

Latin American Politics

Discussing the law of political development in Latin America from the perspective of left-right alternation —Also

discussing the occurrence and impact of two left-wing waves in Latin America in the 21st century

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**Abstract:** Since the beginning of the 21st century, Latin America has seen two cycles of left-wing governance. The cycles of left-wing and right-wing governance have alternated with each other, reflecting the historical norm of competition and alternate development between the left and the right in the political development process of Latin America. Although Latin America has There are obvious differences in the social foundation, basic ideas and policy tendencies of left-wing and right-wing forces. However, the two are neither absolute nor fixed. Their political positions, policy propositions, interest demands, social and mass foundations continue to change and change with the changes of the times. Adjustment, under certain conditions, the left and the right may even approach each other. Under the conditions of very serious social inequality and social exclusion in Latin America, even when the right is in power, the left's ideas still have great appeal, and the left will still have Important political influence. Similarly, even when the left is in power, the right still has the means to restrict the left-wing ruling party and can exert important influence on government decision-making. In an environment of multi-party competition, both the left and the right will have negative consequences for their past governance. Reflect on the experience and lessons learned, revise excessive policies, and give due consideration to the demands of the other party. In the long run, a relatively moderate and practical middle line may become the directional choice of the major political forces in Latin American countries. This article, from the perspective of left-right rotation, combines the 21st century The occurrence of two left-wing waves since then, analyzes the characteristics and laws of Latin

American political development. Keywords: left-right rotation, Latin American political development, new left-wing middle line, author introduction: Yuan Dongzhen, researcher at the Institute of Latin American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Doctoral Supervisor

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With Chavez's election as President of Venezuela in 1998 as an important symbol, Latin America entered a left-wing ruling cycle known as the "Pink Wave". This left-wing ruling cycle lasted for 17 or 18 years. In 2015, the Argentine left-wing party was in power for 12 consecutive years. As a sign of the loss of their ruling status, the Latin American political arena has seen the phenomenon of "Left retreating and Right advancing". A number of right-wing parties have come to power one after another. However, this round of right-wing ruling period has been short-lived. After 2020, left-wing parties have regained power in many Latin American countries one after another. status, the region has seen a period of left-wing governance that some scholars call the second "pink wave". Especially after the Brazilian election in October 2022, left-wing parties will appear for the first time in Latin America in Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, The six most populous Latin American countries, including Peru, are in power at the same time. The left-right alternation that has occurred since the 21st century is not only an important result of Latin American political development, but also has become the norm in Latin American political development. It is also a difficult situation in Latin American political development in the future. The trend of reversal. The left-right competition, alternate development and mutual rotation have dual impacts on the political development of Latin America. This article intends to analyze the characteristics and laws of Latin American political development from the perspective of left-right rotation, combined with the occurrence of the two left-wing waves after the 21st century.

The alternation between left and right is an important perspective for observing political development in Latin America

The content of Latin American political development is rich and colorful, so there are multiple perspectives for analyzing Latin American political development. Although the observation angles are different, the key issues of concern are different, the research content is focused, and the analytical frameworks are also different, each perspective is an important analysis of Latin American politics. The display of the development process has important academic and epistemological significance, and all have contributed to the study of Latin American politics. Domestic academic circles mainly observe issues related to the development of Latin American politics from the following perspectives.

The perspective of national democratic movements was the main perspective from which domestic academic circles observed Latin American politics before the 1990s. National democratic movements in Latin America were regarded as the mainstream of the political development process in the region. At that time, some scholars proposed that seizing the national democratic movements in Latin America as a Mainstream means grasping the essence of the problem, which can naturally lead to research on other Latin American political issues. Therefore, when studying the development process of Latin American politics, we must grasp the mainstream of Latin American national democratic movements and highlight the development and causes of Latin American capitalism. Research on the changes in relations with the United States caused by this, the Cuban revolution and its impact on the national democratic movements in Latin America, the path and development trends of the national democratic movements in Latin America, and the experiences and lessons of the communist movements in Latin America. From this research perspective, Scholars summarize the characteristics of Latin American national democratic movements as "resistance to power externally and struggle for democracy internally", and combine them with the institutional and institutional changes of Latin American countries, the struggle between democracy and dictatorship, and stability.

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Yang Baibing: «Mainstream Issues About the Post-War Latin American Political Development Process», published in «Latin American Studies», Issue 1, 1987, pp. 8-9.

The interaction with development, the evolution of development and independence, the alternation of revolution and reform, explore the main achievements of Latin American political development and national democratic movements, and explore the relationship between political and economic independence and economic nationalization in Latin American countries.

The perspective of political modernization and democratization is a common perspective used by domestic and foreign academic circles to observe the political development of Latin America. Since the late 1970s, Latin America has embarked on a democratization process in which authoritarian military regimes returned power to the people. By 1990, this process was basically completed. Since then, Latin American politics has entered a stage of democratic consolidation, and the content of political development has become richer. Domestic academic research on the political development of Latin America has gradually shifted from the emphasis on national democratic movements to the focus on political modernization and political democratization, and has begun to focus on Latin America. We use the modernization process as the background to explore the process and laws of political development in the region. Scholars have noticed that, like other countries, the modernization of Latin American countries also started with political changes. In the three modernization waves experienced by Latin American countries after independence, political changes "Governance" and "chaos" have always been core issues. The primary task of political development in Latin American countries is to provide a stable governing environment for modernization. Scholars have proposed that although Latin American countries have completed the process of returning government to the people, the task of democratization has not yet been completed. It has not yet been completed. The consolidation of democratic systems still needs to go through a long-term and repeated process. Consolidating the results of democratization is the basic task of political construction in Latin American countries.

