

Research Topics on Resources and Development

Resource Exploitation and Interregional Conflict: A Case Study of the Protests in Bolivia's Eastern Provinces

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Abstract: Bolivia is a resource-abundant country that is highly dependent on the export of natural resources. Issues surrounding the privatization of resources and the distribution of resource rents have always been core issues in the country's political arena. Since the second half of the 20th century, Bolivia's eastern provinces The struggle with the central government over the distribution of oil and gas resource rents is becoming increasingly fierce. After entering the 21st century, under the dominance of neoliberal policies, the severe consequences of the country's economic model characterized by resource exports and privatization have aroused public concern. The country was strongly dissatisfied, and a large-scale mass movement broke out. The awareness of the rights and interests of the indigenous residents continued to rise during the struggle, and the original vested interests also had a strong backlash. The elites of the eastern provinces of Bolivia used the excuse of defending the basic economic rights and interests of the region and striving for autonomy. The conflict with the central government constantly shapes the opposition between "self" and "other", and its discursive construction deepens the collective identity centered on geography. During the Morales administration, the conflicts between the central and local governments caused by natural gas exploitation continued to deepen. Seriously threatened the political stability of the country, and eventually evolved into a violent coup that forced him to step down. This article takes the "relative deprivation" caused by resource extraction as a perspective, and uses constructivism theory to conduct a historical review of the conflicts between the eastern provinces of Bolivia and the central government.

ÿ Analyze the causes and mechanisms of changes in the country's political situation since the 21st century.

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Latin America is one of the regions with the most outstanding natural resource endowments in the world. Abundant energy and mineral resources have provided important material support for the economic development of countries in the region. However, for a long time, Latin American countries have struggled to achieve sustained and stable economic growth. Their natural resource endowments It is negatively correlated with economic growth. The growth paradox caused by this natural resource advantage is called the "resource curse" by British economist Richard M Auty. As for its formation mechanism, In terms of At the political level, it is manifested in two levels: rent-seeking and corruption by bureaucracies, and power struggles among interest groups. After entering the 21st century, as commodities enter the "super cycle", resource rents contribute more and more to regional macroeconomics. Significant, but it was accompanied by an escalation of conflicts between the central government and resource producing areas. The left-wing leaders who came to power during the "Pink Wave" held high the banner of nationalism and strengthened the state's control over resources. This move promoted the national revenue The concept of resource nationalism believes that natural resources are the property of the country, not the property of companies or individuals who own surface areas, and should be used to benefit the entire country rather than individuals. But at the same time, in view of the strong resource rent, Availability and its role in ensuring a stable ruling position. The huge profits brought by resource extraction induce different political and economic interest groups to compete for control of resources. Among them, the indigenous tribes and minority groups living in resource producing areas have strong rights to resources. Demands have become a major challenge to resource policies in today's Latin American countries. Poor people and indigenous groups, who have recently been included in the political participation process, hope to distribute private products in the name of justice and national development. They claim that they, not the state, own the rights to underground resources. This triggered a large-scale indigenous movement and even conflicts between central regions. In the discussion of this issue, the case of Bolivia is somewhat representative.

As a resource-rich country that is highly dependent on the export of mineral resources, Bolivia's modern history revolves around the plunder of the country's resources by Western colonists and multinational corporations and the struggle of the Bolivian people to defend state-owned assets. This is specifically reflected in the transition between privatization and nationalization of resource policies. At the beginning of the 21st century, due to the fierce opposition of the indigenous poor to the policy of resource privatization and the construction of natural gas pipelines through Chile, under the large-scale social movement, the first indigenous president in the country's history, the Movement for Socialism Party (Movement for Socialism) Evo Morales, leader of Movimiento al Socialismo) came to power. Morales implemented a series of resource nationalist policies, directing resource rents to middle- and lower-class indigenous residents through redistribution policies, triggering a crisis in the natural gas-rich eastern region. There was strong dissatisfaction among the provincial elites, who denounced this move as "internal colonialism." The long-standing anti-central government struggle in the eastern provinces continued to intensify during the Morales administration, and was finally resolved in 2019 due to electoral fraud.

Lu Siheng: «Research on the "Resource Curse" Proposition and Its Institutional Transmission Mechanism», published in «Academic Exploration», Issue 8, 2017, No. 85 - 87

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The controversial coup forced Morales to end his 14-year rule. It was not until Luis Arce, the candidate of the Movement for Socialism party and former economy minister, was elected president in 2020 that the country returned to normal political track.

