

Identity Topics

The impact of indigenous identity on Bolivia's foreign policy

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Abstract: The 2019 Bolivian presidential election and its aftermath triggered political tensions, which vaguely exposed the deep and long-standing ethnic boundaries between indigenous people and white people in Bolivian society, and this boundary has also had an impact on Bolivia's foreign policy. Direct impact. The goal of this article is to study to what extent and how ethnic factors and identity based on ethnicity determine Bolivia's foreign policy. This article first introduces the concept of identity and its specific application in the field of international relations, and elaborates on the Bolivian nation. relations as well as the historical evolution and current situation of the country's foreign policy. By analyzing whether there are internal ethnic lines in Bolivia that divide national identity, and whether these ethnic lines have formed clearly identifiable independent diplomatic ideas, the author discovered that Bolivia's indigenous nationality It has an important impact on the country's foreign policy. The research in this article helps to understand the scientific branch of international relations about the impact of national identity on the interaction between countries in the international system, and the relationship between national identity and power and interests. Bolivia's The internal divisions between Aboriginal people and those of white European descent are clearly linked to the problems of the unity, appeal and durability of Western society that emerged after World War II. The concept of the "West" is increasingly questioned around the world. The West The impact on the world is facing increasing challenges.

Keywords: Bolivian indigenous identity, foreign policy, international relations

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In December 2005, Evo Morales (Evo Morales Ayma) was elected as Bolivia's first president, far exceeding the regional average. As a An indigenous president. During his first two terms, the country's economy grew at an average annual rate of 5%. , result, 500,000 people were lifted out of poverty. Morales nationalized natural gas and mining, spread wealth among the people, and He approved the new constitution through a referendum and declared Bolivia to be a unified multi-ethnic secular country, thereby improving the status of indigenous peoples. In addition, he reformed foreign policy and promoted the diversification of foreign relations in order to cut off the previous alliance with the United States.

In October 2019, Morales was elected president for the fourth time. However, large-scale protests and demonstrations broke out shortly after the election. Morales was accused of electoral irregularities and was forced to flee Mexico for refuge. The Bolivian political right took advantage of American countries An investigation report subsequently released by the organization claimed that Morales' 10-point lead was invalid. However, the New York Times, which initially supported the overthrow of President Morales, admitted that "a careful study of Bolivia's election data shows that the U.S. National Bureau of Statistics initially The analysis of election manipulation and efforts to force the president to step down are flawed." y Despite this, the United States still recognized the self-proclaimed interim president of Bolivia, Jeanine Áñez (Jeanine Áñez). Áñez's government subsequently announced the restoration of relations with the United States. Suspended diplomatic relations for 11 years, withdrew from the Bolivarian Alliance of Americas and joined the Lima Group.

The 2019 Bolivian presidential election and its aftermath triggered political tensions, which seemed to expose the deep and long-standing ethnic boundaries between indigenous people and white people in Bolivian society. Moreover, this boundary also had a direct impact on Bolivia's foreign policy. Influence. The author thus proposes a hypothesis: that Bolivia's ethnic boundaries are relevant to its struggle for a diplomatic line. Based on this, the goal of this article is to study to what extent and how ethnic factors and national identity determine Bolivia's

foreign policyy

An identity in academic research

In different research fields, relevant research involving "identity" has different emphases, but whether it is psychology and anthropology, political science and international relations, or related interdisciplinary research, there are generally consistent views. That is to say, although the relevant basic theories of identity and their extensions can be applied to individuals, they may achieve more dimensional levels of analysis when analyzing social and group issues.

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(1) Identity in Psychology and Anthropology

The concept of identity exists in many disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, psychology and political science.

The word "identity" comes from the Latin idem, which means sameness or identity. On the one hand, it describes the identity with oneself, that is, those characteristics that define the uniqueness of the individual. On the other hand, it also refers to the identity with specific others, which in turn means difference from other people.