The democratization process in Latin America and the different types and different levels of democratic systems it has produced have become Latin American politics. The central issue of analysis and dynamic research Political modernization and democratization, especially political democratization, has always been an important perspective for foreign academic circles to study and observe Latin American politics Foreign scholars' research focuses on the expansion of voter rights and the improvement of political parties and electoral systems The perspective of institutional changes such as the transition from

authoritarian rule to democracy 7. This is also a common perspective for domestic and foreign scholars to study the political development of Latin America.

As the democratization process continues to consolidate, the democratic systems of Latin American countries continue to improve. At the same time, in the post-21st century, China and Latin America In the process of cooperation to achieve leapfrog development, institutional constraints have become increasingly apparent. In this context, Chinese scholars attach great importance to studying and observing Latin American political development from the perspective of institutional change.

Scholars have noticed that the political system has become more complex after the democratization process has started. The most prominent issue in Latin American politics is the consolidation of democracy

Search: «Thoughts on Several Issues in the Post-war Latin American Political Development Process», published in «Latin American Studies», Issue 1, 1987, No. Pages 10-15. Edited by Guanda et al.: "Latin American Politics after World War II", Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1987.

Su Zhenxing, editor-in-chief: "Research on the Modernization Process of Latin American Countries", Beijing: Social Science Literature Press, 2006, pp. 330 page, page 335, page 357,

Li Mingde, editor-in-chief: "Latin America and China-Latin America Relations - Present and Future", Beijing: Current

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Beijing: Contemporary World Press, 2009 Year, page 9, [US] Written by Peter H. Smith, translated by Tan

Daoming: "On Democracy in Latin America" Nanjing: Yilin Publishing House, 2013, Steven Levitsky Jam es Sydney

Brandon Van Dyck and George I Domin guez (eds) Challenges of Party - Building in Latin Ameri ca New York: Cambridge University Press 2017 lavia Freedenber Los Sitemas de Partidos en América Latina 1978-2015 Tomo 1 y Tomo 2 UNAM icoj 2016

[US] Edited by Howard J. Wiarda and Harvey F. Klein, translated by Liu Jie and Li Yuxian: "Politics and Development in Latin America", Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 2017, Guillermo A O' Donn ellj Laurence Whiteheady and Philippe C Schmitter (eds )Transitions from A Uthoritarian Rule yyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy niversity Press

In the process of consolidation, Latin American countries have generally implemented reforms aimed at consolidating the results of democratization and improving political systems, especially reforms in constitutions, electoral systems, state institutions and judicial reforms, electoral systems and party systems, administrative and legislative systems and their interrelationships, Federal systems, government bureaucracies, etc. have become central topics in Latin American political research. In the process of democratic consolidation, the political systems of Latin American countries have become mature, complete, effective, stable and diversified. However, they still have vulnerabilities and flaws, which need to be addressed through Further reform and innovation, improve the efficiency and execution of the system, and reduce the constraints of institutional factors on national development and foreign exchanges. Institutional change is also a common perspective used by foreign academic circles to observe the political development of Latin America. Important issues of their concern include national reform issues in Latin America. Institutional defects, limitations of political and constitutional reforms, etc.

The left-right alternation has become an important perspective for academic circles to observe the political development of Latin America. Since the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, the collective rise of the Latin American left has greatly changed the regional political ecology. The pendulum effect in political development has become an important perspective for academic circles to observe the political development of Latin America. Scholars have noticed that the competition, alternate development and alternate governance between the left and right wings is an important phenomenon in the political development of Latin America, which intensifies the "pendulum" effect in political development. In addition to paying attention to the phenomenon of left-wing governance in Latin America since the turn of the century, domestic Academic circles also pay attention to the interpretation of the ideas and policy practices of left-wing ruling parties in Cuba, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, Brazil and other countries. 7 Scholars have noticed that the Latin American left is diverse, so they use the traditional left-right dichotomy based on The method of dividing center-left and center-right, as well as the concepts of center-left and center-right. 8. Foreign academic circles often adopt the perspective of left-right analysis when studying Latin American politics, paying attention to the rise of the left-wing in Latin America. Issues such as the origin and differentiation of the "pink wave" and the characteristics of the "pink wave"

Li Mingde, editor-in-chief: "Latin America and China-Latin America Relations - Present and Future", Beijing: Current Affairs Press, 2001, page 77.  
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Yuan Dongzhen: "Political Changes and the Changing Trends of the Latin American Left", published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 5, 2013, Jorge G Castañeda and Marco A Morales (eds ), Leftovers: Tales of Latin Ameri can Left Levitsky and Kenneth M Roberts (eds) The Resurgence of American Leftism Johns Hopkins University Press 2011 Lisa L North and Timothy D Clark (eds) Dominant Elites in Latin America: From Neoliberalism to the "Pink Tide" Cham Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan 2018

After 2020, the Latin American left came to power in many Latin American countries one after another, and the regional political ecology once again saw significant changes. Although the left-right analysis framework cannot show the full picture of Latin American political development, nor can it cover all the content of political development, there is still a certain gap in the left-right dichotomy. Due to some shortcomings, it is sometimes difficult to cover all political parties and political organizations in the region. However, this analytical perspective can still be basically applicable to the analysis of current Latin American political development and political ecology. In addition, it is difficult to find a completely accurate and fully applicable analytical perspective.