The political turmoil in Bolivia reflects the central-territory contradiction that plagues many resource-rich countries. Behind it is the irreconcilable difference between anti-neoliberal resource nationalism and the politically awakened indigenous people's struggle for territorial self-determination that many Latin American countries face. Why is it difficult to resolve conflicts between the central government of resource exporting countries and resource producing areas? What constitutes the mechanism for the escalation and outbreak of conflicts between central and local areas? This article combs the history of central and local conflicts in Bolivia and combines it with the "relative deprivation" caused by resource extraction. and constructivist theory, analyze the reasons for the conflict between the eastern provinces of Bolivia and the central government and the reasons why the conflict between the mechanisms is difficult to reconcile, and reveal the most important contradiction in the country's contemporary social and political development.

A literature review

At present, academic circles at home and abroad have made considerable research results on regional conflicts and central-local relations caused by oil and gas resource exploitation. The reasons for the outbreak of central-local conflicts in countries with abundant resources can be divided into three types: the grudge hypothesis, the greed hypothesis and the weak state hypothesis. Explanatory path. As far as Bolivia is concerned, many scholars have analyzed the adjustment of the country's political and economic policies and the causes and development of social movements at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, especially before and after Morales came to power. Among them, domestic scholars mostly focus on fighting for social movements. Focusing on the Bolivian Movement Party or the Morales government, they focus on studying the implementation of Bolivia's political and economic policies and the causes and development of the Indian Movement. There are few studies on the anti-central struggle and central-local relations in the eastern provinces of the country. Foreign scholars have studied the Bolivian central government The research on local relations is more in-depth and the perspectives are more diverse, which can be roughly divided into three aspects: from the perspective of central-local power relations, from the perspective of social mobilization based on identity politics, and from the perspective of the role of regional elites, that is, their organizational mobilization capabilities. This article will sort out the relevant

literature and propose theoretical hypotheses and

analytical models about central-regional conflicts in Bolivia. (1) Explanation of central-regional resource conflicts. Since World War II, conflicts between central and central regions over resources have become more and more serious. The more frequent and escalating the intensity. Some scholars believe that high-value resources such as oil and minerals are often unevenly distributed within countries. When their distribution happens to coincide with racial, religious or other divisions between groups, actual or Perceived inequalities, so-called horizontal inequalities, thus create potential grounds for dissatisfaction. Many resource-rich countries are beset by separatist movements, which pursue radical methods to reduce (or exacerbate)

Horizontal inequality. Regarding the reasons for the contradiction between the central and local governments with abundant resources, there are three explanation paths, namely the grievance hypothesis based on political repression and inequality, the greed hypothesis based on

economic rationality, and the weak state hypothesis based on national capabilities. Grudges Starting from the perspective of difference, injustice and hatred, the theory believes that the "relative deprivation" caused by political and economic inequality will promote political mobilization and lead to violent conflicts. In early literature, scholars believed that unfairness at the individual level is what prompts violence. The main reason why people rebel, Ted Robert Gurr pointed out that people go to rebellion through "frustration-aggression) mechanism, if social changes make society's value capabilities unable to meet people's value expectations, People will have a sense of relative deprivation. The stronger the sense of relative deprivation, the greater the possibility and destructiveness of rebellion. In real conflicts of interests, resource development will lead to subjective inequality in land acquisition, environmental degradation and oil revenue distribution. The development of resources will increase the benefits of conflict, and the ethnic grievances behind historical events will be activated. In other words, the externalities of

resource development will create new resentments and intensify struggles. Scholars who adhere to the economic rationality theory believe that grievances caused by injustice are not The main reason for the outbreak of conflict is that rebellion needs to be based on certain economic motives, that is, greed. Opportunity of rebellion is a necessary condition for action. Collier and Hoeffler (Co.) and Hoeffler) proposed natural resources as independent variables There are two ways to cause civil strife: one is motivation. The huge profits brought by resources make greedy people eager to overthrow the state power, occupy resources and use them to stabilize their own positions. The other is opportunity-driven. Rich resources It can provide "opportunities" for rebels. Resource rents can be used to purchase weapons and expand armed personnel. Rebels will conduct a rational analysis on whether the resource benefits are greater than the cost of rebellion. Like the rebels, the government also has great demand for natural resources. When a country is extremely resource-rich, government revenue will also soar, and these revenues will be converted into the ability to fight rebels. Collier and Sebanese summarized the economic-driven theory and regarded rebellion as plundering (Looting) is an industry that generates profits. In this framework, rebels are driven by greed,

Michael L Ross tad "Horizontal Inequality the Distribution of Natural Resources and High-Value Natural Resources Conflict Peacebuilding London: Routeledge 2011 Ted Robert Gurr Why Men Rebel eton University Press 1970, p 30 Xiong Yihan, Tang Shiping: «Ethnic geographical distribution of oil and the escalation of ethnic conflicts», published in «World Economy and Politics», 201 5 years No. 10, No. 85 P a g e dence of Civil War in Africa" Vol 1 2002 1 1 2002 Col "Greed n Civil War" in Oxford Economic Papers Vol 56 Issue 4 2004 p 564