Psychoanalyst Erik Erikson put forward a view on individual identity. Erikson believed that human beings understand themselves as stable and continuous personalities with specific attributes. People are also social. Identity is created by society, and its personality is bound by consensus norms and values. Recently, some people believe that individual and collective are two aspects of identity, and the study of the two needs to be combined. Collective identity is to a large extent a matter

of categories and categorization based on perceptions of "us" and "them." Social psychologists have confirmed that individuals' perceptions of common group membership enhance the likelihood of cooperation. Over time, an actor's perceptions of an individual can change from adversary to friend, and vice versa. Actors internalize these perceptions, which results in psychological rewards, and of course material benefits, such as security and welfare.

In addition to social factors, identity also includes non-social factors, which leads to the fact that identity cannot be extended indefinitely. Body shape, race, ethnicity, geography, tradition and language are physical characteristics of non-social factors, which are difficult to change. Although identity is easy to be shaped by society, but it is also relatively stable, because they always belong to one or several models, and the models will not

change easily. (2) Identity politics in political science and

international relations has many sub-disciplines. Focusing on national identity, the most common studies are the impact of party identity on votes, the causes and remedies of domestic and international ethnic conflicts, and views on national form. Constructivists believe that political identity is affected by social interaction, and primordialists

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He believes that political identity is given and unchangeable. According to the logic of constructivism, Rupert Wilkinson (Rupert Wilkinson) simply defines national identity as "compared with other groups, a certain group of people more often or in a different way "Characteristics of individual personality and attitudes expressed in ways". There are also many primordial interpretations of identity in academic works. For example, William Bloom believes that identity "is a psychological dynamic, but it also has biological roots"

Research in the field of international relations rarely pays attention to the nature, causes and consequences of national identity in the international system. For realists, the self-identification of national actors has nothing to do with the subsequent interaction patterns between countries. Only when there is a major shift in military and economic power will the interaction patterns between countries change. Social constructionism provides a potential compromise between realism and constructivism, believing that human agency has the ability to change social systems, but Structures are real and indisputably constrain behavior. Therefore, the interests of international actors are not objectively or structurally determined, but are co-constructed with social identities.

Any country willing to respond to the challenge posed by realists and demonstrate the importance of national identity to understand the meaning of international relations, we must propose ways to perceive and measure national identity. Combining identity and interests can explain why countries with similar characteristics behave differently under similar circumstances. Internal disagreements and different foreign policies Tradition is an effective example to explain this phenomenon. First of all, national security depends on national identity. Internal cohesion helps to make an orderly and effective response to external threats, and the phenomenon of patriotism arises from this. Secondly, the country must distinguish between "friends" and "enemies". A shared identity is the link between a country and its allies. Paul Covert distinguished between the internal and external dimensions of identity He proposed that the internal dimension of identity focuses on internal cohesion and how it is demonstrated. Loyalty to the nation-state. The external dimension refers to the uniqueness of the nation-state compared with other countries. It deals with the status of the nation-state. The internal aspect of identity.

According to the logic of constructivism, national identity is not given and unchangeable, but is constructed through social interaction and political processes. This view challenges the traditional realist perspective that national identity is a fixed and inherent attribute of a state. The text discusses how social constructionism provides a potential compromise between realism and constructivism, emphasizing that human agency can change social systems, but structures are real and constrain behavior. It also mentions Paul Covert's distinction between internal and external dimensions of identity, where the internal dimension focuses on internal cohesion and loyalty to the nation-state, while the external dimension refers to the uniqueness of the nation-state compared to other countries.

Because it still excludes indigenous peoples and black people from the nation-building process.

Therefore, for a long time, in order to create a homogeneous national identity, Latin American countries have tried their best to prevent indigenous peoples from and other ethnic groups retain their identity. The first attempts to correct this tendency were made in the 20th century. Indigenism (indigenismo), which began to appear in the 1920s, is mainly a literary movement, but it is also a social movement. and political movements, indigenism represented non-Indian expressions of the "Indian question," and Questions about Indian rights and culture.