#### The left-right and left-wing analytical framework and its applicability to the analysis of Latin American politics

It is generally believed that the concept of left-wing and right-wing, or the political spectrum that distinguishes political parties, political organizations and political forces between left-wing and right-wing, began during the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century. At that time, the French king convened the Estates-General. Representatives of the hierarchical aristocracy sit on the right side of the king, while representatives of the third estate bourgeoisie, urban civilians, workers and farmers sit on the left side of the king. The former advocates the maintenance of church privileges and the monarchy, only requires certain reforms of the old system, and opposes the implementation of a republic. The latter believed that sovereignty lies in the people, supported the republic, and opposed the privileges of the church. At the next National Assembly, members who were in favor of revolution and those who were against revolution sat on the left and right sides of the podium respectively. This was formed accidentally during the French Revolution. Historical scenes were reflected in linguistic vocabulary, and the political concepts of left and right emerged. Since then, right or right has become synonymous with being conservative and opposing social change, while left or left has become synonymous with being radical and supporting social change. But Some scholars believe that the concepts of left and right are often mixed with emotions and are "neither accurate in a scientific sense, nor do they collectively cover all the political tendencies expressed in party programs or regime programs"

Left and right traditionally represent two opposing political attitudes or two different ideologies.

After the industrialization of Europe in the second half of the 19th century, left-wing and right-wing were used to express different attitudes towards labor interests or private capital interests. New content was added to the original political meaning of these two words. Generally speaking, left-wing Supporting the interests of labor or the working class, while the right wing supports the interests of business owners or capitalists, which makes the analytical framework of the left and right wings add new economic meanings in addition to the traditional political meaning. Some scholars believe that in developed industrial societies, due to New issues have replaced labor conflicts, which were traditionally viewed by the left

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For the convenience of narrative, this article uses the expressions of left and right. In different historical, political and cultural environments, there are different understandings of left or right, and left and right have different meanings. In the process of contemporary political development in China, left and right are often They are given special political meanings and even become sensitive political terms. Left is often given a progressive or positive character, while right is often given a reactionary or conservative character. In Latin America, left and right usually do not have such special meanings. There is no such special meaning. The connotation of praise or derogation in the Chinese context.

Editor-in-chief Deng Zhenglai: "Blackwell's Encyclopedia of Political Science" (revised edition), Beijing: China University of Political Science and Law Press, 2002 Year, page 433

The distinction between left and right has become "of little use". However, the mainstream view still believes that the distinction between left and right is still "a useful concise guide" for the choice of complex political attitudes.

Academic circles at home and abroad also mainly divide the left and the right based on political ideas and policy orientations. Generally speaking, the left attaches importance to equality, pays attention to the interest demands of the middle and lower classes, pays attention to the redistribution of social wealth and income, pays attention to disadvantaged groups, and advocates the state's economic and social development. A certain degree of macro-control. The right emphasizes individual freedom, prioritizes the pursuit of economic growth, emphasizes that social equality should not harm economic growth, advocates minimizing state intervention and regulation, and protects private rights and free trade. Although the left and the right have become political analysis important categories and frameworks, but there is no consistent identification of who is the left or the right in the academic community. Although scholars have made various explanations and explanations of the left and the right from their respective subject areas and professional backgrounds, their views are not the same, and many of them have different views. Under the circumstances, they even talk to themselves. Some people regard advocating equality and democracy or advocating freedom and privileges as the main criterion for dividing left and right. Some people mainly define left and right based on the relationship between the government and economic development. Some people regard advocating interventionism or laissez-faire as the main criterion for distinguishing left and right. The main basis for the right wing. Others believe that the pursuit of fair results or fair processes is the fundamental difference between the left and the right. Some people distinguish between the left and the right based on whether they advocate change or the degree to which they advocate change. They believe that advocating radical change or favoring revolutionary changes in society. The left is the left, while the right is the right that advocates limited reform or changing society in a conservative way. There are also people who distinguish the left and the right based on the composition of political parties or political organizations. They believe that the working class and the middle and lower social classes are the most important forces of the left, while the right Political parties are generally composed of the bourgeoisie and the upper class of society. Some people define left and right based on policy orientation. They believe that the left advocates serving the poor, while the right tends to serve the rich.

It needs to be pointed out that neither the right nor the left is fixed, but is in constant development and change, and its ideas and policy propositions are constantly being adjusted. Neither the left nor the right are absolute, but relative. As time goes by, Due to changes in domestic conditions and the external environment, since the 1970s, the left and right parties in many countries around the world have undergone significant changes in their concepts, values, and development concepts. They have even moved toward the middle position or middle position on the basis of absorbing some of the other party's ideas. Although not completely synchronized in time and space, the development and changes of the left and right in Latin America are similar to the evolution paths of the left and right in other countries in the world. Therefore, the left-right analytical framework in the international academic community can basically be applied to the analysis of Latin American countries.

The alternating development of the left and the right is the norm in the development of democratic politics in many countries around the world. The left and right compete with each other, coexist for a long time, influence each other, restrict each other, and alternately govern. This constitutes an important main line of the development of democratic politics. The political development of Latin American countries is largely dominated by the left and right. The process of mutual competition and alternate development between wings.