From the perspective of resource benefit distribution, Cui Guitian and others believe that due to uneven resource distribution There are huge differences in average and regional development. In addition, Morales' resource nationalization policy has touched the economic foundation of the eastern region, leading to the emergence of separatist movements in some wealthy provinces. They demand independent legislative power and complete autonomy in energy tax sharing. Shen Yueping started from the different views of the central and local governments on the issue of "autonomy" and pointed out that a major challenge in the construction of "community socialism" is that political opposition between "communities" cannot be easily overcome. Local opposition demands include independent legislation The central government emphasizes that regional autonomy must be based on ensuring national unity and opposes separatism in the name of autonomy. Xu Shicheng starts from the perspective of ethnic relations and believes that in 2008, due to the autonomy of the eastern provinces, The essence of the conflict caused by the referendum is the conflict of interest between the left-wing camp of Indians, represented by the president, who constitutes the majority of the population, and the right-wing camp composed of whites and Indo-European mixed-race people. These discussions have different angles, and most of them regard the contradictions in central Bolivia as Because of class/ethnic conflicts caused by differences in interests or different ethnic compositions, it ignores the mobilization of identity based on region and the role of resource conflicts in shaping regional

identity. Foreign scholars' research on central-regional relations in Bolivia is more medium and micro, and the research perspective is It can be mainly divided into three aspects. The first view takes the power relationship between the central and local governments as the perspective and believes that the cause of the conflict is the competition for local political and economic power between local authorities and the central government. Denise Humphrey Bebbington et al. pointed out that before 2005, Bolivia's regional authorities were seen as stronger and more cohesive actors, negotiating with a weaker central government. After the promulgation of the new constitution in 2009 and the status of the Movement for Socialism party was re-established through a referendum, The central power has been significantly consolidated, which is the main cause of dissatisfaction in the eastern provinces. The second view focuses on mobilization based on identity politics. Research by Annegret Mahler and others found that there are natural gas reserves in Bolivia In provinces, the proportion of indigenous population has a significant role in promoting conflicts, which proves th

Cui Guitian, Jiang Rui, etc.: «Socialism and Left-Wing Social Movements in Latin America», Jinan: Shandong People's Publishing House, 2013, page 309, Literature: «Characteristics and Analysis of Bolivia's Development Policies since Morales came to power» Published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 5, 2016, Pages 34-35.

Shen Yueping: «Commentary on Morales' "Community Socialism"», published in «Marxist Studies», Issue 10, 2011, No. 125 pages

Xu Shicheng: "Ethnic Relations and Ethnic Policies in Bolivia", published in "World Ethnics", Issue 6, 2012, Pages 21-22.

Denise Humphreys Bebbington and Celina Grisi Huber "Political Settlements in Bolivia" in [Development Research Center \(Manchery\) ESID Working Paper No 77 June 13 2017 pp 25-32](#)

The existence of ethnic minorities increases local people's recognition of ethnic identity, thereby increasing the risk of potential conflicts. Anaïd Flesken (1) examined the impact of the liberation of marginalized groups on historically privileged groups and believed that eastern Bolivia The elite's discursive construction establishes a concept of regional groups. This localism is paralleled by an enhanced sense of identification with the province, and a consensus on collective identity can be reached in a relatively short period of time. The third view emphasizes regional organizations and The mobilization ability of local elites. Alberto Vergara (Alberto Vergara) pointed out that certain conditions are needed for regional dissatisfaction to turn into a separatist movement, including strong regional political elites, access to economic resources and foreign trade, and cooperation with the state. The city with the most intense competition for the capital, these all apply to the autonomous movement in the eastern region of Bolivia centered on Santa Cruz.

ÿKent Eaton calls the autonomous movement in the eastern provinces of Bolivia and the western Ecuadorian province of Guayas The "conservative autonomy movement" (conservative autonomy movement) aims to defend market-oriented policies in a context where neoliberalism is being questioned. He emphasized that ÿ The factors responsible for the realization of regional autonomy movements in both countries include business groups, civil society organizations and regional The government's support for the autonomy movement. It can be seen that most academic research on the central-

regional conflicts in Bolivia focuses on disagreements and identity mobilization around resource extraction. The economic interest disputes caused by natural gas extraction are indeed an important reason for the central-regional conflicts in Bolivia. However, its mobilization mechanism involves many aspects. The explanation of this phenomenon needs to be considered in the dynamic evolution of central-local relations in a larger scope under the historical dimension. This article focuses on the relationship between the geographical distribution of oil and gas resource groups and the central-local conflict. The causal mechanism is used to analyze the contemporary central-regional conflicts in Bolivia. The core issue of the resource struggle in central and central Bolivia is the power struggle. When any external force affects the control of resources by the eastern elite, this type of event contributes to the root cause of local dissatisfaction. The divergence of interests surrounding natural gas rents is the trigger of the conflict. Driven by the grievances left over from history, the construction of an identity based on the region that opposes the "self" to the "other" targeted at the highland indigenous people is its

