

Marxism and Latin American Socialist Thoughts

Anti-Imperialism and Continentalism: Debates
on Anti-Imperialist Movements in Latin America

Kai Min

Abstract: During the wave of anti-imperialist movements in Latin America in the first half of the 20th century, Aya and Melia also entered the political stage through the university reform movement and carried out anti-imperialist movements. However, they were based on their respective understandings of Latin American reality and anti-imperialist theories. The two respectively led the two major anti-imperialist organizations in Latin America. They clashed in specific anti-imperialist practices, which triggered a debate. In this debate, the two sides strived to gain the upper hand in the struggle for political discourse power. The focus of the dispute between the two was It is about the nature of the American People's Revolutionary Union and whether the Latin American anti-imperialist movement is special, in order to debate the legitimacy of the former. The direct result of this debate is that the American People's Revolutionary Union alienated the Communist International and anti-imperialism in organization and ideology. In addition to competing for the representation of anti-imperialist movements in Latin America, this debate has three levels of significance: First, their analysis of Apraism and communism involves the ideological schisms that have emerged within Latin American leftists. Second, in light of global political movements, the debate between the Comintern and the Latin American nationalist petty bourgeoisie led to the first use of the term "populism" in Latin American political discussions. Third, the two concerning the Latin American reaction against The debate on the nature of imperial revolution and its place in the global anti-imperialist movement outlines the continental connotation of Apraism.

Keywords: Latin American left-wing anti-imperialism, continentalism, Apluralism, populism

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CLC number: A Article number: 1002 - 6649 (2022) 03 - 0023 - 20

(Trujillo) Before 1917, he joined the avant-garde literary group in Trujillo - "Bohemia of Trujillo" (Bohemia de Trujillo) This group not only recited poetry and He discussed literary novels and also paid attention to various social issues. In 1917, he went from the University of Trujillo to the University of San Marcos in Lima, the capital, to study. In Lima, he accepted the education of Emmanuel González Prada (The new trend of thought represented by Manuel González Prada (1846-1918) was stimulated by the defeat of Peru in the Pacific War. González Prada, who was born into a Catholic aristocratic family, believed in anarchy. ism and radicalism. He opposed clerical authority and fiercely criticized The oppression of Indians by plantation owners. His emphasis on "Indigenismo" brought people's attention to the previously neglected Indian groups. Although he himself did not participate in the labor movement, he proposed that intellectuals should consciously lead Many advocates, including workers, This inspired Aya's thinking on the worker-student movement.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 and the Russian Revolution of 1917 inspired Latin American youth to pursue national liberation and social change. In July 1918, students from the University of Cordoba in Argentina went on strike, demanding modernization and reform of higher education. «The Cordoba Declaration » Opposed the dominant positivism at the time, rejected mediocre and narrow dogmatism, and encouraged the awakening of self-consciousness among Latin American youth, uprooting the ancient barbaric authority tradition. The «Manifiesto» proposed university autonomy and scientific liberalism, believing that " universities "Should become a tool for social action". Its mission is to turn the ideal of "high culture" into "scientific training" to serve society. The reform advocates morality and anti-materialism. Its spiritual father is Luo Duo. This initiative Appeared at the University of Cordoba in Argentina at the southern tip of the continent, and crossed the continent to inspire young intellectual groups throughout Latin America. Aya, a college student who was influenced by González Prada's thoughts, was inspired in Lima, the capital of Peru, and actively participated in the worker-student movement Movement. In 1919, centered on the Universidad Nacional de San Marcos, the oldest public university in Lima, Peru, the Peruvian university reform movement focused on the integration of students and workers. Aya de la Torre joined the Lima Federation of Students and actively participated in the Kaya He served as president of the Peruvian Student Federation during the struggle for the legal approval of the 8-hour working day. Under the organization of the Student Federation, González Prada was established in Lima and Vitarte. People's University provided night school education to the uneducated lower class. Starting from People's University, he began to emphasize transcending racial restrictions and carry out literacy campaigns for workers. During this period, the student-worker alliance