The most outstanding representatives of indigenism are Peruvian Aya de la Torre and Peruvian Mariátegui. Gui de la Torre emphasized the indigenous roots of Latin America and the need for indigenous people to spiritually break away from Europe. Bound by frameworks and regulations, Mariátegui believes that the oppression of Indians is a socioeconomic problem. This view is due to the uneven distribution of land and the failure of rural Peru to overcome the remnants of feudalism. Like many others, they attribute it to the assimilation of Indians into Western culture. Therefore, although indigenism Claims to address the plight of indigenous peoples, but it is almost exclusively limited to the mestizo culture that dominates Latin America. Critics argue that indigenism uses and implicitly asserts dominant languages and cultures, and instead excludes those who The group it claims to represent.

In response to indigenism, a new form of Indianism emerged in the 1960s (Indianismo). It emphasizes the cultural value of Indian civilization and combines Indian culture with Latin American peoples. The society is culturally differentiated and does not intend to maintain or recreate the pre-Columbian model. Sandra Bernal Heredia believes that "this movement emphasizes self-determination, autonomy, and national rights in international law. As well as community-oriented economic development, it puts forward the role of nation-states in ethnic culture, politics and economy.

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Ibero-American identity based on common Spanish roots. At the beginning of the 19th century, the United States tried to enhance its own position by excluding or limiting the political, military and economic influence of European competitors such as Britain, France, Spain and Russia in the Americas. position in global geopolitics. The purpose of U.S. foreign policy is to protect the internal affairs of the new American republics from European interference, expand U.S. territory, open markets for U.S. exports, guarantee the right to neutral shipping, and combat piracy. The United States in January 1811 The so-called "No Transfer Resolution" was promulgated, and the "Monroe Doctrine" declaration was issued in 1823. As its national power increased, the United States hoped that its foreign policy and hegemony in the Western Hemisphere could satisfy its growing imperialist vision. Starting from the beginning of the 20th century . The United States has made it clear that in order to resist European interference that may threaten its national interests and security, the United States has the legitimate right to take measures such as unilateral intervention, military occupation, and transformation of sovereign countries into political and economic protectors. In 1898, the United States During the Spanish War, he destroyed the Spanish fleet in the Caribbean and invaded Cuba, ending Spain's status as a great power.

Due to its declining influence, Spain had to abandon its containment policy against the United States and instead form an alliance with the United States. Spain during the Franco period faced the danger of being isolated after World War II. However, the Cold War that began in 1947 The deterioration of relations with the United States and the Soviet Union saved the Franco regime. During the Cold War, especially after the Cuban Revolution in 1959, the purpose of the United States' foreign policy in Latin America was to contain communism and promote world trade liberalization as much as possible. Spain therefore Able to connect the ideas of Spanishism with the anti-communist interests of the United States.

At the beginning of the Cold War, Bolivia faced pressure from the United States. Due to economic recession and unfair semi-

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Feudal system, the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement Party (MNR) seized power in the revolution, the Truman administration had serious reservations about the Bolivian revolutionary government, because the new regime's policies had a very strong nationalist flavor and resolutely opposed foreign investment, and in the 1940s era had anti-Semitic overtones. By 1952, although the nationalist revolutionary movement had de-emphasized its fascist sentiments, its nationalist agenda and links to communism still worried the United States. Willard - Foss He believes that the reason why the United

States reached an agreement with the Bolivian Nationalist Revolutionary Movement Party government is not only because the revolution destroyed the power of the Bolivian army, but also because the government will meet the requirements of the United States, and because there is no other attractive party except the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement. alternatives. In addition, not only did the leaders of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement Party never intend to undermine the market economy and break the dependence on the United States, President Estensolo also chose to further strengthen Bolivia's economic ties with the United States and submit to the United States. Foreign policy, adopting a strong anti-communist stance. The United States used the International Monetary Fund's stabilization program and foreign economic and military assistance to integrate Latin American countries into the U.S.-led Western Hemisphere bloc. The United States exerted tremendous economic pressure on its southern neighbors, forcing It adopts a new policy stance to avoid the economic nationalism pursued by Latin American governments from posing a threat to the interests of Western multinational companies, and to avoid the possibility of alliance with the left.

