

# The Authoritarian Playbook

Dr. Amy Below

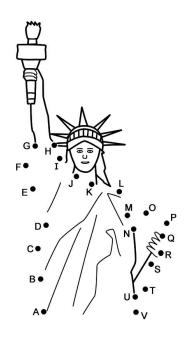
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### Caveats

- I am not a authoritarian expert.
- I am not a legal scholar.
  - ✔ But I am a political scientist and I teach Latin American politics.
- What's true one minute (about the US government), might not be the next.
  - ✓ I've been burned before.
  - A lot US policy is built on norms.

# You can Make the Connections





### It's a Global Trend

Just a taste...



Victor Orbán (Hungary)



Daniel Ortega (Nicaragua)



Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (Turkey)



Nayib Bukele (El Salvador)



Nicholás Maduro (Venezuela)



Jair Bolsonaro (Brazil)\*

\*not currently president

#### Democracy is a process/a verb, not a noun.



More Democratic

	Form of Government	Description of Governmental Form
	totalitarianism	total governmental control
	authoritarianism	micromanagement of citizens via government structure; military control, tyranny
	monarchy	rule of one; undivided rule; typically hereditary rule; backed by oligarchical power
	oligarchy	rule of few (well-connected, socially, financially, physically powerful); elites rule
I	republic	indirect rule of citizens through representatives; rule of law; limited government
	direct democracy	rule of citizens; simple majority rule; no restraint on majority
	anarchy	no order/control; no government structure; power vacuum

What's the Truth?

2
Lots of
Corruption

3 Create an Enemy

4
Eliminate
Checks &
Balances

Violence as a Political Tool

6
Rely on Our
Complicity

7
Don't Give
Up Power

# What's the Truth?



Make people question reality.

Discredit journalists, the media, and experts.

Impose direct/force self-censorship.

Use/promote others' use of propaganda.

Reduce/eliminate gov't transparency (records, data, intelligence).

## 2 Lots of Corruption

Self-enrichment.

Redistribution of public funds.



Government contracts to supporters and family.

Pay to Play politics.

Oligarchy (small group of people having control, often the wealthy)

## 3 Create an Enemy

Create a common enemy (or "other") to build unity.

Nationalism



The government/leader, and only them, can protect you.

Will create new enemies over time.

### 3 Create an Enemy

Manipulate peoples' feelings.

To instill fear, display power, and as a distraction.

The "weaker" the enemy the better.



Common Exs: media, elites (EU), universities (Orbán), "deep state" political opposition (communists/imperialists/liberals/conservatives), immigrants (Orbán), different religious groups, drug cartels/gangs (Bukele),

# 4 Eliminate Checks & Balances

Many governments set up with 3 (or 4) branches.

Legislative & Judicial "rubberstamps."

Due to weakness, intimidation, complicity (hyper)presidentialism

Don't consult or just ignore rulings/policy.

**Ex:** US Courts (don't rule on morality, just interpret constitution/laws)

Rule by Decree (executive orders)



# 4 Eliminate Checks & Balances



#### State of siege, suspends protections/rights

Ex: Bukele's "state of exception" (with legislature), multiple times

Ex: Hungary's ruling party pushed through a new constit amendment to allow "state of danger," would need no leg or jud (Covid, Ukraine)

US has a "national emergency" (then could use Insurrection Act)\* no congressional approval necessary

#### Can't meet/shut down branches.

Ex: Chavez/Maduro shut down and created new legislative body

# Violence as a Political Tool



Valorize strength (in the face of our enemies)

Normalize (political) violence.

Violence is "okay" on dehumanized "others." Live in a constant state of fear.

Use of the military/paramilitary/police US: long history of no domestic military

**EX:** "Mano Dura"/iron fist, Bukele's popularity

# 6 Rely on Our Complicity

Loyalty (a one way street) clientelism, nepotism, lack of qualifications

Instill fear of violence, slander, retribution.

The art of distraction.

#### Naivete:

"It won't happen to me."

"It's not that bad."

"He won't go THAT far."

Leaders don't even have to do everything they threaten.