Steve Stein Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the Masses and the Policies of Social Control Madison: The University of Wisconsin 1980, p 133 «Córdoba Declaration» also

known as «From the Argentine Youth of Cordoba to the Free People of South America » (La Juventud Argentina Córdoba a los Hombres Libres de Sudamérica) [http:// biblioteca clacso edu ar/clacso/gt/20101109083227/20juve pdf](http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/clacso/gt/20101109083227/20juve.pdf) [2021-11-01]

[English] Editor-in-Chief Leslie Bethel, Translated by Institute of Latin American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: «Cambridge History of Latin America» (Fourth Volume), Beijing: Economic Management Press, 1995, page 431.

Inspired by colleagues, Merial established the José Martí Popular University in Havana, Cuba, and invited Aya to serve as the honorary principal of this work-study school. On the day when the José Martí Popular University was built, Ayá presided over the inauguration ceremony and delivered a speech as the opening ceremony. Lesson Since then, Aya has served as the president of the student federations of Peru and Cuba, and is also a member of the student federations of Argentina, Chile and Panama.

After arriving in Mexico, Aya became an assistant to José Vasconcelos, Minister of Education in the Obregon government of Mexico. After the Mexican Revolution, Mexico City at that time was an important stronghold of the transnational network of Latin American intellectuals. At that time, The Mexican Revolution is still regarded as an unsuccessful but still feasible plan. The new behavioral space means that Aya can try political activities with more social transformation significance in a larger activity field. In Mexico, Bas Concelos's ideas about racial integration and mass education further inspired Aya. On May 7, 1924, Aya presented the "New Generation of Spanish America" flag to representatives of the Mexican Federation of Students. The center of the flag was the symbol of Indian America. The map is accompanied by Basconcelos's famous phrase "Espíritu" ("Espiritu"), a famous quote from Vasconcelos. According to the official history of the Apra Party, this ceremony represented the founding of the Popular Revolutionary Union of the Americas in Mexico. 5 1926 -During 1931, Aya lived in Britain, France, Germany and other countries. During his exile, he maintained contact with members of the Apra branch scattered in Europe and America through letters, and carried out anti-imperialist movements.

2. Debates and ruptures: organizational and ideological differences

Both Aya de la Torre and Melia were inspired by the world's anti-imperialist movement. However, in the specific practice process, they showed different tendencies at different stages. Under the interaction of political processes and personal choices, the two men The differences between them widened, and they eventually parted ways because each expressed his own vision of a revolutionary path in Latin America during the debate.

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In the official history writing of Apra, May 7, 1924 is generally designated as the founding day. In fact, the first branch of Apra was established in Paris, France in 1926. Therefore, some scholars believe that Apra was really born in 1926 or 1927. See Antonio Lago Carballo's Victor Raúl Ha yá spánica's 1988's pp 22 - 23

Inspired by the political and economic relations in Latin America: the ruling class in Peru and even Latin America conspired with imperialism to excessively incite domestic patriotism, leading to conflicts between Peru and Chile, between Brazil and Argentina, and between Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Many conflicts arose between them. He emphasized that the United States' role as mediator and arbiter in the Secret Saltpeter War laid the foundation for the division of the two countries and even Latin America. Based on the well-being of Latin America and Peru, the American People's Revolutionary Union should resist the United States at the international level. Imperialism, and oppose the Peruvian domestic ruling class at the national level. As for how to specifically "oppose U.S. imperialism", we must first realize political unity and social justice in Latin America, and use Apraism to pursue the establishment of a country that transcends a single nation and realize Latin America. People's political, economic and cultural sovereignty.