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ÿ Editor-in-chief Deng Zhenglai: "Blackwell's Encyclopedia of Political Science" (revised edition), Beijing: China University of Political Science and Law Press, 2002 Year, page 433

ÿ Zhou Shuzhen: «How to distinguish the left from the right», published in "Global Times", Page 6, October 29, 2004.

In Latin American countries where political forces are becoming increasingly diverse, neither the left nor the right can achieve permanent governance or permanent power. Competition between the left and the right, and rotation or alternation in power have become a common phenomenon in the political development of the region. Therefore, the rotation of left and right is still a common phenomenon in Latin America. An important perspective of politics, left and right are still effective frameworks for analyzing Latin American politics.

### The cyclical growth and interaction of three Latin American left and right wings

The cyclical growth of the left and right wings is not only the main content of the modern Latin American political process, but also the main content of the Latin American political process.

Important features of political development

(1) The formation of the three major camps of the left, middle

and right. In the decades after independence in the first half of the 19th century, the protagonists in Latin American politics were the two major political forces, liberals and conservatives. At that time, no clear-cut left and right camps had yet been formed. Generally speaking, the left, center and right camps were formed. Liberals advocate free trade, federalism and anti-clericalism, while conservatives advocate the protection of domestic industry, centralization and church power. After the mid-19th century, influenced by various political and social trends that continued to pour in from Europe, Latin America began to form a left-center-right camp or group with relatively clear boundaries.

There are two main sources of ideas and organizations for Latin American left-wing groups. One is the influence of European left-wing ideas and political organizations. Various left-wing ideological trends, including socialist ideas, were introduced to Latin America with European immigrants and found a large number of followers in the region. In the second half of the 19th century, under the promotion and influence of European left-wing political activists and socialists, a number of left-wing parties were established in Latin America, such as the Argentine Socialist Party and the Brazilian Socialist Workers Party established in 1892, and the Brazilian Socialist Workers Party established in 1898. The Socialist Party of Chile, the Socialist Party of Cuba established in 1899, etc. After the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, Latin American countries successively established communist parties. The second reason is the differentiation of traditional political forces in Latin America. The early modernization in the second half of the 19th century promoted significant changes in the social structure of Latin American countries. With the changes, traditional conservatives and liberals have differentiated, and a group of progressive and radical forces have separated from traditional political parties and become an important part of the Latin American left-wing camp. Socialist parties and communist parties, social groups and mass organizations influenced by these left-wing parties and progressive intellectual groups are the main body of Latin American left-wing forces. The Latin American left-wing is dissatisfied with the existing political and social order and advocates promoting social change and redistributing interests and power.

Facing the rise of left-wing forces, Latin American conservative forces, represented by traditional large landowners, conservative Catholic churches, and upper-level military forces, tried their best to safeguard their vested interests, adhere to traditional political positions, oppose left-wing ideas on political and social change, and gradually became the core force of the regional right-wing camp. These right-wing forces, as well as the political parties and political and social organizations based on these forces, have gradually become the right-wing group opposing the left. The right-wing forces are the leaders and beneficiaries of the traditional political economy and social order.

Protect vested interests from being impacted, try to prevent major and profound social and political changes, and oppose the revolutionary and transformative stance of the left.

Although the political forces in Latin America have formed a confrontation between the left and the right, this confrontation is not the entire political development of the region. Between the left and the right, there has always been a large-scale middle group between major political groups. The middle group is mainly composed of two forces. One is the force among the traditional conservatives and liberal parties that advocates promoting political and social change. After the 20th century, faced with the challenges of political economy and social structure, important changes. Some enlightened people in the traditional conservative and liberal parties advocate adopting a middle position that is neither left nor right. Second, a large number of newly emerged political parties and political forces holding a middle position. In the process of modernization and changes in political, economic and social structures, Latin American social democratic and Christian democratic parties, as well as various nationalist parties, are constantly emerging in the region. Although these parties have different guiding thoughts, ideologies, policy propositions, and organizational components, they all favor moderate social reform rather than radical social change. Its political stance is relatively eclectic, different from the conservatism of the traditional right wing and the radicalness of the left wing. The center camp has always been the target of the left and right wings to win over and win over, and has become an important balancing force in the development of Latin American

politics. (2) Latin American political process The cyclical alternate growth and interaction between the center-left

and the right-wing compete with each other and develop alternately, which has become an important content and main theme of the development of modern Latin American politics. Line. In the political process of Latin America for more than a hundred years, the left and the right have experienced several cycles of alternate growth.

Since the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Latin America's left-wing power has experienced its first round of rapid growth. However, compared with right-wing forces, the overall strength of the left-wing is still weak. The main sign of this round of left-wing power growth is the continuous development of the labor movement and the establishment of a large number of left-wing parties. After the 1890s, the ranks of the Latin American working class continued to grow, and the labor movement became more active. At the same time, the widespread dissemination of various left-wing and socialist ideas and the continuous development of the labor movement mutually promoted each other, and an unprecedented new situation emerged in the development of the left-wing. Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Cuba established socialist political parties. The labor movement in countries such as Mexico, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Paraguay developed to varying degrees, and socialist ideas spread to a wider extent. These countries later also established political parties with a socialist nature, such as the Socialist Workers Party of Mexico and the Socialist Party of Peru established in 1911 and 1919. However, both the spread of left-wing ideas and the influence of left-wing parties were relatively limited during this period. The main limitations were for specific social strata, the organizations of some left-wing parties are not stable enough.

