



Integral Politics: A Summary of Its Essential Ingredients

Ken Wilber

[The following is the last installment of three of the middle chapters from Book Two of a work-in-progress, *The Many Faces of Terrorism*, a trilogy referred to as the “terrorism trilogy.” Taken together, these three chapters outline an Integral Political Theory, which is much further detailed in the trilogy itself. But all the essentials are here, and especially in this particular chapter. You might have seen this chapter with “part 3” in the subtitle, but we also title this chapter, “Integral Politics: A Summary of Its Essential Ingredients,” because that is exactly what it is. You needn’t have read the first two chapters to understand this, as it is a good stand-alone. In the chapter itself there is a “Handout” with the basic ingredients listed and summarized, and we have included that in its entirety at the end of the chapter, since it is introduced part by part in the narrative.

There’s nothing you really need to know about the plot, since these chapters don’t really deal with that, and it’s much too dense to summarize in a short intro anyway. We have added some intro diagrams not in the original chapters, for those new to Integral (AQAL) Theory, although the last diagram is in the original chapter. All you need to know is that this narrative is ostensibly being written by a 25-year-old named Ken Wilber (part of Ken’s poke at the self-reflexiveness of postmodernism), who has just found out that Kim, seated next to him, has been considering him as a potential father for her children—children that, given their nanobotic future, might have biological immortality (see esp. the previous two installments posted here: [Part 1](#) and [Part 2](#)). Ken is loopy in love, as is the person soon to be sitting on the other side of him, a teacher

named Margaret. Their struggle to carry on a conversation, as they fade in and out from logic to love, is part of the hilarity of the chapter. The serious part is, of course, what might be the first Integral map of politics ever devised, which, in the book, is discovered/created by Lesa Powell (the object of Margaret's mutual affection).

The setting is a press conference being given by Integral Center (a play on Integral Institute, of course), who are reporting the results of a computer futures scenario, a scenario that, using the AQAL Code (or the Integral model, explained below), has found that around 30 years from now ("P+30"; i.e., the "Present + 30 years"), there will occur a **tetra-Singularity** of staggering proportions. Think of it like the Singularity described by Ray Kurzweil—except that his Singularity only refers to the Right-Hand quadrants, not the interior or Left-Hand quadrants, where, the AQAL Code predicts, we will finally have over 10% of the population reaching truly Integral (or 'second-tier') levels—hence, a Singularity-like occurrence *in all four quadrants*. This is where these three chapters pick up. But the overall plot of the trilogy deals with many other items: especially, as the title suggests, the nature of **terrorism** itself—what it is, why it is, how it is, as well as how to deal with it, from an AQAL or truly Integral fashion. The first book of the trilogy introduces the Integral model (using an ingenious two-level plot-line, where there is something new and intriguing in the plot whether you know the Integral model or not; the second book focuses on Integral Politics (these excerpted chapters come from that book); and the third book focuses on the role of religion in the modern and postmodern world, which invariably entails a look at terrorism, again. (These chapters are not much more than first drafts, so please remember that; but Ken tends to conceive books fully formed and then quickly write them down with little editing or changes, so first drafts are often quite close to last drafts.) So we hope you enjoy this chapter, which is a brief slice from the trilogy itself, but one that has enough to indicate what a truly Integral Politics is, and how to begin to construct one in the real world. Stay tuned to this site for more on the actual praxis; but for now, the theoria.... All best, the Editors]

Chapter 15. 10%10x, or Something Unheard Of....

“And then, right in the midst of a rather ordinary data-display and readout, the analysts have found what appears to be indisputable evidence of an event so extraordinary, so historically unprecedented, and so... one can only say ‘mind-boggling,’ that we ran the futures scenario again, and then again, and then yet again. And back came the same answer, again, again, and yet again. And that answer, ladies and gentlemen, is the single most shattering event in the history of humankind.”

From the *Introduction, Analysis and Report of Pluraltrx666*

“So what is Integral Politics?”

Though the haze of a chemical imbalance in my brain—I was in love, and love, after all, is just a chemical illusion that nature uses to reproduce herself, according to scientists in the UR (but what do they know, the flatland pricks?). Lesa is finishing her presentation. For some reason, which I can’t quite remember, I am supposed to pay attention to this. Oh, right, our immortal kids. Not just the Turquoise Kids, but the Invincible Brats. Has anybody really thought about what that is really going to mean, a child already having an enhanced biological body that might never die, (save that really embarrassing bus accident)? A five-year-old who is already smarter than you, stronger than you, better looking than you? “They tilt their heads, waiting for information to arrive....” Tilt *this*, you little shit.

Still, staring at Kim, I realize that it will be the best baby—or babies—in the whole wide world.

“Stop starring at me, Ken. I said, *maybe*.”

“Right, right, I knew that.”

“Integral Politics is simply the politics based on second-tier awareness, or, more specifically, AQAL awareness. Integral Politics takes into account, includes, and integrates all of those important dimensions in a human being—all quadrants, all levels, all lines, all states, and all types. After all, those realities are there, those dimensions are real, they exist, they are part of the architecture of this very moment, *they are impacting every single human being, every single second of his or her existence*—and so you either take those dimensions into account—to arrive at an Integral Politics—or you don’t—to arrive at a fragmented, broken, partial, tortured mess of political chaos—in other words, the world as it is right now.”

Lesa [Powel] paused, smiled ruefully, continued. “Here, in a nutshell, is Integral or AQAL Politics:

“We have already seen examples of taking the Left- and Right-Hand **quadrants** into account, and why that is important: namely, we do so in order to politically integrate the *internalists* and the *externalists*—or to take the internal and external axis into account (we will introduce upper and lower quadrants in a moment).

“And we have seen examples of taking **levels** into account, and why that’s important: what *level (or levels) of consciousness* does a political movement spring from, as well as primarily address? Does it spring from red, or amber, or orange, or green, or turquoise, or indigo, or violet, or ultraviolet? All of the major political axes (**internal/external, conservative/progressive, individual/communal** [which will be further explained below—eds.]) have their actual content, their specific values, and their fundamental drives determined by the actual **altitude** of the movement. Not to mention that altitude is the key to the supremely important component called **stages and stations**.

“And, for an important **type**, does it wish to *translate* and *conserve* that level, or *transform* and *progress* beyond that level? This is the **translative/transformative** axis, aka the conservative and progressive axis; but many other types also exist and can be quite important (e.g., feminist, environmentalist).

“Because what we are ultimately looking for is a political orientation that can span the entire Spectrum of levels and speak to each in a way that can be heard. We need a politics that can speak to magenta and red and amber and orange and green and teal and turquoise and indigo....

“Only with an **all-quadrant, all-level** [which, as shorthand, is also understood to include all-lines, all-states, all-types] framework is this possible. Only with an AQAL framework can a political theory—and political praxis or political movement—come into play that would include, integrate, and balance all of those quadrants and all of those levels (not to mention lines, states, and other types—which we will get to in a moment).

“Integral Politics, in other words, is AQAL Politics, the politics of the AQAL Code. I will summarize a few more of its points in just a minute. But right now, I want to see if this much is clear enough—that what we are *trying* to do has never been done before in history: *create an Integral Politics*—what it might look like, and what it might attempt to accomplish. Now, secondarily, the AQAL Code also allows us to index and understand virtually every major political movement in history: we simply analyze its ingredients: what quadrant(s), level(s), line(s), state(s), and type(s) is it exhibiting? In other words, what is its **Kosmic address**? Mark [Jefferson] said that he believes that this allows us the first *comprehensive indexing system* of political thought yet to appear, and although that’s a heavy claim, I’m inclined to agree with him, because he’s talking as a generalist, which is allowed. But I’ll definitely come back to that. But for now, does the press have any questions about this so far? I’m trying to put it in—um, forgive me, but, well... *simple* terms—and I’m wondering how I’m doing?”