The aid programs of the International Monetary Fund and the United States have failed to promote Bolivia's economic development. Instead, they have undermined economic diversification, exacerbated socioeconomic inequality, and consolidated the privileges of urban white elites, who are incompatible with the realities of rural Indians and urban workers. The situation was far from the truth, and the aid program failed to guarantee social and political tranquility in Bolivia. Therefore, after René Barrientos launched a military coup in November 1964, Bolivia

transitioned from liberal capitalism to authoritarian capitalism. General Alfredo Ovando Candía participated in the coup against President Esden Soro. He nationalized the Bolivian Gulf Oil Company and deposed the president.

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The "Oil and Natural Gas Law" promulgated in 1955. This law once opened the door for Bolivia to introduce international investment in the energy field. Although Obando was anti-communist, his economic nationalism, open anti-Americanism and ties with the The Soviet Union's restoration of diplomatic relations greatly angered the United States.

Obando's successor, General Juan José Torres, continued Obando's anti-imperialist economic line. Under his rule, Bolivia accepted Soviet economic aid for the first time and continued to resist American private capital. Torres was born into a poor Aymara-Mestizo family in Cochabamba. He fought in a bloody uprising led by Colonel Hugo Banzer Suárez and supported by the Brazilian military regime and the United States. was overthrown in a coup. An editorial in the Brazilian newspaper "El Sao Paulo" claimed before the coup that "if the situation in Bolivia worsens, Brazil is very capable of assuming the role of the guardian of democracy on the American continent and, if necessary, using force to protect the West." "The foundation of Christian civilization". This is also a prominent manifestation of the importance of the anti-Obando coup in the field of Western culture. Colonel Bancel's dictatorship once again began to suppress trade unions and leftist parties, and opened the door to foreign capital. In

addition, Colonel Bancel also provided compensation for North American companies that were influenced by previous Bolivia governments. Starting from Colonel Bancel, Bolivia once again accepted the influence of the United States and adopted a stance with neoliberal characteristics.

(4) Bolivia's foreign policy line since 2005. Morales' victory in the 2005

presidential election was a turning point in Bolivia's social and political history. Morales and his party "Movement for Socialism" ended the long-term relationship between traditional political parties. After 20 years of rule, Morales' victory triggered a broader transformation of the country involving multiple levels, such as redefining a new development model based on transforming the relationship between the state and foreign investment, and starting from the recognition of the collective rights of indigenous peoples. The transformation plan of the nation-state. The three pillars of Morales' policy are indigenism, anti-capitalism/anti-imperialism and environmentalism. During his tenure as president, Morales nationalized some industries and promulgated The new constitution recognizes the demands of indigenous peoples and farmers and calls for

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A new dimension of identity is introduced into the reality.

Three Indigenous Identities: An Interpretation Shaping Bolivia's Foreign Policy

Regarding the impact of indigenous nationality on Bolivia's foreign policy line, two levels of analysis can be conducted: first, whether Bolivia has national boundaries that divide its national identity; second, whether these national boundaries have been established through the establishment of clearly identifiable independence. The foreign policy school influences the country's foreign policy. According to the boundaries drawn by Paul Covert, identity can be divided into internal and external dimensions. In the case of the former, the question is whether there is a significant degree of "identity" within Bolivia. " Is it enough to maintain a high degree of cohesion within the country, or is there tension between different groups within the country that is enough to make the country and its different ethnic groups de facto incompatible. In the latter case, the question is two points: First, does the indigenous factor influence the way Bolivia's foreign policy perceives its group membership? Second, does the indigenous factor distinguish between the "in-group" and the "in-group" that have an important impact on Bolivia's cooperation choices?

