



GEAPOLITICS OF LIVING WELL

ABRIDGED VERSION

David Choquehuanca Céspedes



Geapolitics of Living Well
Abridge version





Vicepresidencia del Estado
Presidencia de la Asamblea Legislativa Plurinacional
BOLIVIA

GEAPOLITICS OF LIVING WELL

Abridged version

David Choquehuanca Céspedes

La Paz, Bolivia

2022

Geopolitics of Living Well. Abridge version / Author: David

Choquehuanca Céspedes;

La Paz : Vice Presidency of the Plurinational State

146 p. ; 12 cm (base) x 16,5 cm

ISBN 978-99974-25-95-9

1. Philosophy – Bolivia 2. Sociology – Bolivia 3. Andean Studies – Bolivia
4. Political, economic, environmental and social proposal - Bolivia 5. Essay–
Bolivia I. Choquehuanca Céspedes, David : author II. Arce Catacora, Luis:
foreword III. Vice Presidency of the Plurinational State, ed. IV. Title.

Edition: Vice Presidency of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Directorate of
Geopolitics of Living Well and Foreign Policy

Diego Pacheco Balanza, General Director

Daniel Fernández Ríos, Head of the Strategic Analysis Unit

Elizabeth Carla Ledezma García, Head of the Unit for the Integration of Peoples
and Defense of Mother Earth

First edition, December 2022, La Paz

Editorial supervision: Rosa Salinas Gutiérrez

Design and layout: Jorge A. Alí Atahuichi

Cover image: J. Daniel Arandia Cortez

Photographs and images: Vice Presidency of the Plurinational State

Rights of this edition

© Vicepresidencia del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia

Calle Mercado N° 308 (esq. Ayacucho)

La Paz, Bolivia

FREE DISTRIBUTION

1st edition: 1,500 copies

Paperback edition

DL: 4-1-476-2022 P.O.

Printed by: Editorial del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia
Bolivia

Contents

Foreword	11
Introduction	19

FIRST PART

Worldviews and resistances of ancestral and millenary societies

1. Ancestral and millenary societies	25
2. Colonialism, capitalism and modernity	28
3. New colonialisms and planetary recolonization	30
4. Epistemologies of the South and decolonizing perspectives	32
5. Differences between modern western thought and ancestral and millenary societies (anthropocene, capitalocene, and cosmobiocene)	35

6. The Era of Living Well in the Plurinational State of Bolivia	38
7. The urgent global transition towards a new life horizon: 'the Living Well'	40

SECOND PART

Domains of Living Well 46

8. First domain. Laws, powers and forces of Nature	48
9. Second domain. Own worldviews (cosmobiocentrism)	53
10. Third domain. Communities of life (<i>ayllu</i>)	64
11. Fourth domain. The codes of Living Well (<i>Wiphala</i>)	69
12. Fifth domain. The political awakening	86
13. Sixth domain. The awakening of consciousness	99
14. Seventh domain. Universal life horizon of Living Well	112

THIRD PART

Geopolitics of Living Well

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 15. Premises of the geopolitics of Living Well | 127 |
| 16. Advances and setbacks in the world
from the perspective of Living Well | 133 |
| 17. The tenth <i>Pachakuti</i> :
the life horizon of Living Well | 140 |



Foreword

The Plurinational State of Bolivia is the result of the political awakening of indigenous nations and peoples and the Bolivian people as a whole, who, tired of living in their own time and space but subjected to foreign ideologies, decided to build their own political project and civilizational horizon.

The ancestral and millenary peoples of the South come from very long times and have very deep histories. Our peoples have become protagonists of their own political destiny

after having lived in secrecy and resistance, facing an institutionalized colonialism of more than 500 years.

Our peoples relentlessly fought against colonial power, but also against republican, liberal, and neoliberal forces. Our peoples protected themselves for hundreds of years, like stones, like codes, like symbols, weaving from deep within and from below the time of emancipation and liberation. All this has led to the Democratic and Cultural Revolution of the Bolivian people, where peacefully and democratically, a plurinational state is being built in the image and likeness of the plurality and diversity of our indigenous nations and peoples, the working and labouring classes, and professionals committed to the Homeland.

For a long time, we were labeled as subhuman because, according to imperial religious powers, indigenous people had no soul. Eurocentrism has been relentless with the ancestral and millenary cultures of our lands in its eagerness to impose itself as the only absolute and imperial power in the entire world. From Bolivia, a philosophy and ideology of Living Well emerge, challenging and rebellious against Eurocentric, anthropocentric, capitalist, and imperialist visions.

Our Bolivian people have resisted every form of colonialism and the tyranny of capitalist laws. We have also resisted the imposition of nation-state models that sought to homogenize us and make us all in a single image and likeness—but they failed. From Bolivia, nations and peoples have declared that we are not homogeneous, we are diverse, and we are not a single nation, we are plurinational.

From Bolivia, we have begun to sow and reap a new life horizon, not only for our country but also for the entire world. It is time to overcome the multiple global crises, which have no solution from anthropocentrism and capitalism but do have a solution from the philosophy, epistemology, and ontology of our peoples, from our own ways of thinking.

Our Jilata David Choquehuanca, Vice President of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, has become the principal builder of the life horizon of Living Well, reading the wrinkles of our grandmothers and grandfathers, listening to the voices of Tiwanaku and our ancestors, nourishing himself with the wisdom of Nature, and listening to the most humble and vilified, he has challenged us to build the Plurinational State of Living Well.

Now, he challenges us to move forward in the Geopolitics of Living Well to guide the national and foreign policy of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, decolonizing traditional geopolitics and replacing the politics of domination and control in the world—based on the supremacy of some human beings over other living beings—with the geopolitics of life, which places Mother Earth at the center, and around this center reorganizes all manifestations of life and relationships of coexistence between human beings and Nature.

This book on the geopolitics of Living Well challenges us to advance through seven nested domains, originating from the recognition that life is at the center of everything and that the laws, forces, and powers of Nature exist for the reproduction of life. The understanding that all worldviews, in their diversity and multiplicity, share a common denominator: being a reflection and interpretation of the laws of Nature. The comprehension that Nature and worldviews are expressed in the experiences of our communities of life, reflecting who we are. The realization that we have been dismembered by colonialism, the republic, and neoliberalism, and that it is necessary to rebuild a new totality based on the coding of the rainbow—the *Wiphala*—which totalizes the codes of Living Well,

which, in turn, shows us the path of Living Well. On this foundation, we build the political awakening and the awakening of consciousness and upon them, the universal life horizon of Living Well.

Our Jilata David Choquehuanca has articulated the thought of Living Well, elevating it to a conceptual, methodological, and practical level, proposing a methodology to think, act, and create from Living Well. From the geopolitics of Living Well, we give new meaning to the diplomacy of peoples, and we provide a tool to construct public policies of Living Well, guided by the application of the codes of Living Well that are present in the *Wiphala*.

Living Well is the ideology of the time of the *Pachakuti* because it signifies the construction of a new world order in balance with Mother Earth.

Living Well is nourished by the codes, symbols, and wisdom protected for centuries by our grandmothers and grandfathers. These codes, symbols, and wisdom are the foundation of a new life horizon for humanity and Mother Earth.

Living Well is the awakening of a new era based on the cosmobiocentrism of our indigenous peoples, which makes us live in harmony with Mother Earth, as part of a single organic totality, where human beings are no longer at the center of the universe, dominating other living beings.

The geopolitics of Living Well exposes foreign thought structures and models, challenges colonized minds, and awakens new and definitive processes of emancipation against the Eurocentric, anthropocentric, and capitalist global system.

From the deepest roots of indigenous resistance, the emancipatory ideology of Living Well emerges as a vision to confront the active cores of the current civilizational crisis of neoliberal capitalism in its various domains. We do not say that another world is possible, but rather that our world is possible, and that all worlds are possible.

La Paz, December 2022

Luis Alberto Arce Catacora
Constitutional President
Plurinational State of Bolivia





Introduction

This document, while not intended to be exhaustive or conclusive, presents the main aspects that characterize the life horizon of Living Well, aimed at consolidating the management of the Plurinational State of Bolivia and the transformative challenges that are universally required to protect humanity and Mother Earth from an imminent catastrophe.

Living Well is the transition from the time-space where disorder, chaos, and imbalance prevail—caused by anthropocentrism, individualism, and the greed of capital, a time-space designed and built by the laws of human beings and the market—towards the time-space of order and balance, which is the return to the own

time-space of the ancestral and millenary societies of the entire world. The time-space of Living Well means returning to the path of the laws of Nature¹; therefore, it can be said that the time-space of Living Well is the path of ancestral and millenary societies.

The capitalist and imperialist world-system exposes in geopolitics a mode of universal thought to understand the relationships between politics and the reading of space or geographic political powers, with the purpose of dominating totality and everything. In the face of this fallacy of imperialism—because it cannot dominate everything—from the margins of capitalist imperial geopolitics, from the countries of the South, emerges the geopolitics of Living Well, which is the expansion of Living Well as a liberating and transformative force in the world, unveiling renewed and new forms of domination, such as carbon colonialism.

■

1 Editor's note (EN): In the expository context of the geopolitics of Living Well, we have chosen to capitalize the word Nature to emphasize its status as a subject, in contrast to views that consider it an object.

The geopolitics of Living Well places Gea, Gaia, *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, and the worldviews of ancestral and millenary societies at the center of political analysis on a universal level. It is a shift in the axis of reading the world-system, moving away from science, philosophy, and Western epistemologies of anthropocentrism (Anthropocene) and capitalism (Capitalocene) —which are leading the planet to catastrophic destruction— towards a strategic way of thinking based on Living Well, which has existed since immemorial times and, if applied on a universal scale, constitutes the alternative to save the planet from disaster.

The geopolitics of Living Well is the implementation of a movement to think about the world from a different axis, from the epistemologies of the South² and from a totalizing and universal perspective. It is about replacing the foundations and premises of Western society with those of ancestral and millenary societies.

-
- 2 EN: Throughout this proposal, we have chosen to follow the writing style of South and North with capital letters, “borrowing” the approach that Boaventura de Souza Santos coined in his book *Las epistemologías del Sur* (2011), a work dedicated to the philosophical, historical, and sociological consideration of this topic.

The first part presents the historical endurance of ancestral and millenary societies from immemorial times, protecting their own visions, worldviews, ontologies, epistemologies, and philosophies.

The second part focuses on understanding and expressing Living Well from the perspective of constructing the geopolitics of Living Well.

The third part proposes reflections to deepen the geopolitics of Living Well as a thought process to establish a new image of the world in the context of a civilizational crisis and the limits of rationality produced by the modern world as science and philosophy.

FIRST PART

Worldviews
and resistances
of
ancestral and
milenary
societies



1. Ancestral and millenary societies

Ancestral and millenary societies are sons and daughters of Mother Earth and citizens of the cosmos. They are ancestral and millenary not because they are part of history anchored in the past; on the contrary, they are societies with codes of life based on lived experience that is constantly renewed and remains relevant.

In the remote history of Abya Yala, there are key milestones to remember, such as the emergence of the territorial domain of Tiwanaku, the Aymara lordships, and the creation of the Inca provinces of Qollasuyo in Charcas.

Tiwanaku and Lake Titicaca have been the cradle of great millenary civilizations and Andean ancestors; sacred sites located in the middle of the backbone of our continent and the Andes.

Living Well was born in one of the most sacred places and in the spiritual cradle of the planet, which is Tiwanaku, belonging to the era of the most ancient civilizations whose origins are lost in the deep night of time, a meeting point where the peoples of the Andes and the Amazon converge.

Tiwanaku is the Tayka Marka (in Aymara, mother of the peoples), it is the Taypi Kala (stone of the center), where the womb of *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) opened for the birth of the Andean-Amazonian civilization. Tiwanaku is a millenary culture that developed approximately between 1500 BC and 1200 AD in the present-day territory of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, radiating its significant geographical influence across the continent.

Tiwanaku is not ruins; it is the expression of a living culture, nourished by cosmic energy in the various celebrations dedicated to Willkatata (father Sun) during equinoxes and solstices; in the celebration of Willkakuti (return of the Sun) for material, social, and spiritual

community well-being, ceremonies that have been preserved, along with other codes and symbols, in the collective memory of contemporary Aymara Tiwanakota and are transmitted through oral history and community practice.

Living Well is the time of the decoding of Tiwanaku and, with it, of all ancestral and millenary societies because when the stones of Tiwanaku speak and the knowledge of Tiwanaku is un-petrified, the cosmobiological order in the universe will be restored.

After Tiwanaku, several Andean-Amazonian peoples continued to develop in the present-day Bolivian territory, achieving great cultural, organizational, and political advancements.

All these peoples lived based on the references of Nature to create their different scientific and religious expressions, adapting and modifying the landscape to achieve harmony among all life systems and to guarantee the reproduction of Nature as the generator of life in the cosmic womb of Mother Earth.