A sea of hands went whooshing up. I turned and looked at Kim; then let out a long, audible, romantic sigh. I am in *so* much trouble.

“I said *maybe* sex, Ken, so get a grip, would you? Besides, I’m still not sure you should be anything other than Bozo the sperm donor.”

“As long I can make the delivery myself, that’s cool. So put away your turkey baster; let’s talk.”

“Let’s listen to Lesa talk, Bozo. I told you, what she’s saying is the key to our baby’s—shit, *my* baby’s—future. Oh, don’t get your hopes up because I inadvertently said ‘our’ baby instead of ‘my’ baby, it’s just an accidental tongue slip. It’s not some sort of deep Freudian slip.”

“Could it be some sort of deep Jungian slip?”

“No.”

“Adlerian slip?”

“I don’t think so.”

“Maslovian?”

“Not gonna happen, Ken.”

“I’ll take anything.”

Kim shook her head, kept writing in her Fujitsu tablet. I looked over at Ronnie. He was still plugged into his own world, chucking and jiving in his seat, bopping and bouncing in micro-bodily moves to the music streaming into his head from his iPod. By around P+15, that iPod would be a chip in his brain, plugging him into all of the information available in every library and every storage data bin in the entire world—according to Centrix555 report, page 110, I noticed, as I continued to read its final form. The “**crash or crescendo**” at P+30 was till murky, it seemed to me—was it a damn crash, Down the Tube, or was it a stunning crescendo, Off the

Wall? All they really know is that the computers crash at P+30. They assume this is due to a major, huge, mind-bogglingly positive transformation, incomprehensible to humans—or computers, hence the crash. But transformation is just a change in levels, and transformations can go up or down, progressive or regressive, feast or famine, Down the Tube or Off the Wall.

The report confidently says OTW, but I wonder; is worrying about that just more of my depression? But maybe it's not just groundless worry, because the 555 series only went from P+25 to 30 years with any confidence. The 666 series was the next step, P+30 to 35 years. Integral Center felt so confident that there would be nothing substantially different, and Pluraltrix666 would be the same essential OTW that 555 seemed to, that they held the press conference now and announced Off the Wall. That's what this conference is all about: the what and how and why of OTW. Kim confirmed that Charles [Morin, head of IC] felt that way, too. Apparently he felt that the Pluraltrix666 scenario would simply fill in the details of that spectacular decade, or its first half, anyway, and we would find out exactly when, during that time, biological immortality became a practical reality, not to mention the global shift from first-tier to second-tier World Governance in the wake of the **Cultural Singularity** [part of the **tetra-Singularity**, or Singularity-like events in all four quadrants], all around P+30—just 30 years from now, with the **Tipping Point**, the first harbinger of the massive change, just 10 years from now, at P+10. Given my impending fatherhood, this is exactly what I wanted to know. We needed the results of that Pluraltrix666 scenario. And there was one way to get it.

“Hey, Ronnie, James went to get Frankie F. drunk, right?”

“*Again*, dude! The second time. Like this is so wild. They must be becoming super best-buddies by now, male bonding-o-rama, men-o-mundo, guy a la carte, masculine mumbo, XY at the Turkish bath, boy a la bongo, men on the side and men on top, men to the left of me, men to the right of me, into the breach again dear—”

“Okay, okay, got it. Hey, listen, go find James, let’s see what’s up. I want to plan the nanobotic immortal future of my kiiii..., of my kiiii..., of, um, of anybody’s kid who’s born today.”

“Your wish is my command, your Dude-ness. Back in a bite or a bit.”

Off Ronnie scurried, barbed-wire carrot top and all, a frail biological support system for two-dozen tattoos. As I watched him hustle up the isle and out the back door, I noticed Margaret [Carlson] standing by the back wall. I turned around and looked at the front rows where the IC faculty were sitting, and saw that Sharlene was sitting in what was supposed to be Margaret’s seat. Figures. I turned back and motioned to Margaret, pointing to the empty seat next to me. She nodded and began walking toward my row.

“Hey Kim, you know Margaret? Sharlene swiped her seat, wouldn’t you know it? Anyway, she’s coming down.”

Margaret Carlson—the Mensa babe (virtually everybody at IC was Mensa-level or more, but only Margaret didn’t look the part—she looked exactly like Marilyn Monroe in “Some Like It Hot,” I swear, except her hair was really different); porcelain skin; blond hair, short and twigly; so soft-spoken that she was “Sweet Margaret” to almost everybody, odd in that she also seemed the strongest soul of the lot (she would turn back and look at Gomorrah, and the Lord would be afraid to turn her into salt); Lesa’s lover for almost 5 years now, although they rarely talked about it, not out of reticence but because they respected the love so intensely, they never externalized it; one of the nicest, most decent people I’d ever met; and I couldn’t help it, and no guy could, even though she was same-sex-wired, looking at her and getting, well, at the very least, warm all over, really warm, I’m talking *warm*—came walking lightly down the aisle, faint smile on her face, looking, as she always did, slightly self-conscious and even embarrassed; and slipped into the seat Ronnie had vacated.

“Oooh, so *warm*,” she said. “Goodness me.”

“What?! What?! I swear I wasn’t, honestly, oh, *the seat*, yes, ha ha ha, of course, yes indeedy, the seat’s still warm. The seat, you bet, righty right.” Get a grip, Ken. Margaret’s “goodness” comment reminded me of Mae West, which shows you were my mind was: “When I’m good, I’m great. When I’m bad, I’m even better.”

I choked out a few words. “Lesa is amazing, isn’t she?” I say, trying to recover. See, what I was actually thinking was Lesa and Margaret and, to get the picture in your head right, just imagine Halle Barre and Marilyn Monroe making love, with the purest soft white skin brushing against the radiant sheen of ebony delight, their thighs intermingling while... um, okay, never mind.

“Yup, Lesa is really amazing,” is all I could manage. Sweet Margaret smiled that wonderful, endearing, trademark smile: a wistful wisp of a light calligraphy stroke in a fluffy white-clouded sky. I shake my head and try to feel reality; it dawns on me that I haven’t been able to think straight since Kim said we could hook up—um, maybe hook up—and be together. Um, maybe be together. Hook-Up City, here I come. Maybe here I come. Jesus, listen to me. Okay, do men get oxytocin rushes, too? Estrogen poisoning? Something is fucking up my brain, big time. Margaret is looking at me like I’m out of my mind. “Good guess, Margaret,” I actually say out loud; she looks even more concerned. I shake my head; Lesa is talking. That is Lesa, right?

“In the course of human history, there have been **seven or eight major schools of political theory that have been advanced around the world**—East and West, premodern and modern and postmodern—from Anarchism to Monarchy to Democracy to Republicanism to Aristocracy to Conservatism to Liberalism to Socialism to Communism. All of them have a piece of the puzzle. None of them are integral. All of them are based on first-tier views and first-tier values and first-tier partialities and first-tier food fights. A truly Integral Politics stems from

second and even third tier; it draws the essentials of those partial schools together, transcends and includes them, and then based on a more accurate map, outlines the purview of a truly Integral Political endeavor, both *theoria* and *praxis* [theory and practice].

