

Marxism and Latin American Socialist Thoughts

## Theoretical Origins of Marxism in Latin America —The Peruvian Socialist Debate and Its Impact

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Abstract: The greatest contribution of the Peruvian Socialist Debate is to propose a flexible, open, and inclusive Latin American Marxist program that is in line with Latin American reality in addition to "orthodox Marxism" and to promote Peruvian society to accelerate its transformation into modernity. Russia After the October Revolution, the Marxist movement in Latin America became dogmatic. "Eurocentrism" and "Latin American exceptionalism" agreed that Marxism was not suitable for Latin America. At that time, Jose Carlos Mariategui from Peru and A. Based on his in-depth understanding of Marxism and his profound insights into Peruvian society, Adratore proposed that Marxism must be localized and transformed according to the reality of Latin America. This launched a fierce debate on how to adapt Marxism to Latin America. Mariátegui started from Starting from the Marxist standpoint, he put forward Marxist nationalization ideas covering the nature of class, the nature and objects of revolution, and methods of struggle. However, Ayah, who believed in Marxism in the early days, opposed it tit for tat. Based on the "historical time and space view" and "Indian America" "View" carried out a drastic transformation of Marxism, and finally turned to the populist camp. The Peruvian socialist debate triggered by the two of them profoundly affected the rise and fall of Marxism in Latin America and the political changes in Latin America in the 20th century.

Keywords: Marxism, Latin Americanization, socialism, localization, Mariátegui  
aya nationalist left party

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If we divide the development history of Marxism in Latin America (hereinafter referred to as "Latin America") from the 1850s to the present, it can be roughly divided into five categories: unconscious spread, organized spread, dogmatic practice, local transformation, and diversified exploration. Historical stage. In the 1920s, Latin American Marxism fell into dogmatism. It was a period that was at stake for its life and death and in urgent need of localization. At that time, Peru's José Carlos Mariátegui (José Carlos Mariátegui 1894—1930) and Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre (1895-1979) developed The fierce debate on the Latin Americanization of Marxism shaped the political thinking of the two men and led to the transformation of Latin America in the 20th century. The distinction between the socialist and populist camps. Among the works introducing Latin American political trends at home and abroad, the thoughts of Mariátegui and Aya rank first among the socialist and populist ideological trends in Latin America. Study their debate on the Latin Americanization of Marxism. It is of great significance for understanding the political ideological construction of the two men, clarifying the historical path of Latin American Marxism, and grasping the current and future direction of Latin American Marxism.

#### The early development of Marxism in Latin America at the beginning of the 20th century

As early as the 1850s, Marxism was introduced to Latin America with European immigrants. Since then, it has been one of the options for liberating Latin America. It is true that before the October Revolution, compared with anarchism, social democracy, Christian democracy, etc. As for political ideological trends, Marxism has little influence in Latin America. So why did Peru choose Marxism and localize it at the beginning of the 20th century?

First of all, Peru's modern nationalist consciousness awakened. In 1821, Peru carried out an incomplete revolution after independence. It continued to use the Caudillo autocratic regime composed of military commanders, large landowners and churches. During the "Caudillo period" (1821-1894) Years, Peru's leaders and government officials changed frequently, its economic development autonomy was weak, and wars continued in its territory and waters. The famous scientist Darwin wrote in 1835: "No country in South America has suffered from anarchy and chaos like Peru since its independence. For this reason, the Peruvian rulers adjusted policies and strengthened cooperation with European and American countries with a raw material export-oriented economy. The short-term economic prosperity concealed social contradictions. At the same time, with the in-depth development of the capitalist economy, labor intensity increased day by day. From 1877 to 1878, conscious cotton workers and sugar cane plantation workers in Peru launched demonstrations demanding shorter working hours, but they disappeared under the force of the large plantation owners. From 1879 to 1883, Peru was defeated in the South American Pacific War. The ceding of the Tarapacá region (I Región de Tarapacá), which was rich in saltpeter, to Chile led to the end of the "guano-saltpeter" prosperous economic era.

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Li Chunhui: "History of Latin America" (Volume 2), Beijing: Commercial Press, 1983, page 670

The living standards of the domestic people deteriorated. From 1883 to 1887, Peruvian printers and bakers went on strike to demand improved working conditions, but were suppressed by the authoritarian government. At the end of the 19th century, Manuel Gonzalez Prada, the father of modern Peruvian nationalism, Driven by positivists such as Manuel González Prada (1844-1918), large-scale strikes occurred in Peru: the tobacco workers' strike in 1892, The 3-year port workers' strike, the 1894 textile workers' strike, etc. In 1895, Peru held a national handicraft industry meeting At the First Congress, the delegates proposed basic reform requirements to the autocratic government such as increasing labor remuneration. In 1895, Peru established a limited representative democracy system, and politics entered the relatively stable and democratic "Aristocratic Republic Period" (1895-1919) However, the remaining feudalism, imperialism and other forces have not been completely eradicated, and Peru is hesitantly moving towards the

20th century. Secondly, at the beginning of the 20th century, the practice of progressive ideological trends such as Peruvian anarchism failed. At the end of the 19th century, Peru successively The Civilian Party (1871), the Constitutional Party (1884), the Democratic Party (1884), the Liberal Party (1901), etc. were established. They used anarcho-syndicalism, social democracy, Christian democracy, Proudhonism, and neoclassicism. Liberalism, syndicalism and other ideological trends seek social change. However, the narrow national concepts of these parties make them still serve the interests of their own class. Peru's failure in the South American Pacific War accelerated the awakening of Peruvian intellectuals. Manuel Gun Sares Prada led the Peruvian intelligentsia to launch a reformist movement. Teachers and young students at the National University of San Marcos responded positively. Peruvian intellectuals promoted positivism based on "science, progress, rationality, and order" and demanded social change in Peru. Thus was born the Peruvian "Generation of 1900". They established the National Democratic Party (PND) in 1915, put forward the slogan of "law and economy", tried anarchist practices, demanded that the government be elected in accordance with the constitution, and advocated the rights of the people at the bottom. However, they The country is weak and has very little influence among the people. The attempt to use a small group of intellectuals to promote national change failed. In this regard, Mariano Lino Cornejo of the National University of San Marcos in Peru failed. Reflecting on his doctoral thesis "EL Socialismo Moderno" (EL Socialismo Moderno), he believed that Peruvian social change must not only play the leadership role of intellectuals, but more importantly, win the support of the people at the bottom. Mexico in 1910 and 1917 The revolution broke out in Russia This prompted Peruvian intellectuals to become increasingly dissatisfied with the social structure, giving rise to the more radical Peruvian "1919 Generation". Mariategui and Aya de la Torre were among them. They gradually turned to the socialist camp, hoping to revolutionize the method to

achieve complete social change. Finally, after the October Revolution, Peru's Marxist practice gradually became dogmatic. Before the October Revolution, Peru had not yet established a Marxist group. On the contrary, due to the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914, Peru The national industry accelerated its prosperity, and overseas labor forces such as blacks and Chinese workers were imported one after another, and various self-help associations and hometown associations were formed within the labor fo