2. Colonialism, capitalism and modernity³

The ancestral and millenary societies of the South, in order not to be devoured by institutionalized colonialism since 1492, developed different forms of resistance. These peoples tirelessly fought against colonial power, wisely protecting themselves for hundreds of years, like stones, like codes, like symbols, weaving from deep within and from the very bottom the time of emancipation and liberation.

They have resisted many forms of colonial domination, such as the extirpation of idolatries, the *mita*, the *encomienda*, the *pongueaje*, slavery, the indigenous tribute, and many other violent forms of domination over bodies and minds.

They have resisted colonialisms, but also, for many years, they have resisted the tyranny of the laws of capital, which have replaced the laws of Nature. In recent times, they resist liberalisms, neoliberalisms, and all models of capitalist domination imposed on the countries of the South, which



3 Based on the presentation "*Ambientalismo Popular Latinoamericano, Construyendo el Buen Vivir*," Jilata David Choquehuanca.

still have structural persistence.

They are also resisting the imposition of nation-state models that attempt to homogenize and make everyone into a single image and likeness, despite knowing that this will never succeed because the countries of the South are highly diverse and do not fit into a single nation; by nature, they are plurinational countries.

Capitalism is a societal model where the human being has separated from Mother Earth, establishing a logic of domination over Nature, turning everything into a commodity. Water, land, the human genome, biodiversity, air—practically everything is at risk of being commodified in the expansion of the global market.

Modernity has defined the laws of social functioning as external to Nature; it has promoted the division between reason and sentiment, between the material and the spiritual, between ethics and science, between society and community. All this leads us to an anthropocentrism divorced from life, based solely on economic well-being.

Peoples have fought for a long time against the civilization of death and destruction; now it is time to begin sowing and harvesting a new life horizon not only for the countries of the South but for the entire world.

3. New colonialisms and planetary recolonization⁴

In the 21st century, a new era of global recolonization is underway. These are not territorially focused colonialisms; they are universal colonialisms with global and planetary impact, which do not discriminate by gender, age, religion, identity, or territory.

The new colonialisms are linked to synthetic biology, nanotechnology, biotechnology, robotics, transhumanism, transtechnology, trans-truth, virtual reality, and space colonization with a consumerist and universal cosmopolitanism, reinforcing Western values, patterns, and models of life.

■
4 Based on the presentation at the IV Human Rights Meeting, "*Memorias de la in-civilización: Sentires Insurgentes*." Right to Emancipation, Jilata David Choquehuanca.

A new recolonization is also taking place in the world through "carbon colonialism." In this new colonialism, developed countries impose rules of conduct to address the global climate crisis for all countries and peoples of the world, benefiting themselves and harming developing countries, ignoring the principles of equity and common but differentiated responsibilities.

It is essential to halt the advances of modernist society and its science and technology toward post-humanism, which threatens the life of humanity, and work to consolidate communities and life systems.

For this, all the energies of ancestral and millenary societies must be focused on protecting all communities of life, everything that is organic and has natural life.

We must do everything possible to protect and restore natural ecosystems because they are the flesh and blood of Mother Earth and because life on the planet depends on them.

4. Epistemologies of the South and decolonizing perspectives

Due to the hegemonic and monopolistic knowledge of the West, multiplicity and diversity remain mostly invisible, as a single philosophy, a single ontology, a single epistemology, and a single Western gnoseology, with reason as its primary factor, have been established in the world.

While Western science copies Nature and freezes it in artificial laboratories, stealing genetic codes to then clone them, ancestral and millenary societies, from their own worldviews and roots, from their own ways of life, have preserved a life in accordance with the laws of Nature, with nature, in reunion with Mother Earth.

In this vision of the ' culture of life,' human beings establish a relationship of mutual co-dependence, a symbiotic, organic, and dialogic circle with Nature. The human community is an extension of the community of life, and there is a deep bond of unity between human utopias and Mother Earth.

In the epistemologies of the South, the concept of time in ancestral and millenary societies (as in quantum physics) is not separate from space, and time-space forms an indivisible and complementary unity. Time is relativized to generate a relative (uncertain) future but also predictable as a reflection of the past, meaning the past is what was and is in front, while the future will come in due course and, therefore, is unseen and behind.

From the Western world, time is conceived as unidirectional and linear, rotating dextrorotatory (to the right), as commonly seen in the hands of a common clock.

In contrast, in ancestral and millenary societies, there is an articulated vision of time-space, making time neither unidirectional nor linear. Additionally, in the Southern Hemisphere, time rotates in a levogyrate (leftward) direction.

Tiwanakota symbol of life and well-being (levogyrate)



Source: Tiwanaku Ceramic Museum.

The West has imposed a perspective of time based on the viewpoint of the North, driven by the convenience of the dominant civilizational matrix to establish the hegemony of the North over the South. The correct geodetic orientation points toward the South, as the entire galaxy moves in that direction, aligning with the Southern Cross. In contrast, the North faces the rear of the galaxy, redirecting time toward a false reference point—the North Star.

5. Differences between modern west and ancestral and millenary societies (anthropocene, capitalocene, and cosmobiocene)

The current era, known as the Anthropocene, which asserts human dominance over the planet, has caused today's multiple crises for humanity and Earth. However, not all human beings are responsible for this crisis. The Anthropocene, linked to the era of capitalism or Capitalocene, has provoked the enormous imbalance in the world and is driving Mother Earth to an irreversible collapse.

The Capitalocene has shaped a world whose structure is based on limitless accumulation, on the greed of the free market that grants freedom to some while enslaving the

majority, and on the irrational exploitation of Nature as if it were a mere object and commodity under the dominance and control of capital's laws. Moreover, the climate crisis caused by capitalism is increasingly devastating all forms of life on the planet.

In the modern world, people are divided between their material and spiritual dimensions; societies are increasingly polarized between right and left; Nature has been fragmented between human beings and other living beings. In today's world, there is much imbalance, division, and disorder. It is the time of *chaosmos*, chaos within the cosmos.

The era of the Capitalocene, in the tiniest fraction of time within universal history, is ending billions of years of life on the planet, self-destructing the source of its own life, which is Mother Earth.

From indigenous peoples, we must learn to be, do, feel, and think from the Cosmobiocene, placing at the center the totality of the cosmos, life, all living beings, and Nature. Human beings must reconnect with Mother Earth as the

source of life, making the culture of life a universal culture.

For indigenous peoples, co-living in harmony with Nature means learning that all life unfolds in a communal way—that all living beings exist and relate in complementarity, that we depend on one another, that we all need and complement each other, that we are a common-unity weaving the mystery of life with the threads of mutual responsibility and nurture. Therefore, we must recognize the need to go beyond human rights toward the acknowledgment and effective exercise of the rights of Mother Earth.

From anthropocentrism, the Earth is a dead entity; from cosmobiocentrism, the Earth is a living organism. All who drink from Mother Earth's milk, which is water, are her sons and daughters. Humans, animals, plants, and mountains are siblings, all forming the great family of life within Mother Earth.

6. The era of Living Well in the Plurinational State of Bolivia

The history of Bolivia is the history of a long struggle by indigenous peoples and communities for a dignified and free life. It is the history of indigenous education and the Warisata school, of Agrarian Reform and the nationalization of mines and hydrocarbons, of 500 years of resistance against the Spanish invasion, of the Indianist and Katarist movements, of the Tiwanaku Manifesto (1973), of the historical struggles of the eastern communities against oppressive barbarism and slavery. It is also the history of the struggle led by central organizations such as the Bolivian Workers' Center (COB, by its Spanish acronym) and by the indigenous, native, peasant nations and peoples, intercultural organizations, and the Afro-Bolivian people.

Since 2009, Bolivia ceased to be a republic and became a Plurinational State, marking one of the most significant advances toward the path of Living Well. After more than 500 years since the arrival of the Spaniards, this land called Bolivia has regained and recognized its roots through the acknowledgment of its 36 indigenous nations and peoples.

Today, in the Plurinational State of Bolivia, we are living in the time of Living Well, which was born from Indigenous resistance to the Spanish conquest in 1492. It is the sum of all the energies with which people have resisted colonialism, capitalism, and neoliberalism throughout history.

It is the time of Loma Santa and Yvý Maräeý (the Land without Evil). It is the time of incredible and extraordinary things, achievements that might seem impossible. It is the time of *Pachakuti*, the complete upheaval of Pacha (time-space) to restore order and balance.

These are the inevitable changes needed to build a culture of life. In this time of transformation, the small become giants, and the giants become small; minds are illuminated, hearts are softened, spirits are transformed, the people govern themselves, and power is communal. Harmony, balance, and complementarity guide the world. There is no poverty. The human being is "Mother Earth that thinks⁵," and death transforms into life.



- 5 Paraphrasing Fausto Reinaga, who said that man is "earth that thinks," and that his thought is consciousness, the consciousness of the Cosmos (Reinaga, *The Criminal Rot of European Thought*, 1982).

Bolivia is the inspiration for building a new civilization of the peoples of the South and the planet—the civilization of Living Well in harmony with Mother Earth, offering an alternative life horizon beyond capitalism and modernity.

7. The urgent transition to a new life horizon: ‘the Living Well’⁶

This decade will undoubtedly be one of the most critical and challenging of the 21st century, not only because we are living in a world without leadership and a multipolar world filled with tensions and contradictions, but also because we are experiencing the unprecedented impacts of the climate crisis and other crises, such as energy and food crises, as well as the loss of identities, languages, ethics, and spirituality.

We are witnessing a profound civilizational crisis of the global capitalist system, which is driven by boundless

■
6 Based on the speech at the XVIII World Mediation Congress, 'A Life Toward a Culture of Peace and Harmony,' Jilata David Choquehuanca, August 2022.

greed and a modernism that manipulates minds and consciences in a deceptive and inhumane manner.

In this complex and difficult scenario, the vision of Living Well has emerged from ancestral and millenary societies to promote societies of peace, peaceful coexistence, and happiness. Placing life at the center must lead us to build greater peace, not only among all human beings but also among all living beings coexisting on Mother Earth.

A paradigm shift—a new global life horizon—is necessary. The world must open itself to new times, new worldviews, and new ways of thinking. Institutionalized reconnections must be built—between ourselves, with others, and with Mother Earth. The world must urgently transition toward a new life horizon: Living Well, which is based on respect for the lives of both humans and Nature, replacing the civilizational model of the global capitalist system.

Living Well is the era of the "awakening of consciousness," according to its own logic based on the codes of life emerging from a culture of life, which is living in harmony, balance, and complementarity.

The path of Living Well is the path of individual and collective *Pachakuti*—the reconstruction of a new order and balance in this 21st century. This will only be possible through the defeat of the global capitalist and imperialist anthropocentric system and the victory of cosmobiocentrism, to establish the culture of life and equality among the world' s peoples and all living beings of Mother Earth.

Living Well means having a world with integral people who are coherent between what they think, say, and do—who unite thought and feeling (think-feeling). It is the struggle to ensure that we all move forward together, that no one is left behind, that no one lacks anything, and that everything belongs to everyone.

SECONDPART

Domains of Living Well



Living Well is understood within seven domains, where each domain is a whole in itself, yet at the same time, it is part of a larger whole and is nourished by all the elements that collectively compose this totality. In this way, the first domain feeds into the second, and so on, until reaching the seventh domain, which, in turn, reinforces the previous domains in a continuous spiral dynamic, encapsulating symbolically the holistic totality within the circle of life of Mother Earth.

The first domain refers to the return to the laws, powers, and forces of Nature as the foundation for building the path of Living Well.