“And—to get into a staggeringly important issue—something like a truly Integral Politics would have to be the foundation of a World League, if ever there is to be one, would it not? A new World League—have you thought about that, my friends? A World League can’t be based on something like love or compassion, because there are stages or waves of the development of love, from egocentric love to ethnocentric love to worldcentric love, and if you don’t take things like that into account, you’ve got a flatland map that is headed nowhere except into more partiality and fragmentation and pain. That’s right, love alone will cause more pain, so clearly, all you need is not love: all you need is Integral. It’s much more complicated than sentimentalism, even if I did worship every new Beatle’s album as it was released.” Lesa looks out on the press, smiles, walks ruefully across the stage, looking as if temporarily lost in a mini-remembrance of things past.

Although I can’t think, Margaret can, and she’s really excited. “The Integral Political theory that Lesa has elaborated—well, it turns out that *over one hundred political scientists from around the world* have now had their hands on it, did you know that?”

“Huh?”

“We showed them the Code, explained it to them, and then asked them to come up with a political theory—and political praxis—that would cover all the important bases—that would be truly Integral. It had to be able to integrate conservative and progressive, internalist and externalist, individual and social, stages and stations, and so on, and it had to include the entire Spectrum of consciousness and Spiral of development, all of its levels and stages and waves. And what those researchers came up with, using the Code, is exactly what Integral Center came up with, and this is what Lesa is presenting—this idea of an Integral Politics and what a second-

tier governance system would look like, because guess what?—*second tier is on its way!*—it’s just a few years away, and so this is really important, this is...um, Ken? Ken? Hello?”

“And love, don’t forget love. I sorta heard what Lesa said, but still and gosh, any integral political theory has to integrate love, L-O-V-E, love love love, oh yes, love love love...”

Margaret looks at me, leans forward and looks at Kim. Kim looks back, shrugs, glances at me, then glances up, which seems to be all the secret female communication Margaret needed.

“Okay, I see,” Margaret says. “He’s a goner. Ken, dear Ken, young man, how are you doing?”

“Fine, fine, just fine, fine fine fine. Oh fine, oh yes.”

I look at Margaret and smile the sappiest smile you can imagine. Margaret, like Kim, shrugs and rolls her eyes up; then turns her head toward the stage, where Lesa is doing a full-speed neuronal dance. Margaret takes one look at her beloved Lesa, and then the same sappy vacancy creeps across Margaret’s face.

I’m tellin’ ya, love sucks.

“We will come back to the World League in a minute. But what have we seen so far, my friends? We’ve seen that, using the AQAL Code—of “**all quadrants, all levels, all lines, all states, all types,**” or AQAL for short, we can recognize several dimensions of human existence that politics attempts to address. These intrinsic experiential *dimensions* appear as *dilemmas* if it is not understood how to integrate them, and partial politics is devoted to picking one side of those dilemmas and championing them—interiors versus exteriors, or one level versus another level, or progressive versus conservative, and so on. Those are examples, disclosed by AQAL, of what we must integrate in the political arena in order to further social stability and social integration—among other things, we must integrate interior and exterior across the entire Spectrum, including all of its levels, finding room for each and every one of them, because there

are human beings at each and every one of them, and if you don't speak to those humans, you cannot possibly govern them without resorting to force.

“For those of you in the press corps who are new to Integral Theory and the AQAL Code, we have four diagrams that might help. Figure 1 and figure 2 are simple representations of the 4 quadrants—the inside and outside of the singular and the plural (or the interior and exterior of the individual and the collective). Integral Theory maintains that every experience, moment to moment, actually consists of at least these 4 experiential dimensions—the 4 quadrants are part of the very fabric of our being-in-the-world, right here, right now, and you can actually feel every one of them.

“So notice how simple the 4 quadrants really are: they are the actual stuff of ‘**I**’, ‘**we**,’ and ‘**it**’ (or 1st-person, 2nd-person, and 3rd-person pronouns, which all languages around the world possess, precisely because those dimensions are universally part of the architecture of this moment's experience.) Right now you are aware of an **I-space** (who is reading this page?), a **we-space** (notice all the relationships you are in), and an **it-space** (notice the exterior world of objects or ‘its’)—and why can you actually **feel** and be **conscious** all of them? Because those worlds or dimensions are ever-present and omni-present.