In the first half of the 20th century, the Latin American left wing experienced a second development cycle, and its strength further grew, but it was still suppressed to a large extent by the right wing. The main symbol of this development cycle of the left wing was the establishment of communist parties in many countries. The October Revolution in Russia in 1917 and the establishment of the Communist International in 1919, promoting the "dialogue" between Marxism and Latin America. Many Latin American countries established communist parties one after another. In countries with relatively developed economies, strong working class ranks, good foundations for the labor movement, and greater influence of socialist ideas, such as Argentina,





Dependency theory, guerrilla warfare theory in the political field, liberation theology in the religious field, "liberation pedagogy" in the education field, "liberation philosophy" in the ideological field, etc. At the same time, left-wing anti-government guerrillas became more active, influenced by Cuba. Inspired by the victory of the revolution, Latin American left-wing forces were keen on armed struggle and launched guerrilla wars aimed at overthrowing their country's authoritarian governments. At that time, 17 of the 19 Latin American countries had anti-government guerrillas, and the total number of guerrilla groups was hundreds. But under the brutal suppression of the right-wing government, the activities of most anti-government guerrillas failed. In addition, during this period, new socialist practice explorations also appeared in Latin America. With the support of left-wing forces, Allende, leader of the Chilean Socialist Party, was elected president in 1970. The practical exploration of socialism began immediately. The practical exploration of socialism in Chile aroused strong repercussions among the Latin American left. With the anti-government armed struggles successively losing, the left-wing forces in the region gradually adopted legal parliamentary struggles as their main strategic choice. In addition to Chile, the practices of "cooperative socialism" in Guyana and "democratic socialism" in Jamaica also emerged in the 1970s. After the 1970s, the development of the Latin American left was suppressed by right-wing authoritarianism. In 1973, the Allende government was defeated by right-wing military. After the coup, left-wing political parties such as the Chilean Socialist Party and the Communist Party were banned. In the 1970s, except for a few countries such as Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Costa Rica, all right-wing authoritarian military governments appeared in Latin America. The left-wing forces suffered huge losses, and the left-wing movement in general was at a low ebb. Since the late 1970s, Latin America has begun a democratization process in which military governments returned power to the people. With the restoration of democratic political systems, left-wing parties regained their legal status and carried out public activities. The growth environment has been improved and their influence has improved. However, generally speaking, the left wing was in the process of slow recovery during this period, and the right wing still had a relative advantage in most Latin American countries. It is particularly worth pointing out that in the

early 1990s, the left wing forces in Latin America suffered another serious blow. The balance of political power has further shifted to the right. The disintegration of the Soviet Union, the drastic changes in Eastern Europe and the disappearance of the socialist camp have had a serious negative impact on the left-wing forces in Latin America. The impact on the communist parties in various countries has been particularly severe. Some Latin American communist parties have experienced organizational splits and their influence has been weakened. The number of party members has dropped significantly. For example, the number of members of the Communist Party of Uruguay has dropped from 50,000 to 70,000. The ruling Cuban Communist Party is facing unprecedented difficulties in governing due to the loss of Soviet support. The left-wing government of Nicaragua has encountered U.S. hostility and long-term siege by its own anti-government forces. The loss of power in 1990 further intensified

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ÿ [U.S.] E. Bradford Burns, [U.S.] Written by Julie Achali, translated by Wang Ningkun: «Latin America in a nutshell History—An Interpretation of the Modernization Process of Latin America», Beijing: World Book Publishing Company, 2009, p. 281.

ÿ Guanda et al., eds.: "Latin American Politics after the Second World War", Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1987, pp. Page 206ÿ

ÿ Edited by Li Chunhui, Su Zhenxing and Xu Shicheng: «History of Latin America» (Volume 3), Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1993, pp. 620-623, pp. 625-629, edited by Kang Xuetong:

ÿ «A Brief History of Contemporary Latin American Political Parties »ÿ Beijing: Contemporary World Press, 2011, page 505.

Feeling of frustration, the left-wing guerrillas in Central America have gradually fallen silent. With the left-wing forces being hit and at a low ebb, Latin American countries are generally implementing neoliberal reforms, and the left-wing forces are unable to effectively resist.

After entering the 21st century, the Latin American left has ushered in its fifth development cycle. The balance of power between the left and right in the region has begun to show a generally balanced state. From the end of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century, the Latin American left has risen as a group. In view of the neoliberal reforms in Latin America in the late 20th century, As a result, left-wing parties put forward the idea of replacing neoliberalism and exploring new development paths, winning wider social support. Left-wing parties have successively established political parties in Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Peru. With many countries taking power, a regional "pink wave" has emerged in Latin America. Marco Schwarz believes that this "pink wave" has spread to an unprecedented extent, and the political influence of the left has reached an unprecedented level. During the period when the left was in power, Latin America The conditions for the development of the socialist movement have also become more favorable. Marxism in the region has been rearmed ideologically and politically. 2. The communist parties in Brazil, Chile, Venezuela and other countries have become important participating parties, and their influence on government decision-making has increased. In 2015 Afterwards, the Latin American economy entered a downward channel, and some countries governed by the left fell into recession. Economic downturns and recessions produced serious political and social consequences. People's dissatisfaction grew, triggering successive changes in ruling parties in Latin America that "retreated from the left and advanced from the right." In 2015, there were consecutive changes in ruling parties. Argentina's left-wing party, which had been in power for 12 years, lost its ruling position. Venezuela's United Socialist Party lost its long-term control of Congress and fell into a serious governance crisis. In 2016, Brazil's left-wing president was impeached by the right-wing Congress. In the same year, Peru's left-wing government stepped down. In 2017, Ecuador's left-wing The ruling party "Sovereign Homeland" alliance almost lost its governing position. President Lenin Moreno shifted his position to the right after taking office and deviated from the established governing line. In 2018, the right-wing Jair Bolsonaro was elected as the president of Brazil. In 2019, El Salvador has been in power for ten consecutive years. The left-wing party stepped down, and in the same year the left-wing president of Bolivia resigned under pressure from the right. It should be pointed out that during this round of left-right changes, although the left lost its governing position in many Latin American countries, from a regional perspective, the balance of power between the left and right was generally balanced. The left wing is still in power in some important countries such as Venezuela. Even in countries where the right wing has gained power, the left wing still has the strength and ability to compete with the right wing. The "left retreat and the right advance" situation that began in 2015 lasted only a short time. A few years later, there was a left-wing "resurgence"