More than 20 trade unions or workers' organizations have been established in Cusco and other places. However, at that time they were just mutual aid organizations that provided basic safety guarantees for members, and had not yet formed a sense of subjectivity. It was not until after World War I that economic development prompted Peruvian labor organizations to continue to mature. The ranks of the proletariat are growing day by day. Under the influence of the European revolution, Peruvian labor organizations have undergone fundamental changes. They began to jointly put pressure on the government and enterprises, demanding improved working conditions, higher wages and even stronger political rights. In March 1919, Li More than 20 organizations, including the Horse Handicrafts Union and the Center for Social Investigation, established the Peruvian Anti-Surge Price Committee. The most typical ones are the 1919 Lima workers' movement to "fight for an 8-hour working day" and the establishment of the Peruvian Textile Federation. After the Russian October Revolution, Peru Intellectuals and the proletariat saw the powerful revolutionary power of scientific socialism. They accelerated their abandonment of anarchism and turned to Marxism. A new group of Marxists in Peru went among students, workers, peasants and businessmen to promote the ideas of scientific socialism and mobilized school strikes, strikes, strike movements and demonstrations. In 1922, Raphael Dubayac established the first Peruvian Marxist Group in Cusco. From then on, the Peruvian Marxist movement had a formal leadership organization. However, Because these new Marxists did not conduct in-depth research on Marxist theory and the reality of their countries, they followed Marxism-Leninism step by step. The Marxist movements in Latin American countries without exception fell into the quagmire of rigid dogmatism. The Latin American proletarian movement began to A bloody failure ended.

On this occasion, Latin American Marxism faced a major issue of where to go and which was vital to its survival. At the beginning of the 20th century, the raging proletarian struggle in Latin America inspired the revolutionary enthusiasm of Mariátegui and Aya, and they jointly chose Marxism. In 1917, after being self-taught at the official Peruvian newspaper La Prensa, Mariátegui served as editor of El Tiempo. After the October Revolution, some young Peruvians believed that El Tiempo » The argument was too moderate, so Mariátegui founded two radical newspapers, Nuestra Epoca and La Razón, in 1918, kicking off the anti-imperialist and anti-dictatorship movement in Peruvian literature. 1917 Augusto Légua came to power with the support of the United States, which was strongly condemned by "Our Time". As a result, Mariátegui was beaten by a group of public servants, who threatened to fight him. In 1918, Mariátegui continued to plan "Voice" and other columns to support the Peruvian labor movement and university reform. In 1919, Peru's first left-wing daily newspaper "Reason", which he edited, increasingly violated the interests of the reactionary government and was criticized by the Legia government. After the ban, Mariátegui was eventually sent to Europe (actually in exile) as a member of the Peruvian information collection department in Italy. At this time, Aya, another important figure in the Peruvian socialist debate, was studying at the University of Trujillo And served as the President of the Student Union. In 1918, he went to the University of San Marcos to study and continued to serve as the President of the Student Union. Because of his prestige among students, Aya led the Peruvian University Reform Movement and supported the student movement and workers' strikes. In 1923, he was awarded the title of President of the Student Union for leading the Youth



Ayah wrote articles for him many times, promoting anti-imperialist ideas. Thirdly, in the field of organizational cooperation, Ayah founded the "American People's Revolutionary Alliance" (APRA, also known as "Apra" when he was exiled to Mexico in 1924, in 1930 It was reorganized into the Apra Party (also known as the Peruvian People's Party) in 2001. This organization was committed to uniting anti-imperialists in Latin America to resist imperial aggression. Later, the organization spread to Argentina, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Haiti, Mexico and other countries, and was established in There were branches in Britain and France. Mariátegui became a core member after joining the organization in 1926, and actively cooperated with Aya's anti-imperialist movement. Before 1928, they jointly promoted the cause of Marxism in Latin America, showing extraordinary creativity. With strength and vitality, we are committed to spreading the fire of proletarian revolution throughout the American continent.

## 2. The Great Debate on Socialism in Peru: Reasons and Main Disagreements

At the beginning of the 20th century, the proletarian movement in Latin America was surging, and the world's political trends were changing. In 1922, the Soviet Union was established, and scientific socialism became the only choice for Latin Americans to pursue social progress. However, those who call themselves "orthodox Marxists" do not know how to adapt. "Loyal" practice of Marxism and the instructions of the Communist International, falling into dogmatism without realizing it, causing the Latin American Marxist movement to suffer major setbacks. At this time, "Eurocentrism" and "Latin American exceptionalism" agreed that Marxism was not suitable Latin America. In this regard, the Latin Americanization of Marxism has become an inevitable trend. So, how to Latin American Marxism? This issue lies before Latin Americans. The most representative socialist debate in Latin America took place in Peru. This was mainly due to the reactionary reaction in Peru at that time. The forces of the Peruvian proletariat were relatively weak, the Peruvian proletarian movement had not been interfered with by the Communist International (unlike Argentina and Chile at the time), and the ideological atmosphere was relatively loose. At the same time, Peruvian society had an urgent demand for change. Therefore, under the leadership of Mariátegui and Aya, two Under the leadership of the ideological giant, a great socialist debate ensued. So, why did Mariátegui and Aya, as Marxists who had worked closely together, have ideological differences?

### (1) The reasons for the ideological differences between Mariátegui

and Aya. First of all, in terms of theoretical cognition, there were fundamental differences in the political philosophies of Mariátegui and Aya. At the beginning of the 20th century, nationalism began to spread in Latin America, and indigenism The two of them were influenced by this, and they successively put forward the national view of "Indian Americanism". Among them, Aya absorbed Hegel's dialectics, the relativistic philosophy of German philosopher Spengler, and British history. On the basis of Toynbee's existential view of history, two political philosophical thoughts were formed: "Historical Time and Space View" and "Indian American View". "Historical Time and Space View" refers to the transfer of time, place and conditions. The theory and The scope of application of practice will also change accordingly. Therefore, Aya believes that Marxism, which originated from the "soil" of Europe, must be transformed before it can be applied to Latin America. He further developed the "Indian American View" and advocated Latin America.