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Two theoretical assumptions

This article mainly uses the concept of "relative deprivation" and constructivism theory to study Bolivia's central-regional contradictions. Tedderger pointed out that changes in social structure such as social changes, political crises, and economic transitions have played a very critical role in people's collective actions. He focused his research on the political protests of "at-risk minorities" and proposed two definition criteria. First, the group must collectively suffer or benefit from systematic discriminatory treatment. Second, the group must collectively suffer or benefit from systematic discriminatory treatment. Groups are the focus of political mobilization to defend or promote their "self-defined interests." Its research samples include those subordinate groups and dominant but still minority groups. These groups include ethnic minorities, ethnic groups, Nationalists, indigenous groups, inter-community rivals, and armed factions. Geer's analysis shows that higher levels of protest are found in community groups facing certain economic disadvantages. In addition, certain political and cultural factors are responsible for non-violent political protest. Important determinants include the historical loss of group autonomy and strong group identity. By including political variables, Geer makes a more general statement, namely, "the effectiveness of nonviolent community activism in long-established democracies." is very high, and the democratization process provides opportunities to stimulate community groups to mobilize for protest."

Sociologist Manuel Castells said that the emergence of a large number of collective identities to protect their own cultural uniqueness has become a challenge to globalization. In the case of Bolivia, it is reflected in the regional collective identity versus unity. The challenge of the country. Identity is not an inherent quality of people. No one is born with an identity. The formation and maintenance of identity are both a social construction. Through "identity" (identification) and "differentiation" (different) ation) Dual process establishment, this process Through both internal and external levels, "identity" is an internal process of identity construction, constructed by factors of the same society. These factors include collective memory, tradition and common institutions. And differentiation is an external process of identity construction, because "we" is constructed relative to "the other", it defines the "other", not "us". Identification and differentiation are processes that are established and changed at every historical moment.

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ÿ [English] Written by Todd Landman and Edzia Carvalho, translated by Wang Weihua: "Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics", Shanghai: Shanghai People's

ÿ Publishing House, 2021, pp. 183-184, Maunel Castell y y yyyyyyyyyyyyyyy yyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy tura Vol yy: El Poder de la yyyyyyyyyy yyyyyy: yyyyy yyy yyyyy y yy

Chinese scholars Tang Shiping and Xiong Yihan conducted more detailed research, focusing on the relationship between the geographical distribution of oil and ethnic conflicts. The research found that if large oil fields are located in areas controlled by ethnic minorities, it will intensify ethnic conflicts. If the two parties already have a feud, then the central government will have stricter control over resources to prevent minority groups from taking the opportunity to seek greater independence. In the process of oil extraction, the introduction of skilled workers from other places will lead to the problem of "internal colonization" of areas inhabited by minority groups by the majority group. Minority groups will be dissatisfied with the central government controlled by other ethnic groups, because it deprives minority groups of ownership of resources within their territories. The influx of immigrants from other ethnic groups and occupying high-paying positions has widened the income gap between minority groups and majority groups (Whether it is de facto or subjective "enlargement"), this creates a "relative deprivation" among minority groups, causing ethnic conflicts to break out or escalate. Although the two scholars use domestic armed conflicts as their research perspective, this mobilization mechanism has a negative impact on the same applies to nonviolent political dissent.

Why has the central-regional conflict in Bolivia intensified and become the dominant factor in political unrest in the 21st century? What role does oil and gas resource extraction play in the country's political process? This article believes that the essence of the problem is that Bolivia was founded on mining and has never been able to get rid of primary products. The economic model of export, surrounding the issue of natural gas rent distribution, has further intensified the historical central-local contradictions, and the regional collective identity of the eastern provinces has been further consolidated in the process of resistance. Bolivia's main export minerals ranged from silver during the colonial period to the early 20th century. The tin mining areas are all located in the western Andes Plateau. After the 1970s and 1980s, traditional mineral export revenue continued to decline. Natural gas became Bolivia's most valuable natural commodity, replacing the historical positions of silver and tin. The country's natural gas resources are mainly located in several eastern provinces, such as Tarija and Santa Cruz. Since minority groups generally settle in geographical clusters, resource extraction in specific areas often coincides with a homogeneous population that shares a group identity. High-value resources The existence of the state enables people to develop identities on the basis of ethnic-territorial basis, and increases the possibility of conflict around the distribution of resource rents. In this process, with the improvement of the democratization process, the public awareness of political participation and the mobilization level of elite organizations, the central government has The intensity of local conflicts has also intensified. Once regional identity is formed, it will prompt local people to regard the central government as the "other" and carry out anti-central protests or other social movements, causing central-local conflicts to reach an irreconcilable point. By sorting out the history of central-local relations in Bolivia, the author drew a diagram of the causes and mechanisms of the conflict (see Figure 1).