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After 2020, the pendulum of Latin American political development swung to the left again, and the left returned to power in many countries.

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Some people call it the second trend of left-wing or progressivism since the new century or a new "pink wave" [9]. In 2018, Mexico's left-wing National Renewal Movement Party came to power, giving the Latin American left wing, which was still in its ebb and flow, a radical change. Great encouragement. In 2019 and 2020, left-wing parties in Argentina and Bolivia returned to power. In 2021, left-wing parties in Peru, Chile, Nicaragua, and Honduras gained power. In 2022, Colombia's left-wing parties won the general election and came to power, changing the country for decades. The right wing has been in power for many years. In October 2022, Lula, the leader of Brazil's left-wing Labor Party, was elected president. Currently, the six most populous Latin American countries are simultaneously governed by the left. This is unprecedented in the history of the region. The population of left-wing countries exceeds that of Latin America. 85% of the total population exceeds the "pink wave" that started at the beginning of the 21st century. However, most of the newly elected left-wing ruling parties do not have a solid foundation. They are still in a state of transition and face the challenge of getting rid of the dilemma of a weak government. Many parties may find it difficult to achieve continuity or success. This round of return of the left does not mean the decline of the right, nor does it fundamentally change the general balance of left and right forces in the region.

#### 4. Characteristics of the Latin American left and right and their impact on political development

Both the left and the right in Latin America have their own characteristics. These characteristics have a significant impact on the political development of Latin America. There are obvious differences between the left and right in Latin America. These differences allow the left and right in the region to be clearly distinguished, and also make the left and right compete with each other. Alternation has become an important feature and important thread of political development. From the perspective of the history of political development in Latin America, the differences and differences between the left and the right are at least reflected in the following five aspects. (1) Different political concepts. The Latin American left advocates expanding the scope of political participation and The degree of participation, promotes mass politics, tends to populism, while the right-wing emphasizes political order, tends to elite governance and elitist lines, and has elitist preferences. (2) There is a difference between the social foundation and the mass foundation. Generally speaking, Latin America The social base of the left is mainly based on the middle and lower social classes, while the right is mainly based on the middle and upper social classes. The left usually represents relatively more demands of the middle and lower classes, advocates changing the existing order, and demands the redistribution of social rights and interests, while the right usually Represents the interests of the middle and upper classes more and advocates safeguarding

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[9] Castillo, the elected president of Peru in 2021, only received 13.36% of the votes in the first round of voting. He narrowly lost in the second round. Among the 130 seats in the parliament, his party only won 32 seats. Boric also won He was elected President of Chile in the second round of voting. He only received 25.8% of the votes in the first round of voting. His "Pro-Dignity" coalition only won 37 and 4 seats out of 155 and 43 seats in the House of Representatives and Senate respectively. Honduras' left-wing ruling party only holds 50 seats in the 128-seat parliament.

Traditional privileges and vested interests oppose drastic social changes and favor moderate social reforms. (3) Different ideological orientations. The Latin American left is sympathetic to socialist ideas and even agrees with socialist policies and ideas, while the right is resistant to socialist ideas and is hostile to them. They even publicly oppose socialist policies and ideas. (4) The orientations of economic and social policies are different. The Latin American left favors a certain degree of state intervention in the economy, while the right favors a laissez-faire market economy. In the relationship between economic growth and social development On the issue, the left prefers fairness over efficiency, while the right prefers efficiency over fairness. (5) There are differences in foreign policy priorities. The Latin American left has a stronger sense of independence and anti-hegemony, and is more inclined to inward-looking development. Some left-wing Questioning or even criticizing globalization, the right-wing is more inclined to outward-oriented development and supports globalization. In terms of its relationship with the United States, the left-wing has a certain degree of "de-Americanization" tendency, and is especially opposed to U.S. intervention in Latin American affairs. The right-wing has an obvious "de-Americanization" tendency. "Americanization" preferences usually adopt more pro-American policies. Due to the significant differences between the left and right wings, the phenomenon of left-right coexistence and competition in Latin American political development is obvious. The resulting pendulum effect has also become a distinctive feature of Latin American political development.