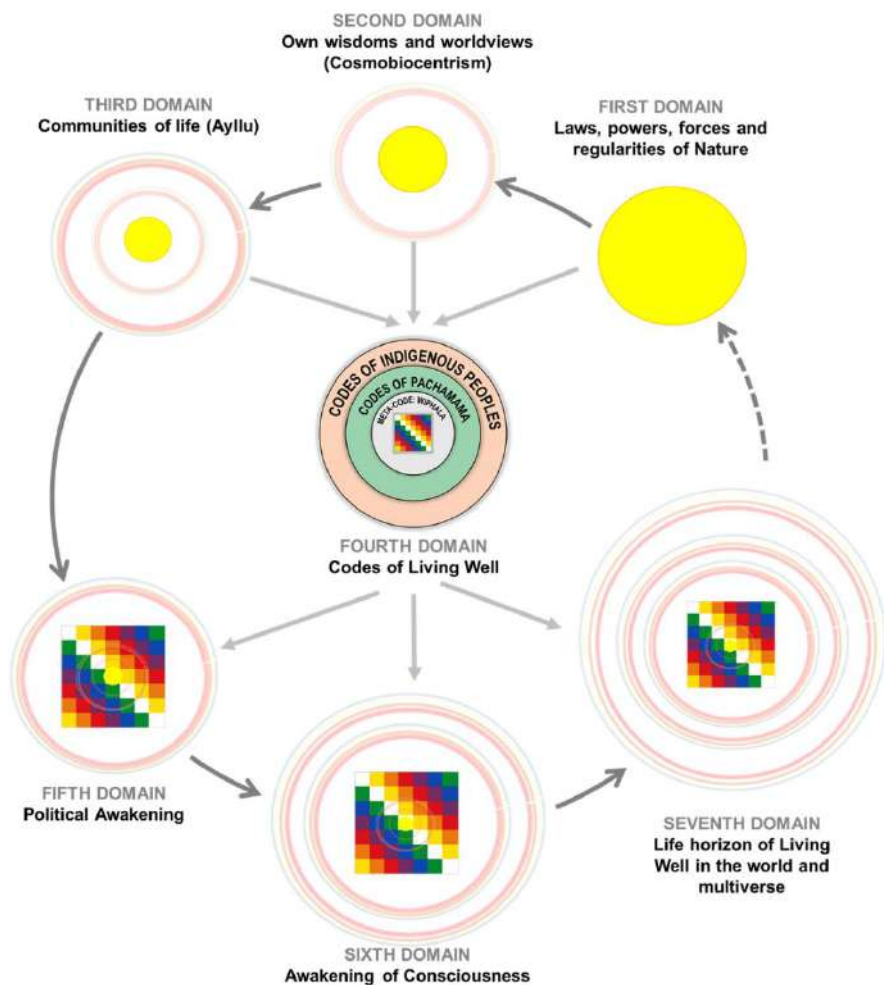
The second domain means reclaiming the own worldviews based on cosmobiocentrism. The third domain considers the expressions of Living Well within life communities.

In the fourth domain, the codification and totalization of the codes of Living Well are carried out, articulated with the laws, powers, and forces of Nature, based on the *Wiphala*, which represents the codification of the rainbow as both a symbol and a guide to structure this totality that allows refocusing the priorities and directions of Living Well as a challenge of the present era.

The fifth and sixth domains refer to the sense of the power of Living Well to establish a path of Living Well at the national level—in this case, in Bolivia—as the totalizing power of Living Well to transform the country's reality in its multiple economic, social, environmental, political, and cultural dimensions.

The seventh domain consists of proposing a universal political and strategic world-image vision based on the practical manifestations of Living Well tested in the fifth and sixth domains.

Second part. Domains of Living Well



8. First domain.

Laws, powers and forces of Nature

The first domain is the **core** of Living Well; it encompasses the return to the laws of Nature, as a shift in orientation is necessary, given that following human-made laws is leading Mother Earth and humanity toward imminent catastrophe. It involves observing, interpreting, and realization of the laws, powers, and forces of Nature centered on life, rather than human-made laws, which are monotheistic, anthropocentric, and patriarchal.

Living Well is the transition from human-made laws to the laws, powers, and forces of Nature for the nurturing of life. It therefore means constructing a new sense of direction for humanity—one that is not truly new, but rather the ancestral and millenary societies' sense of direction, so it means the return to the sense that was truncated for humanity with the advent of modern Western society.

Seven basic premises are proposed as the foundation for reconstructing Living Well in today's world⁷.

Life is the meaning of everything; it is the beginning and the end (the nurturing of life is at the center of everything).

Life and the reproduction of life are the forces that organize relationships of solidarity, complementarity, and association among all living beings and Nature. The nurturing of life sets the rhythm of Nature and creates the fundamental harmony of Mother Earth, which is the womb that reproduces life. The multiple manifestations of the laws, powers, and forces of Nature result in the reproduction of the nurturing of life within the organic totality of Mother Earth.

The universe is an organic and harmonious totality (the whole is the totalizing unity; nothing exists outside of the whole).

Everything is interconnected; nothing and no one exists in isolation. The cosmos is a unified whole that is not separated



- 7 These premises share some principles with the laws of Nature described in the Kybalion, which include the law of mentalism, the law of correspondence, the law of vibration, the law of polarity, the law of rhythm, the law of cause and effect, the law of generation, and other universal laws.

by the opposition between matter and spirit. This mutual relationship is characterized by complementarity that extends to all dimensions of the universe, and what matters is its internal balance, which is the foundation and essential support of the very existence of the cosmos⁸.

***Pachamama* and Nature are living beings with consciousness (the entire cosmos is alive, and everything has life).**

Consciousness is a characteristic of every living organism: human beings, *Pachamama*, and Nature. The destiny of humankind is intertwined with Nature, giving meaning to human life. Humans are not detached observers of the cosmos, but rather cognitively attuned to the world. They are connected to and part of the energies of the cosmos. Humans are not the only beings with consciousness; all natural systems possess consciousness or bio-consciousness⁹.

-
- 8 Van den Berg, H. (1989). *La Tierra no da así nomás. Los ritos agrícolas en la religión de los aymara-cristianos*. Amsterdam: CEDLA.
 - 9 Medina, J. (2006). *Suma Qamaña, por una convivialidad postindustrial*. La Paz: Garza Azul.

The order of the cosmos and the natural world is critical (everything has its opposite and an antinomic force).

All living processes and systems, at every level, have a critical structure, and imbalance can lead to their demise. Antinomic forces in Nature are numerous (day/night, cold/heat, man/woman, masculine/feminine, order/chaos, dry season/rainy season, etc.), they exist in tension and contradiction, constantly challenging balance. The existence of opposing forces is not an obstacle to life but rather what makes it possible¹⁰.

The foundation of totality is the dialogue between Nature, human society, and extra-human society (everything exists in balance and complementarity).

In Nature, balance manifests in the normality or regularity that occurs, whether as meteorological phenomena, stars, plants, and animals. If the rhythms of Nature are respected, normality and balance prevail. This involves an interaction between human society and non-human living beings, the souls of the deceased, personified forces of



¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Nature, and supernatural beings, all of which are part of human nature but at a deeper or higher level, expressed through rituals¹¹.

The energy of coexistence in life is composed of of material and spiritual energy networks (matter-spirit energy is both continuous and discontinuous).

Stellar constellations, their cosmic interconnections, cosmic energy, and the combination of spiritual energies of the universe and Earth with material energies animate life. Nature consists of interactions and networks. Thus, nurturing the life of the world in its fullest sense means nurturing life both materially (biologically, humanly) and spiritually. Being-in-nature is an energy manifested in communal coexistence within the community.

The organization of communities for nurturing life systems (the horizon of meaning is life).

The community is a system of life organization that integrates human societies, Nature, and extra-human

■
11 Van den Berg, H. (1989). *La Tierra no da así nomás. Los ritos agrícolas en la religión de los aymara-cristianos*. Amsterdam: CEDLA.

society, structuring kinship, spatial management, and wealth generation as a system where all energy circulates for the nurturing of life and the birthing of Mother Earth. The community is in communion with all worlds, with all living beings, both present and absent (including ancestors), and with all energetic centers¹².

9. Second domain. Own worldviews (cosmobiocentrism)

The second domain is the foundation of Living Well; it entails understanding the core cosmological, epistemological, and philosophical vision of ancestral and millenary societies. It identifies the essential and substantive aspects that constitute indigenous worldviews, representing the past, present, and future of these ancestral and millenary societies, which are centered on cosmobiocentric thought. It is based on the Andean worldview and those of other nations within the Plurinational State of Bolivia, built upon the laws, powers, and forces of Nature and allow encompassing

■
12 Choquehuanca, D. (2017). *Manifiesto del Vivir Bien: Nuestro mundo es posible*. La Paz: s.e.

a complex vision oriented toward the nurturing and reproduction of life, as an alternative to the Western worldview.

However, own worldviews are not devoid of syncretism or the imposition of new mental structures that ancestral and millenary societies have undergone because of colonialism.

Andean own worldview

The logic of totality, composed of two forces, translates into one of the main aspects of the Andean worldview: complementary opposition (or the unity of contradictions). This explanatory paradigm seeks order, simplicity, regularity, and an underlying unity behind the apparent disorder, complexity, and anomaly of the phenomenal world¹³.

Totality is encapsulated in the concept of *Pacha*, which can be understood as two forces or dual energy, or as two complementary energies that constitute space and time, or the vital complementarity that alternates two fundamental energies: time-space.¹⁴ Neither of these two forces holds



13 Lupasco, S. (1963). *Las tres materias*. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana.

14 Miranda Luizaga, J., y Viviana del Carpio (2001). *El en sí, el para sí, y el porque sí de la filosofía andina*. In *Aportes al diálogo sobre cultura*

supremacy over the other; they merely alternate and complement each other to generate life, like the systole and diastole of the heart¹⁵.

‘*Pacha*’ (totality) is founded on duality; the universe is structured upon a conflicting antagonism between the masculine and the feminine, order and disorder, sky and earth, sun and moon.¹⁶ They are the forces and energies of *Alaxpacha* (the upper world), forces and energies of the depth (*Manqhapacha*), which are gathered, processed, and emulated in life (*akapacha*)¹⁷.

The cultural heritage inherited from Tiwanaku includes symbolic processes and material assets, among which stand magnificent structures such as the Semi-Subterranean Temple, the Kalasasaya Temple (standing stones), and the

■
y filosofía andina. Miranda, J. et al. La Paz: Consejo del Saber Qulla, Goethe Institut.

- 15 Schmidt Colque, V. (2021). *Suyunpacha. Epigenética de la sabiduría del Tawantinsuyu, auge y ocaso*. La Paz: Producciones CIMA.
- 16 Untoja, F. (2012). *Retorno al Ayllu*. La Paz: Talleres ROCCO Artes Gráficas.
- 17 Yampara Huarachi, S. (2005). *Uraq-Pacha Utan Utjawi / Qamawi. Cosmovisión territorial, ecología y medio ambiente*. Inti Pacha Magazine 1.

Akapana Pyramid (which carries the light).

These spaces symbolize the three worlds of the Andean worldview: the lower world (*Manqhapacha*), where life begins and rests; the terrestrial world (*Akapacha*), where life develops, and the upper world (*Alaxpacha*), where the cosmic force for life resides.

Diagram of buildings of the Tiwanaku culture that symbolize the Andean worldview



Source: Lithic Museum of Tiwanaku;

- 1: Semi-Subterranean Temple (*Manqhapacha*);
2: Kalasasaya Temple (*Akapacha*); 3: Akapana Pyramid (*Alaxpacha*).

At the center of the Semi-Subterranean Temple of Tiwanaku stands the lithic sculpture of Kontiki (Great Creator), known in Inca culture as Wiracocha. Embedded in its walls are 175 distinct lithic heads, symbolizing the convergence of all ancestral and millenary societies of the world.

Tiwanaku: A synthesis of humanity



Source: Archeological site of Tiwanaku.

In the Andean worldview, everything exists in pairs and is based on the complementarity of opposites forming a dual unity (for example, man and woman are different but complement each other in a couple).

The figure of the anticephalus in the millenary Tiwanaku culture represents the *chachawarmi* (man and woman in Aymara), reflecting the complementarity between different forces.

Tiwanaku representation of *Chachawarmi*



Source: Lithic Museum of Tiwanaku.

In the Andean worldview, duality is also the basis for quadripartition in a logic of mirrors. Two pairs of oppositions form the tetra-complementarity of Andean thought, which is the management of two minimum pairs. However, to achieve the complementarity of two opposing entities, it is necessary to articulate polarity (similarity) with its counterpart. This results in the Andean tetralectic¹⁸.

In the Andean worldview, returning to balance, to the complementarity of the fundamental energies that reproduce life, is the *Pachakuti*¹⁹. It is the achievement of a harmonic symmetry that ensures a complementary unity between opposites, reconciling antagonisms and allowing for the convergence of interests²⁰.

The symbolic origin of the Andean worldview is found in a stepped icon of the millenary Tiwanaku culture, called *Pusi Chakani* (of the four bridges, in Aymara), which

■
18 Medina, J. (2006). *¿Qué Bolivia es posible y deseable?* La Paz: Garza Azul.

19 Schmidt Colque, V. (2021). *Suyunpacha. Epigenética de la sabiduría del Tawantinsuyu, auge y ocaso*. La Paz: Producciones CIMA.

20 Montes, F. (1999). *La máscara de piedra: Simbolismo y personalidad aymara en la historia*. La Paz: Editorial Librería Armonía.

interconnects *Akapacha* with *Manqhapacha* and Alaxpacha. In Inca culture, *Pusi Chakani* is known as *Chakana* (bridge to the above, in Quechua).

Pusi Chakani/Chakana Icon



Source: Archaeological site of Tiwanaku.

Other own worldviews

Other own worldviews of the indigenous peoples of the lowlands can be highlighted, where the foundational and structuring aspect is their way of living in relation to everything that exists, an experience that is expanded in myths and ritual ceremonies, where it is made clear that everything that exists in the world is alive and therefore, the Earth is sacred and divine²¹.

Araona. They believe in spirits (deities) and assert that the natural environment possesses life (animist stance). The *yanacona* (shaman) is the one who has the virtue and ability to communicate with the spirits.