Xiong Yihan, Tang Shiping: "Ethnic geographical distribution of oil and the escalation of ethnic conflicts", published in "World Economy and Politics", 2015 Issue 10, pages 86-89.

Editor-in-chief Zeng Zhaoyao: «Bolivia», Beijing: Social Sciences Literature Press, 2017, page 198

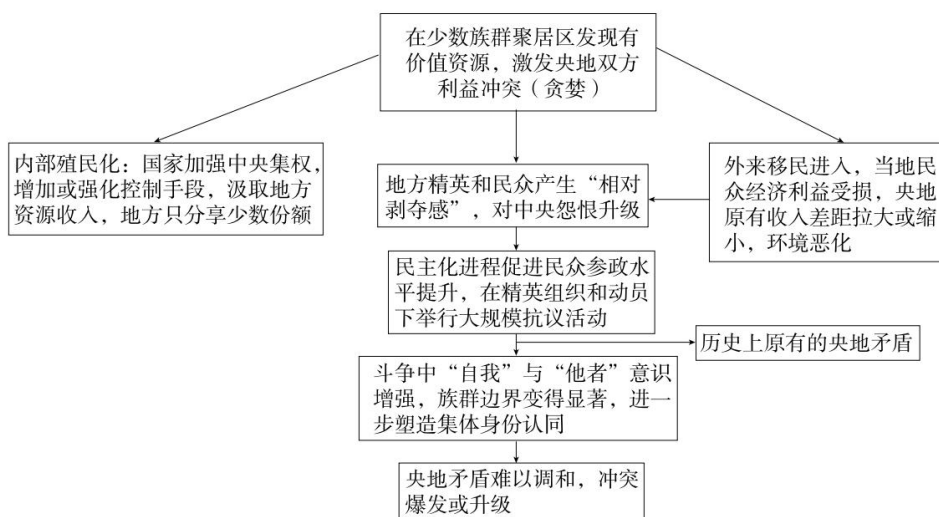


Figure 1 Geographic distribution of ethnic groups and central-regional conflicts of high-value natural resources: causes and mechanisms

Source: Self-made by the authority

The Four Stages of the Conflict in Central Bolivia

Bolivia is a landlocked country located in the center of South America. Its territory can be divided into two parts: the western highlands and the eastern lowlands. The western Andes mountainous area accounts for 28% of the land area and is rich in silver ore and other minerals. To the east of the Andes is the Amazon. The alluvial plains of Bolivia account for about 2/3 of the country's land, and are interspersed with vast forests and swamps, making the land fertile. The population of Bolivia is dominated by Indians, followed by Indo-European mixed race people, and there are also a very small number of whites and African Bolivians. 60% of people and some other Asian immigrants. 2. The country's indigenous are divided into 36 ethnic groups. The ethnic groups in the west are mainly Aymara, Quechua and Uruchipaya. The first two account for 50% of Bolivia's population. More than 85% of the total Indian population. The population in the east is mainly composed of Spanish whites and their mixed descendants with the Guarani people. The indigenous Indian population in this area is sparse, and economic and political power has long been in the hands of large landowners.

Bolivia is known as an Andean country. The geographical distribution of resources and ethnic groups has posed complex challenges to the country's political and economic development and ethnic integration. The differences in regional development levels have deepened internal conflicts.

Li Chunhui: «History of Latin America» (Volume 2), Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1983, page 687, Gao Na, Laura

Crespo Peña and a. Li Jianfeng: «Looking at the Presidential Election from the Current Situation of the Indian Nation in Bolivia», ed. «Country and Regional Studies», Issue 3, 2019, Page 146.