Both the left and the right in Latin America are relativistic. The existence of this relativity and its external manifestations have greatly enriched the content of Latin American political development. As mentioned above, when there are obvious differences between the left and right in Latin America, people have different opinions on the left and right. There is a relatively large consensus in terms of wing identity. For example, most scholars or observers agree on the government of Chavez and Maduro in Venezuela, the Cuban government, the Correa government in Ecuador, and Bolivia. There is no objection to the left-wing nature of the Morales government and the FSLN government in Nicaragua, and there is no objection to the right-wing nature of the Fox and Calderon governments in Mexico, the Uribe and Santos governments in Colombia, and the Ñez interim government in Bolivia. However, the Latin American left and right The boundaries between wings are not very clear in all cases. Sometimes they are blurred. The left-right dichotomy cannot clearly define all political parties and political forces. Sometimes there are even differences. After entering the 21st century, with the A number of parties with center-left characteristics are in power in Latin America, and the boundaries between left and right have become more blurred. It seems that there is no recognized unified standard for which parties are left-wing or right-wing. For example, Areano brought the Fernandez government of Dominica (2004- 2012), Panama's Torrijos government (2004-2009) and Cortizo government (2019-) are regarded as left-wing governments. Schwartz regarded Haiti's Préal government (1996-2001) and Aristide's government (2001-2004), Peru's Garcia government

The government (2006-2011) is also regarded as a left-wing government. However, many scholars do not agree with the left-wing attributes of the above-mentioned governments. In view of the fact that there is no clear or clear boundary between the left and the right in some Latin American countries, the left-right dichotomy is used to define the left-wing government. When regional political parties and governments encounter technical difficulties, in addition to the terminology of "left" and "right", academic circles often use more vague concepts such as "center-left" and "center-right". The relative characteristics of the left and the right and their relationship The presentation in political practice has enriched the content of Latin American political development to a great extent.

Neither the left nor the right in Latin America is fixed, but shows obvious variability. This variability increases the complexity of political development. Regardless of the left or the right in Latin America, their political positions, policy propositions, interest demands, social and The mass base will change and adjust with the changes of the times. Under certain conditions, the left and right wings may even transform into each other. The same political party, which has left-wing characteristics in a certain period, may have right-wing attributes under new historical conditions. Peru AI The Pula Party was once a radical left-wing party and was considered the first populist party in Latin America. It once advocated the use of armed struggle to promote the national transformation process. It implemented policies with populist characteristics during its power in the second half of the 1980s. However, After entering the 21st century, the party has obviously transformed into a "center-right" party, and its economic and social policy propositions have been severely criticized by the country's traditional left-wing forces. Similarly, under certain historical conditions, traditional right-wing parties may also evolve into Center-left party. The Chilean Christian Democratic Party is traditionally considered a right-wing or center-right party. Since the country achieved democratization in the 1990s, the party has gradually shed its tradition and identity as a right-wing party and has been the main member of the center-left governing coalition. members, and have long been in power in coalition with left-wing parties such as the Socialist Party. In addition, the alliance between the left and the right, as well as the

frequent severing of the relationship between the ruler and the ruling party, have also added new factors to the development of Latin American politics. In the general elections of Latin American countries, it is often possible to We have seen the phenomenon of left-wing and right-wing parties forming an alliance to run for elections and then govern together after winning the election. The same politician who was a right-wing candidate in the last election may become a candidate of a left-wing party in the next election. Candidates recommended by some political parties win the election. It is not uncommon for people to decouple from their own political parties after elections or after taking office. The current president of Guatemala, Alejandro Giammattei, founded the "Kadima Party" in 2017 and was elected as the party's candidate in 2019. President, but in January 2020 On the day of his inauguration in March, he announced his resignation from the party, claiming that he would "transcend party interests and better serve the people." Bolsonaro was elected president in 2018 as a candidate of the Brazilian Social Liberal Party. In November 2019, he announced his withdrawal from the party and attempted to establish a new party. Ecuador's "Sovereign Homeland" in 2017

Li Han, Yuan Dongzhen: "The pendulum effect of Latin American political development and the characteristics of the new left-wing wave", published in "Foreign Theoretical Trends" Issue 3, 2022

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After the alliance candidate Moreno was elected president and came to power, he deviated from the established line of the "Sovereign Motherland" alliance. Moreno was expelled from the party in 2021. It is also the first time in the history of world political parties that a ruling party expelled its party chairman and president from the party. Rarely. The above phenomenon occurs frequently, adding new factors to the political development of Latin America and increasing the difficulty of dividing Latin American political parties and governments using the left-right dichotomy.

The phenomenon of alternation between the five left and right reflects the law of political development in Latin America

Left-right competition and alternating development are important political phenomena in Latin America and an important result of its political development. They will remain the "normal" for political development in the region in the future. The political cycle of left-right alternation does not occur in isolation, but is closely related to the economic and social development of Latin America. There is an inherent correlation with the development cycle of Latin America. The cyclical alternation of left and right has a dual impact on the political development of Latin America. In the long run, the middle path represented by the "Third Way" may become the direction of the main political forces in Latin American countries. Select

The competition between left and right, alternating development and alternation in power are important results of the political development of Latin America. They are not entirely a "negative asset" of political development. Throughout the history of Latin American political development, we can find that in order to compete for power and influence, left-wing and left-wing parties in many Latin American countries have There have been fierce confrontations between the right wing and the right wing for a long time in the past. The left wing in some countries has launched long-term armed struggles against right-wing authoritarian regimes. The right-wing regime has used violent means to suppress and suppress the left wing, resulting in many countries being mired in long-term turmoil and social conflicts. As the situation intensified, social conflicts occurred frequently. Since neither the left nor the right could completely defeat the other through violent means or means, both sides continued to adhere to their respective basic positions, core interests and main demands, and gradually recognized the rights, interests and demands of the other side, and In the end, consensus was reached on major issues such as the country's fundamental system through consultation and compromise, and we accepted coexistence within the framework of the existing system and legal system. We competed for dominance in the country's political and social life through various types of elections held regularly. In multi-party competition, In this environment, the right-wing elite group will not easily accept the left-wing being in power indefinitely, and the left-wing cannot tolerate the right-wing staying in power for a long time. Neither the left-wing nor the right-wing parties can break through the constraints of the existing system and ensure that they can compete in multi-party competition. Under long-term governance, alternating governance has become an acceptable option for both parties and even centrist parties. Latin American countries are deeply influenced by European and American politics. With the consolidation and deepening of the democratization process, concepts such as representative system, multi-party system, democratic elections, and party rotation have Deep-rooted, most voters are also willing to accept the major political parties taking turns or alternating in power.