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Americans should build an America with Indian characteristics and break with the names used by colonialism and imperialists in the past. This not only gave Aya a localized Marxist worldview, but also paved the way for him to destroy the original appearance of Marxism. This is At that time, Mariátegui was influenced by the ideas of Italian Georges Sorel and others and gradually formed the "Indo-American Socialist View". After an in-depth investigation of the national conditions of Peru, he wrote "Seven Essays on the National Conditions of Peru" (hereinafter referred to as "Seven Essays on Peru"), some original local cognitions were obtained. The core purpose is that Marxism cannot be completely "copied" in Latin America, but must be created "heroically". What is essentially different from Aya is that y Mariátegui has always adhered to the basic direction of Marxism.

Secondly, on a practical level, Aya gradually lost trust in the Communist International under the guidance of the Soviet Union in practice. In 1924, the second year of his exile, Aya traveled a long distance to the Soviet Union and asked to meet Lenin. However, because Lenin had just died of illness, He met Lenin's wife, Krupskaya, Stalin, Bukharin, and Trotsky. At that time, Aya enthusiastically requested the Soviet Union to provide suggestions on socialist construction in Latin America, but found that they knew nothing about Latin America. Aya Said: "They regard us as representatives of exotic customs, and use fixed terms to ask about our country, region, population and history. We are not here to teach them geography lessons, and we do not need to accept some of their opinions." y In the Soviet Union After staying for half a year, Aya deeply realized that there was a huge gap between Peru and the Soviet Union. Due to Peru's backward industrial development and insufficient strength of the working class, it was difficult for the "proletariat" with only farmers to carry out an effective struggle similar to that of the Soviet proletariat. One of the landmark events was that in 1927, when Aya attended the First World Anti-Imperialist Congress in Brussels, Belgium, he openly opposed Lenin's statement that "imperialism is the highest stage of capitalist development" and had a discussion with Cuban Communist Party Chairman Hugo Hussein who was attending the meeting. Julio Antonio Mella (1903-1929), Chairman of the Argentine Communist Party Victorio Coduvia (Victori) o Codovilla (1894-1970) launched a debate on "imperialism and the role of the small and medium bourgeoisie". In the end, A Asia refused to join the Communist International. Before 1928, the Soviet Union did not strategically attach great importance to distant Latin American countries. It was not until 1928, when faced with the severe situation of the US imperialist invasion of Latin America, that the Soviet Union made its first declaration at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. formally discuss American issues. The setback Aya encountered in the Soviet Union was in contrast to the welcome he received in European and American capitalist countries. When Aya was exiled to European and American capitalist countries, he relied on his charisma and outstanding eloquence as a student movement leader to give speeches everywhere. They were favored by the European and American bourgeoisie and received a large amount of travel funding. They had close contacts with the upper class in Europe and the United States. They were touched by the achievements of capitalist country construction and even harbored illusions about imperialist countries.

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(2) The main differences between the thoughts of Mariategui and

Aya. In the 1920s, the Marxist movement in Latin America was undergoing rapid changes. The complex situation caused a fierce transformation and collision in the thoughts of Mariategui and Aya. Their Marxism Latin American cooperation faces a huge test. The development history of the relationship between Mariategui and Aya can be summarized as the following three stages: The first stage (1917-1927), the two worked together to work closely on the Latin Americanization of Marxism. The second stage In the second stage (1928-1945), due to Aya's reformist tendencies, Mariategui and Aya had differences on the issue of the Latin Americanization of Marxism and went into confrontation (although during this period Mariategui died in 1930, but Their ideological struggle is still continuing). In the third stage (after 1945), Aya completely abandoned Marxism and turned to populism, completely breaking with Mariategui's thought.

1 On the issue of leadership of socialist revolutions in Latin

America At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Peru became the fifth largest economy in Latin America with its "guano-salt peter" economy. With the in-depth development of the capitalist economy, new social differentiation appeared in Peru. Mariategui and Ayá had the earliest, most fundamental and critical disagreement in terms of class division: Mariategui, from a Marxist standpoint, divided Peruvian society into the "proletariat" and the "bourgeoisie". Ayá Starting from the division of labor, Peruvian society is divided into the opposition between "mental workers and manual workers" and "those who get something for nothing". This gives rise to a debate on whether the "petty and middle bourgeoisie" as mental workers are the targets of the revolution. ÿ

In 1927, Aya held a debate with Latin American communists on the issue of "the role of the petty and medium-sized bourgeoisie" at the world's first anti-imperialist conference. The debate at this conference prompted him to write "Anti-Imperialism and Apra" in 1928. After returning to China, he wrote "On the Role of the Petty and Medium-sized Bourgeoisie", "The Reality of America is Not the Reality of Europe", "British Imperialism and the Impression of Soviet Russia", "Where Are Indian Americas Going" and other works. Continuing the debate with the proletarian revolutionary Mariategui, Aya gave two reasons to refute the possibility of the Peruvian proletariat leading the socialist revolution. First, he believed that the small and medium bourgeoisie were inferior to the Latin American proletariat at that time in terms of material and spiritual aspects. The class has more potential for revolutionary leadership. The petty and medium-sized bourgeoisie "are the most active encouragers and the strongest fighters in the anti-imperialist struggle. They have a high degree of political consciousness and culture." ÿ At the same time, the interests of the small and medium-sized bourgeoisie are affected by the big bourgeoisie and imperialism . They regard imperialism and big bourgeoisie as class enemies and are therefore the backbone of the struggle against bourgeois interests. Secondly, Aya pointed out, "Our working class is as young as industrialization and is a class consciousness. The industrial proletariat is still in the process of being formed. It lacks sufficient consciousness to manage national affairs." "Although our peasant class is the majority, it is in a difficult situation due to technological and cultural backwardness.



In the original stage, it was impossible to generate class consciousness." Based on this, he came up with the idea of reorganizing the "American People's Revolutionary Union" (i.e., the Apra Movement) founded in 1924 into a "multi-class" party led by the petty and middle bourgeoisie. This was the inspiration he found from the Kuomintang led by Sun Yat-sen. However, in the view of Mariátegui, the veteran of the "Union of American People's Revolutionaries", the "Union of American People's Revolutionaries" only promoted progressive ideas such as Marxism and inspired the Latin American proletariat. An ideological enlightenment organization with revolutionary fighting spirit, and he has always advocated waiting for the Latin American proletariat to mature in revolutionary consciousness before establishing a political party led by the proletariat. In this regard, Luis Alberto Sanchez (Luis Alberto), one of the founders of the "American People's Revolutionary Union" (Sánchez) also had the same view, "Apra is a theoretical movement initiated by young students and has no organizational structure." At this time, Mariátegui was already aware of Aya's ambition to participate in political activities. Although Aya It promised that the Apra Party, after its establishment, would inherit the anti-imperialist united front and Indian-American unity and other basic programs of the "American People's Revolutionary Union", but it was still opposed by Mariátegui and others.