In Aya's view, none of the existing organizations proposed serious plans for revolution and political action, so it was necessary to establish a new anti-imperialist organization, the American People's Revolutionary Union. He wrote in 1927 in "The American Reality is Not the European Reality." The article affirms this view: "Although anti-imperialist alliances exist, these alliances have nothing to do with existing political parties and therefore require a political, revolutionary, well-defined, procedural and anti-imperialist program to implement the alliance's ambitious goals. In short, Apra hopes that the American people will resist imperialism, the Creole ruling class and their imperialist accomplices, and the Americans themselves will liberate the Americas." He took China at that time as an example. This shows that Chinese youth are trying to get rid of foreign control through their own struggles. At the beginning of its establishment, Apra was a relatively decentralized political movement. Several Apra branches were scattered in Europe and the United States in the 1920s. It claimed to pursue Latin America The revival of freedom and morality and the unification of the continent, and efforts to consolidate the unity of "Indian America". Secondly,

the two had different attitudes towards the anti-imperialist movement in Nicaragua. In 1926, because Nicaraguan liberals were dissatisfied with the United States' control of the region, Launched a war against the pro-American conservative government. After the United States sent troops to intervene in the Nicaraguan Civil War, nationalist Augusto César Sandino led a guerrilla war for Nicaragua's national liberation and national sovereignty. Opposition U.S. imperialism and the Díaz government. In the intellectual circles of Latin America, supporting the anti-American protest movement in Nicaragua became one of the practices used by Latin American intellectuals to construct Latin America at that time. In early 1927, the Paris branch of the American Revolutionary League and Latin American students The General Association (AGELA) launched a protest against the US intervention in Nicaragua. On January 13, the AGELA Paris branch organized a protest in support of the Nicaraguan people at the Paris Horticultural Society, bringing together many supporters of the Latin American anti-imperialist movement, including AGELA

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The movement expressed doubts about this, because the allies of Indian America in North America should be the working class. Aya believed that the social, economic and political uniqueness of America prevented it from rigidly imitating European experience. During his trip to the Soviet Union in 1924, He noted that the Soviet leaders lacked an objective understanding of the current situation in America. This conclusion was based on his conversations with Soviet leaders, including Trotsky and others. When talking about the aforementioned views, these Soviet leaders His lack of knowledge about the Americas made him realize that the Third International could not completely and thoroughly solve the many problems in Indian America. This shows that the leaders of the Communist International have heard of Aya's views and are in conflict with the anti-imperialists among the Latin American national bourgeoisie. The pursuit of common ground while reserving differences is simply in line with the current world revolutionary situation.

On the other hand, Melia, one month before the Brussels Congress, was still under review by the Comintern for being expelled from the Cuban Communist Party in 1926. The Executive Committee of the Comintern ruled that Melia, as a Cuban Communist, did not realize the need to follow collective discipline. However, His practice at the José Martí Popular University and the American Anti-Imperialist League showed that he was better than the Cuban Communist Party in organizing the masses. The Cuban Communist Party's expulsion from the Melia Party was judged by the Communist International as sectarianism. Therefore, in January 1927 The resolution of March 28 showed that the Communist International allowed Melia and his followers to rejoin the party and establish close ties between the Communist Party and the anti-imperialist alliance. However, Melia must obey discipline and put an end to individualism.

From February 10 to 14, 1927, the First World Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Colonialism Conference was held at the Egmont Palace in Brussels, the capital of Belgium. The purpose of the conference was to unite anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces around the world and to establish a worldwide anti-imperialist organization and the Alliance for National Independence. This week-long conference brought together hundreds of left-wing politicians and intellectuals from all over the world. Aya and Melia also participated as representatives. The conference unanimously decided to establish a permanent It is a global anti-imperialist organization, that is, the Anti-Imperialism and Support for National Independence Alliance, in order to unite the relatively isolated anti-imperialist organizations and act as a neutral coordinator between the Communist International and the nationalist movements in the colonies. The alliance is composed of the Communist International Internationally funded, and led by German communist Willi Münzenberg. The final resolutions of the Latin American branch included the establishment of a Central American federation, the nationalization of land and large industries, the liberation of colonies, and the revision of laws that endangered national sovereignty. treaty, urging the United States to withdraw from Haiti and Nicaragua, pushing

Lozovsky's relevant comments are based on Aya's own description.