Ayoreo. They attribute a maternal character to Nature and believe in the *Jnanibajade* or ancient men as the creators of order in the world, nature, laws, human culture, and its institutions, who have the ability to change form, becoming human, animal, mineral, or plant, either by their own will or by the intervention of *Dupade*, the sun.



21 Ministry of Education. (2017). *Cosmovisiones y filosofías. Versión preliminar*. La Paz: Ministry of Education Bolivia. General Directorate of Teacher Training.

Baure. They are animists and affirm that the spirits of nature, called “*achané*,” are scattered and immersed in all beings of nature (animals and plants).

Chacobo. They believe in animals, plants, rivers, lakes, and the dead. The Sun, the Moon, and other celestial bodies were respected because they were believed to be gods with certain powers.

Chimane. They maintain that there is a mythological relationship with the lords of the hills, the masters of animals, and the spirits of their ancestors.

Chiquitano. They refer to the “*jichi*,” the most important figure in Chiquitana mythology, recognized as the master of the forest and the animals, who also has dominion over water.

Esse Ejja. They have the myth of the creation of animals and plants, which were the work of *Edosiquiana*, who serves as the mediator between humanity and nature, seeking balance and harmony between both.

Guarayo. Animist beliefs are preserved, mainly related to the “owners” of the forest, the animals, rivers, and lakes.

Movima. They believe there is considerable respect between humans and nature; they respect the habitat of trees and animals, as well as water and the Earth.

Moxeño. They believe that spirits protect nature, including *Ichinichichana*, the tiger, and master of the forest, animals, and everything that exists in nature.

Sirionó. They believe in the “guardians” or “owners” of nature (land, water, flora, and fauna).

Tacana. They venerate Mother Earth or *Eauaquinahi* and worship spirits that protect nature, such as *daobai*, spirit of the bushes; *chibute*, the soul of trees; and *edutzi*, divinized beings or stones.

Weenbayek. They are animists and performed rituals. Their myths show that each natural resource has a protector, “*Ahats*,” and that **Tumpa** is the god of nature. They believe in the rainbow.

Yaminawa. They revere the *sicurí*; they believe their ancestors, upon dying, become these snakes. Women have the custom of painting their faces in a zigzag pattern, just like the bodies of the snakes.

Yuracaré. They believe in *Tata Tirri* (born of the owner of a tree called *wayabochi*, creator of the Yuracaré), who is said to be the creator of the Earth.

10. Third domain.

Communities of life (*ayllu*)

The third domain of Living Well is the experience of the organic totality of the *ayllu* as a system of life organization, which is the product of and nourished by the epistemological, ontological, and philosophical vision of ancestral and millennial societies. It is the community of life that has undergone attacks and metamorphoses over time but still survives as a latent example of Living Well, as well as in different current rural and urban manifestations.

The *ayllu* is the extension of the family (*X'atha*) and can be defined as a community of life or generator of vitality, it is a collective living being composed of all living beings, including humans, and ancestors present in the *wak'as*.

There are masculine *ayllus* (*aram*) and feminine *ayllus* (*urim*). *Ayllus* are communities of life where there is complementarity between those who are similar and different, not only among humans, but in complementarity with other beings of Nature and with the sacred tutelary beings, the *Wak'as* and *Achachilas*.

The ayllu is an organization of life and an institution to manage or mediate complementarity. This appears in different domains: in the economic (*ayni*), in the political (rotation), in the religious (*tinku*), and in the territorial (*aram-urin*). The existence of the other and the relationship with it express the affirmation of difference as a characteristic of each *ayllu*²².

There are four constitutive elements of the *ayllu/marka* institution, which are: i) system of management and administration of territory; ii) system of production and economy; iii) complex cultural, ritual, knowledge management, wisdom, and technology network; and iv)

22 Untoja, F. (2012). *Retorno al Ayllu*. La Paz: Talleres ROCCO Artes Gráficas.

a social organization and paired (diarchical) political government²³.

Production system and economy

The *ayllu* is based on the conflictual relationship between common property and private possession. What is common and what is private replaces violence and displaces it to the level of simultaneity and play between rival peers. The *ayllu* manages the violence of property and creates a tempered situation without falling into the trap of private land appropriation, as private property generates mercantile relations, accumulation, and its consequences²⁴.

The economy of the *ayllu* is based on complementarity, in its purest sense, an economy of Living Well where all environmental functions are shared by all, and where economic activities have a limit determined by the sustenance of life reproduction. Goods are accumulated, but

■
23 Yampara Huarachi, S. (2001). *Viaje del Jaqi a la Qamaña. El hombre en el Vivir Bien*. En *Suma Qamaña. La comprensión indígena de la buena vida*. (pp. 73-80). La Paz: GTZ.

24 Untoja, F. (2012). *Retorno al Ayllu*. La Paz: Talleres ROCCO Artes Gráficas.

their destination is nothing more than the communities themselves.

The particularity of the system was to maintain the socio-economic bifurcation over a maximum of different ecological levels in discontinuous territorial units, which allowed the *ayllu* to procure goods from other ecological levels²⁵.

Territorial management and administration system

The organization of the *ayllu's* territory is based on the principle of the two halves, meaning that duality is the condition for the reproduction of the *ayllu*. It is a spatial structure based on simultaneity that orders space and society in a series of oppositions and different levels based on duality. This dual simultaneity system is structured as a mirror game, producing a four-part architecture. The *ayllus* form the *markas* organized into two large divisions: the upper (*Alsaya* or *Aransaya*) and the lower (*Majasaya* or *Urinsaya*), which are further composed of upper and lower

25 Murra, J. (1972). *Control vertical de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en las sociedades andinas*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos - IEP.

ayllus. At a higher level, there are the *suyus* (regions), forming a tetrarchic division²⁶.

Social organization and diarchical political government

Forms of mutual aid constitute the foundation, stability, and dynamics of the *ayllu*. Life in the *ayllu* is based on maintaining complementarity and correspondence between **aram** and *urin*, where the organization of work is an exercise of power, so the economy cannot be conceived outside of politics²⁷.

In the *ayllu*, political power belongs to the community, and there is a cyclical function of power, within the framework of the need to reach consensus. The government is rotational according to the law of *muyu* or *muytha* (circularity or rotation), and *thaki* (the path to exercise authority), where one year it is the turn of the upper division and the following year it is the turn of the lower division. Authorities are men and women in complementarity (*chachawarmi*). No one can exercise authority in the *ayllu* if they do not have their complement.



26 Untoja, F. (2012). *Retorno al Ayllu*. La Paz: Talleres ROCCO Artes Gráficas.

27 *Ibid.*

Cultural network, knowledge, and wisdom

The knowledge and wisdom of our ancestral societies have always been the product of the relationship between human beings in harmony with Nature, with a vision of totality. Today, in indigenous communities, much of these practices are still preserved, expressed in cultural production such as ritual, music/dance, and other manifestations that are part of the total cultural network.

11. Fourth domain.

The codes of Living Well (*Wiphala*)

The fourth domain of Living Well involves a process of totalizing what was previously de-totalized and decoding what was eradicated as idolatries and as a foundational code by colonialist and capitalist forces. Progress is made in the process of totalizing and decoding words, symbols, images, and concepts of Living Well.

Totalization requires a structuring model, which is why the rainbow is identified as the base of totalization, as it has seven (7) colors that represent the seven (7) laws, powers, and forces of Nature (the first domain). The

rainbow is, therefore, the representation of the need to return to Nature as the organizer of the meaning of life for humanity and Mother Earth.

The codification of the rainbow is the *Wiphala*, and this symbol is assumed as the structuring base of the new totality, one that challenges the totality of modern Western society. Thus, the process of constructing the new totalization is also a political process led by ancestral and millenary societies.

Against the de-totalization and eradication of codes, the totalization and decoding of the codes of Living Well

With colonization and capitalism, there has been a systematic process of de-totalization and eradication of codes from ancestral and millenary societies.

Recently, there has been a predominance of human domination over other living beings and of unlimited economic growth and unbridled capitalism over communities of life. The Anthropocene and Capitalocene

have created conditions to end the life of *Pachamama*. We are currently living in a time of global hypocrisy, where unbridled capitalism and modernity are masked and disguised as "green capitalism," which is nothing more than the same thing, but much worse.

Humanity is forgetting that its life fundamentally depends on the life, soul, and energy of Nature and Mother Earth. Therefore, Living Well requires recovering the codes protected by ancestral and millenary societies.

Sources of totalization and decoding of the codes of Living Well

Cosmovisions are the result of a syncretism that has occurred in ancestral and millenary societies since the very beginning of colonial processes. Many visions and perceptions of the relationships between humans and Nature are mediated by other knowledge systems that have superimposed themselves over own knowledge and views. Therefore, it is essential to undertake the process of new totalization and decoding of the codes of Living Well.

The sources for advancing totalization and decoding are nourished by oral history and the symbols and expressions of ancestral and millenary societies.

Through reading the wrinkles of grandmothers and grandfathers, decoding our ceremonial textiles and ceramics, reading the messages of our ancestors in the stones, and dialoguing with Mother Earth in our rituals and sacred sites, we reconstruct the knowledge and codes of Living Well²⁸.

Codification of the rainbow

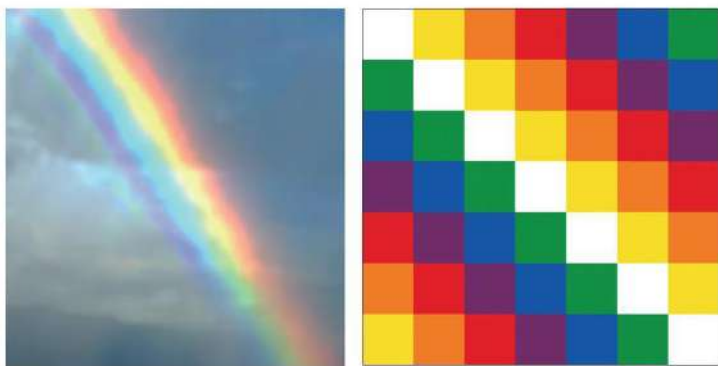
The codification of the rainbow is the *Wiphala* and represents the totality of Living Well. The *Wiphala* is a concept, a tangible and intangible object, not just a symbol like the flag. The *Wiphala* is *Wiphala*, and the flag is the flag²⁹.

The *Wiphala*, as a symbol, is the interweaving of two projections of the rainbow that weave together and form its



- 28 Choquehuanca Céspedes, D., (2017). *Manifiesto del Vivir Bien: Nuestro mundo es posible*. La Paz: n.e.
- 29 Choquehuanca, G. (2003). *Origen y constitución de la Wiphala*. La Paz: Editorial Fund of the Deputies..

structure, demonstrating the power of complementarity (*kurmis*). In this context, there is a close articulation between the *Wiphala* and the *chakana*, forming a *chakana-Wiphala* figure.



The *Wiphala* represents the universal structural concept of totality because it belongs to no one and is for all peoples; it can be said that it is the structuring and unifying element of the peoples.

It is the symbol of noble integration, brotherhood, and complementarity between all peoples. The rainbow, existing in all places on the planet, is an inclusive totalizing

code system for all ancestral and millenary societies and a natural manifestation of the culture of life because it is an element born from Nature itself.

The *Wiphala* embodies within it a set of codes and symbols, and when used, it externalizes the different codes that convey the vision of complementarity, balance, and harmony, showing us how to advance in the *Pachakuti* individually and collectively. In the face of a chaotic and disordered world, the *Wiphala* shows us how to move toward the path of the new balance of the Tenth *Pachakuti*³⁰.

The *Wiphala* is a sacred symbol that identifies the community system based on equity, equality, harmony, solidarity, and reciprocity, with the following meanings for its colors³¹:



30 *Ibid.*

31 Supreme Decree No. 241, of August 5, 2009, which regulates the characteristics and use of the Tricolor Flag, the Bolivian National Anthem, the Coat of Arms, the *Wiphala*, the Badge, the Kantuta Flower, and the Patujú flower, which constitute the Symbols of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, according to what is established in Paragraph II of Article 6 of the Political Constitution of the State.

Red, represents planet Earth; it embodies humanity's intellectual development and the cosmic philosophy within the wisdom and knowledge of the sages—everything within the visible material world.

Orange, represents society and culture. It also signifies the preservation and reproduction of the human species, regarded as the most valuable heritage. It encompasses health and medicine, education and training, as well as the cultural engagement of dynamic youth.

Yellow, represents energy and strength, reciprocity and complementarity. It expresses the moral principles of men and women, the laws and norms, and the collectivist practice of human solidarity.

White, represents time and dialectics: cyclical history, the advancement of science and technology, art, and both intellectual and manual labor, which foster reciprocity and harmony within the communal structure.

Green, represents the economy and production, symbolizing natural wealth—flora and fauna, hydrological and mineral resources, land, and territory.

Blue, represents space, cosmic energy, the infinite, and the spirit that animates everything.