Mariátegui conducted an in-depth examination of Peruvian society in "Seven Essays on Peru". Based on the class nature, historical national conditions, realistic conditions, etc., he believed that the small and medium-sized bourgeoisie should be refused from the beginning to the end to join the revolutionary leadership team. Firstly, The nature of the "petty and medium-sized bourgeoisie" determines that they will not fully support the anti-imperialist and anti-bourgeois revolution. Mariátegui discerned that the revolution led by the "petty- and medium-sized bourgeoisie" will be full of weakness and compromise, and will only once again degenerate into Hypocritical bourgeois democratic revolution or reformism cannot completely sever ties with imperialism and the bourgeoisie. As the Latin American communists concluded at the Sixth Conference of the Communist International, "On the one hand (the small and medium-sized bourgeoisie) and the Latin American hacienda big Landowners collude with each other, and on the other hand they are in tandem with foreign capital, and therefore belong to the counter-revolutionary camp." Secondly, according to historical logic, the "petty and medium-sized bourgeoisie" will not support revolutions aimed at improving the social status of the proletariat, including the Indian nation. Mariátegui pointed out in "Seven Essays on Peru" that "the local aristocracy and the bourgeoisie share a common historical and cultural origin. According to Spanish white culture, they are destined to have no unity factors with the bottom indigenous and proletarian people." In colonial During the rule, European whites and plantation owners regarded the lower class people as inferior ethnic groups. This racism continued until the beginning of the 20th century. On the contrary, the Peruvian proletariat suffered from long-term oppression by native whites and bourgeois, and had a strong sense of resistance. The Peruvian Indian population accounted for 2/3 of the total population is huge, and even in their way of life they continue the "primitive" style of the Inca Empire.

Y Xiao Feng: "Populism and Aya della Torre in Latin America", published in "Latin America Series", Issue 3, 1982, page 36, Mariano Valderrama,

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Y [Hungary] Edited by Bela Kun, translated by the Compilation Office of Renmin University of China: "Collection of Documents of the Communist International" (Volume 3), Beijing: Health

New knowledge about living reading, Sanlian Bookstore, 1965, page 91.

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"Communist" tradition. In terms of quality and quantity, the proletariat, including the Indians, is the "natural" leadership class of the Peruvian socialist revolution. Although he later admitted that the Peruvian proletariat was still in ignorance, Mariátegui We are always committed to inspiring their revolutionary will through education and propaganda.

Due to the gap between ideals and reality, Aya finally gave up on the proletariat. In 1928, he reorganized the "American People's Revolutionary Union" into a group led by the petty and middle bourgeoisie, including workers and peasants, students, intellectuals, small and medium-sized enterprises, and small businessmen. Subsequently, under the slogan of "a 'multi-class alliance' led by the national bourgeoisie," the Latin American petty and medium-sized bourgeoisie united with the domestic workers and peasants proletariat to form a powerful but short-lived national democratic movement. It effectively impacted the oligarchic rule of landlords, soldiers and churches. In response to this situation, Mariátegui had to establish another political party to compete with it and defend his proletarian revolutionary ideas. At this time, the Communist International gave him The suggestion was to establish an "autonomous national republic" of Quechua and Aymaráy. However, Mariátegui, relying on his deep understanding of Peru's national conditions, rejected this instruction. He envisioned the establishment of a proletarian-led, inclusive small and medium-sized populace. In September 1928, a preparatory meeting of the Peruvian Socialist Party was held in a coastal city near Lima. In October of the same year, the Peruvian Socialist Party was formally established (renamed the Communist Party of Peru in May 1930), with María Tegui thought as the founding principle of the party and elected him as the party's general secretary. Mariátegui pointed out in Article 9 of the party's program that "the Peruvian Socialist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat and is responsible for guiding the party in the struggle to realize its class ideals. and the power to lead the task of the proletariat."y In the end, Mariátegui defended the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat and adhered to the basic principles of Marxism.

2 The relationship between socialism and imperialism in Latin America

In 1923, while living in exile in Mexico, Aya wrote: "The awareness of the dangers of American imperialism was new to me, and the approach to Central America, Mexico, or the Antilles was enough to immediately raise awareness of the dangers that were gradually affecting us. A profound reflection on the disgusting fate of America."y Before 1927, Ayah showed strong revolutionary sentiments against American imperialism. In 1926, he also published "What is Apra?" in the American "Labor Monthly". » An article describing the prototype of Apraism, and taking "opposition to U.S. imperialism" as one of the highest programs of the "American People's Revolutionary Union". However, after 1927, this firm anti-imperialist stance disappeared. He expressed his opposition to U.S. imperialism. Showing more and more signs of affability, which coincides with his exile abroad

y The Quechua and Aymara people are South American Indians who emerged during the Inca Empire and now live mainly in Peru and Ecuador. Algeria and Bolivia. Aymara and Quechua share many language words.

y [US] Edited by Harry E. Varden and Mark Becker, translated by Xiao Xiaofang: "Selected Writings of Mariátegui", Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2020, page 180.

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He tried to reconcile the contradictions between socialism and imperialism and elaborated on the possibility of cooperation between socialism and imperialism.

As a Marxist-Leninist, Aya admitted that Lenin's analysis of the development stage of imperialism from the perspective of European countries was meaningful, but he did not agree with Lenin's statement that "imperialism is the highest stage of development of Latin American capitalism", especially in his After seeing the huge gap between Peru's national conditions and the economic construction of European countries during his overseas exile, Aya saw that Latin America was far from reaching the level of material development required to enter a socialist society. According to Marx's thinking, capitalism is an insurmountable factor in the development of human civilization. stage, with imperialism being its highest form. However, Aya pointed out that due to the particularity of Latin America, at the beginning of the 20th century, Latin American society was far from reaching the historical stage envisioned by Marx when capitalist society collapsed and entered a socialist society due to its internal contradictions. Aya believes that Latin America must first vigorously develop its productive forces and enter a materially rich national capitalist society, and then enter a socialist society based on a high degree of material civilization. From this, Aya draws the second conclusion, that is, imperialism It is not completely a destructive force in Latin America. He believes that due to the long-term development results of European and American capitalist countries, they have accumulated rich construction experience in politics, economy, and culture. At that time, Latin American countries were in need of large-scale construction assistance. In addition to guarding against imperialism, countries In the face of the disorderly invasion of foreign economic forces, we should vigorously learn from the West in terms of politics, culture and society. In short, Aya believes that "the road and route of Indian America is like this: from capitalist imperialism to nationalist capitalism. Then to socialism"