Excerpt from the Comintern Archives "Cuba Resolution". See "Documents No. 9", en Julia Antonio Mella y Escogidos y Pablo de la Torriente Brau 2017 pp 198 - 205 See Comintern Archives RFA SPI 542 / 1 / 3y 10 -1 1y Quoted from

Fredrik Peterson's Movement: The Le in Interventions Vol 16y Issue 1y 2014y pp 49 - 71

In order to mobilize the independence of the Panama Canal and overthrow the dictatorship. Although the anti-imperialist alliance in Latin America was not the primary topic of this meeting, Aya and Melia had differences on the issue of whether to establish an anti-imperialist united front. Aya refused to join the anti-imperialist alliance. The imperialist alliance jointly formed the anti-imperialist united front and was led by the alliance. At the same time, he supported the inclusion of bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements in the anti-imperialist struggle.

In 1928, after the Brussels Congress, Melia summarized Apra's actions in the past few years and published "What is the Harp? The Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Struggle" to refute Aya de la Torre's "What is Apra?" » "harp" (y) is that he deliberately changed the word order of APRA to show ridicule and belittle the credibility of APRA's political activities. He used a Marxist perspective to condemn Aya de la Torre. After a long list of political mistakes, he advocated the American Anti-Imperialist League to consolidate the united front of all classes oppressed by imperialism and cooperate with the Brussels Congress on an international scale. At the beginning of the article, he summarized the origins and characteristics of the American People's Revolutionary League: This movement Born in the student community, he was characterized by his belief in simple youth theories and private attacks on the Russian revolution and communists. Later, he accused angrily, "These 'harpists' (Arpistas) appeared disguised as Marx and Lenin." Successor and interpreter. Although the harm of this fantasy theory is limited, it represents a group of opportunists and reformists in Latin America, and therefore potentially hinders the awakening of class consciousness of the working people of the American continent." He satirized America The People's Revolutionary Union imitated the Communist International in form and language, and even exaggerated the size of its organization: "(They claimed) 'The Executive Committee is located in London.' If a person can be called a committee, and it is the person who listened to Fabian's lectures and Aya, who was talking to Russell, it was true that there was an Executive Committee as the Harps said. (They also said) 'In Paris, there are a large number of students and workers'. If the 10 'Harpists' from Peru were "A fairly large branch," then they are indeed right. As for what is in the Americas, they claim that there are sincere revolutionaries, students, and workers living in Peru. Although judging from the publications of its members in newspapers and magazines around the world, Look, this political organization seems professional and large-scale, but in fact, the size of Apra at that time was indeed as "few members" as Melia alleged.

"Las Resoluciones sobre la América Latina", en El Libertador Vol 1 No 12 1927 pp 10 - 12 Christine Hatzky Julio Antonio Mella (1903-1929): Una Biografía Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente 2008 pp 228 - 229 Aya in «Reverse As recalled in "Imperialism and Apra», at that time he did not agree to stand unconditionally with the bourgeoisie, nor did he agree to limit his actions to pure anti-imperialist resistance and leave the political battle to the Communist Party. See Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre El Antiimperialismo y el APRA Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú 2010 p 111

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Thirdly, since Apra started from the experience of popular universities and emphasized the pioneering role of intellectuals in the anti-imperialist revolution, Melia pointed out that "communists are not against real intellectuals, because the vast majority of them are in a state of exploitation. But the history of socialism and the Communist Party and the history of the Russian Revolution show that 'intellectuals' are more inclined to (accept) charity from the bourgeoisie than to join the ranks of revolutionaries." Furthermore, the role of intellectuals in the revolution is limited and extremely it is likely to become a burden to the revolution. Melia linked this intellectual utopian socialism to the populism criticized by Lenin. This may be because he has a close relationship with "populism". In 1912, Lenin wrote in "Neva The article "China's Democracy and Populism" was published in Star Newspaper. It was the first time that "populism" in the Russian context was used in political discussions outside Russia. Melia was the Spanish translator of this article. The translation was published in Cuba's "Cigarette Workers' Bulletin". In this article, Lenin discussed the similarities between Sun Yat-sen's "Three People's Principles" and the thoughts of Russian populist intellectuals in the 19th century. Inspired by this, Melia wrote in The section "Populism in the Americas" puts forward the idea that Latin America and Russia will produce similar populist ideologies under the same economic conditions, and uses this to compare the similarities between Apra and Russian populists, criticizing his beautification of the original The agricultural system, calling the primitive communism of the Indians who were still in a barbaric state Inca communism, ignored the dependence of intellectuals on material interests. In Melia's view, emphasizing the particularity of the Latin American revolution can only attract the bourgeoisie rather than the proletariat. Classy