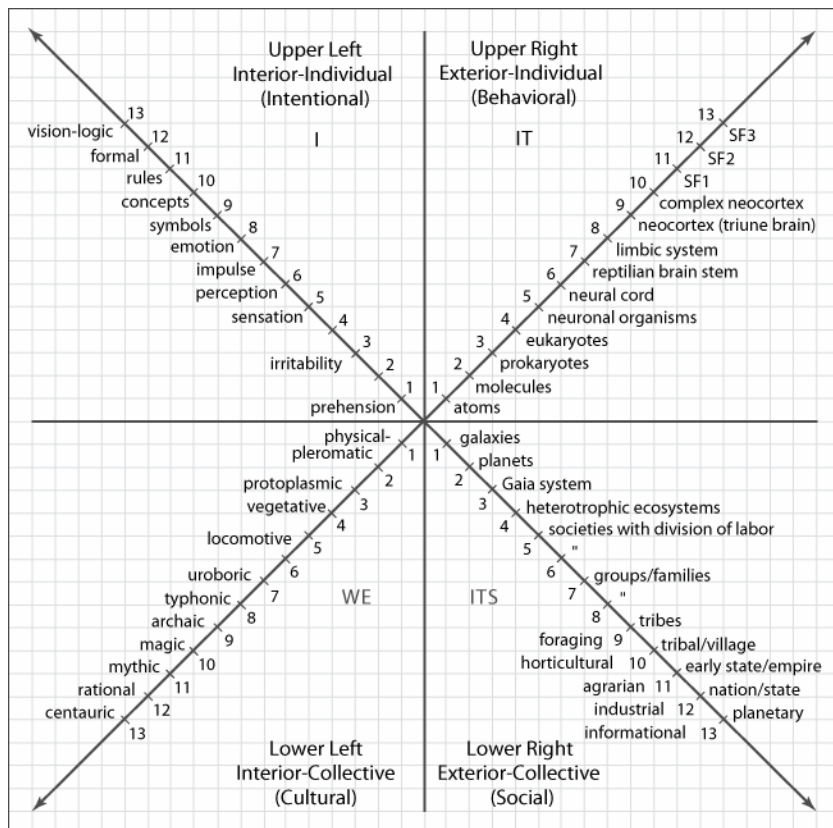


Figure 1. *The 4 Quadrants (and a Few Examples of Their Elements).*

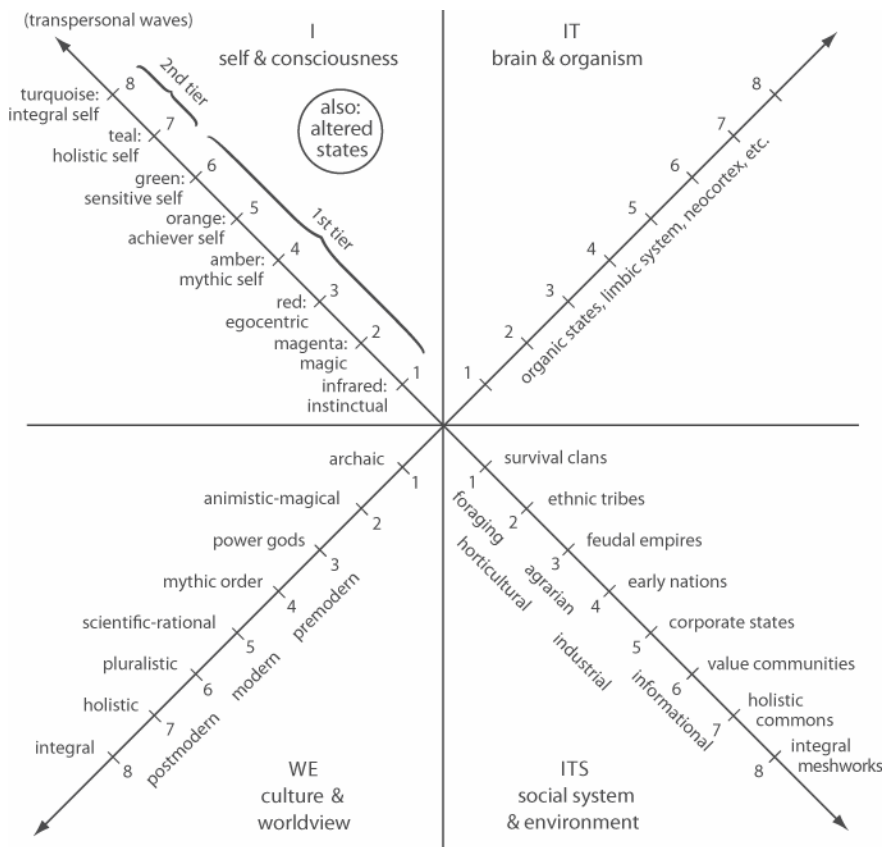


Figure 2. *The 4 Quadrants in Human Beings*. [The UL includes **structures** or levels of consciousness, given their rainbow-**altitude** colors, and altered **states** of consciousness; the **self-line** is chosen to represent levels/lines, but there are up to a dozen or so *multiple intelligences* in the UL. See text.]

(We sometimes simplify the two outer quadrants of ‘it’ and ‘its’ into one, or the exterior it-world’ in general. So we speak of the ‘Big Three’ and the ‘4 quadrants,’ and they are essentially the same.) Notice how widespread they are. These are also the same as *art*, *morals*, and *science* (**art**, or the beauty in the ‘I’ of the beholder; **morals**, or how shall you and I—or ‘we’—treat each

other?; and **science**, or what is the objective truth about ‘it/s’?). We can also group the two **interior quadrants** together, where they represent the interior world of values and motivations and insights, versus the two **exterior quadrants** of objects, external systems, and social engineering, as well as individual brain chemistry and organismic drives, since all of them are “its”—and so here the interior versus the exterior appears as **nature** (interior givens and instinctual drives) versus **nurture** (exterior social reinforcement and social infrastructures). Or we can group the two upper quadrants together, and focus on the **individual holon**, versus the two lower quadrants, which focus on the community, the collective, the **sociocultural holon**. And so on.... [You can see some of these in figures 1 and 2.]

“But the point, remember, is that however many maps we might draw of your present moment’s being-in-the-world, it’s really just your own experience, right here, right now, that we are talking about. **The more aspects of the present moment you are aware of**, then, as we were saying, the more the hidden *dilemmas* of your life become conscious *dimensions* of your own being, and then the more and more **integral** your life becomes, finding a place for everything and finally making sense of everything—a transcending **freedom** and an inclusive **fullness** unlike anything you’ve ever experienced. And that amounts to a liberation, an emancipation, from the hidden dimensions of your life that were pulling on you like so many unconscious chains around your soul, imprisoning it in the shackles of your own ignorance. Life lived this way is a moment to moment pain-generator, yes? But then, I probably don’t have to tell you this....

“And we are suggesting that an Integral Politics will do the same thing for a society, helping to first make *conscious* these ever-present dimensions that are otherwise subsisting shackles or subconscious torture chambers, tearing a culture apart, and then, once having converted them from subconscious chains into conscious tools and potentials, then helping to integrate them into a coherent and radiant whole. This is both an **emancipatory freedom**, and an **integral fullness** (an Eros and Agape), all at once.

“I hope that helps a bit for those new to the theory. As quick another example—having first mentioned interior and exterior—I’ll go ahead and examine one other major item right now since it’s also central and since I said I’d come back to it: individual versus social, or individual versus collective, or the **individual/communal axis**. One of the most recalcitrant political dilemmas in humankind’s history is the question: in a political system, which has the most *rights*, the individual or the collective—human rights or civic rights, private autonomy or public autonomy, ‘**I the individual**’ or ‘**we the people**’?”

“In the AQAL framework, notice that the *upper quadrants* are the individual, and the *lower quadrants* are the collective (here we are expanding the meaning of ‘I’ to mean both upper quadrants, and ‘we’ to mean both lower quadrants, which is another perfectly acceptable way to group the quadrants. The point is that, however you slice and dice the integral pie, none of the quadrants will go away because they are *different dimensions of the same occasion*, namely, your own experience right now of being-in-the-world). The AQAL Code therefore suggests that neither individual nor collective is primary; there is simply an occasion, and that occasion has both individual and social dimensions, both of which are equiprimordial, neither of which can be reduced to the other or elevated above the other. Therefore, any political theory that wishes to accord **with the actual architecture of reality—or simply the nature of present experience**—needs to harmoniously balance both individual and collective, private autonomy and public autonomy, subjective and intersubjective, and not ignore either of those, or try to reduce it to the other or use it to trump the other.

“How to do so is a separate question, which I will address shortly, but the central point is that the AQAL Code discloses something deeply important about what politics must do for any social system that wishes to maintain social stability, cultural integration, fairness and rightness, goodness and justice, rights and responsibilities, freedom and commitment. Too many political movements have attempted to deny—or at least undervalue—one or more of those primordial

quadrants, and the result spells a special disaster, because the fabric of the present moment and the very structure of human experience are being shredded and deeply violated in that move, even when it truly believes it is trying to increase freedom or justice or care or solidarity—because all it delivers are fragments, bloody fragments, of a human destiny.”

I look at Margaret; she is deeply lost in Lesa’s words. Snippets of coherent thought float before my inward eye; I lean toward Margaret and whisper, “An Integral Politics would make it different for you and Lesa, too, wouldn’t it?”

Margaret looks at me, somewhat surprised, appears to be working hard to find a meaningful sentence, and finally whispers back, “Yes.”

Lesla is black—or Afro-Caribbean—lesbian, Jewish (by adopted religion, if you want to call Kabbalah “Jewish,” since it’s not kosher, being marginalized by orthodoxy), genius, gorgeous, and integral or highly evolved: how many marginalized perspectives does her situated-self have to inhabit before the carpet burn kills her? [Carpet burn is what you get when your center of gravity is higher than the center of gravity of whatever culture (or sub-cultures) you inhabit, a culture that, like it or not, will form your own Lower-Left quadrant, rubbing against the rest of your being and causing literal psychic wounds: carpet burn.] So wouldn’t an Integral Politics make it easier for Lesa and Margaret, lessen their carpet burn in at least that area? And every other off-kilt Other in the universe?

That’s what my croaked question was about. Every time I pictured them together I got the most scrumptious rush, something so *right* about their love, their care for each other, their transcendental consciousness forming a “we” that at its upper limits reached into the overmind, ultraviolet love made flesh, the word made believable, a yin and yang of deeply delicious and yummy yearning, the blackest of black and the whitest of white, which becomes all the more apparent as they make love, shedding their clothes to expose the glistening glory of their nude bodies, touching each other as I begin to shudder and... um, never mind.