Violet, represents politics and social and communal ideology. It embodies the State as a higher entity, the structure of power, social, economic, and cultural organizations, and the administration of the people and the nation.

The *Wiphala*, as a codification of the rainbow and a generalization of Living Well, serves as a bridge between the foundational elements of thought and the cosmological structures of the Living Well vision of ancestral and millenary societies and the concrete demands for Living Well within the context of political awakening and awakening of consciousness, and in its projection towards the construction of the universal life horizon of Living Well.

Codes of Living Well in the *Wiphala*

To achieve Living Well, the codes safeguarded by ancestral and millenary societies must be applied. These codes are embedded in the *Wiphala*, according to its colors, the arrangement of those colors, and their placement within the geometric figure representing totality.

The codes of Living Well reflect the totalizing structure of the *Wiphala* within the framework of the laws, powers, and forces of Nature (first domain), the worldview of the culture of life (second domain), and the teachings of community/*ayllu* life organization (third domain).

The main Codes of Living Well are:

Qhapaq Ñan is the main path toward Living Well. It is the path of brotherhood, the unity of diversities in a complementary becoming of human beings and all living beings of Mother Earth, of totality. *Qhapaq Ñan* is the longing to return to the path of life, with full respect for *Pachamama*, our mountains, our forests, our waters, the rain, everything that is life.

Sarawi means advancing along the path of life, the noble path of integration and complementarity. It is the path of the heart and truth. It is not just a physical transit route but also a spiritual path and a cosmobiocentric, cyclical and spiraling life horizon.

Tama is the great family, the complementary relationship among everything that has life, Mother Earth, and the

cosmos. It represents a brotherhood among all who inhabit the cosmos, living in balance and complementarity. All living beings belong to a great family.

Illa, Ispalla means the renewal of life, the seed representing *ch'ama* and *qama* (physical and spiritual strength), essential for living interconnected with all living beings. It is the genesis, renewal, and continuous revitalization of life, the joy of rebirth, fertility, and abundance.

Uywiri is the benefactor, the person who assumes the role of protector, the guardian of life, ensuring the well-being of all life and biodiversity. We are caretakers and protectors.

Jallalla means "everything for life", it means that all actions we take are directed toward and in service of life. *Jallalla* is celebrating and rejoicing in life because we are the messengers of the culture of life.

Saphi is the recovery of our cultural roots, the appreciation of who we are, what we carry from our ancestors, and what we pass on, which has not been dominated by colonialism.

Amuyu is becoming aware of our thoughts and ideas. It is the memory of our experiences and learnings. It is the awareness of our ideology, intellectual capacity, and the realization of our ability to think.

Yuyay is the strength of independent thought, having our own ideology, generating ideas. Through *Yuyay*, we position ourselves in our journey. *Yuyay* provides us with thoughts, memories, and imaginations, helping us walk the *thaki* toward Living Well.

Taqpacha is the totality or the whole, representing life in harmony and balance within the totality of the cosmos and within the totality of our Mother Earth. It encompasses all that we perceive and what we cannot perceive but coexists with us. Everything we feel, do, and think is part of multiple relationships with other experiences, with which we co-exist, co-feel, co-think, and co-create. That is why everything must flow in balance and be part of cosmic harmony, establishing that everything is interconnected and coexists harmoniously in totality.

Qhawana is seeing beyond what our eyes perceive. It means reading reality through our own decolonized eyes and understanding that we are part of the universe's totality. It also means looking inward, into our hearts, and our conscience.

Tumpa is remembering everyone—*Pachamama*, the sun father, the mountains, the deceased, orphans, someone or something we deeply cherish. It is a feeling that continuously emerges in the heart of the *Jaqi*, who sees his fellow beings as reflections of himself. It represents the cyclical and dynamic time of life, which is not just about asking and receiving but also about giving and expressing gratitude.

Pachakuti is the return to cosmic balance, the overturning of time and space. It is the transition from chaos to order in the cosmos. It is the return to the complementarity of the fundamental energies that reproduce life. It means the reestablishment of balance with Mother Earth. It is the transition from multiple civilizational crises toward a life horizon in harmony, balance, and complementarity; it is the transition from the culture of death to the culture of life.

Tinku/Chajwa is the preservation of balance through reconciliation. Any situation of conflict, chaos, or imbalance is restructured through *Tinku/Chajwa*. It reconciles divisions between opposites—between the upper (*Aransaya*) and the lower (*Urinsaya*). Encounters are necessary to achieve balance.

Chachawarmi, more than just the male-female relationship in a mechanical sense; it is the essence of complementarity within the diversity and totality of the cosmos. It expresses the complementarity between men and women living in harmony. In ancestral wisdom, everything has its complement because everything is life in balance.

Yanantin is the complementarity of opposite pairs in all aspects of life. From our ancestors, all things have their opposites (night/day, cold/hot, sun/moon, male herb/female herb, male stone/female stone, man/woman...) that complement rather than exclude each other. This principle, found in all things and beings in the cosmos, is fundamental to understanding life's complementarity.

Aruskipasipxañanakasakipunirakispawa means "we must always communicate and always dialogue" to complement one another, reach consensus, and live in

balance with all that exists. It expresses the need for dialogue among all, respecting differences.

Chuymampi means “everything with the heart”—to think, speak, and act from the heart. It is similar to the Guaraní concept of *pua añemongeta*, meaning to speak from the heart.

Tupu, walking with measure and respect—respect for our mothers, elders, children, and sisters; walking with respect for the rain, bees, mountains; walking with respect for the frost, hail, rivers, and all beings, not just humans; walking with respect for the sovereignty of our peoples.

Larama is rebellion with wisdom. It entails the complementarity of youthful rebellion, renewal, and revolutionary ideas with the wisdom of elders and ancestors, nurturing rebellious minds and hearts with wisdom.

Jaqi is a person who assumes responsibility for nurturing and protecting life, ensuring balance in their surroundings and beyond. It is the realization of a person in the duality

of man/woman, fulfilling himself or herself through community life.

K'umara is a person who is healthy and pure in all aspects, caring for life, water, mountains, snow, rivers... One is not *K'umara* if they pollute rivers, harm mountains, or destroy forests. Living Well is nourished by health and purity.

Iyambae is a person who has no owner; it is a manifestation of rebellion. It is to be free, like the wind, which is also free.

Ayllu, it is the system of life community organization. It embodies the principles of complementarity and balance in communal life, reflecting collective access to ecosystems, representation of authorities based on rotation (*muyu*), celebrations, and all that constitutes life in community, in balance with *Pachamama*.

Panaka Pachakuti is the struggle to restore balance, led by the children of the new *Pachakuti*, who are brothers and sisters fighting for transformation, not only for us, but also for all, on the path (*thaki*) of Living Well. It relates to

organizing territories to transform them into true life communities for harmonious coexistence, to rebuild the great Abya Yala or mature land of eternal youth.

Thakhi Muyu is the outlined path taken to achieve Living Well, which is the path to restoring life and is not linear, but cyclical and spiral. Circularity and rotation embody the practice of *amuyu* and *yuyay*. For this reason, in communities of life, governance is based on codes such as *muyu* or *muytha*, which represent the circularity or rotation of the *thaki* to exercise authority. Everything circulates, just as life flows.

Chiqa Thakhi is the path of truth. It is acting righteously, correctly, without deviation from the path, the only path because truth and righteousness are one and the same. It is the ascertainment of the restored equilibrium, a state of things that declares its restitution.

Iwxa refers to the recommendations, advice, or good wishes shared by grandparents and elders to help one stay on the right path. Therefore, it also involves knowing how to listen, reflect, and consider advice, which is understanding community life. An *Iwxa* recovers the

depth of amuyu, the human sense of walking the right path, and the principles and values of the community of life.

Jiwasa/Noqanchis means "it is not just me, it is us." It represents the reunion with the *ayllu* and communal energy. It is the natural dissolution of egocentrism and anthropocentrism. "We" refers to all living beings and ancestors, who must walk together and united as a collective "we."

Ayni is one of the main institutions of the communities of life related to mutual aid, collaboration, and reciprocity. It is the living expression of solidarity between individuals and communities when support is needed, given naturally without expectation of reward. It is understood that retribution will also come naturally in similar situations.

Qullqa refers to preventive measures aimed at ensuring food and shelter during difficult times caused by natural imbalances, such as droughts, floods, and extreme frosts. It involves looking at past natural imbalances (looking back) to anticipate what is to come (looking forward). It is

linked to the organizational capacity of communities of life in storing vital goods for redistribution, considering the well-being of all.

12. Fifth domain.

The political awakening

The fifth domain expresses the key enabling factors for transitioning from the totalization process of Living Well toward a complex domain: the construction of a state-driven process for configuring Living Well, including political and public management domains, referred to as the 'political awakening.'

Living Well is the construction of a new life horizon, a new state, a new society, and a new economy. This must advance in a practical sense, transforming the dominant socioeconomic, political, and ideological relations of the state. Although it is still difficult to determine the definitive structure of the Living Well State, progressing in this transition is essential. In reality, this transition is a fundamental requirement for constructing the horizon of Living Well within the political domain of the state.

Additionally, Living Well entails the full manifestation of its dimensions: Well-Knowing, Well-Doing, Well-Being, and Well-Feeling. When these four conditions are met, we can truly speak of Living Well/Well Living³².

Well- Knowing refers to the system of knowledge upon which our perception of reality is based (gnosphere). However, knowledge is constructed within a social context that depends on a set of values and principles (sociosphere).

Well- Being refers to the ubiquity and sense of belonging in a specific time-space territory, relating to and interacting in relationality with what surrounds it. This defines a quality of coexistence with biological systems (ecosphere) alongside the human social sphere (sociosphere).

Well-Doing includes all objects, infrastructure, and material elements created by human beings (technosphere)



32 Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2015). *La construcción de la ontología y la métrica del Vivir Bien*. La Paz: General Directorate of Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Bolivia.

and all actions aimed at improving life or the creative processes of living systems in economic, political, social, and cultural aspects, which also involve tangible and intangible elements necessary for implementing governance systems (sociosphere).

Well Feeling, relates to values and principles (sociosphere) as well as knowledge and wisdom, in the sense that the awakening of consciousness involves the empowerment of one's ideologies and knowledge (gnososphere).

Among the main manifestations of the political awakening, the following stand out, considering the application of the codes of Living Well in the Plurinational State of Bolivia and their placement within the four dimensions mentioned above:

Visibility of Living Well knowledge

The complexity of understanding life from a holistic and integral perspective is becoming more visible, integrating material, spiritual, economic, political, and cultural dimensions, among others. The most recognized and visible

forms of knowledge include³³:

- *Knowing how to grow.* Growing as daughters and sons nurtured by Mother Earth, establishing mutual nurturing ties with all living beings as sisters and brothers.
- *Knowing how to nourish oneself.* Nourishing oneself to satisfy material and spiritual needs with food, air, ideas, dreams, rituals, and revolutionary actions.
- *Knowing how to dance.* Dancing in gratitude to Mother Earth and during community celebrations, fostering harmony among people. It is aligning with the changing seasons as an expression of our spiritual and energetic dimension.
- *Knowing how to work.* Understanding work as a celebration and a source of happiness, rooted in reciprocity and complementarity. Work is not

33 Law No. 300 Framework Law of Mother Earth and Integral Development for Living Well, October 15, 2012. La Paz, Bolivia: Official Gazette of the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

exploitation.

- *Knowing how to communicate.* Communicating and knowing how to speak, thinking and feeling well before speaking, and using speech to build, encourage, and contribute.
- *Knowing how to dream.* Dreaming of a good future and projecting life, recognizing that everything begins with a dream, because dreams are the starting point of reality. Dreaming that Living Well is possible and that our path is achievable.
- *Knowing how to listen.* Listening to each other to know, recognize, respect, and help one another.
- *Knowing how to think.* Reflecting not only from a rational perspective but also from the heart and soul, ensuring that, without losing reason, we always walk the path of the heart.
- *Knowing how to meditate.* Merging with cosmic and earthly energy, connecting with the totality of Mother Earth to live in balance with oneself, others, and Nature.

- *Knowing how to govern.* Governing for everyone based on consensus, considering the thoughts, feelings, desires, and expressions of others, the community, and all living beings who coexist on Mother Earth.
- *Knowing how to love and be loved.* Loving one's partner and working together in *chachawarmi*, but also extending love to everyone in the community and feeling love for life itself.
- *Knowing how to respect.* Respecting all human beings and all living beings as similar yet different entities that exist in complementarity.

Educational process from indigenous worldviews

The goal is to dismantle colonial and patriarchal structures imposed through a Eurocentric and anthropocentric perspective and to overcome Western strategies of homogenization and acculturation. The aim is to restore education from the plurinationality of ancestral and millenary societies and their own worldviews based on Living Well, through a socio-community productive educational process currently in force in the Plurinational State of Bolivia, in

accordance with Law No. 070 "Avelino Siñani - Elizardo - Pérez" of December 20, 2010.