Finally, he tried to prove that Aya was both a traitor and an opportunist. In addition to his performance at the Brussels Conference and his compromise on the Nicaraguan elections, Aya's "double-faced" attitude towards China was also fiercely criticized. Melia sarcastically said that Aya once praised Because of the advanced nature of China's anti-imperialist revolution, he turned around and published another article to support the anti-Chinese movement in Mexico. He regarded this as Aya's expression of loyalty to the Mexican rulers after the revolution. Perhaps for Aya, the distant Chinese anti-imperialism The revolutionary image gave him hope of uniting the Latin American people against imperialism, which is not inconsistent with his expression of support for Mexico's anti-Chinese economic nationalism. However, even if this is not a criticism based on ideology, it is indeed consistent with "What is Apra" ?» contradicts the priority of "union of oppressed peoples" in

The pamphlet written by Melia has its own special polemical context. His target readers include not only non-Apralist Latin American leftists, but also members of the Third International outside Latin America. Although

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He also experienced the university reform movement and the practice of popular universities, but he chose to elaborate on Apra's "betrayal" of the world's anti-imperialist movement from the perspective of class struggle. By criticizing Apra, he hoped to clarify the role of communism in Latin America, as well as the consistency of anti-imperialism and anti-bourgeoisie. In 1928, Melia founded the New Cuban Revolutionary Immigration Association (ANERC) in Paris. On the surface, the association was formally similar to Apra. There are great similarities: it seeks a supra-class alliance for the national liberation of Cuba, also advocates an alliance with the anti-imperialist bourgeois sectors, and for the first time hopes to give Latin America's national, democratic and anti-imperialist revolutions a social revolutionary character. However, this is more likely that the proletariat is trying to gain rights when its power is weak. The proletariat should still be in a leadership position. Generally speaking, the two major organizations that Melia belongs to show political tendencies that are slightly different from Apra.

Aya later responded to Melia's criticism in *El Antiimperialismo y el APRA*. For him, Melia conveyed the spirit of the Third International. Expression of stance in Aya in the article *Judgment*, Melia was critical of Apra after his visit to the Soviet Union in 1927, full of Bolshevik fanaticism. Aya wrote: "I understand that we declared Apra to be 'a war free from foreign interference or influence' The Latin American Autonomous Movement' made the communists completely lose hope of seizing the new organization. (But) Apra cannot serve as a tool of communism." Such a straightforward declaration shows that in Aya's view, Melia's Criticism means that this is a naked struggle for revolutionary representation in the Americas. In order to prove the legitimacy of Apra, he emphasizes that Apra is different from any European-led international political organization and is "Indian American nationalism and anti-imperialism." The "United Front of the Anti-Imperialist Movement"

is the most suitable united front for anti-imperialist movements in Latin America between the anti-imperialist alliance and the Communist Party. At the same time, as an anti-imperialist united front and political party, Apra is more powerful than the anti-imperialist alliance that relies on the Third International. It has the potential to carry out dual struggles in the political and economic fields. Aya said: "We refuse to accept the command of the World Anti-Imperialist League. As we know, the World Anti-Imperialist League is an organization completely controlled by the Third International. It is not working for the anti-imperialist struggle per se, but for communism."

Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre *El Antiimperialismo y el APRA* (1936): Fondo Editorial del Perú 2010 Aya stated in the preface that the book was written in mid-1928. For various reasons, the first draft was not published until 1936. Some of them are in addition to the scattering of the manuscript, he also deleted some of the personal attacks on Melia. Since Apra returned to Peru to develop in Peru after 1930, he was attacked by the opposition as a communist. Therefore, this book contains an account of his relationship with Melia in 1927. Memories of the discord between

the Third International may have a self-justifying tone. Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre *El Antiimperialismo y el APRA* (1936): Fondo Editorial del Perú 2010

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Service.”

The separation of the Third International and the Latin American anti-imperialist movement not only reflects the need for political power of “who can represent the Latin American anti-imperialist movement” mentioned by Aya above, but also shows that the two have different roles. There is an ideological conflict at the factual level. In his refutation of Melia, Aya put forward his original theory about the process of social development. In his view, the Communist Party originated from the specific economic conditions in Europe and was an exclusive single-class party. The reality in Indian America is that the proletariat is weak and does not yet have the ability to form a ruling class, so it needs the united front of the American People’s Revolutionary Alliance. This responds to Melia’s doubts about the role of intellectuals in revolution. According to Aya, Indian America faces double extremes of dogmatic spiritual colonization: on one side is the imperialism, reaction, and fascism of the ruling class; on the other side is the obscure Russian revolutionary discourse that claims to represent the leading class. This assertion about Latin American society is quite Orientalist.

Aya emphasized that the correct path for the development of Indian America should reflect its own reality rather than copy European doctrine. Although Apra echoes the wave of world anti-imperialism and is also inspired by the advancement of communism around the world, Apraism is inherited from The exploration of the uniqueness of Latin America by local Latin American intellectuals since Rodo. Aya believes that Lenin’s thesis on imperialism failed to clarify the unique historical and economic conditions of Indian America. In thinking about “Indian America” as a whole, he initially conceived the differences between Europe and Indian America. Aya recognized that imperialism is essentially an economic phenomenon that maintains itself through political systems. However, he was inspired by Einstein’s “theory of relativity” during his travels in Europe. In Lenin’s “On the basis of the argument that “imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism”, the original idea of “first stage theory” was developed. Its basic logic is that Western society developed in the order from feudalism to capitalism. However, in Indian America and other post-war countries, In developing areas, the actual situation is often a complex stacking and symbiosis of feudalism, capitalism and other forms. Therefore, for the Indian American people, modern capitalism initially appeared in the form of imperialist foreign capital. Aya believes that immigrants Or the introduction of capital is the initial stage of the modern capitalist era in Indian America. The historical and social reality of European capitalist development has not been reproduced in Latin America. He observed the differences in history and reality between Europe and Indian America, and used this to explain The uniqueness of the Latin American anti-imperialist revolution. This view was later further supported in his “Historical Time and Space” published in 1948, constituting Apraism’s unique historical philosophy - “Historical Time and Space Theory”.

From 1924 to 1929, as the Soviet Union’s economic growth slowed down, Trotsky, Stalin and Bukharin

