student in a rural area can also have access to a computer and use it to research, learn, and develop new skills. In this regard, the initiatives promoted by the Government of President Nayib Bukele have contributed to reducing the digital divide and generating greater educational opportunities for students living outside or inside major cities.

We must also understand the economic reality of many families. A person receiving a minimum wage often lacks the ability to purchase a laptop for their children's education because basic household needs take priority: food, housing, transportation, and other daily expenses. In this context, having the Government, through the institutions responsible for education, contribute by providing technological tools represents an important opportunity for those children and adolescents who might otherwise be excluded from these resources.

A computer does not merely serve to complete homework; it can also become a tool to acquire knowledge, learn new skills, access information, and subsequently pursue higher education or seek better employment opportunities.

In this sense, learning to use a computer should no longer be considered exclusive knowledge for those with greater financial resources. Digital skills are part of the capabilities that new generations need to develop to navigate an increasingly connected society.

Perhaps the change will be slow, and many difficulties may still exist. However, when a generation has access to tools that previous generations did not have, it also gains the possibility to acquire knowledge that was previously out of reach.

That is why talking about technology in education does not mean talking only about computers, tablets, or the internet. It means talking about opportunities and access to knowledge. Because when a society enables its children and adolescents to have the necessary tools to learn, it is also building greater possibilities for its own future.



The Path Is Traced

In life, there are various paths: some lead to ruin, others to living in unreality, others to opacity, and rarely is a path envisioned that leads to self-fulfillment; precisely that path has opened in the country. As the master Elbert Hubbard stated: "It is better to make bold decisions and risk being wrong than to hesitate endlessly and be right too late." He who dares to begin a story, even knowing he will carry criticism on his back, is the one who establishes tradition.



Therefore, the path traced in El Salvador is and will undoubtedly be the best love story between a leader and his people; for it has laid the foundation to achieve real progress for every citizen, enabling future generations to understand where the magnificent beginning of the existence that sustains them today originated. It cannot be overlooked that, in a few short years, progress has been made in various areas of the country's social life that were not achieved over two centuries under the management style of other political ideologies.

Likewise, it must be recognized that every step stems from a choice, and that is what determines human life: knowing how to choose guided by logic. That reasoning is what has guided the Salvadoran leader and has permitted—through the population's deposit of faith in him—the grand directives that are shaping the future of this nation. As leadership master Stephen Covey stated: "I am not a product of my circumstances. I am a product of my decisions."

Thus, every decision made by our president and vice president is the root of this rebirth of the homeland and, why not say it, of the new Republic—or rather, the true first Republic. Let us cast a vote of confidence in the decisions made by the president and his governance team (Deputies), as they have proven beyond doubt that when one thinks of the superior interest, the social and economic life of a nation can be improved.

Let us not listen to the dissonant voices criticizing the course taken; as grandmothers used to say: "Consider the source." It is a strange thing that those who criticize this model are the ones who, directly or indirectly, had the opportunity to build a better country and did not. It is clear then: let us analyze the decisions taken by our leader, but without bias in



the face of irrational criticism. Let us know that the path that will bring glory to our homeland is the one being opened, built, and upon which we must travel.

El Salvador Before the New World Order: Beyond Left and Right



For much of the 19th and 20th centuries, Latin American politics was marked by an apparently irreconcilable division: left and right. Liberalism against conservatism; capitalism against socialism; revolution versus counter-revolution. In Latin America, that confrontation acquired a particular intensity and often ended up becoming the axis around which governments, parties, social movements, and national projects were constructed.

However, the 21st-century world is leaving behind much of those categories as the primary explanation of international politics. Contemporary dispute can no longer be understood exclusively through ideological confrontation. Today it is also determined by competition among powers, control of supply chains, technology, strategic resources, infrastructure, security, markets, and the capacity of States to insert themselves into new economic and geopolitical networks.

It is precisely within that paradigm shift where one of the keys to understanding Nayib Bukele's political strategy in El Salvador can be found.