In 1928, Ayah wrote the book "Anti-Imperialism and Apraism", changing one of the highest programs of the Apra Movement established in 1926 from "Opposing U.S. Imperialism" to "Opposing Imperialism", expressing his opposition to U.S. imperialism. It showed an unprecedented moderate turn. This aroused the vigilance of Mariátegui and others. Mariátegui emphasized his clear-cut anti-imperialist stance on different occasions and writings from the perspective of history and reality. First, he believed Imperialism is a negative force that hinders Peruvian social progress. Historically, Peru has been invaded by colonial powers such as Spain. They ruthlessly plundered Peruvian resources and massacred Indians. After Peru became independent in the 19th century, European and American imperialism and Peruvian feudalism interacted with each other. The collusion allowed the large estate system to be preserved under the "cloak of the republic" and gave birth to the comprador class. They exploited the working people and used funds to win over the upper class, making it difficult for Peruvian social reform to proceed. Mariátegui believes that "the problem of indigenous people is caused by The origin of our country's economic system lies in the land ownership system. As long as the feudal nature of the 'chief' still exists, any attempt to solve the problem with administrative measures or police means, educational methods or traffic projects will only be an attempt to solve the problem. "Offensive or cosmetic work." Second, the imperial master

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Y Haya de la Torre El Antiimperialismo y el APR Ay México 1928 p 205 [Secret] Written  
 Y by José Carlos Mariátegui, translated by Bai Fengsen: «Seven Essays on the National Situation of Peru» Beijing: Business Press, 1987, page 21.



### 3. The issue of the line and method of socialist struggle

in Latin America. Although Aya defended it in 1928: "Apraism is a true historical interpretation of Marxism. As a revolutionary innovation, the Apra Party will continue to both deny and include Marxism." However, at this time, Aya's reform stance has been fully exposed. Since Aya handed over the revolutionary leadership to the petty and medium-sized bourgeoisie, and then to Adopting a "constructive" stance against imperialism, his Latin American Marxist ideals drifted into the hazy distance. In this regard, Mariátegui refuted this in his book "In Defense of Marx", "I will never understand Other political spheres: those of mediocre reformers, tamed socialism, and farcical democracy. Furthermore, if revolution requires violence, authority, and discipline, then I favor violence, authority, and discipline." Mariátegui He defended Inca communism and proletarian revolution throughout his life, but Aya put forward moderate proposals for socialist reform.

In September 1930, the Apra Movement was officially upgraded to the Apra Party, and it attempted to participate in political activities through legal elections. In 1931, Aya participated in the Peruvian presidential election for the first time after returning to China. After losing the election, Aya had a bloody conflict with the Peruvian military. The Apra Party was immediately declared an illegal political party by the new military government of Peru, and Aya was forced to flee to Mexico. In order to legally participate in political activities, he constantly reconciled his radical policies and eased the opposition with the Peruvian military government. He successively worked in politics, economy, and He put forward moderate reform proposals in the fields of culture and other fields. First, in terms of economy, he advocated the common development of mixed-ownership economy. In order to vividly express his attitude towards foreign capital, he compared foreign capital to water sources, compared the national economy to crops, and believed that the growth of crops Water is needed for irrigation, but the water flow cannot flood. He encouraged the adoption of measures to control, guide and regulate foreign investment. In 1930, he formulated the minimum economic program for the Apra Party: "Expand the role of the state in the economy, protect domestic industry, Carry out extensive social revolution and take measures to control excessive foreign capital." In order to improve the social status of workers, he also advocated the establishment of "economic power agencies" in addition to legislative, administrative and judicial powers to perform economic rights. Protect the legitimate rights and interests of workers to achieve coordination of the interests of labor and capital, formulate national production plans, and create more wealth to meet the needs of the people. During this period, Aya also revealed radical socialist reform ideas. Secondly, in the political field Advocates peaceful participation in political life, and proposes a new form of political participation of "functional democracy". He objects to the Western representative democracy of "one person, one vote" and believes that citizens should be based on their contribution to the national economy. (quantification of production) and correspondingly expand the proportion of workers' voting rights to achieve social justice rather than equality. In addition, he advocates that political parties with similar political views jointly participate in elections and then implement the political opinions of their own parties after coming to power. He promotes leader supremacy and

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Third, in the cultural field, Aya encouraged Latin American countries to learn more from the West. The reason is that the rise of capitalist countries has its deep cultural, ideological and technological support. He called on Latin American countries to not only resist the economic invasion of European and American countries. In addition, it vigorously "embraced" the West in cultural and social aspects, including the education system. In the early days of the founding of the Apra Party, Aya also promoted relatively radical social reforms. However, in the later period, its political views became increasingly conservative. The general formulation was to achieve "Social justice", according to his interpretation, is to realize "freedom with bread and bread with freedom", and advocates the implementation of some improvement measures in all aspects of society, economy, and politics. and welfare measures, it was also denounced as a form of opportunism.

Mariátegui showed disappointment with reformism from beginning to end. He vigorously defended the ideals of proletarian revolution and was committed to building a localized socialist revolutionary program. In 1929, he completed "Defending Marx" (published in 1935). book, defending Marxism that had been misinterpreted by the reformists. In a letter to Moisés Arroyo, he said: "Aya is determined to have his own way. He wants to impose his leadership on us unconditionally. I once I opened my arms to him because he organized a revolution as a Marxist, but I later discovered that he had learned nothing from Marxist works. Maybe I believed in him too much before." y Mariátegui in "Seven Essays on Peru" points out that in the 19th century, Latin American countries overthrew the colonial rule of the mother country through violent revolution and gained formal independence. However, after independence, they continued to follow the Western development path and fell into "neocolonialism". Therefore, in the 20th century, Peru is bound to usher in a "second" substantive independent revolution, and must draw a clear line with imperialism and feudalism through a thoroughgoing revolution. Mariátegui claimed: "We are not satisfied with requiring Indians to have access to education, Culture, progress, love and the right to believe in heaven. From the beginning, we have clearly demanded that Indians enjoy land rights." y Mariátegui believes that whether it is solving racial problems or educational problems in Peru, in the final analysis, it is "economic ownership." The problem is that if the economic system does not change, any solution to the problem will be in vain. Mariátegui hopes to use the proletarian revolutionary enthusiasm after the October Revolution to overthrow the backward reactionary forces in Peru and establish a new Indian-American socialist country. y Realize the true independence of the Indian nation from the forest of world nations. As a member of the "Ariel faction" of Latin American cultural anti-Americanism, Mariátegui is full of confidence and love for Indian national literature. In 1926, he founded «Amaota» Magazine, "Amaota" in Inca

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[Ink] Written by Enrique Krauser, translated by Wan Dai: «The Redeemer: Faces and Thoughts of Latin America», Beijing: Published by Beijing Daily yPublic Press, 2020, Page 129

y [US] Edited by Harry E. Varden and Mark Becker, translated by Xiao Xiaofang: "Selected Works of Mariátegui", Beijing: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

y Press, 2020, page 52, 1900 Uruguayan writer José Enríquero The publication of José Enrique Rodó's long essay "Ariel" opened the curtain on anti-Americanism in Latin American culture.