The impact and nature of the three debates

In the view of some scholars, the blockbuster appearance at the Brussels Congress may have been the pragmatic Aya's way of making the RUPA famous. Through this ideological debate, the PURP and the Anti-Imperialist Alliance had equal influence in the Latin American anti-imperialist movement. As a result, the former was able to quickly accumulate prestige. It is worth noting that the specific situation of the Latin American branch of the Brussels Anti-Imperialist Congress in 1927 was very different in the writings of Aya, Melia and Ravines who were interested. According to Aya's Recall that when he was commissioned to draft a resolution on Latin America's anti-imperialist plan, he rejected Melia's draft on Latin America's economic and political conditions. He hoped to adopt a policy of continental unity and use the contradictions between imperialist countries to mediate an agreement. "Transitional Agreement". He accused the Third International of "left-wing infantilism" that did not know how to adapt. He emphasized that it should avoid falling into a dilemma like China, which was threatened by multiple imperialist countries at the same time. Melia complained angrily, Aya At first he refused to attend the Brussels Congress because he hoped that the conference would issue a special personal invitation to show its importance. "Out of revolutionary etiquette," the Latin American delegates asked the Comintern to help pay for the passage from London to Brussels. At the meeting, Aya forged the Cologne World Anti-Imperialism General Assembly resolution As a proposal, it was later debunked by General Secretary Louis Gibarti in the August 1927 issue of "Liberator". Melia revealed that the reason why Aya did not sign and agreed to the draft was that Apra acted as the only anti-imperialist organization in Latin America. The proposal was opposed by the participants. Lavines, then secretary of Apra's Paris branch, who later broke with Aya, wrote in "The Great Scam: The Kremlin's Penetration in Ibero-America" that Melia Because he had expressed support and appreciation for the Trotskyists, he was called a Bonapartist and petty bourgeois by Vittorio Codovilla, the Argentinian Comintern representative at the Brussels Congress. Before the conference, although Melia was included Some of Aya's opponents, including Aya, tried to prevent Aya from attending the conference, but Aya's friendship with Zinoviev, Lunacharsky and others enabled him to attend the conference smoothly, crushing Melia's attempt. Although the facts may differ, three

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The narratives filled with personal emotions all suggest that in the fight for the right to represent the American revolution, the situation in which the American Anti-Imperialist League dominates the Latin American anti-imperialist movement is facing certain threats due to Apra's invitation to attend the meeting.

From the first meeting in 1923, when the two sides became confidants, to the reunion at the Brussels Conference in 1927, they experienced conflicts over specific anti-imperialist practices. Different descriptions of the conference strive to blame the other party for the rupture within the Latin American anti-imperialist movement, while at the same time proving that in The advanced nature and purity in the revolution. The two contradictory parties strive to gain the upper hand in the struggle of political discourse. The outcome of the dispute between Melia, who has just undergone internal party scrutiny, and Aya, who is drifting away from the

Communist International, is reflected in the American People The Revolutionary League parted ways with the Comintern and the Anti-

Imperialist League. In addition to the struggle for political power, this debate in the 1820s also showed at least three levels of significance. First, it demonstrated the internal ideology of the Latin American left. Split. This "struggle" intertwined between theory and practice not only further clarified the connotation of Apraism, but also revealed the origin of the split between Latin American Marxism and Apra. Melia quoted Lenin's judgment on the world's national liberation struggles and claimed that Apra is an opportunist and a counter-revolutionary. In his elaboration of Apra's program, Aya, on the one hand, acknowledges the international, or at least continental, nature of anti-imperialism. On the other hand, in his view, The social process in Latin America cannot simply copy the European social development model. Rojas believes that this debate shows the tension between the two revolutionary models of the Russian Revolution and the Mexican Revolution in the transnational community of Latin American political exiles. yMeria inherited the Russian revolution From a revolutionary perspective, Apra is regarded as a schism in the world socialist movement. Aya also advocates the more local Mexican revolution. In addition to recognizing and inheriting Latin American political

and cultural traditions, he integrates the Russian October Revolution and revolution and the Chinese revolution. Second, combined with the global political movement situation, Melia's criticism showed the split between the Communist International and the Latin American nationalist petty bourgeoisie. At the Brussels Congress in February 1927, The conflict between the two intensified. Subsequent changes in the situation in China allowed Melia to use Aya's admiration for the Kuomintang to attack him. Affected by this, under the global anti-imperialist wave, "populism" was introduced for the first time. Latin American political discussion. It is true that "populism" itself is not the core of this debate, but we can still see the peculiarity of the "populism" in the two time periods being presented on the same subject. In contemporary Latin American populism In the study, Apra was defined as "populism" to mean "the phenomenon in which urban workers are widely mobilized and participate in politics", but its real historical context can be traced back to