(3) Strengthening the organizational capabilities of local elites in large-scale mass movements: democratization until the Movement for Socialist Party came to power in 2005

Under the impact of the third wave of democratization, Bolivia entered a period of so-called political democratization and neoliberal economic reform after the 1980s. Indians became increasingly active in the country's political arena, setting off an upsurge of social movements. At the beginning of the 21st century, a series of problems brought about by the privatization policy of water resources and natural gas formed dissent in the country and triggered internal divisions: On the one hand, Indians were highly dissatisfied with this, which inspired them to defend economic rights such as land and natural resources, and the motivation to fight for political rights, and pushed the Movement for Socialism party to power. On the other hand, the eastern provinces, which benefited from the neoliberal system, believed that the Indian movement had affected productivity and export development, and demanded regional autonomy. In an extremely polarized background Next, the "Camba National Autonomous Movement" was born. The organization's discourse construction was based on the confrontation and estrangement between central and local governments in Bolivia's history. It aimed to shape a national identity based on region and expand local political and economic autonomy. In 1984, Bolivia

ended the military dictatorship, implemented democratic reforms, and decentralized political power from the central to local governments, stimulating the national consciousness and rights protection consciousness of the indigenous Indians. From 1985 to 2005, Bolivia implemented the "New Economic Plan" (New Economic Plan) n) new The inherent contradictions of liberal democratic politics were fully exposed during this period. On the one hand, the freedom of capital led to increased economic oppression from the outside world. On the other hand, the democratic nature of politics led to the increased freedom of people to participate in politics. The result was oppression. The people picked up the weapons of democracy and fought for their legitimate rights. y At the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, the indigenous movement in Bolivia surged, ushering in a new era of violent mass protests. The most influential ones were the "Water War" in 2000 and the 2003 The "Gas War" of 2016

The roots of the "water wars" can be traced back to the conflict between irrigators and the municipal water department in the Cochabamba Valley. In 1992, irrigators in the lower valley relied on shallow wells for water supply. They believed that the municipal water department's plan to drill deeper wells might threaten their water use, rights, and therefore firmly opposed this plan. y The Federation of Irrigators' Organizations of the Province of Cochabamba (FEDECOR) was born in 1997. It successfully mobilized the rural and peri-urban population and formed an alliance with urban social movements, limiting this initiative. In 1999 In September, with the promotion of the World Bank, a North American multinational company named Bechtel signed a contract with the Banzel government on the privatization of Cochabamba water services. In January 2000, Tunari Corporation (Tunari) Tunari took over the city's water supply services, and water bills increased by 200%, triggering public protests. In April 2000, the conflict reached its climax. At least one protester died and more than 170 people were injured. The government was forced to abandon the private ownership of the water conservancy system in the valley.

y Zeng Zhaoyao: «Bolivia», Beijing: Social Sciences Literature Press, 2017, pp. 135-136, Carlos

y Crespo Flores y René Orellana Halkyer Conflictos Ambientales y livia: CERESy 1999

Three years after the outbreak of the "Water War", the country's modern natural gas industry opened the door to foreign companies due to privatization policy. natural gas pipelines, and people protested due to dissatisfaction with liberal market economic policies and nationalist sentiments, resulting in the most serious violent conflict since the restoration of the democratic system in 1982. Like the "water war", the protests forced the government to reconsider its response to the Protesters demand greater participation in resource management decisions, a more equitable distribution of the benefits of resource extraction, and a more socially oriented alternative to Bolivia's neoliberal economic model. September 2003 *De Rosada* resigned as president. From 2000 to 2005, Bolivia changed five presidents. *De Rosada*

These two "wars" began as local struggles over resource management, but quickly attracted national and even international attention. Protests over water and natural gas became channels for people who had long been exploited, marginalized and impoverished by old and new colonialism to express their demands. Protests also escalated into struggles over national resources. Underlying these struggles was an overriding awareness that plans to export the country's resources reproduced the country's historical structural inequalities, manifested internationally as exploitation by developed Western countries, The export of raw materials in exchange for finished products is manifested domestically as the exploitation of indigenous Indians by whites and mixed-race elites. Under this concept, the middle- and lower-class indigenous Indians in Bolivia were fully mobilized to participate in social movements, and some backbone forces were involved in the movement. After being tempered and enriched with struggle experience, they eventually established mass political parties with rigorous charters and powerful organizations led by mestizo and indigenous elites, the most important of which was the Movement for Socialism Party led by Morales.

In a highly volatile situation, the eastern and western parts of Bolivia have sharply differentiated positions on national development planning and resource policies, and a new political divide has emerged between the country's highlands and the lowland plains of the east and south, which include the Bay Area. It consists of the four provinces of Cochabamba, Pando, Santa Cruz and Tarija. This area is also known as the "half-moon region" (the *media luna* group, because it corresponds to other provinces on the map to form a half-moon shape).