The political cycle of left-right alternation in Latin America is not isolated, but is integrated with the economic and social development cycle.

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The current correlation is a concentrated expression of economic and social development in the political field. Judging from the situation in Latin American countries, left-right alternation often occurs in periods of major economic and social changes or crises. On the surface, left-right alternation is a political phenomenon. It is the result and manifestation of left-right competition. However, the left-right alternation is not only a political phenomenon, but also an important economic and social phenomenon. It is an important result of economic and social development. The left-right alternation in Latin American countries usually occurs during economic downturns and social changes. It is a period when the crisis intensifies, public dissatisfaction intensifies, and reforms are difficult to advance. Take the situation since the 21st century as an example. At the turn of the century, Latin America's neoliberal economic reforms were in trouble, and calls for change increased. In many Latin American countries, the left wing replaced the right wing and came to power. came to power and started a regional "pink wave". After 2014, the "golden decade" of economic growth in Latin America ended. The reform and development of many left-wing countries were in trouble. People's dissatisfaction with the left-wing ruling party grew, leading to a group of right-wingers. The political parties returned to power, triggering a "left retreat and right advance" in Latin American politics. However, the right-wing failed to reverse the economic downward trend after taking power. Moreover, due to the adverse impact of the COVID-19 epidemic and the world economic situation, the Latin American economy has experienced a recession, and the lagging effects of the recession have continued to ferment. As a result, the unemployment rate remains high, the poverty rate rises, inequality intensifies, and social unrest intensifies. All walks of life in Latin America once again hope to reverse the economic and social difficulties by changing the ruling party. Since 2020, there has been a new round of left-wing governance in Latin America. Latin America's Experience shows that, although there will be a certain lag, the political cycle of alternation between left and right has a close internal correlation with the economic and social development cycle.

The competition, coexistence, alternate development and mutual replacement of the left and right wings is an important thread in the political development of Latin America, and will remain the "normal" of its political development. As mentioned above, the social foundation, basic ideas and policies of the left and right parties in Latin America There are obvious differences in the opinions. Both the left and right wings have their own relatively stable support groups. The left wing has more supporters in the middle and lower social classes, while the right wing has greater influence in the middle and upper classes. Overall, after long-term games and struggles, The balance of power between the left and the right has gradually transitioned from "the left is weak and the right is strong" at the beginning to a state of equal strength or roughly balanced. At this stage, the coming to power of the Latin American left does not mean the disappearance of the influence of the right. The right has various means to suppress the left-wing ruling party. Constraints. Similarly, the right wing in power does not mean that the left wing does nothing. The left wing also has many ways to deal with and counterattack the right wing. In Latin America, where social inequality is very serious, the left wing's ideas have strong appeal and naturally have important political influence. Since most Latin American countries have not carried out profound social changes, the influence of right-wing elitism is still deeply rooted. It is foreseeable that left-right competition, rotation or alternation of power will remain an important "normal" in the development of Latin American politics in the future.

The alternation of left and right wings has a dual impact on Latin American political development. In the long run, the middle line may become the future direction of Latin American political development. On the one hand, left-right competition will intensify party struggle. As many scholars have said, left-right competition will The frequent turnover of ruling parties will increase the instability and incoherence of policies in Latin American countries, making it difficult for the sustainable development of politics, economy and society.



Avoid the negative effects. On the other hand, the coexistence and competition of left and right have also become an important regulator of political stability to a certain extent, which is objectively conducive to promoting Latin American countries to adopt a more pragmatic and moderate development route. In an environment of coexistence and competition of left and right, After both left-wing and right-wing political parties step down, they will try to come back to power through general elections. They will also learn lessons from their past governance experiences, revise excessive policies, seek a more feasible, pragmatic, and moderate line, and win over the general public to the greatest extent. Around 2014, then-Colombian President Santos stated many times that in Latin America, where the left and right are severely opposed, the "third way" would be a feasible option. He claimed that the third way should be based on the left-right dichotomy in Latin America. The political, economic and social model of the Three Roads has found a foothold. The ideas of the Third Road are somewhat representative in Latin America and reflect the new trend of political development in the region to a certain extent. In fact, the people who came to power after 2020 Many left-wing parties are not traditional left-wing parties, but new left-wing parties that hold a center position. Some right-wing parties that are still in power (such as the National Party of Uruguay, the Red Party of Paraguay, etc.) no longer adhere to traditional conservative and elitist positions, but Showing a certain tendency to center. In the long run, in order to resolve the negative consequences of left-right opposition and frequent left-right rotations, the middle path represented by the "Third Way" may become more and more major political forces in Latin America. the party

Tropical selection

(Editor-in-charge Wang Shuai)

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