Rather than defining itself within the traditional geometry of left and right, President Bukele's government has sought to build a foreign and economic policy based on pragmatism and the search for opportunities for the country. This characteristic is particularly significant in a region where political sectors still exist that interpret international reality using categories inherited from the Cold War.

A concrete example illustrates this difference.



El Salvador, under the Bukele government, simultaneously deepened its relations with international actors belonging to different geopolitical spheres. On one hand, it strengthened cooperation with the People's Republic of China, yielding infrastructure projects such as the National Library, the tourist pier at Puerto de La Libertad, the Ilopango water treatment plant, and other initiatives. The Salvadoran Government itself has defined China as a strategic partner and expressed interest in expanding cooperation in infrastructure, trade, technology, tourism, and education.

Yet at the same time, El Salvador did not sever its strategic ties with the United States, its primary economic and commercial partner, and sought to attract American technological investment. A particularly significant example is the agreement announced in 2023 with Google, encompassing seven years of cooperation for modernizing areas such as health, education, and government, in addition to establishing Google Cloud infrastructure in the country.

Here lies the central element of the new geopolitical logic.

El Salvador does not necessarily need to choose between Washington and Beijing as if compelled to form part of an ideological block. It can attempt to engage with both, provided those relationships yield benefits for the country.

That example precisely illustrates the difference between Cold War international politics and the new geopolitics. During the Cold War, the fundamental question was: whose side are you on? In the current scenario, for a small country, the question can be different: what can El Salvador obtain from each relationship, and how can it convert those relationships into opportunities for its development?

The fundamental difference consists then in the fact that, for a small country like El Salvador, the central question of the 21st century is not necessarily whether the State should be left-wing or right-wing, but how to leverage its geographical position, stability, institutional capacity, and international relationships.



“MORTUI SUNT”

Salvadoran politics has reached a point where opponents do not need anyone to disqualify them: they disqualify themselves. Every step they take, every candidacy they announce, every scandal they star in confirms what the citizenry already knows: they will never again be an option for power. Their decline is so obvious that their political death is not a hypothesis; it is a certainty.

The recent presidential candidacies of arena and the fmln (both in lowercase) are the clearest example of that self-destruction. They do not emerge from a national project, nor from a strategic vision, nor from real renewal. They are desperate attempts to reanimate structures that no longer have life. On one hand, arena, trapped in its internal fracture, announces names that fail to explain what they want to govern for. And the fmln, sunk in its own irrelevance, presents a candidacy marked not by proposals, but by public allegations regarding private romantic situations that should not remotely belong in a political discussion of any elevated level. That low and vulgar level not only degrades politics, it turns it into a gossip show, confirming they have nothing to offer the country.



Politics requires stature, vision, and execution capacity. Opposition parties offer the opposite: mediocrity, improvisation, and vulgarity. The citizenry perceives this clearly. They know that those who destroyed security cannot now promise order. They know that those who abandoned health cannot now talk about hospitals. They know that those who impoverished education cannot now talk about the future of education. And when they additionally exhibit their private lives as part of the public agenda, what they convey is not leadership, but decay.



The ruling party does not need to waste energy on smear campaigns: the opponents take care of doing it themselves. Every scandal, every inconsistency, every vulgarity is a reminder that their time has ended. People do not want to return to a past of abandonment, corruption, and chaos. People want results, security, and stability. Faced with that demand, opposition parties appear as political caricatures, as corpses attempting to simulate life, but simply that—simulating it.

Modern politics in El Salvador is measured by tangible results: modern hospitals, dignified schools, functional highways, growing tourism, and economic stability. Opponents, by contrast, present themselves with candidacies that generate noise but make no sense. Their problem is not merely a lack of proposals; it is their political nonexistence. They are fossilized structures that speak of democracy but never practiced it; that speak of institutionality but destroyed it; that speak of the future but represent the darkest past of the country.