[US] Written by Herbert S. Klein, translated by Dong Xiaochuan: "History of Bolivia" Shanghai: Oriental Publishing Center, 2016, pp. 246-247

La Guerra del Agua en Cochabamba y Bolivia: Terribles Complejos y Convergencias Nuevas by Enrique Garza Toledano (ed) es en America Latina y Buenos Aires: CLACSO 2005 pp 150-151 are Hugo Banzer Suárez, who took office from August 6, 1997 to On August 7, 2001,

he announced his resignation as president on the grounds that he was terminally ill and could no longer manage the country. He was replaced by Vice President Jorge Quiroga, who served until August 6, 2002. Sánchez de Rosada was elected on August 6, 2002. He was forced to resign on October 17, 2003 due to his inability to handle the dispute over natural gas exports to the sea. Vice President Carlos Mesa took over because of the lack of state-owned oil and natural gas. He resigned in June 2005 after he was forced to step down due to popular protests caused by cultural issues. Congress elected the President of the Supreme Court, Eduardo Rodríguez Veltze, as interim president in 2006. He resigned after his term expired after the general election on January 22, 2016.

After the failure, the eastern elite chose to support the Indian land struggle in the region and led the coup that prompted Morales to step down in 2019. With the rise of Santa Cruz's right-wing leader Camacho, the eastern regionalist forces further strengthened and advanced. Moving towards the center of the national political stage, the contradictions in Bolivia's central areas are heading towards an irreconcilable situation.

In the 2005 presidential election, Morales won with 54% of the vote, becoming the first president to win more than half of the votes since the country's democratization. The three pillars of Morales' governance are indigenism and anti-capitalism/ Anti-imperialism and environmentalism. Bolivia has shifted to a new state-led development model, promoting the nationalization of minerals, forests, communications and other fields, regaining control of the country's ownership of these strategic resources, and strengthening the national oil company's role in oil exploration, transportation and storage role in providing land to indigenous and peasant communities. Although the government claims to support indigenous rights and environmental protection, it still derives revenue from the old neoliberal economic structure and the trade of primary products and raw materials in the governance process. Here In the process, the land rights of the eastern indigenous peoples and the environmental rights of the wider people were relegated to the background.

Morales tried to build Bolivia into an inclusive country by absorbing indigenous peoples, trade unions, and grassroots movements that were excluded from national decision-making into the party political system. These changes caused dissatisfaction among the eastern elites. They believed that the so-called "inclusiveness" The "state" is based on traditional Andean centrism. The eastern region is still the target of "internal colonization" and exploitation by the central government. The economic growth of the eastern region has benefited from the neoliberal model. The root of the operation of this model lies in the relative stability of the region. Isolation. Different from the small-scale peasant economy formed after land reform in the western provinces, the agriculture in the eastern provinces is based on large-scale farm production and oriented to foreign markets. Therefore, the eastern elite firmly opposes the policy of nationalizing land and allocating land to small farmers, as well as the state's control of exports and prices. Control. To this end, the eastern provinces have expanded the pace of seeking autonomy based on the "January/June Agenda", hoping to share more profits from oil and gas resources. The conflict in central Bolivia reached its climax in the 2008 autonomy movement in the eastern provinces. In May and June 2008, four eastern provinces held referendums on autonomy, with an overwhelming majority of votes in favor. A group of unelected leaders of the autonomy movement secretly drafted a charter proposing a form of autonomy and federalism, granting local governments legislative and administrative powers. power and control over land allocation, natural gas and other natural resources. But the National Electoral Tribunal and Morales refused to recognize the results of the autonomy referendum.

With the broad support of Bolivian society, the Morales government was able to successfully overcome this crisis and launch a new constitutional project. Articles 289-296 of the 2009 Constitution stipulate that "Indian farmers have the right to work in their

[US] Written by Herbert S. Klein, translated by Dong Xiaochuan: "History of Bolivia", Shanghai: Oriental Publishing Center, 2016, pp. Page 268

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Luis Fernando Camacho, chairman of the Democratic Council, formed the "We Believe Party" (Creemos) and participated in the 2020 presidential and parliamentary elections, winning 8 votes. More than 60,000 votes were cast, and more than eight

He became a voter from Santa Cruz and was elected governor of Santa Cruz in May 2021 with a support rate of 55%. On December 28, 2022, Camacho was arrested by the police on suspicion of leading a general strike in Santa Cruz. The trigger for the strike was the Bolivian government's delay in holding a national census. According to the constitution and Santa Cruz's population growth trend, the census results will increase the province's redistribution funds by 28%. Camacho's rise broke Bolivian political power. The geographical boundaries of distribution have expanded the political territory of right-wing forces in the national political arena dominated by the left, shattering the political spectrum that has been maintained for more than ten years. It can be seen that although the Morales era is over, the central regions that plague the country have conflicts and divergent interests remain the main contradictions in Bolivia's political scene.