“It would make it different for us, Ken, but maybe not the way you think,” Margaret continued to whisper, apparently snagging another thought from the swamp of oxytocin poisoning. “Integral Politics doesn’t mean that society would accept us. Many of the earlier levels of development—red and amber in particular—will always have a hard time accepting differences like ours, and that is fine! An Integral Politics simply doesn’t allow those stations in life to govern other stations. This allows Lesa and me to understand why some people will simply never accept us—and yet a social cohesion can be built around that unavoidable rejection using Integral Politics. That’s the amazing thing about Integral, finding a place for everything and having it all work: *making room for everything* and thus *making sense of everything*. You have to allow red to be red, and amber to be amber, and orange to be orange, and green to be green—but govern from turquoise, yes?, because turquoise alone allows exactly that radical inclusion of all the others.” Then in an emphatic whisper: “*That’s the secret of the AQAL Code when it comes to politics—let each stage be itself, yet govern from the highest—which at this point in history is turquoise.*”

[Figure 3 presents the results of various researchers who have mapped out this important vertical-growth element of the AQAL matrix—the levels or structure-stages or waves of development. The **rainbow** on the vertical axis simply represents the overall **altitude** of any of the waves of consciousness, or evolution, or development, or growth, etc. One of the points of Integral Political Theory is that these waves or altitude-levels or **stages** must become stable, respected **stations** in life, since virtually all of them are populated by adults who have stopped growing at those levels, and that is their right. So *integrating* these different altitudes becomes a **prime directive** of Integral Politics in general. Moreover, everybody starts at square zero, or stage 1, and must grow from there. So the new-age saying that “We will have everybody at turquoise” is exactly what an Integral Politics does not say; it’s massively more complicated than that. Integral Politics is AQAL Politics, and that is the extraordinary challenge.—Eds.]

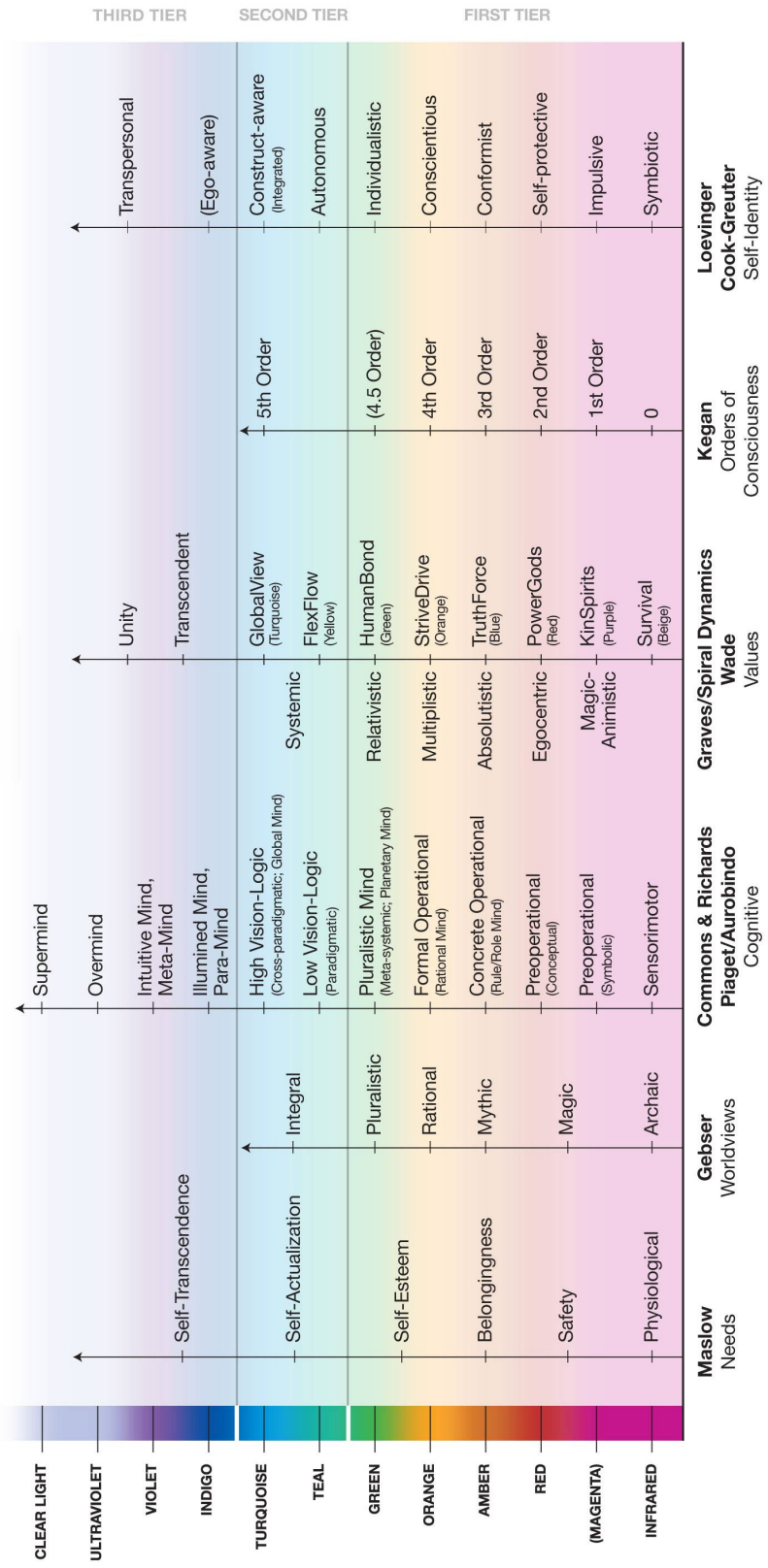


Figure 3. Levels and Lines (or Waves and Streams) of Some Important Multiple Intelligences.

“What? What was that?” It sounded incredibly important, but I would have to surface from the love swamp in order to hear it.

In her breathy MM [Marilyn Monroe] whisper, “Let each *stage of development* be a respected *station in life*, yet govern only from the *highest*. Lesa finally cracked the way to use the AQAL Code in politics, she cracked the secret of Integral Politics.” Margaret’s voice then dimmed to a murmur and trailed off into complete silence, leaving only the voice of her lover in the air.

“So,” Lesa announced, and I had the weirdest sense she was looking at me (was she mad that I was fantasizing about her lover—but I’m innocent!, I wasn’t with Margaret, I pictured them both together, honest!), “when it comes to individual and social—or private autonomy and public autonomy—the AQAL Code suggests that any political theory that wants to actually work in the real world must integrate the rights of ‘**I the individual**’ and ‘**we the people**.’ Or the **individual holon** with its degree and type of sovereignty, plus the **social holon** with its’. Allowing either to dominate results in a fracturing of the AQAL Matrix and, consequently, enormous human suffering.

“That’s clear, yes?,” Lesa continued. “Please follow along and simply notice that, on the one hand, allowing *private autonomy* to dominate results not just in political chaos and a social riot of narcissistic fragmentation (something we are seeing now, huh?), but a severing of the internal connection between the individual lifeworld and the public and cultural meaning-space—which is to say, the very mechanism of governance is severed and decommissioned when ‘I the individual’ rules. On the other hand, allowing *public autonomy* to dominate results in the herd mentality, lynching as law, witch hunts and such, because all too often, ‘we the people’ have

voted for slavery, sexism, racism, you name it. Remember, Hitler was democratically elected by we the people.