# 7 Don't Give Up Power (Consolidate it)



Change the constitution (term limits, successive terms)

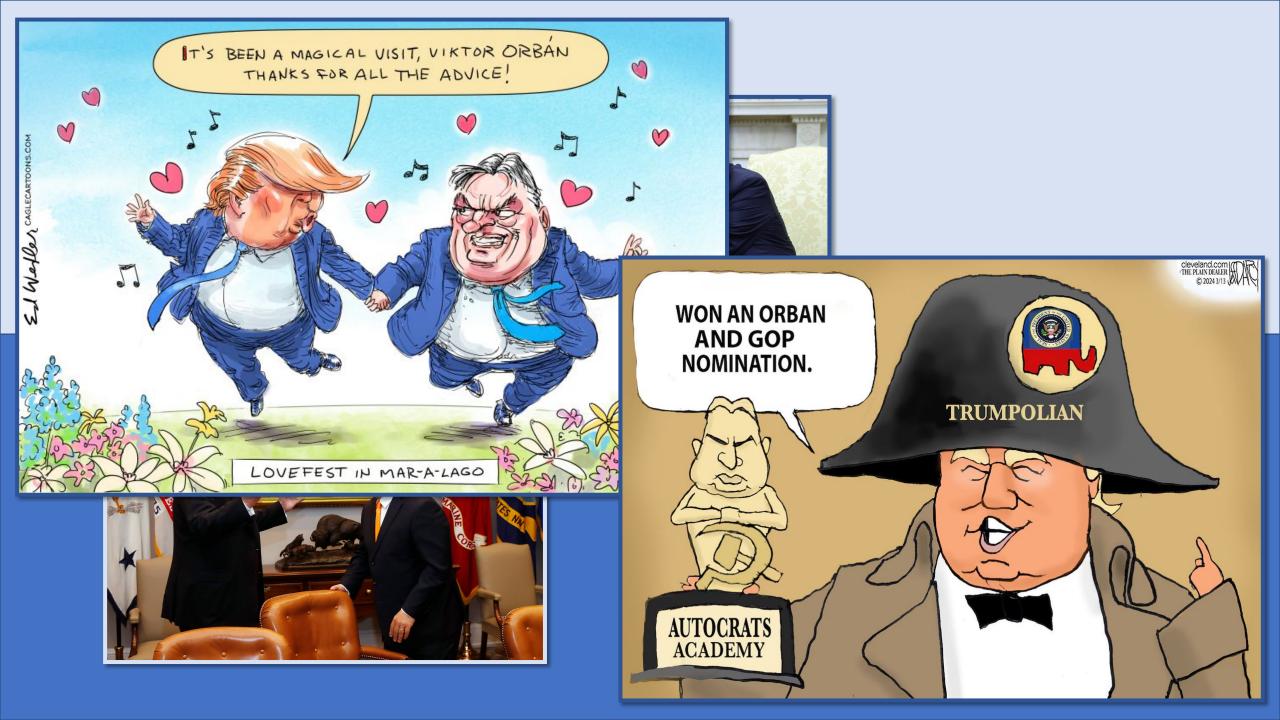
\*Harder to do in the US

Postpone elections (state of emergency/siege)

Control elections (candidates, parties, registration, access, etc.)

Pass power to family.

**EX:** Ortega (Nicaragua) made his wife VP and then co-president



# We The People

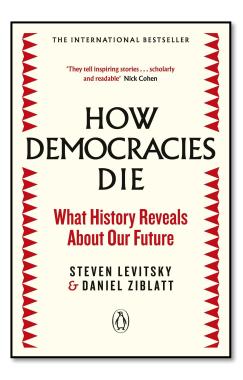


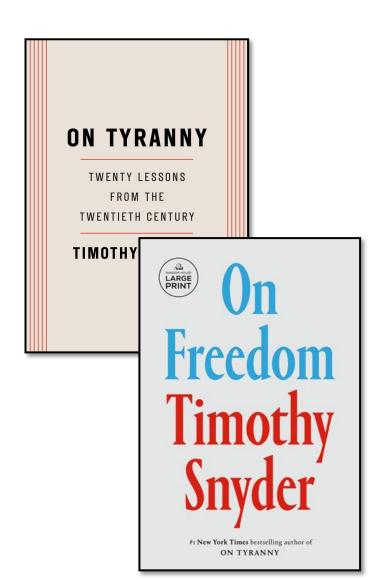
Democracies must be deemed by the people as legitimate.

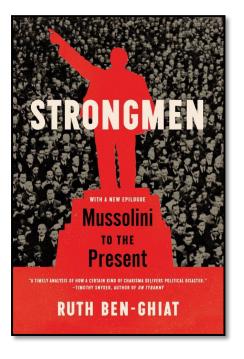
When we stop believing in democracy, it dies.



### Resources









## Also Happy to Discuss:



War on Universities/ Education



**US Global Standing** 



**Climate Change** 

## Thank you!