"Out-group" (out-group). The above clearly shows that Bolivia lacks internal cohesion. Historically, Latin America's ruling class hopes to maintain European values and the dominance of white people. Indigenous people have long been excluded from Bolivian society. Indians Doctrine and Catharism attempt to make indigenous people active participants in society and advocates of their own interests. Their purpose is to further separate the indigenous people from the surrounding Eurocentric-dominated society. Quispe even wants to pass Emphasizing his anti-Western sentiments, blaming whites for past atrocities, and exacerbating the conflict between indigenous peoples and whites in Bolivia by denying the existence of the Bolivian state, Quispe also made a clear distinction between indigenous cultures and cultures rooted in Europe. And in fact, he advocates the supremacy of indigenous culture.

In 2005, Morales became the first indigenous president of Bolivia. He pursued an inclusive democratic path, while Quispe chose armed resistance, racial exclusion and separatism. Although the two chose different paths, paths, but they also have similarities. As mentioned earlier, Quispe's role in Morales' rise to power was indispensable. In addition, their goals are to liberate the minds, economies and societies of Bolivian indigenous peoples. Both hope to rebuild Bolivian society to better adapt to the worldview and needs of indigenous peoples. Morales agrees with Quispe's anti-Western and anti-neoliberal views. As president,

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He often verbally attacked colonialism and capitalism. Morales also mentioned the Spanish invasion and the resistance to imperialism, blaming the "empire" for forcing him to step down in a coup in November 2019. The rebels A Western and anti-neoliberal

stance is evident in Morales' foreign policy.

The Bolivian government almost without exception has one-sided emphasis on relations with the United States, and one of the pillars of Morales's foreign policy is to try to find alternative solutions to neoliberalism and promote the diversification of Bolivia's international economic and political relations. In his During his administration, Bolivia improved its relations with China, Iran, Venezuela, Cuba and other countries, reflecting changes in Bolivia's diplomatic stance.

Morales's stance against neoliberalism and foreign investment is a typical representative of the political left in Latin America. Alcantara and Rivas believe that how to understand the role of the United States is one of the main differences between left-wing and right-wing parties. The left-wing Political parties have a more critical attitude towards the United States. Creazu believes that Morales's foreign policy is contrary to the interests of the political elite that has ruled Bolivia for decades. Historically, Bolivia's foreign policy has been characterized by a shift toward the interests of the United States. There were only brief periods of tension or distance between the two countries. Morales's presidential career clearly marked a break with this tradition. y

It is worth noting for the research question of this article that nationality is a more important factor than the political division of left and right in determining the course of Bolivia's foreign policy. In 1952, the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement Party led the Bolivian Revolution, which was It was regarded as a protest based on class struggle and Marxist ideology and discourse. In 1953, the nationalist revolutionary movement promoted the implementation of the land reform decree, which deleted all references to "Indians", Aymara, and Quechu from official statements. The purpose of this move is to try to "improve" the indigenous people and regard them as the primary workers in rural areas. As shown above , The nationalist revolutionary movement took advantage of the lack of local factors to allow the United States' economic presence in the country and subordinated it to the United States.

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Luis Arce and the Movement for Socialism. The existence of competing foreign policy schools within a country has demonstrated that it is fundamentally wrong to assume a realist stance on national interests and preferences. Logically speaking, in Bolivia and in all Other countries with at least two foreign policy schools must have more than one understanding of national interests. The case of Bolivia supports the constructivist view of inter-state action.