The educational process is community-based, democratic, participatory, and consensus-driven, founded on the coexistence of human beings with the community, Mother Earth, and the Cosmos from a holistic understanding. Education, understood in this way, is diverse and plural, responding to the geographical, cultural, social, and political reality, and is implemented through curricular modalities that reflect this plural reality. It seeks the integral and holistic training of the human being, developed through experiential dimensions such as being (spiritual), knowing (cognitive), doing (productive), and deciding (organizational), in harmony with Mother Earth. This education integrates intracultural, intercultural, and multilingual approaches with socio-community values, community health, and life-sustaining production.

Recognition of Mother Earth as a subject of rights (normative approach)

Mother Earth is considered sacred; she nourishes and serves as the home that contains, sustains, and reproduces all living beings, ecosystems, biodiversity, organic societies, and the individuals that compose her. She is a dynamic living system

made up of the indivisible community of all life systems and living beings, interrelated, interdependent, and complementary, sharing a common destiny.

Accordingly, the Plurinational State of Bolivia has made progress in recognizing the rights of Mother Earth through Law No. 71, enacted on December 21, 2010, and Law No. 300, enacted on October 15, 2012. These laws establish, based on the rights of Mother Earth, the vision and foundations of integral development in harmony and balance with Mother Earth to achieve Living Well, ensuring the continued regenerative capacity of Mother Earth's components and life systems, while recovering and strengthening local knowledge and ancestral wisdom within a framework of complementary rights, obligations, and duties.

Nationalization of Mother Earth's components

In response to the imposition and domination of colonialism, exacerbated by neoliberal policies, a path has emerged toward structural transformations in the management of strategic natural resources. This path values

the claims of indigenous native peasant nations and peoples and their harmonious interrelationship with Nature and social forces.

This path lays the foundation for dismantling colonialism and neoliberalism while constructing a plurinational community-based state that enables the empowerment of emerging social movements and indigenous peoples, with Living Well as its main objective, building a dignified, sovereign, productive, and democratic country based on nationalization, reclaiming ownership, possession, and full control over natural resources to ensure their sustainable use for the benefit of the country.

The nationalization of strategic natural resources is, therefore, focused on eliminating the root causes of inequality and social exclusion, which means eradicating the foundations of colonialism and the neoliberalism that sustains it.

Plurinational community state with plurality and pluralism

It is the full realization of the economic, political, social, and legal rights of all indigenous, native, and peasant

nations and peoples who inhabit the territory of a state.

It is the rethinking of democracy based on plurality and pluralism, and the restructuring of the state, recognizing the diversity of nationalities and their forms of territorial self-government. It is the transition to the democratization of participation and representation at political decision-making levels as a guiding principle of the state, based on interculturality to guarantee Living Well and coexistence in equality of rights.

Intercultural public management

It is the materialization of plural and intercultural democracy through the management of dialogue of knowledges and consensus in the different organs of the Plurinational State and in the various manifestations of human rights and Mother Earth's rights, recreating and revaluing the knowledge and practices of ancestral and millennial societies.

Intercultural public management is about rethinking politics with ethical-moral principles based on plurality and pluralism, which involves opening new spaces for citizen participation and social control at all levels of

government of the state and in the care of Mother Earth. It is the humanization of politics with intercultural reference frameworks—economic, social, cultural, and environmental. It is the recognition of the other and Mother Earth as subjects of law, to organize life.

Indigenous peasant autonomies

Given the pre-colonial existence of the indigenous, native, and peasant nations and peoples and their ancestral dominion over their territories, with their own culture, history, languages, and legal, political, social, and economic institutions, their right to free determination within the framework of the unity of the state is guaranteed. This includes their right to autonomy, self-government, their culture, the recognition of their institutions, and the consolidation of their territorial entities.

The self-government of indigenous peasant autonomies is exercised according to their norms, institutions, authorities, and procedures, for territorial management, and the exclusive use and exploitation of the components and life systems of Mother Earth existing in their territory.

Management of Mother Earth' s life systems

The management of life systems incorporates the vision of Living Well in harmony and balance with Mother Earth into public policies, drawing from the ancestral vision of millennial peoples and cultures regarding the organic, animistic, and systemic relationship between humans and Nature, inasmuch as these societies considered and still consider themselves part of the cycles of Nature, forming a single living and self-regulating organism.

The vision of managing life systems means advancing a new way of thinking, developing, and managing public affairs from the integral perspective of life. It transcends the sectorial and rationalist approach of Western logic and incorporates a perspective where the balances between the material and spiritual, the objective and subjective, the world above and the world below are all equally important.

Community social productive economy

The economy under the principles of Living Well is based on the conception that the material product of all community efforts should be redistributed socially

through multiple relationships of complementarity, which eliminates any possibility of accumulation leading to competitive relationships where the satisfaction of one excludes the satisfaction of the other.

Accordingly, the economy of Living Well is a social community productive economy, whose ultimate goal is to generate the material, social, and spiritual conditions for social reproduction, based on productive systems in harmony and balance with the regenerative capacity of the components of Mother Earth. Therefore, being linked to both human life and Nature at the same time, it is a biocentric economy, strongly opposed to the capitalist anthropocentric paradigm of maximum profit that leads to the exhaustion of Mother Earth.

Decolonization and depatriarchalization through legislation

These form a transformative and democratizing force of Living Well, promoting the total elimination of racial, cultural, and gender discrimination, and advancing the recognition and strengthening of the knowledge, sciences, and wisdom of indigenous, native, and peasant nations

and peoples, as well as the urban population.

The free determination of peoples, expressed through the democratic and cultural revolution, breaks with the legacy of the colonial and republican system of inequality and exclusion, not only social but also political and economic, where privileges existed for a minority that subordinated the majority, giving rise to a plural country in legal, economic, political, social, and cultural aspects. In this framework, the various nations and peoples form the foundation for the creation of a new plurinational community state, enriched by a process of intercultural, intracultural, and multilingual dialogue, strengthening revolutionary action in democracy.

13. Sixth domain.

The awakening of consciousness

The sixth dimension is the understanding of the 'awakening of consciousness' to advance in the effective construction of Living Well, as an expression of the conditioning factors of Living Well, in order to lay the foundation for the deepest processes directed toward a life horizon defined by Living Well.

The second moment in the construction of Living Well is the awakening of consciousness. It involves the political empowerment of the people, including social organizations representing ancestral and millennial societies, creating the conditions to initiate the reversal of asymmetric structures in the state's vision and its operation through public policies. However, this must necessarily be complemented by a second moment, which is the 'awakening of consciousness' of the people, to effectively set in motion a transformative and creative process toward Living Well.

The following are the main manifestations of the awakening of consciousness, articulated around the four dimensions of Living Well (Well-Knowing, Well-Doing, Well-Being, and Well-Feeling), which involve the complementing application of the codes of Living Well.

Reframing the worldview toward an era of balance, harmony, and complementarity

This signifies the death of mental, economic, social, political, cultural, and life organization patterns based on the Anthropocene and Capitalocene. The government of

Living Well represents the end of egocentrism, eurocentrism, and anthropocentrism. At the same time, it involves reorganizing and rethinking all dimensions of individual and collective life from the triple life code of Living Well: balance, harmony, and complementarity.

Living by the *Ama Suwa*, *Ama Llulla*, *Ama Qhella* (cosmobiocentric)

The principles of Living Well are reflected in the ancestral and millennial precepts of *Ama Suwa* (do not steal), *Ama Llulla* (do not lie), and *Ama Qhella* (do not be lazy). However, these principles must become values of coexistence among all living beings of Mother Earth from a cosmobiocentric perspective³⁴.

- *Ama suwa* "to not to steal from Mother Earth," as we must not take for our own benefit what also belongs to other living beings, nor should we steal the future from Mother Earth.

■
34 Choquehuanca Céspedes, D. (2021). *Encuentro Mundial de los Pueblos*. In-person presentation: Plurinational State of Bolivia.

- *Ama llulla* "to not lie to Mother Earth" because we cannot lie and pretend we are working for the benefit of all living beings when, in reality, we are working only for the benefit of humans.
- *Ama qhella* "to not be lazy with Mother Earth", because we want to make the most of the Nature's products, goods, and environmental functions without also working to care for and regenerate life.

Creating dialogues and interlearning between own thinking and modern sciences

Living Well means reading the wrinkles of our grandmothers and grandfathers, for they represent wisdom, experience, and own knowledge passed down orally—open libraries that have existed since time immemorial. It means keeping culture and identity alive, honoring the past and the most sacred antiquity. It is about valuing ancestral and millenary wisdom in the construction of interscientific knowledge. However, this does not mean disregarding the importance of modern sciences; rather, it involves working through interscientific dialogue and epistemological parity between modern and ancestral and millenary sciences to

complement each other in achieving a holistic understanding of life.

Living as people (women and men) of light

Living Well is not about living better or accumulating. Everything done within the framework of Living Well is done with respect for all living beings and the laws of Nature. Everything is done in moderation. It is about living as women and men who transcend material existence, who do not fear darkness nor clarity and transparency.

Walking with respect and moderation toward the rights of all living beings

This means reversing the logic of prioritization and implementation of rights, placing the rights of Mother Earth first—as the original source and giver of rights—followed by community and individual rights in alignment with the former. It signifies progressing toward the exercise of cosmic rights. It is understood that human rights cannot override the rights of other living beings. Therefore, we must recognize the need to move beyond human rights toward the effective recognition and exercise

of the rights of Mother Earth. The affirmation of the Mother's life is the condition for affirming the lives of her children. It means nurturing water, nurturing life; understanding that water is the milk of Mother Earth. Nurturing it also means respecting it as a subject, as a living being.

Within Living Well, progress has been made in recognizing Mother Earth as a subject of rights and as the giver of rights to her daughters and sons. In this way, the rights of Mother Earth form the foundation for human rights, as well as the rights of indigenous nations and peoples in their various dimensions—individual and collective, economic, cultural, and political rights. Cosmic rights are also essential in a world where small elites are already planning the colonization of space, treating it as their private property simply because they have the technology to begin controlling it.

Self-governance as 'Mother Earth that thinks and feels'

This means carrying out all government and public management actions from the deepest understanding and consciousness of Mother Earth, considering the impacts on all her daughters and sons. It is about advancing the

the design and implementation of actions centered on Mother Earth and the full harmonization of her life systems, thinking and feeling as mountains, rivers, plants, and animals. The one who governs is 'Mother Earth that thinks' because they prioritize Mother Earth over human conditions. They work towards building a world of equality, free from hierarchies among living beings.

Living as communities (*ayllus*) for the nurturing of life

It is about working for the coexistence of all living beings, both present and absent, nourished by cosmic and telluric forces, where day/night, above/below, balance/imbalance—resolve themselves complementarily to nurture life, respecting the laws of Nature.

Living Well aspires to a simple, austere life that maintains balance with the whole, serving both human and natural life. In contrast, living better translates into an individualistic, selfish existence that disregards others, prioritizing only personal interests and concentrating wealth in the hands of a few, while Living Well does not seek material wealth but

rather spiritual wealth—a dignified life where everyone lives well.

Always dialoguing until reaching consensus

A fundamental premise of Living Well is to always engage in dialogue to reach consensus among both the present and the absent. Dialogue is not selfish; it considers those who are not present and all living beings. In Living Well, opposing polarities find their complementarity, achieving harmony and balance by building bridges toward otherness, with respect and without impositions. Harmonizing life systems means achieving harmony and balance between economic growth, the eradication of extreme poverty, the protection of environmental functions, and the strengthening of cultural identities, among others, according to plural perceptions of life systems.

Complementing each other as symmetrical equals without hierarchies or social classes

Living Well is about striving for equality among all living beings, including humans, to strengthen complementarity, as true complementarity can only exist among symmetrical

equals. Complementarity is impossible in a world divided by asymmetries, inequalities, and gaps. Thus, working for complementarity means working for a world without social classes, without disparities, and without social and economic divisions.

Walking the path of authority by obeying the people

This means working with authorities who walk the path of service to their communities, prioritizing collective and common well-being over personal gain. True authority repays the power entrusted to them with humility and selflessness, ensuring that all people live well. Authority does not make unilateral decisions, but always acts according to the will of the people, because it governs by obeying the people. Thus, the political ethics of Living Well involve acting with integrity, staying on the right path because the truth and righteousness are one and the same. It means following the path of life with balance and harmony, grounded in consensus and social control for community decision-making in pursuit of collective well-being.

Governing by looking at the past and seeing beyond the future

It is essential to move forward into the future while looking at our roots and own identities. The past holds the experience of life in its entirety, the memory of the life horizon codes, and the way of living as one great family to nurture life. The future lies behind us in the past, and this perspective must shape our vision of the future, which remains unknown. Moreover, we must see beyond what our eyes perceive.