“So how do you integrate the upper and lower quadrants—the upper quadrants representing individual rights and freedoms and the lower quadrants representing social rights and civic responsibilities? Remember that the quadrants, like all the AQAL elements, represent **dimensions of an individual’s own being-in-the-world**; and in the political arena, if individuals are to feel that their very own social dimensions are not being alienated and torn from them, they must feel that they are *participating* in the collective political process that generates the laws that *govern* them—laws that may also happen to curtail their own freedoms. In other words, in order for any individual to live with others in a community, that individual’s freedoms will be curtailed to some degree, so how can you have an integrated polity if its members’ freedoms are being curtailed? The suggested answer is that if the individual is part of the political process that passes those laws—if individuals have a voice in the laws that govern them (i.e., if there is some degree of representative-democratic process in play)—then those individuals are more likely to accept those laws and thus integrate into the social system. An individual’s upper and lower quadrants are therefore taken into account in an *internal* connection and integration, even if their behaviors are subsequently limited to some degree.

“So that’s part one of individual and social. Here’s part two. When it comes to that particular axis—the individual/social or individual/collective—several political philosophers have arrived at a similar conclusion, namely, **the internal connection between public and private autonomy via participatory democracy**. And I agree, strongly. (That is, a truly Integral or AQAL Politics agrees with that particular internal connection, which, for you advanced students, can also be stated as: an individual’s subjectivity—UL—will accept laws that curtail the behavioral freedoms of its objectivity—UR—if and only if its own its own intersubjectivity—LL—is part of the interobjective process—LR—that limits its objectivity. Again, in simplified

form, if and only if the individual is part of the political process that might limit its own behavior. Dialogical *representative* democracy, although not fully satisfying this issue, seems the best bet to date.)

“But guess what? *That is true only at orange or higher*, something missed by other theorists, who are mostly unaware of this vertical AQAL dimension. Neither red nor amber, for example, has their quadrants lit up via participatory democracy, but rather through power (or domination) hierarchies for red and traditional (caste-like, aristocratic) hierarchies for amber. Those levels just don’t feel good otherwise; they feel completely lost in actual democracy (which is why, every time you introduce democracy into those societies, they democratically vote in tyrants or fanatics; we’ve seen this numerous times already, yes?). Now this does not stop us from recommending, in today’s world, participatory representative democracy as being a part of an Integral Politics. But it is only a part, as we will see. After all, something else has to be in play if Hitlers are to be avoided, because: democracy + pre-orange = Hitlers. Among other things, *stages of development* and *stations of life* have to be factored into the equation. For those interested, we’ll get to that later with the **Trialectical Parliament**, which is one aspect of the form of Integral Politics for the near future.”

I look from Lesa to Margaret. I decide to change the topic of our whispered conversation. I should actually shut up, but there is too much I want to try to pry from Margaret. Ordinarily she wouldn’t talk this much, and certainly wouldn’t be telling me these semi-secrets about the unbelievable results of the computer future-scenarios using the Code, but as she sits there gazing at Lesa, her brain has ceased functioning.

“Margaret, Lesa is talking about Integral Politics because it looks like we might need it, isn’t she? I mean, we will soon be running into second tier as a fairly wide-spread level of consciousness—the Tipping Point at P+10, a mere ten years from now—and so very soon we will

need an Integral Politics if we are to govern from second tier. That's what it's all about, isn't it?—*a second-tier governance*. It's coming this way, isn't it?"

Margaret hesitates slightly, seems to be looking for some critical part of her brain, then apparently not finding it, shrugs. "It certainly looks like it," she whispers, in a dreamy state similar to just waking up. Then the question seems to reengage her Mensa mind, which now begins a torrent of turquoise poli-sci speak. "What I like about the Centrix555 report is just how specific it is on the necessity of a turquoise or second-tier governance system, an **Integralocracy** if you will, here in America and certainly in the coming World League. Not everybody in society needs to be at second tier, which is not really possible at this time in history, but the Governance System needs to be turquoise-level-generated. But anybody can say that; the problem is, turquoise has nowhere near enough votes to get elected to hardly anything, being such a minority (less than 1% of the world population is at turquoise)—but that's what Trialectics is designed to handle. As for important first steps headed that way, the Centrix555 report suggests that, although the first actual World League starts at P+25, its precursor could start as early as P+12—not much more than a decade from now. It lists a few possible first chancellors of that precursor. Bill Clinton is one; weirdly, so is Al Gore. But there are a dozen or so more...."

"Yes, I noticed that. On page 237," I said, pointing toward the open booklet in my left hand. "But think about it. Forget the leaders, and just consider that in any event it will almost certainly be a World League of humans already enhanced with brain chip technology and so on, which could start as early as P+10. Don't you think this is wild? I mean, right now, individuals can contact their own higher capacities anytime they want—we can contact turquoise and indigo and violet, right now, if we're willing to work a little bit [with an **Integral Life Practice**]. But to have the Governance System of an *entire society* start to move into second tier, move into turquoise, move into integral: I mean, it's just too much, don't you think? Or, um, what do you think? Do you think that ten percent tenfold—10%10x [which means, 10 percent of the

population being at turquoise (10%); and the fact that turquoise itself is 10 times more efficient than first tier (10x), so we get **10%10x** as a symbol of this extraordinary, possible transformation, which would literally be unlike anything in the past; the press conference being discussed here has been called in order to present some of these staggering possibilities that computer future scenarios using the AQAL Code have generated, and much of which still remain secret; finally, symbols like P+10 mean “10 years from the present”—Eds.]—10%10x is really going to start happening around P+10, like the report says, and the World League around P+25? And what about that weird computer crash around P+30? Off the Wall fantastic or Down the Toilet horrid?”

“Oh, Off the Wall. It really looks like the leading indicator trends can only be read that way. We were seeing this Off the Wall with the 444 series of reports, and the 555 series confirms it. Around P+30, what we see in the *Right-Hand quadrants* is a Singularity-like tech explosion, where technological innovations sort of approach infinity—similarish to Kurzweil but without the fanaticism and millennialism, and it’s not a real singularity, just close, but we still call it that, call it a Singularity—but in the *Left-Hand quadrants*, which are totally ignored by the Kurzweils and Garreaus, the second-tier *Tipping Point* starts to really kick in, leading to a *Cultural Singularity*-like situation around P+30 also, which occurs as cultural changes, because they that are now ten times more efficient, also start to approach infinity. So what we really get is a **tetra-Singularity**, and the results of that are absolutely unbelievable, and nobody, but nobody, is tracking this, because you have to use future scenarios using the Code to get it. So we are keeping much of this secret. And it doesn’t matter if there is an energy revolution shifting to vacuum quantum potential energy—because that ignores the interiors and *who controls the new energy*???. Get it, Ken? And notice this, Ken: on the interiors, according to our future scenarios using the Code, because of that second-tier Tipping Point at P+10 and the Cultural Singularity at P+30, the exterior technology Singularity *is controlled not by the bad guys, or by the fascists and*

totalitarians of whatever flavor, but by the good guys, or those with some integrally informed participatory but holarchical democratic process, which is an extremely important point, and which—I repeat, okay my dear?—all the technology analysts like Kurzweil and Garreau rather completely miss. **What good is a Singularity if Hitler or Stalin or Pol Pot controls the technology?** It would be, in fact, a social disaster of equally infinite proportions; and, moreover something that even the postmodern relativists would have a hard time explaining away, as their sons and daughters were harnessed for Edi Amin: how would they like to have immortal Hitler Youth? You think I'm kidding? Blink your eyes twice people, and shake the scales off them. It would be very close to 'The Matrix,' but the machines would be Stalin or Pol Pot, not spirit trying to awaken people. Anyway, at P+30, or the Present plus 30 years, we see *both* a Tech Singularity and a Cultural Singularity, and that is why P+30 is Off the Wall. It certainly crashes our computers. Cultural Singularity at P+30 is pretty amazing. But that's why we need a second-tier governance system, *and fast*. And that is what Lesa is talking about, because she actually invented it, or cracked how the Code could be applied to create an Integral Politics via Trialectics and other things she will hint at. The core of it all, of course, remains secret, at least for now."