For this reason, increasingly decaying and ever closer to their extinction, opposition parties confirm what the citizenry has already decided: they will never again be an option for power. Their political death is imminent, irreversible, and definitive. And as the Roman aphorism states: *"Mortui sunt, quamquam adhuc se movere conantur"*—they are dead, even though they still try to move.

Nayib: Bulwark of Political Participation

Expanded democracy and "the public better than the private" have been for seven years the elementary terms of the new political equation, where "x" represents the people. In the Salvadoran case, "x" is not an unknown; it is a daily constant, thereby conflicting with the equation of the spurious democracy of opposition political parties whose components were death, corruption, impunity, and extortion, perverting the algebra of collective dignity.

Starting in 2019, everything changed, and universal democracy is now a reality under construction in El Salvador (there can be no democracy in a country ruled by criminals), because the diaspora recovered its nationality upon regaining the political rights stolen from them to prevent their participation; and honest Salvadorans recovered their country and their lives. It suits the opposition parties (as when they were in power) for as few people as possible to participate in political life, since during their "golden years" the seal of the final vote count was applied by inoculated abstentionism, and apathy was the political culture of the subject that reproduced power.

Conversely, "remote voting" and the nomination for public office of Salvadorans abroad are allegorical, as they increase and refine electoral participation, strengthening democracy. Meanwhile, opposition candidates curse the universalization of democracy and the decisions of the people, not only because abstentionism is their electoral conscience, but also because they know they have lost the elections before the polling centers even open.

The tactic left to them is, on one hand, demobilizing voters by alleging fraud by the TSE, aimed at making citizens disbelieve in the transparency of the process and consequently refrain from voting—so long as their "hard core votes" show up to win more deputies (the idyllic 16 deputies); and, on the other hand, continuing with their rehashed documentaries—by and for the perpetrators—that seek to discredit the president and the conquered peace.

In the case of voter demobilization, they attempted it with the diaspora by opposing legislation that allows them to vote freely and, recently, by opposing their running as candidates for deputy. That nefarious tactic of demobilizing voters—which they previously achieved through the phantom of fear that they seek to resurrect today—makes it clear that, for the "anti-people," elections must be restrictive. However, the opposition commits suicide daily, and on a good day, they "open their mouth and put their foot in it" (perfect movement synchronization) when demanding democracy while promoting actions that deny it.



In sociological terms, the confrontation between those who want to universalize the vote and candidacies (with Nayib as the driver) and those who want to restrict it and exclude their compatriots is a political struggle, not an electoral one; a cultural struggle between universal democracy and a democracy in denial of itself. Since the opposition's voting tally is pyrrhic and stems from sectors linked to gangs (a brief appearance by the president makes them tremble), the only thing that can demobilize voters is overconfidence (self-demobilization). This is remedied by presenting citizens with the country's new historical challenges that demand massive attendance, serving as a motivation for those citizens to assume the role of "awakened" builders of history.



One of the central problems of a universalizing democracy is not abstentionism (as a silent protest), but "failure to attend the vote" due to overconfidence, which is not the same thing, even if it looks identical. Democracy is legitimized, and becomes culture, to the extent that electoral participation grows exponentially. To link the country's reinvention with the universalization of the democracy that sustains it, culturally and politically, a massive vote is essential to be decisive and absolute in 2027.

It is crucial to distinguish between political participation and electoral participation. Nayib's call to turn out massively (to consolidate his administration, which moved us from the most dangerous country to the safest) is political participation, not merely electoral, insofar as the former relates to democratic political culture, and the latter to assuming partial challenges: ensuring that the upcoming elections feature the highest historical participation, and that the formal count ratifies the revocation of existence of "the parties of death."

The challenge proposed by Nayib Bukele is for political participation to become synonymous with electoral participation and cultural action, achieved when it manifests as democratic radicalism ensuring that the past never happens again. Therefore, failing to vote out of overconfidence means abstaining from electoral participation, but not from political participation, as it does not endanger favorable results, but rather the necessary decisiveness of those results to prevent the opposition from setting up a parallel government against the people once again and annulling the state of exception to put the country at risk. The massive vote is decisive.

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