They took shape in the collision, and ultimately led the ideological trends of socialism and populism in Latin America in the 20th century. As "the most important politician in Latin America for half a century", Aya's thoughts changed from radical to conservative, and from Marxism to populism. Doctrine, and finally realized a special variant of social democracy in Latin America. He repeatedly adopted Marxist analysis methods and took socialist society as the ultimate goal. However, in order to legally participate in political activities, under the leadership of Aya, the Apra Party Political opinions increasingly tend to adopt low-cost political strategies to cater to the practical needs of Latin America. The populist transformation has given Apra a huge political survival space, as shown by the Apra Party's bid for the Peruvian presidency twice in 1985 and 2006. At the same time, Apra led by Aya profoundly affected the political landscape of Latin America and set off the upsurge of populist governance in Latin America in the 20th century: Peronism in Argentina, Vargasism in Brazil, Sandinistas in Nicaragua, and Caballeros in Mexico. Populist regimes such as Denasism came into being, and Aya was praised as "the person who introduced the main theme of the 20th century to Peru." The split in the Latin American Marxist camp represented by Mariátegui and Aya must have to a certain extent, it marked the beginning of the decline of Marxism in Latin America. Due to the diversion and wandering of Marxism and populist forces in Latin America at the beginning of the 20th century, the Latin American proletarian movement missed the precious period of revolutionary opportunities in the 20th century.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the debate on the "particularity" of the localization of Marxism that was launched in the raging world Marxist movement was undoubtedly questioned and denied by communists from various Latin American countries and the Communist International. In June 1929, the Argentine capital Buenos Aires The First Congress of Latin American Communist Parties was held in Enos Aires. The conclusions made by representatives of the Mariátegui faction about the nature of Peruvian society, the nature of the revolution, the stages of the revolution, and the revolutionary nature of the Indians did not receive a positive response from the participants. On the contrary, it was denounced as a "petty bourgeois thing" and considered to be contrary to the "central purpose" of the Soviet Union. In 1928, in response to the tense situation of the US imperialist invasion of Latin America, the Soviet Union directed the Sixth Conference of the Communist International to regard the "discovery of America" as After that, the Soviet Union strengthened its instructions to the Latin American proletarian movement. After the 1940s, after weakening the power of Trotskyism in Latin America, the Latin American Marxist movement gradually entered the track of Stalin, and dogmatism made a comeback. With this, At the same time, the left-wing and right-wing camps in Latin America were further divided due to the infiltration of fascist forces. The death of Mariátegui and the flight of Aya in 1930 prevented the results of the Peruvian Socialist Debate from being well implemented. In short, at the beginning of the 20th century, Maria The significance of the debate between Tegui and Aya has been ignored.

However, in the long history of political evolution in Latin America in the 20th century, the great theoretical value and historical significance contained in the Peruvian Socialist Debate were gradually released, manifested in the Latin American leftists standing in the populist camp and absorbing the theoretical and spiritual connotations of socialism.

First of all, for Latin America, the Peruvian Socialist Debate set a precedent for the Latin Americanization of Marxism and promoted the diversified development of Marxism in Latin America. The Peruvian Socialist Debate took place in Latin America.



The Marxist movement fell into a critical period of dogmatization and lost its destination, which had a profound and lasting impact on the trend of Marxism in Latin America. Specifically, it started the process of Latin Americanization of Marxism, and enabled Latin American Marxism to present diversified explorations in the 20th century. Characteristics. Che Guevara traveled to Latin America in his youth and came into contact with Dr. Hugo Pesce, an early member of the Peruvian Communist Party, in a leprosy village in Peru. Pesce was one of the co-founders of the Peruvian Socialist Party. The first time he wrote an article for the magazine "Amauta" founded by Mariátegui, he was one of the delegates sent by Mariátegui to the Communist International Congress in Argentina in 1929. Pesce was very familiar with Mariátegui's thoughts and he enthusiastically expressed his enthusiasm to Mariátegui. Guevara introduced Mariátegui's works, and Guevara was deeply attracted by these works. A few years later, Guevara also sent Pesce a book "On Guerrilla Warfare". Mariátegui brought Guevara It was not only Latin American Marxism, but also special care for Indians and the guarantee of building a new civilized race, which was ultimately manifested as the ideas of "permanent revolution" and "new man" during the period of Cuba's socialist revolution and construction. After the 1930s, Latin American countries have taken turns to put forward development theories with their own characteristics, which to a certain extent continued the struggle between Mariátegui and Aya. In the 1940s, Latin American Marxist economic historians Sergio Bagu and Cayo Jr. Through studies of Latin American history, Caio Prado Jr, Marcelo Segall and others believe that Latin American social forms have never been a replica of European feudalism, and they oppose the transformation of Marxist dogma into a rigid approach, thus giving birth to Latin American Marxism Historical School. During the Cold War, the biggest change in the communist parties in Latin America was from the dogmatic treatment of Marxism in the past to the flexible application of Marxism. The Communist Party of Cuba advocated combining Marxism-Leninism with the country's reality and developing Marxism with Cuban characteristics. The Communist Party of Brazil emphasized that, Revolutionaries must oppose dogmatism, because Marxism is a living and creative doctrine. The Communist Party of Chile believes that Marxism-Leninism is constantly developing and changing. After the drastic changes in the Soviet Union and the East and the end of the Cold War, the Communist Party of Peru (Unity) and the Communist Party of Peru (Red Motherland) made reflections and proposed "a scientific socialist theory based on Marxism-Leninism, the ideological contributions of domestic and international revolutionary socialists, especially the ideological contributions of Mariátegui". In short, the great ideas contained in the Peruvian socialist debate The spirit of local

exploration continued in the development of Marxism in Latin America in the 20th century. Secondly, the Peruvian socialist debate prompted Latin America to embark on the "third road" of exploring independence in the 20th century. Since Aya proposed in the debate that he neither wanted nor opposed capitalism. Communism, but to implement "nationalist capitalism" in Latin America and then engage in "socialism" when conditions are ripe in the future, Latin American nationalism and indigenism have revived. In this context, Latin American countries advocate exploring independent development path. Among them, Apraism led by Aya a

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Y Xiao Feng: "Where is Socialism Going?" Beijing: Contemporary World Press, 1999, page 997