Margaret paused, took a long breath after almost exhausting every ounce of it in this last verbal delivery, then looked at Lesa and... simply held her breath.

"So I'm going to give you a handout summarizing the dimensions of the human holon that need most to be taken into account—and included—in any truly Integral Politics. Because that is the whole point, isn't it? This is what Integral Politics is all about: as each moment comes into existence—as each holon or sentient being comes into existence—its very structure is the AQAL matrix—and here we don't mean 'matrix' like the movie but like a pattern or intricate lattice—the wholistic organic pattern of this moment is the AQAL matrix: the very experience of this moment has quadrants, levels, lines, states, and types. And if you don't feel those, then you

are lost in them, and that part is like the movie—you're lost in the Matrix, only this time the Matrix of your own ignorance.

“In a human being-in-the-world, these major dimensions—**internal/external, translative/transformative, individual/communal, plus altitude**—need to be taken into account in any political theory and political action, if the human being is to be connected with reality. (Figure 4, around page 47, demonstrates some of these, and I will be explaining that figure in more detail as we go along.) But focusing exclusively on any one of those elements—such as the Left-Hand quadrants, or the Right-Hand quadrants, or a particular level—will generate a partial political theory—such as anarchism, liberalism, conservatism, socialism, communism, and so on.

“In other words, each of the major political theories and systems that have been offered to date takes some aspect of the AQAL matrix into account, and is generated by that aspect(s). But none of them to date has taken the entire AQAL matrix into account. None of them, that is, has yet been Integral. Yet any political theory or system that does not do so simply creates and perpetuates a fragmented, torn, fractured, and brutalizing system of governance—which is, one way or another, the history of governance systems to date, with some better, and some worse, and some of them integral for their time, but none of them Integral, and thus all of them damaging and torturing to one degree or another.

“So what we want to do is (1) identify how the AQAL elements are generated each moment and give rise to various types of political theory and action, indexing all of the political movements to date (i.e., where does each movement fall on the three axes and on altitude? Is it more internalist or externalist?; individual or communal?; transformative/progressive or translative/conservative?; and what altitude does it stem from, aim for, and actually deliver?). And (2), identify what a truly Integral Political *theory* would be, which would include all of the AQAL elements, not just a few. And then (3), what an Integral Political *praxis* or

Integralocracy would be (sorry about that, there doesn't seem to be a good alternative), including the actual structure of a World League. **Moment to moment there is the pressure generated by the very structure of experience (AQAL), and whatever components of this AQAL moment that you experience—or are conscious of—will generate your view of politics.** If you give emphasis to transforming and changing the present, you will tilt toward movements that are progressive. If you give emphasis to translating and keeping this present, you will tilt toward conservative movements (we're talking about the present, not the Present, which neither changes nor stays the same, but is timeless—and is dealt with in such items as Integral Life Practice, which can and does intersect political praxis, and in ways that AQAL fully handles, in terms of levels of higher consciousness, states of causal and nondual consciousness, and types as well. But this is another topic altogether, which we deal with later, so stay tuned). If you give emphasis to interior blame for human suffering, you will tend toward movements on the Right; if you give emphasis to the social cause of suffering, you will tilt toward movements on the Left. If you give emphasis to collective rights over individual rights, you will tend toward communitarian-like movements. If you give emphasis to individual rights over collective rights, you will tend toward libertarian-type movements. And so on. Using the AQAL Code, you can index all the major political movements to date, not to mention create the first political movement to take all of these already-existing dimensions into account, which would indeed be history-making. We've given you a handout, which summarizes some of these main points."

There was a shuffling sound throughout the crowded hall, as the press corps leafed through "Political Theory and the AQAL Code." I flipped through it; or, more accurately watched Margaret flip through it. I must be out of my blooming mind. Kim on my left, Margaret on my right, and my testosterone drenched brain can do nothing but scan the environment for moments of release. Woody Allen was right: God gave men a brain and a penis, but only enough blood to operate one at a time.

The Handout: Integral Political Theory and the AQAL Code

The AQAL code or AQAL matrix is the very architecture of this and every moment as it arises—possessing quadrants, levels, lines, states, and types. This sounds complex, but it really isn't. The quadrants, for example, are just another version of 1st-person, 2nd-person, and 3rd-person perspectives, or I, We, and It, and every moment can indeed be looked at from an I-perspective, a we-perspective, and an it-perspective—such as we find in art, morals, and science, respectively. What is so amazing about AQAL is that although it seems complicated, all of its aspects come down to dimensions of your very own experience, right now. *And the more of your experience you are conscious of each moment, then the more AQAL space you actually inhabit (and the less aware you are each moment, the more of it you inhibit: ignorance is not without a price tag).*

So this is not just an abstract, boring theoretical issue, but an issue of how much of your own life you are conscious of, and a map to help guide you in exactly that: the AQAL Code is what is known as **psychoactive**: start learning it, and it automatically starts checking your present experience for areas you didn't even know existed, from shadow elements to different perspectives to Big Mind itself, and helps you become aware of them.

Feeling these dimensions and wishing to place them into political action is what generates a political theoria and praxis. However, consciously or unconsciously focusing on only a few of its elements—just a few quadrants to the exclusion of others, or just one level to the exclusion of others, etc.—generates a partial politics, exclusionary and brutalizing in its nature and means.

Integral Political Theory itself has two major parts. First, any political theory can be classified and indexed using the AQAL matrix. Doing so clarifies the nature of that political movement, while also demonstrating the nature of the fragments that need to be integrated in a more Integral Politics. Which is what the second part does—namely, identifies and outlines an Integral Politics for any group, society, or planet in need of it. (That covers *theoria*, but of course, down the line we also need to cover real *praxis*—an Integral Political Practice, or an actual political platform of action, which we will save for a later discussion.)

Here is a very brief summary of the essential AQAL elements and how they relate to existing political movements. We focus in this handout primarily on **levels/lines, quadrants, and types** of change process (namely, transformation/translation). This gives us 3 orienting axes (**internalist/externalist, individualist/collectivist, transformative/translative**) and one altitude scale (what **levels** do those three axes stem from in each movement?). These are four major scales, three of which are actually polarities or axes, and one of which is evolutionary altitude. Using these **four scales** (and several **minor scales**, as you'll see), any and every political theory and movement can be usefully mapped. Here are the four major scales (along with the minor ones). The AQAL elements are *italicized*; when used as the various axes and scales, they are listed in **bold**; the four major scales (three major axes plus altitude) are additionally numbered, so that they are bold and numbered in parentheses (**#1, #2, etc.**).

The Quadrants or Dimensions: Who's to Blame, and Who Has the Most Rights?

(#1) The *interior and exterior quadrants* constitute the **social causation axis**, also called the **internalist/externalist axis** (or sometimes, colloquially, the

nature/nurture axis), which answers to the question: Who or what is primarily to blame for the cause of human suffering, the internal world or the external world?

Nature/nurture is a never-ending debate because, according to AQAL, neither side can ever win. They're both right.

(#2) The *upper and lower quadrants* constitute **the individual/collective axis** (or individual/communal axis), answer to the question: What has ultimate sovereignty, “I the individual” or “We the people”?—the human rights of the individual or social rights of the collective?—private autonomy or public autonomy—individual holon or social holon?