Making Mother Earth's economy flow and circulate

This means building an economy where everyone lives well by ensuring that resources flow and circulate. It requires eliminating all forms of privatization and commodification of Mother Earth and her environmental functions—Mother Earth is not a commodity to be bought and sold. The economy of Living Well and Mother Earth is a plural economy, one that generates wealth while preserving life. It is an economy based on complementarity between exchange and reciprocity, an economy without accumulation but with redistribution. It is the economy of *preste*, *pasanaku*, and *illas*—one that

flows with the blessings of the deities, of *Pachamama*, and our *Achachilas*. Our economy must be built as an economic metabolism that finds balance through the nurturing of life. It means reclaiming what Mother Earth offers all her daughters and sons for shared, balanced, fair, and equitable enjoyment—ensuring harmony and coexistence between humans and Nature, as opposed to the irrational extractivism of our own resources.

Developing technologies and infrastructure for the reproduction of natural and organic life

Modern society has distanced itself from the laws of Nature and is now programming itself to reproduce artificial life in laboratories through what is called synthetic biology. The Western paradigm seeks to replace organic and natural life with artificial, tailor-made life—creating new forms of life instead of strengthening the nurturing of existing life. It is necessary to recover ways of producing knowledge and non-destructive technologies from ancestral sciences that are based on preserving vital balances and other Western knowledge that has become disconnected from the forces, powers, and laws of Nature.

Decolonizing through think-feeling

This means understanding that feeling is the fundamental basis for awakening consciousness. It requires building life communities that express the horizon of Living Well, rooted in decolonization and depatriarchalization, guided by both our own thinking and our own hearts. It implies understanding that decolonization is necessary to build from the de-totalization that the West imposed on ancestral and millenary societies, a totality that constitutes the true otherness of the West. This is the only alternative to constructing a world that does not disintegrate. The goal is not to create a world in the image and likeness of the West, with a periphery of underdeveloped countries; rather, through decolonization and depatriarchalization, the aim is to reclaim the path of life of ancestral and millenary societies.

Living in peace and happiness by eradicating violence against Mother Earth and human beings

In modern society, violence has not been limited to people—it has expanded aggressively toward Mother Earth, who is now in a state of extreme vulnerability. It is necessary to eradicate all forms of violence, especially against Mother Earth, who is the source of life. At the same

time, all forms of violence against people must also be eradicated, starting with discrimination and racism—both of which are abusive processes of political, economic, and cultural domination over ancestral and millenary societies.

Developing the full potential of Living Well from within and from the deepest core

This means recovering, restoring, and revaluing our identity so that, from that foundation, we can open ourselves to the world—learning until we reaffirm, strengthen, and develop our identity as a teaching to share with the world. It means being a rebel with wisdom, which entails the symbolic and intellectual decolonization of the cognitive system of anthropocentrism and capitalism—not only as a political and economic reality but also, above all, as a fundamentally political act. This must be done using our own language, with the energy of new generations and the wisdom of ancestral and millenary societies to fully restore all that the West has sought to destroy.

It means understanding the depth of the *Ixwas* of our grandmothers and grandfathers in order to build the world of Living Well:

- That we all move forward together. *Taqpach jaqinakaxa ma-yaki sarantapxañani.*
- That no one is left behind. *Jan khitis qhiparpanti.*
- That no one lacks anything. *Janiw khitirus kunas thackpanti.*
- That everything belongs to everyone. *Taqikunasa takenitakiña-pawa.*
- Looking backward, looking forward, we must live in the present. *Uñt'asin nayra qhepa ñauki xaqñasawa.*
- With feeling and courage, things must be done. *Chuymasampi qamasampi lurañawa.*
- Observing where it comes in and where it goes out, from the left and the right, we must live. *Kauqins jalsuni jalantani, ch'eqa kupi uñtasin jakasiñasawa.*

14. Seventh domain.

Universal life horizon of Living Well

The Anthropocene has caused an enormous imbalance in the world, leading Mother Earth toward an irreversible

collapse. In the brief fraction of time that humans have been present in universal history, they are ending billions of years of life on the planet, self-destructing the very source of their own existence, which is Mother Earth.

The Western vision has imposed itself on all other worldviews and millenary civilizations, influencing nearly all societies and corners of the planet in this century. This imposition occurred through colonial processes backed by the force of religion and arms, and through ideologies that permeated indigenous worldviews by eradicating idolatries and replacing their ways of seeing the world with new perspectives that radically denied their identities. Very few ancient and ancestral cultures have resisted, surviving with their own economic, religious, political, social, and cultural models, as well as their own ontologies and epistemologies.

The Western world, in addition to imposing itself on other cultures through colonization and recolonization processes, has developed a way of life based on the

supremacy of human beings over Nature. However, despite all its efforts, it has not been able to eradicate the worldview of ancestral and millenary societies that uphold respect for Gaia, *Pachamama*, and Mother Earth.

Today, humanity faces the consequences of Mother Earth's imbalances, manifested in the climate crisis, mass species extinction, water scarcity, the deterioration of vital cycles, persistent poverty and inequality, and the loss of Nature's ability to regenerate itself.

A lasting solution to humanity's multiple crises requires replacing the model of anthropocentrism with the cosmobiocentrism of the culture of life placing Mother Earth and all living systems at the center. We must build Living Well in harmony with Mother Earth. Additionally, we must halt society's shift toward post-humanism and transhumanism, which threaten the future of humanity, and instead work to strengthen communities and systems of life.

The following transformational principles of Living Well integrate the previously discussed dimensions.

These principles define the universal life horizon in Living Well.

Living Well resists capitalism and goes beyond socialism

Living Well goes beyond the simple division between capitalism and socialism. While capitalism prioritizes capital, surplus value, and money, and socialism focuses on human beings and meeting the ever-growing needs of societies, Living Well challenges capitalism and transcends socialism. For Living Well, the most important goal is to build a culture of life and peace for all living beings.

Living Well opposes the capitalist development model promoted by Western society—the model of “living better.” This model has brought imbalances, crises, and disasters to humanity and Mother Earth.

Living Well aligns with socialism in its pursuit of fulfilling human needs, but it extends beyond socialism and beyond

humanity itself. For Living Well, the most important value is life itself.

Living Well fights for free and sovereign states, and goes further: toward plurinational, decolonized, and intercultural states

It is essential to eliminate the interference of one state or people over another, but this alone is not enough.

Decolonization means dismantling the mental structures that uphold absolute truths and superior ways of thinking, which discriminate against knowledge and perspectives from other realities. Likewise, depatriarchalization means breaking down structures of domination that favor men at the expense of women in social, political, and economic relations

True interculturality can only exist once colonization has ended, because interculturality cannot be built between asymmetrical counterparts, where one remains subjected to the mental, ontological, philosophical, and epistemological framework of the other.

**Living Well fights for democracy and goes beyond:
toward the governance of all, the governance of
consensus**

While democracy is the rule of the majority, consensus is the governance of all. That is why, in Living Well, our struggle goes beyond majority-rule democracy, which subjugates minorities. We must move from government by democracy to government by consensus, where rulers govern by obeying the people, and where political power is not separate from society.

In Living Well, we seek governance by all, which means that decision-making through democracy is not enough. It is essential to advance toward decision-making by consensus, not only for the benefit of human beings but also for all living beings of Mother Earth—not only for the benefit of those who are present but also for those who are not.

**Living Well fights for human rights and goes beyond:
toward the effective application of the rights of
Mother Earth and cosmic rights**

In Living Well, rights are considered for the entirety of Mother Earth, not only for human beings. More than that, Mother Earth is the giver and organizer of all rights. Everything that exists must be acknowledged, included, and present, with its rights fully exercised and integrated with the duties and obligations—or life imperatives—that represent the commitment of all to advance along the path of the culture of life.

The entire foundation of rights constructed by modern liberal society must be restructured based on the rights of Mother Earth. We must move toward the complete reorganization of all relationships between human beings and Nature. This is the true transformation required for the recognition and exercise of the rights of Mother Earth.

Living Well fights for equality and social justice and goes beyond: toward a world where all living beings coexist in balance and complementarity as equals and differences

In the Western civilizational model, the struggle focuses on ensuring that all human beings have freedom and social justice—this is the ultimate goal of social movements. In Living Well, we are not opposed to the struggle for freedom and social justice; on the contrary, we share it.

In Living Well, we demand respect so that no one takes the liberty of making decisions or thinking on behalf of others, because no one has the right to own anyone or anything. No one can decide or think for another, and thus, all of us must make our own decisions and be considered in the process. Additionally, we fight for intergenerational justice, where young people have a true role in the social, economic, and political life of the country. Power must flow toward the youth, as the energy of change and rebellion has always belonged to them.

Living Well fights for people' s well-being and goes beyond development: toward a communal, holistic, spiritual human being in balance with Mother Earth

We recognize the importance of guaranteeing the well-being of all people by ensuring their physical, psychological, and sexual integrity, as well as their rights to water, food, and access to basic services, among other fundamental rights. However, this is not enough if we have selfish individuals who have assimilated capitalist and Western values, severed their roots, and distanced themselves from Mother Earth and the path of Living Well.

That is why we consider it essential to advance in the construction of a communal human being—one who has overcome egocentrism and selfishness and builds their life in harmony with the community. A holistic human being who feels, lives, acts, and knows as part of the totality of Mother Earth and the cosmos; a human being connected with telluric and cosmic forces, living in harmony and balance with Mother Earth.

Living Well fights for the defense of Mother Earth and goes beyond: toward the harmony and balance of the multiverse.

Living Well tirelessly fights for the defense and protection of Mother Earth and the universal commons—such as the seas, access to water, atmospheric space, and technologies—in a world where capitalist Western forces continue privatizing everything in their path.

The struggle of Living Well goes even further: toward the protection and defense of the multiverse against capitalist ambitions to colonize the cosmos and other universes. The defenders of Mother Earth cannot allow capitalism to continue spreading the civilization of death throughout the multiverse.

Living Well fights for scientific and technological development and goes beyond: toward a world with inter-scientific dialogues, epistemological parity, and respect for the laws of Nature and life

It is essential to build a world that develops and strengthens science and technology based on the

philosophy of life, oriented toward peaceful purposes, serving the needs of peoples, curing diseases, restoring and decontaminating Nature, and producing clean energy. The science and technology of death cannot replace the science and technology of life.

To strengthen the science and technology of life, we must recover and reinforce the wealth of knowledge from ancestral and millenary societies, which are guided by a culture of life and peace. We must promote and foster inter-scientific dialogues between modern Western sciences and ancestral sciences, as ancestral sciences and technologies of life and peace will help maintain the balance of life in our world and within the planetary system.

Living Well fights for the political awakening of oppressed peoples and goes beyond: toward the awakening of the consciousness of peoples

A change of era, a change of history, and a change of horizon are necessary, requiring the eradication of the multiple crises of the global capitalist system. We must eliminate selfishness and capitalist individualism from

the minds and spirits of people and build a community of life.

In the face of capitalism's crisis, there is no other solution than the construction of Living Well as the foundation of a new economic, social, political, cultural, ethical, and spiritual order—one sustained by consensus, balance, complementarity, and respect for the diversity of peoples. For this, beyond political awakening, we must seek the awakening of the consciousness of peoples.



THIRD PART.

Geapolitics
of Living Well



15. Premises of the geopolitics of Living Well

The global cartography reveals a profound and irreversible civilizational crisis, manifested in the multiple crises experienced worldwide, exposing the decline of the global structure. Here, geopolitics becomes a useful approach to interpreting a world in civilizational transition (Vice Presidency, 2021). However, this cannot be done from conventional geopolitics, as it interprets the world through the lens of the capitalist world system, merely reaffirming the primacy of the West. A critical geopolitics is needed—one that analyzes the geopolitical interpretation of a

world in decline and in civilizational crisis.

From a conventional geopolitical perspective, no such decline or civilizational crisis exists, as the modern Western world has always persisted based on a decaying structure of irrational exploitation of human beings and Nature through the most concrete level of the capitalist economic system: the global market. This decadence has always been presented as the driving force that creates universal well-being for those who adopt it, while those who do not subscribe to this model are excluded from Western society' s so-called well-being.

Thus, geopolitical analysis cannot be conducted from the same conceptual foundations of the West, where geopolitics originated, as this reproduces the Western perspective of international relations, which does not recognize a civilizational crisis. Therefore, a decolonization of geopolitics is necessary (Vice Presidency, 2021), meaning the development of a new perspective on the world—not from geopolitics, but through geopolitics, which involves thinking beyond the modern -Western framework. Geopolitics is nourished by the vision of Living Well, which emerges from the peoples of the Global South and from the Plurinational

State of Bolivia in the early 21st century. Thus, geopolitics is the reinterpretation of the world through the lens and horizon of Living Well, which is why it can be called the Geopolitics of Living Well.

Proposing a Geopolitics of Living Well requires changing the criteria upon which geopolitical reflection is built—criteria that are rooted in Eurocentrism as a hegemonic model, in the spatiality of sovereign territorial jurisdictions of nation-states, in linear temporalities, in rationalities based on the homo economicus model of economic utility maximization, in the consolidation of omnipotent political power poles, in a bipolar or multipolar world, in the separation of human beings (subjects) from Nature (object), and in the notion of Nature as an externality of productive processes. In other words, traditional geopolitics expresses a rational foundation based on the polarizing and divisive modern science of the West.