In 2006, Alain García Pérez, the presidential candidate of the Apra Party, twice aspired to the Peruvian presidency. Aya himself held the position of Speaker of the Peruvian Congress for a time in the 1960s and 1970s. American scholar Edward J. Williams said: "The populist theory of the Apra Party not only spread in his native Peru, but also spread to other Latin American countries." American scholar Robert Alexander pointed out in the book "Latin American Parties", "Apra Party The Apra Party is the ideological and philosophical pioneer of left-wing democratic parties in Latin America." As the Apra Party reconciles the relationship between imperialism and nationalism, it demonstrates its advocacy of using foreign capital to develop the economies of "Third World" countries. Latin American countries have generally strengthened cooperation with European and American capitalist countries. However, the dependency economic development model adopted after the mid-20th century has brought serious consequences, triggering practical adjustments in Latin America under the guidance of dependency theory since the 1960s. This shows that Latin America has The idea of establishing a "partnership without dependence" with imperialism proposed by Latin America at the beginning of the 20th century failed. After the failure of neoliberal practice at the end of the 20th century, the awareness of independent development in Latin American countries increased unprecedentedly, and at the beginning of the 21st century, the "already The "pink wave" of "Neither Capitalism nor Communism" emphasizes the exploration of localized development models based on Latin American history and reality, theory and practice. Venezuela's Chavez "21st Century Socialism", Ecuador's Correa Left-wing forces such as "21st century socialism", the "communitarian socialism" of Morales, the first Indian president of Bolivia, and the "labor socialism" of the Brazilian Workers' Party have stepped onto the stage of history, paying unprecedented attention to national identity and maintaining a sense of identity. Inheriting and absorbing national historical traditions and culture, constantly drawing inspiration from socialist ideas, and creating a scene of the revival of socialism in Latin America. Aya said: "We clearly know that we need to take the left-wing line. This is our direction. The direction is the most important." Today, Latin American left-wing parties stand in the populist camp and draw inspiration from socialist theory. The debate between Mariátegui and Aya has always provided them with localized spiritual guidance.

For Peru, the great debate on socialism in Peru directly caused Peru to miss the opportunity period for the socialist revolution in the late 1920s. From a long-term perspective, it laid hidden dangers for the "fragmentation" trend of Peruvian politics in the 20th century. First, it delayed Peruvian

society. The great socialist debate in Peru was an opportunity for the socialist revolution. From a superficial perspective, the great debate on socialism in Peru was the ideological rupture between Mariátegui and Aya. From a deeper perspective, it led to the irreversible weakening of the power of Peru's socialist revolution. In the late 1920s, Peru ushered in the uprising. The dictatorship movement was at its climax, and the people's calls for proletarian revolution were rising. The rule of the Legia government was in a state of weakness due to the economic crisis. At this time, the United States

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ŷ [US] Written by Edward J. Williams, translated by Zhong Lamei: «Political Trends in Latin America from a Development Perspective», Beijing: Business Press, 1979, page 19. Xiao Nan et

ŷ al., eds.: "Contemporary Latin American Political Thoughts", Beijing: Oriental Publishing House,

ŷ 1988, page 210. Haya de la Torre eŷ EL Antimperialismo y el APRAY Méxicoŷ 1928ŷ p 190

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Being mired in the Great Depression and having no time to care about Peruvian politics, Peru ushered in a period of opportunity for the socialist revolution. However, due to Aya's betrayal, Peruvian socialist forces quickly became weak. In the 1930s, the Peruvian military government took advantage of the situation and ousted the Communist Party of Peru. The Apra Party and the Apra Party were declared illegal political parties, forcing the two parties to move underground for a long time. In 1937, the agrarian revolution launched by the Peruvian Lázaro Cárdenas government (Lázaro Cárdenas) was a profound agrarian revolution that contained clear socialist and Indianist elements. Reform, but Mariátegui did not see it.

Secondly, it caused a long-term confrontation between the Peruvian Communist Party and the Apra Party. In 1931, the "Trujillo Massacre" broke out between Aya and the young military officer Sanchez Cerro (Luis M Sánchez Cerro) to compete for the presidency of Peru. Aya Therefore, he fled abroad. After that, Aya was forced by domestic and foreign political pressure and continued to turn to the moderate struggle line. After the Apra Party regained its legal status in 1956, it allied with the center-left parties to participate in political elections and quickly restored its vitality in power. In 1979, Apra Party When Ya died, more than 1 million Peruvian people expressed condolences for him. However, the Communist Party of Peru has been in an illegal status under the high-pressure anti-communist situation of the US imperialism. In the 1960s, during the Sino-Soviet debate, the Communist Party of Peru split into those who advocated " In 1970 and 1980, the Communist Party of Peru (Red Flag) splintered into the far-left revolutionary organization Shining Path and the Communist Party of Peru (Red Flag). (Motherland). In the 1980s, the Peruvian Communist Party "divided into four", and the differences over the Latin Americanization of Marxism continued to expand within the party. This was destined to advocate "revolution and ideals" in Peru.

The political differences between the Communist Party and the Apra Party, which advocates "reform and reality", cannot be bridged.

Third, it intensifies the trend of "fragmentation" of Peruvian domestic politics. Since the independence of the Republic of Peru, various national interests have been intertwined. National differences occurred between Creoles and Indians in the early days of the founding of the country. The failure in the South Pacific War made Peru realize that There was an ideological conflict between the ideologists and cultural nationalists, and the split in the political programs of Mariátegui and Aya at the beginning of the 20th century further tore apart the Peruvian national consensus. In the Peruvian presidential election in the 20th century, all Peruvian parties acted for their own interests. However, the foundation of political consensus is weak. Aya once advocated that when a single political party is weak, it can participate in elections through multi-party coalitions. This makes Peruvian politics in the 20th century full of flexibility but also extremely unstable. In the 1960s, Peruvian soldier Juan Bella Juan Francisco Velasco Alvarado put forward the idea of "military populism" and declared: "The Peruvian revolution is neither communist" It is not capitalist, but engraved with liberation and socialism. It is a mark of humanity and humanitarianism." y He implemented "people-friendly" measures such as land reform, expert governance, and political democracy, and took the lead in breaking the more than 30-year hostility with the Apra Party. Today, Peru's political ecology has become increasingly complex. The names of political parties are numerous and difficult to distinguish. Before political coexistence,

The situation is complicated and confusing. It must be said that this has already begun to take shape during the socialist debate in Peru.

Today, peace-loving people widely accept the contemporary value of the debate between Mariátegui and Aya.

The revelations their debate has brought to Latin Americans are far from over.