Four conclusions

As mentioned in the article, under the long-term isolation and historical resentment caused by the central government's neglect of the eastern provinces, based on the heterogeneity of ethnic distribution and economic development model, the oil and gas resources of the eastern provinces in the 1970s and 1980s. The discovery of the central government led to a series of struggles over resources between the central and local governments, and the organizational and mobilization capabilities of local elites continued to strengthen. The eastern elite spread emotions during the conflict with the central government, and its discourse construction shaped the "Kamba" national identity based on region. Formed a confrontation with the "Cola" people in the highlands. The rent redistribution policy implemented by Morales since taking office in 2005 has caused a "relative sense of deprivation" in the eastern provinces. This is the main factor that further intensifies the contradiction between the central and local areas of the country. But the fundamental reason is that the rise of the country's indigenous forces represented by Morales and the resulting reorganization of the national power structure have threatened the interests of the local white elite. Although Bolivia's political situation has now returned to normal, as for Morales. Judging from the situation that was overthrown by a coup in 2019, governance performance in the economic field is no longer the only factor that determines the government's long-term governance. The struggle and reorganization among political forces are profoundly affecting the direction of the country's political situation, causing differences among the country's regions. Factors still exist. Political geographers Pierre Gautreau and Laetitia Perrier (Brussels) pointed out: The Morales government faces a huge contradiction—improving redistribution means that the central government integrating power, developing local democracy means decentralizing power to local governments and strengthening local people's political participation in land and forest policies. How to handle the contradiction between centralization and decentralization is still a question for the current Arce administration.

Y Jin Xiaowen: "Can Bolivia's ruling party start a new cycle of governance?" Published in "Worker Daily", Page 8,
 Y November 26, 2021. Pierre Gautreau and Laetitia Perrier (Brussels) "Forest Management in Bolivia under Evo Morales: The

This is a major problem facing the government and the Movement for Socialism party.

It is worth mentioning that this phenomenon of localism caused by resource extraction is not accidental in Latin America, and has an intensifying trend. In a new political cycle, Latin America once again ushered in the "pink wave". In 2022, the left-wing campaign alliance Winning the presidential elections in Colombia and Brazil respectively expanded the leftward trend of Latin American politics. With Brazilian President Lula sworn in on New Year's Day in 2023, the major economies in Latin America are all governed by left-wing governments. What follows is economic populism. The trend of nationalism has reappeared. The phenomenon of nationalization has reappeared in traditional and new strategic mining. Among them, the nationalist sentiment surrounding the mining of lithium resources has been the highest. At the national level, Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia and other countries have adopted the nationalization of lithium mines and the establishment of state-owned companies, and expand the core and peripheral businesses of state-owned enterprises. There are also proposals to establish a "lithium OPEC" group at the regional level. At the same time, governments continue to have tensions with indigenous peoples due to mining issues. Constraints at the community level continue to amplify. There is a conflict between indigenous and state-owned enterprises. Disputes between mining companies over water sources, land, and labor will also continue to exist, thus making it more difficult to implement the central government's mining nationalization policy. As has happened in the extraction of oil and gas resources in Bolivia, in the process of resource development, how to deal with resource ethnic groups The hidden dangers brought about by the tension between patria grandeism (patria grande) and local sentiments (patria chica) will become a test of the governance capabilities of Latin American countries.

In the local elections in Bolivia held in the first half of 2021, the Movement for Socialism party won only 3 out of 9 provincial governor elections, losing the previously governed provinces of Pando, Beni and Chuquisaca. In the elections for provincial capital cities and capital mayors, the ruling party only won two mayoral positions in Sucre and Oruro. It can be seen that the 2020 presidential election and the 2021 local elections show the continuity of the country's political model. gender, no lasting agreement can be reached between the central government and the eastern regional blocs, and neither bloc can establish an absolute advantage over the other. Currently, the biggest challenge facing President Arce is to find ways to bridge the ethnic lines that currently divide the country's identity. At the same time, how to deal with the issues of indigenous people, ecological environment and resource development are also factors that cannot be ignored in the process of resource development. This is a common problem faced by major mining countries, including Andean countries. The development of the mining industry is inevitable Mining will have an impact on human health and the environment. In this regard, the government should strengthen the use of emerging technologies and the development of education, enhance awareness of the impact of mining industry activities, promote the implementation of public policies, and compensate indigenous people whose original way of life is affected. ÿ Minimize the adverse socioeconomic impacts and environmental harm caused by mining activities. This will be the research direction that this article may expand in the future.

(Editor in charge Xu Rui)