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"Blackwell's Encyclopedia of Political Science" divides populism into two major categories. One is "agrarian populism", which refers to radical movements and social political doctrines that fight for the interests of farmers and small farmers. The second is "political populism", which refers to the propositions, activities and methods titled "the people". Specifically, the former is represented by the Russian Populists and the American Populist Party in the 19th century. It describes the efforts in Russian history to treat the "people", that is, farmers and workers, as the revolutionary society. The power of critical intellectuals, and the idea that a backward society like Russia can directly enter socialism. Based on the previous analysis, the "populism" that Melia denounced and the Russian populism belong to the same Leninist context. "Populism" is a trend of thought or historical phenomenon that was originally intended to criticize the utopian socialism of the American People's Revolutionary Alliance and provide proof that it is "not our kind". This is similar to the Russian populists' "go to the people" meaning. Everywhere he emphasizes the transcendence of class characteristics of intellectuals. This accusation also reflects some kind of symbolic spiritual symbol pursued by Apra. This phenomenon has already begun to emerge in the 1920s.

Third, the transatlantic debate triggered by the struggle between political practice and thought reflects the complexity of the early conception of "Apraism." This debate within the Latin American left is ostensibly a debate over the nature of Apraism. Apraism in the 1920s was actually a continental nationalism that pursued transcending a single nation-state. This does not deny the Marxist origins of its ideas, but it is just a way to clarify that Apraism is not a Latin American version of Marxism. The genealogy cannot be equated with "enemies of communism" in an either-or manner. The binary narrative of communism and non-communism obscures the subjectivity of Latin America that it emphasizes. The emergence of anti-American sentiment in Latin America actually preceded the spread of communism in the American continent. Since Bolívar, Latin American intellectuals, including José Martí in Cuba and the Uruguayan writer José Enrique Rodo, have been exploring and constructing similar "our Americas" based on history and cultural traditions, the Bolivarian-style continental union still has considerable appeal among Latin American youth. Under this cultural atmosphere, Apraism relies on "anti-imperialism" with "anti-Americanism" as its connotation. To construct a shared political and cultural identity and chart a development path that distinguishes Latin America from Europe. To a certain extent, this is Aya's growth into a

mature political activist and theorist. There have been scholars who write that in the anti-imperialist movement, the dilemma of Latin American intellectuals is often the dilemma between universalism and nationalism. This evaluation is also an appropriate

[English] David Miller, edited by Vernon Bogdanno, translated by the Institute of China Studies and others: «Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Science», Beijing: China University of Political Science and Law

Press, 1987, page 588, Liu Beicheng: « Re-evaluation of Russian Narodniks and Populism », published in "Strategy and

Management", Issue 5, 1994, pp. 21-23, Kalman Silvert, Conflict Society: Reaction and Revolution in Latin America New York: Harper Colophon

1994, pp. 21-23

Note: Due to the intensification of the political struggle, the two debated around the nature and leadership of the anti-imperialist revolution, showing the inextricability between the anti-imperialist international movement led by the Comintern and the continentalism adhered to by Adam. This contradiction does not inherently exist. Driven by ethnic, cultural and regional identities, "anti-imperialism" and "continentalism" simultaneously provide Aya with a link to political and cultural connections with Latin American youth. to fulfill his political ambitions in the 1920s. However, the paradox brought about by internationalism and intellectual migration is that although nationalism during this period became the promoter of the global dissemination of left-wing ideas, in response, Apra's continentalism However, it reveals the Latin American intellectuals' examination of the world's anti-imperialist ideological trends. Amid the changes in geographical space and international political situation, the uniqueness of "Indian America" captured by Aya in this debate provides a platform for the Latin American people. to develop an alternative anti-imperialist discourse with more local characteristics.

In the subsequent political practice, the road to national liberation advocated by both in this debate was not truly realized. In 1929, Melia was assassinated, and his ideas were briefly inherited by the Cuban Communist Party, and then Latin America The revolutionary hero Guevara admired the ideas of Peruvian Marxist Mariátegui. On the other hand, this profound debate established the theoretical basis for Apra's future development. After 1930, Apra chose to turn to Peru. It develops within a country and then promotes the political democratization of the country. However, the influence of Peruvian Apraism still transcends national borders. At the same time, the social democratic characteristics of this debate also imply that class struggle will not be a Domestic policies advocated by Pula

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