First, during the period of revolution, construction and reform, Latin American communist parties must persist in exploring the path of Marxism in Latin America and seek truth from facts, and push Marxism forward in the practice of development. The reason why Mariátegui and Aya did not in the final analysis, the successful leadership of the Peruvian socialist revolution was due to the failure to clearly understand the development stage of Peruvian society. Mao Zedong once advised Latin American communists who visited China: "Study the national conditions of your country in a practical manner!" In Latin America, a land of racial diversity and ideological trends, in a land where the world intersects and interests are complex, if one does not conduct in-depth study of one's own national conditions and does not have a deep grasp of Marxist thought, it is easy to get lost in the complex reality. Mariátegui once set an example for Latin American communists. Based on an in-depth study of Peru's national conditions, he wrote the important work "Seven Essays on Peru", which is known as "the earliest serious and creative Marxist-Leninist work in the Western Hemisphere". Today, the practice of socialism with Cuban characteristics led by the Communist Party of Cuba has also confirmed the value of localization of Marxism. In the second half of the 20th century, Latin American communist parties suddenly realized the profound value of localization of Marxism and reflected: "In the past, they (Latin American communist parties) copied foreign models when formulating policies and were divorced from reality. They made more in vain and less in reality. It neither accurately reflects the long-term interests of the broad masses of society nor reflects their current urgent demands in a timely manner. Therefore, it is difficult to attract more people to move closer to the party, resulting in the party's power developing slowly or stagnating." Nowadays, it is an eternal topic for communists in Latin American countries to study the path of Marxism in Latin America based on the actual conditions of their own countries. Second, in terms of organizational strength, strong

leaders must be supported to lead powerful political parties to implement social changes. Due to historical reasons, Latin American races, the composition of ethnic, class and other groups is complex, and the interests of each other are intertwined. Reform "affects the whole body", and the greatest common denominator must be sought to avoid civil strife. At the same time, due to geographical factors, Latin America is "too close to the United States and too far from God." The United States launched the "Monroe Doctrine" for Latin American countries at the beginning of their independence. It regarded Latin America as the sphere of influence of the United States and always maintained a state of suppressing Latin American communist movements and left-wing parties. Entering the 21st century, left and right parties have emerged in Latin American countries. The "pendulum phenomenon" of taking turns in power, but it is still difficult to distance itself from external interference forces. Therefore, in order to promote long-term reforms in Latin America, it is necessary to support strong leaders and cohesive political parties to contend with uncertainties. Advocating the doctrine of "leader first" is also intended to ensure the centripetal force of political parties and seek long-term development. Throughout the history of Latin American communist movements, it can be found that the lack of cohesion of Latin American communist parties is a

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Li Jinhua: "The Current Situation and Trend of Communist Parties in Latin America", published in "Problems of Contemporary World Socialism", Issue 4, 1994, Page 50.

They fell apart and changed course due to the influence of domestic and foreign events. Therefore, in the unpredictable international environment, how to ensure the internal and external unity, continuity of decrees, and political clarity of left-wing parties, including the Communist Parties of Latin America, is also an urgent matter for the Communist Parties of Latin America and left-wing parties. Required courses

Third, in terms of relying on subjects, Latin American political parties must rely closely on the people for development, especially tapping the power of Indians. The outstanding results of the Peruvian Socialist Debate have not been implemented. The main reason is that they failed to gain the support of the Latin American people. Understand and support. In 1928, the Communist International reflected on the repeated defeats of revolutions in Latin America: "Imperialism can still bloody suppress revolutionary movements in colonies in most cases because of the anti-U.S. empire rising in Latin America. Most socialist national liberation struggles are led by the petty bourgeoisie." History has proved that a political party that can fight mainly lies in its ability to mobilize the masses to carry out struggle. Mariategui and Aya once jointly advocated the construction of "Indian America". As the original owners of Latin America, Indians are still at the bottom of society in terms of economic foundation, political rights, social status, etc. They are destined to be the biggest variable in Latin American social change. Latin American communist parties and left-wing forces need to have a deep understanding of this.

#### Four Conclusions

The greatest contribution of the Peruvian Socialist Congress is that in addition to "orthodox Marxism", it proposes a flexible and open Marxist Latin American exploration plan that is consistent with Latin American reality, and moves Peruvian society from modern times to modern times. The Peruvian Socialist Congress The debate took place during the early development of Latin American Marxism and the critical period when the country moved from modern times to modern times. It thus had a profound impact on Latin American Marxism and the development of Peruvian society. In the second half of the 20th century, the left, including the Latin American Communist Party, realized that Mariategui and Aya formed the contemporary value of localized cognition in the debate, and reflected: "History will always develop towards a more advanced stage of social production, and socialism will definitely replace capitalism, even if there is regression and stagnation. It is also temporary." Today, people who love justice are widely accepting Mariategui's prediction that "the future of Latin America is socialism." On the 75th anniversary of Mariategui's death, the Venezuelan National Assembly held a series of events for him commemoration activities, and pointed out in the document that "Mariategui's thought is still the source of understanding the world workers' movement and the socialist movement, and is the eternal source of thought and guide to action for Latin American revolutionaries."

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ÿ [Hungary] Edited by Bella Kun, translated by the Compilation Office of Renmin University of China: "Compilation of Documents of the Communist International" (Volume 3), Beijing: Health New knowledge about living reading, Sanlian Bookstore, 1965, page 91.

ÿ Guo Jianping: "Latin American Communist Parties in Adversity", published in "Scientific Socialism", Issue 5, 1991, p. 76. Xu Shicheng, editor-in-chief: "Latin American Modern Thoughts", Beijing: Contemporary World Press, 2010, p. 97 Page

Historically, the Apra Party led by Aya has continuously consolidated the foundation of Latin American populism through nearly 50 years of political struggle. Populism has won widespread support from Latin American society with a compromise plan and gained greater support under the capitalist system. Political space. Edward J. Williams of the United States once pointed out, "Aya blended revised Marxism with the thrust of indigenist thought. In essence, what the Peruvian People's Party (the Apra Party) advocates is an emphasis on social Democratic reformism and nationalism." After the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, there were signs of a resurgence of violent revolution within the Apra Party. A faction headed by former executive committee member Luis de la Puente emerged from the Apra Party. They split off and formed the Left Revolutionary Alliance, vowing to follow the path of armed struggle in Cuba, but it ended in nothing.

Entering the 21st century, a survey report by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean shows that as of 2020, there are about 200 million poor people in Latin America, accounting for 1/3 of the total population of Latin America. Nearly 80 million of them are in extreme poverty. The gap between the rich and the poor is huge, and social problems are serious. On April 8-10, 2018, representatives of 11 communist parties from 9 Latin American countries held the "Latin American Communist Party Meeting" in Lima, the capital of Peru. They believed that "socialism is still full of vitality and is the hope of mankind now and in the future." It is "the only choice for the Latin American people". In the post-epidemic era, left-wing forces in Latin America have made a comeback. Latin American communist parties have frequent friendly interactions with communist parties in other regions. It is not difficult to notice that left-wing forces in Latin America are still working hard to realize socialist ideals. The Great Debate on Socialism in Peru It always provides them with the spiritual inspiration of localized exploration.

(Editor-in-charge Wang Shuai)

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[US] Written by Edward J. Williams, translated by Zhong Lamei: "Political Trends in Latin America from a Development Perspective", Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1979, page 20.