As mentioned above, social constructionism provides a potential compromise between realism and constructivism. It can be seen that nationality obviously has an impact on Bolivia's foreign policy line. Although this is not the whole reason, for example, Mozambique Lares' foreign policy shift was also possible because of the focus of U.S. foreign policy on other parts of the world, especially the Middle East. However, we can still draw the conclusion that Bolivia's interests are not objectively or structurally determined, but constituted together with social identity.

During the Morales administration, Bolivia's new foreign policy line was clearly decoupled from Western society. Under the new situation, the left and indigenous people represented by Morales and the Movement for Socialism tended to decouple from the West and instead North Americans and Europeans share the same traditions and cultural heritage, and the traditional political and economic elites representing right-wing interests hope to maintain traditional ties with Western society. From the perspective of group identity, the new Bolivia after 2005 believes that China, Iran, Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua, Brazil and Argentina belong to their "in-group", while the United States and Chile are considered to belong to the "out-group". The Bolivian right's ouster of Morales is an attempt to turn back time and allow the United States and the European Union to return to

the Bolivia's "in-group". Differences in group identity will lead to differences in the perception of the image of other actors. First, Bolivia's different ethno-political groups and the foreign policy schools based on these groups are threats or threats to certain actors. There are differences in judgments about opportunities. The left and indigenous people view the United States as a threat because it is willing to engage with Bolivia's elites, interfere in the country's internal affairs, and further promote neoliberal policies. Therefore, it is prepared to bring China, Venezuela, and other New allies are incorporated into their "in-group," while the right and political elites see the United States as an opportunity to achieve common interests, at least in part because neoliberalism has expanded their narrow class interests.

Secondly, the relative power of another actor versus one's own is also something to consider. Bolivia's leftists and indigenous people naturally view the United States as a more powerful actor and therefore threatening. Venezuela and Cuba are about the same size as Bolivia. They are more similar and have more compatible ideologies, so they are not considered a threat. Although China is larger, it is farther away. Like Iran, Bolivia led by Morales obviously does not think that China is as threatening as the United States. Because China will not interfere in Bolivia's internal affairs, nor will it promote neoliberalism in Bolivia. From the perspective of the Bolivian right

From a perspective of scale, although they also recognize that the sizes of countries are different, they do not think that the United States is as threatening as the left and the indigenous people. Therefore, the right is more willing to adopt an appeasement policy towards the United States.

Finally, different ethno-political groups in Bolivia have different cultural responses to other countries. The right in Bolivia feels a particular cultural affinity to elites in Spain and other Latin American countries, as well as the United States, but not the left and indigenous peoples. As this article has pointed out, As in the case of Bolivia, the goal of the indigenous people is to reduce the influence of Western culture in Bolivia. They believe that their Indian culture is very different from Western culture. They believe that they have cultural affinity with the working class and indigenous people of other Latin American countries. But they do not I don't feel any cultural affinity with China. China's role is more to balance the economic and political influence of the United States.

Four Conclusions

The United States is an imperialist country to the left and indigenous people of Bolivia, but it is an ally to the right. We can further conclude that the United States and the West in a wider sense have become an ally in the eyes of the left and indigenous people of Bolivia. It has completely lost its appeal, but it still retains its charm in the eyes of the Bolivian right, which is mainly composed of European descendants. Therefore, the increase in different nationalities has forced the West to retreat from a certain geographical area, and the regional balance has thus changed. However, European ancestry has are more likely to maintain their sphere of influence under the pressure of changes in the balance of power.

Bolivia is a model country that has broken away from the scope of Western influence. As the overall concept of a unified "West" is increasingly questioned, in the case of Bolivia, it is the indigenous national identity and anti-neoliberal sentiment that drive Bolivia no longer Maintaining partnerships with European and American power centers. Other cases similar to this (such as Peru under Pedro Castillo), as well as cases that are geographically, ethnically, or otherwise different, deserve further study. These case studies Taken together, a dynamic picture of the West's shrinking sphere of influence can be presented.

(Translated by Guo Cunhai and Wang Yue Editor-in-chief Huang Nian)

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