The Geopolitics of Living Well, within the framework of a process of decolonizing geopolitics, has the virtue of demonstrating that another way of understanding the world and international relations is both possible and necessary.

The Geopolitics of Living Well seeks to advance a strategic reflection on the conditions that enable the development and expansion of a political horizon based on the worldview of ancestral and millenary societies (Vice Presidency, 2021), which place *Gea*, *Gaia*, Mother Earth at the center of politics.

Thus, “a decolonization of geopolitics allows us to overturn the very logic of empire, enabling us to reverse a peripheral-satellite condition and, from our own project, to consider the conditions necessary for the expansion of extensive popular power as strategic power, overcoming the imperial bet of an Anglo-Saxon provincial geopolitics” (Vice Presidency, 2021).

The era of Western geopolitics has ended—this is now the time for the Geopolitics of Living Well. Geopolitics has been based on understanding international political relations through domination, control, and the influence of nations over the geographic characteristics of the planet. Conversely, geopolitics conveys that all political action is conditioned by the characteristics of Mother Earth as a living being. Consequently, it is based not on relationships of dominance and dependence, but rather

on complementarity and balance between peoples who are similar yet diverse.

We propose that the challenge of the geopolitics of Living Well, in response to the de-totalization and eradication of codes caused by colonialism and capitalism, is to articulate a new totality from a heterogeneous multiplicity at the local levels. This, in turn, allows it to develop as a valid horizon of life at a universal level, as it progressively gathers and is enriched by the existing wisdom of ancestral and millenary societies—an amalgamation of their worldview and their experience of communal life as something both given and in continuous formation. This implies, therefore, a redefinition of geopolitics, or the political reading of space and the analysis of geographical power balances. The geopolitics of Living Well is the reflection that opens the possibility of envisioning the strategic universal power of Living Well.

Faced with planetary ecocide, it is a vital necessity for the United Nations General Assembly to initiate a new way of conducting politics, reconceptualizing international politics in accordance with the laws of life, discarding its modern, liberal, individualistic, and capitalist foundations.

It is necessary to rethink the concept of Nature based on Indigenous worldviews, seeing the Earth as Mother, as *Pachamama*, as the source and origin of life. This represents an epistemological, ontological, and legal rupture in thinking about a geopolitics—a politics of Mother Earth—defined by life itself.

The geopolitics of Living Well asserts that life is the transcendental criterion of all political horizons and actions. In this geopolitics, Mother Earth is a subject of rights, which means she is the origin and source of all rights. The entire foundation of rights built by modern liberal society must be reordered based on the rights of Mother Earth, and within this framework, all new human relationships with Nature must be reorganized.

The geopolitics of Living Well aspires to shift the anthropocentric reading of geopolitics toward a cosmobiocentric vision, where politics has as its ultimate goal the strengthening of life systems and is based on the laws of Nature. To this end, it places Mother Earth at the center of political relations as the giver and organizer of rights, reorganizing human behaviors and relationships among themselves and with

Mother Earth. With this purpose, it promotes the adjustment of state policies and international relations based on the concept of Living Well in harmony with Mother Earth, as a response to multiple global crises, including the climate crisis. Thus, the geopolitics of Living Well presents a challenge in understanding, explaining, and predicting the behavior of states both internally and externally, according to the rhythms of life and the needs of Mother Earth, rather than as a response to human needs in relation to Nature.

16. Progress and setbacks in the world from the perspective of Living Well

In the past decade, developed and developing countries have gathered on multiple occasions to find the best solutions to the problems currently affecting the world. However, the world has experienced a decade of significant disappointments and setbacks.

In the first decade of the 21st century, tensions and contradictions between the anthropocentric paradigm and the cosmobiocentric paradigm of Mother Earth have started to become visible. There has been a strong

mobilization of processes, concepts, and financial resources by the governments of the Global North to distort or weaken the contributions of the countries and peoples of the Global South. Colonialism has persisted in imposing anthropocentrism.

During this past decade, it has not been possible to advance the approval of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth. The planet has lost a valuable opportunity to fully transition towards a culture of life. However, a new narrative, a new discourse, and a new philosophy of the culture of life have started to spread throughout the world. Fresh perspectives from the peoples of the South have begun to reach all governments and peoples worldwide.

In this last decade, so-called technological "solutions" have been promoted that threaten life forms on Mother Earth—geoengineering, modern biotechnology, and the development of artificial life forms that impact life itself, including synthetic biology and digital genetic sequences. The combination of these for the transformation of organic and natural life into artificial

life endangers the laws of Nature and challenges all known forms of life.

During this past decade, climate negotiations have failed to acknowledge that Mother Earth, as a living being, is gravely threatened by the climate crisis and that her fundamental rights to the continuity of life are being violated. Efforts to address the climate crisis have not managed to prioritize life-centered, cooperative, and solidarity-based approaches—those not based on markets—over market-driven logic and the commodification of Nature.

Similarly, biodiversity negotiations have not incorporated the perspective that the rights-based approach of Mother Earth and actions centered on her well-being are the alternative for protecting biodiversity and life on the planet.

Over the last decade, systematic efforts have been made to eliminate the responsibilities of developed countries regarding the climate and environmental crises that developing countries are facing. There has been an attempt to dilute the accountability of developed countries for the causes of the climate crisis stemming

from their petroleum-based and industrial model. The petroleum-based civilization blames the countries that have absorbed this—its—model for its impacts, despite having exploited, colonized, and marginalized them. Hypocrisy and shamelessness have become a normalized response by Western countries in addressing the global and civilizational crisis.

In this past decade, anthropocentrism has become even more radical and aggressive, though better disguised and concealed through language and concepts such as the green economy, bioeconomy, Nature-based solutions, and green businesses.

The world's wealthiest powers—egocentric, anthropocentric, and Eurocentric—have made a significant effort to strengthen their vision and priorities to maintain a global agenda that continues to facilitate the anthropocentric approach, in which Mother Earth serves only as a provider of natural resources, genetic resources, and ecosystem services for human beings.

The countries of the North have maintained the mechanistic vision of the 19th century, where the "machine" of Nature must serve human beings. In this

perspective, Nature is an object, and all non-human living beings are subject to human domination. Trying to convince the world that Mother Earth is a commodity has been the greatest absurdity of the West in the last decade.

Over the past decade, there have been no significant advances in the global agenda as envisioned by the peoples of the South and governments committed to Mother Earth. Much effort has been spent trying to convince a Eurocentric West that its paradigm is leading to planetary catastrophe and that it makes no sense to mold all societies in the image and likeness of the West. The West has closed ranks in defense of the foundations of its paradigm, denying other worldviews and using the classic tools of colonialism: the cross and the sword. Communication manipulation through propaganda and economic violence has become the new tools to subjugate those who think differently, morally condemn them, and physically eliminate them.

Despite the limited progress in changing the very foundations of the anthropocentric paradigm within the United Nations agenda, some important steps have been

taken. In the past decade, seeds have been sown to build a new, fairer, more equitable decade with less violence against Mother Earth. The countries and peoples of the world are increasingly aware that the alternative to definitively resolving the multiple crises of humanity and the planet requires a shift in the life horizon—one that moves beyond capitalism and modernity. The Living Well horizon has restored hope that a fairer, more equitable, harmonious, and solidarity-based world—one that respects Nature—is possible.

Over the past decade, the recognition of Mother Earth Day, on April 22, has been approved. Before this, planet Earth was seen as an object. Now, Mother Earth can be seen for what she truly is: a subject, a living being.

Over the past decade, following the 2012 Conference on Sustainable Development, also known as Rio+20, important steps have been taken in recognizing the visions and approaches of the peoples of the South. Over the past decade, with the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, it has been acknowledged that there are different approaches and perspectives to achieving sustainable development. This means that the

approaches of Western societies, as well as the visions of Eastern societies, are equally useful and important. It also means that the approaches of Northern countries and those of the countries and peoples of the South are both valid and legitimate. Over the past decade, United Nations decisions have also recognized that Mother Earth is a common expression in many countries and regions worldwide. This means that Mother Earth can no longer be ignored.

A crucial path has been opened to advance toward a change in the civilizational horizon. This path is outlined in the recommendations of the United Nations Secretary-General's report *Harmony with Nature* A/75/266, paragraph 87, which states "[...] the General Assembly should consider the possibility of convening as an Earth Assembly, where the evolving non-anthropocentric or Earth-centered paradigms can continue to develop and find their place in multilateralism."

Over the past decade, the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES) has adopted a conceptual framework to highlight the relationships between human beings and

Nature and the achievement of a better quality of life. This conceptual framework acknowledges scientific conceptualizations but also begins to recognize the existence of other knowledge systems, particularly those of indigenous peoples, which include different conceptualizations of Nature and the relationships between humans and Nature.

A shift in era and civilizational horizon has arrived. The next decade will be the decade of Mother Earth and the rights of Mother Earth.

17. The Tenth *Pachakuti*. The Living Well life horizon

The geopolitics of Living Well is the universal policy of the Tenth *Pachakuti*. Living Well is the ideology of the *Pachakuti* era, signifying the construction of a new world order in balance with Mother Earth. It represents the transition from chaos to order in the cosmos, from multiple civilizational crises to a life horizon in harmony, balance, and complementarity. It is the shift from the culture of death to the culture of life.

The peoples of the South, who have been denied and excluded for centuries, now have the capacity to

propose real solutions to the multiple crises of humanity, drawing from their own ideology, worldview, philosophy, ontology, and epistemologies.

Living Well represents the awakening of consciousness; it is also the time for building an own think-feeling, one that reveals with clarity the deceptions and manipulations of both old and new forms of colonialism. It exposes the structures and models of colonization, challenges colonized minds, and sparks new and definitive processes of emancipation against the global capitalist system.

From the depths of indigenous resistance emerges the emancipatory ideology of Living Well. Living Well does not claim that another world is possible; rather, it asserts that the world of ancestral and millenary societies is possible and that all worlds are possible.

It is a vision to confront the active cores of the current civilizational crisis caused by neoliberal capitalism.

Living Well draws from the codes, symbols, and knowledge safeguarded for centuries by our grandmothers and grandfathers. These codes, symbols, and knowledge form the foundation of a new horizon of

life for humanity and for Mother Earth. Living Well has begun to recover the metalanguage of the civilizational matrix and life horizon of the ancestors of millenary societies.

Living Well does not exclude anyone because it is based on the logic of the complementarity of opposites, in which dualities and polarities coexist in such a way that each element is only complete through its interaction with its counterpart.

Living Well collectively reconstructs the totalization of what has been fragmented by the forces of colonialism and capitalism. Living Well re-encodes the communal matrix of the path of life in the face of the de-coding imposed by these same forces of colonialism and capitalism.

Living Well challenges and awakens colonized minds and prevents the emergence of new processes of recolonization.

Living Well is a battle fought both in individual consciousness and in collective consciousness. Everyone must find their center and reconnect with the great matrix of life.

Living Well condemns all forms of violence against human beings and against Mother Earth. Living Well celebrates the richness of diversity in all forms of life and in all its dimensions.

Living Well marks the awakening of a new era based on cosmobiocentrism, fostering harmony with Mother Earth as part of a single organic totality, where human beings are no longer at the center of the universe dominating other living beings. Living Well is the beginning of the Cosmobiocene era, where all living beings coexist in harmonious coexistence. In the Cosmobiocene, we are different, yet also similar, and we complement each other as living beings.

Living Well is the source of understanding that the rights of Mother Earth precede any state of law and that modern states must be reconfigured around a new distribution of rights, recognizing Mother Earth as the creator and nurturer of life.

The peoples of the Global South have begun to build the new life horizon that Living Well represents, a vision that is starting to inspire humanity. It sustains an emancipatory and liberating narrative for the uncivilized, the discontented, the marginalized, and all

the rebels of the planet. Living Well is the path to global emancipation from the Anthropocene and the Capitalocene.

These efforts are not isolated nor disconnected from a long and tireless history of struggles in the countries and peoples of the Global South. This struggle continues the fight of other indigenous and non-indigenous liberators. It honors and carries forward the struggle of all the women and men who lived and died with the ideal of transforming the world into one of greater social justice, equity, and freedom from oppression.

The Tenth *Pachakuti* is the *true time*—the time of Bolivia's free people, whose echo encourages the processes of liberation for all the peoples of Abya Yala and the Global South. It serves as an example for peoples around the world to begin governing themselves.

We must not imitate the dream of Western countries and their models of development—systems that concentrate wealth in the hands of a few and are built upon consumerist, individualistic, mercantilist, and materialistic beings who live only for themselves, respecting neither

others nor Mother Earth. Instead, we must be guided by the life horizon that Living Well offers.