(Of course, none of these, in reality, are ever a simple either/or—they literally cannot exist without each other—but rather *a matter of percentages*. We use these axes by attempting to gauge both the theoretical and practical weight given to each polarity in any political system. Nonetheless, especially in first-tier movements, you do find occasions where a system defines itself as one pole of a polarity versus the other, and actually spends its time trying to eradicate the other pole: only the state has rights, or only the individual has rights, or only society is to blame, etc.—with similar, if sometimes unavoidable, shortsightedness with altitude: only amber values are real, only green values are real, and so on. In all cases, these are simply noted and entered in the indexing system. A truly integral politics, of course, finds the middle way, or the genuinely integrative way, in all major polarities—via **transcend and include**—and makes room for all major altitude values, via **the prime directive**.

Change Type: Transformation or Translation?

Each sentient being or holon (a holon is a whole that is a part of other wholes; e.g., a whole atom is part of a whole molecule, a whole molecule is part of a whole cell, a whole cell is part of a whole organism, etc.), besides possessing four *quadrants*, will be primarily engaged in either **translation** (change at one level, via *agency* and *communion*) or **transformation** (change between levels, via *progression* and *regression*). This gives us three additional axes (two of them considered minor): does a holon wish to transform or translate?—the **transformation/translation axis**; if it wants to translate, does it wish to do so primarily via agency or communion?—the **agentic/communal axis**; if it wants to transform, is the transformation upward or downward, progressive or retrogressive?—the **progressive/regressive axis**).

In practice, although it is important to take all three of those **minor scales** into account (and any fully Integral indexing does so), these often shake down to **one major axis**, which we call **(#3) the transformation/translation or progressive/conservative axis**. The three minor scales are collapsed into that one major scale as follows (although, again, if a finer analysis is needed, we use all three of those axes):

At a given altitude or level of development, a holon can either *translate* at that level or *transform* to an entirely different level. Horizontal translation (driven by Agape, which embraces the present) involves *agency* and *communion*; vertical transformation is almost always either *progressive* (Eros) or *regressive* (Thanatos).

Moving down the developmental scale, while still *retaining access* to the present level, is driven by Agape; but true regression, which involves the loss of the present level, is dysfunctional and driven by **Thanatos**, the “death” drive, which is a drive to destroy the present level and decompose it into lower elements or lower levels—more about that below.

At this point, sensing that the press was having a hard time with the Handout, Lesa picked it up and began reading from that page, interspersing it with presumably simplifying comments. Her tension was obvious, at least to me, because Lesa was never tense, but rather almost dependably an unflappable center of pure open Presence. She started reading, then commenting, reading, commenting. Her voice effervescently filled the room with sparkling intensity, but *simplifying*, it didn't really seem to be. I think she had other things on her mind; I know I did.

“Let me take a short detour here, because I think it's important. You don't see these kinds of confusions as often as you used to, but they are still quite common and quite disastrous. There are social movements that wish to be ‘retrogressive,’ such as the Romantic, but a finer analysis is required to see if actual *structural regression* is involved, or if there are parts that authentically but mistakenly involve spiritual or higher **states of consciousness** that are being confused with real but lower **stages of consciousness**. Most Romantic movements, for example, confuse **nondual states** of adult, joyful, experiential oneness with previous, infantile stages of **adual fusion** (such as the predifferentiated stage at the mother's breast, where the infant cannot tell the difference between subject and object. This is an example the **state/stage fallacy** (sometimes more accurately called the state/structure fallacy), or **SSF** in either case, and the **SSF** is at the core of most retro-Romantic movements. These movements are genuinely in contact with some causal or nondual states of consciousness, or ecstatic **peak experiences** and **altered states**—which are in many ways truly non-rational, but then they imagine that those **non-rational experiences, peak experiences, or timeless states of oneness** are essentially the same as some earlier, infantile, undifferentiated, **pre-rational structures** (i.e., the actual stage formation or configuration of the infant's world. Because that formation has not yet differentiated subject and object—which is called *adualism*—then it *appears* as if it has gone beyond the subject/object

duality, or is truly *non-dual*, but it's really just *pre-dual* fusion, called "adual fusion." It's not **beyond**, but **beneath**). Yet you see how easy that confusion would be?

"That very specific confusion is a type of state/structure fallacy, but that specific version is its own **non/pre fallacy (NPF)**, or a confusing of non-rational states with pre-rational structures, and it is very common and very understandable... and very wrong. For example, this fallacy assumes that the adual fusion of the infant at the mother's breast is essentially the same as oneness with supermind or Big Mind or nondual Presence. Now, we can be generous and even allow that the infant is often one with Big Mind—after all, every sentient being is. But that Big Mind state of nondual consciousness is NOT to be identified with an earlier developmental structure, or stage, or vMeme, or level of development, or anything like that. In Spiral Dynamics terms, this is to completely confuse the beige stage with Big Mind (and then say that in order to awaken Big Mind, we must return to infantile beige, because it alone, of all the vMememes, is the only one possessing Big Mind). Absolutely no way in hell."

Lesa proffered a faint smile as an offering to a press even more confused now that she was "simplifying."

"Well, I'm sorry, but let me quickly finish this topic and then I promise, back to the Handout. The typical Romantic movement does indeed contain an incredibly important truth, namely, that all sentient beings possess Big Mind, or nondual Being, and that in order to awaken that Being, we need to drop our exclusive identifications with egoic-rationality. Yet the typical Romantic movement nonetheless commits yet a third fallacy on the way to that truth: the **pre/trans** or **pre/post fallacy** (this can be written either PTF or PPF). Once it has confused a very real and very genuine nondual state of consciousness (and experiential oneness)—well, once it has confused that non-dual state with a pre-rational structure, it then assumes that, if we are at the rational-egoic stage or structure or level of development, and we need to get in touch with our own nondual presence or Big Mind, which will (or at least should) be a higher stage in our own

individual and collective development, then we have to regress to infancy (or primordial tribe awareness, or archaic, or beige, or premodern, etc.) and recapture that earlier stage of development, since that pre-rational beige is where Big Mind resides—thus confusing pre-rational with post-rational and recommending some sort of actual regression instead of developmental progression (i.e., they are caught in Thanatos, not Eros. Note, we are not saying that earlier stages shouldn't be recontacted and re-integrated; we are denying that Big Mind resides there and not equally elsewhere. **Big Mind can in fact be experienced at virtually any stage of development**; it's true that Big Mind is not to be identified with the egoic-rational stage; but it's not exclusively identified with any stage, let alone beige or the infantile stage. This, again, is to confuse a state with a structure (SSF & and very specifically its PNF form), then confuse post-structures with pre-structures (PPF), and then head back to infancy in order to find God (the PPF in its elevationist form, followed by recommended regression). And there we have all three: SSF, NPF, and PTF. That's a lot of goofs given the essential correctness of their intuition, but that is why so much roadkill follows the retro-Romantics on their return to an imagined Eden, God bless 'em).

“But head back they did. The ‘**Return of Origin**’ thus becomes a postmodern obsession, and this pre/post fallacy (and its hyperbolic over-attack on reason) has infected theorists from Nietzsche to Horkheimer and Adorno to Heidegger. It has infected virtually every form of New Age spirituality and many forms of transpersonal psychology; it is at the core of much boomeritis spirituality as well. And in order to unknot this mess—which, I will often repeat, is often driven by good intentions, compassionate hearts, real experiences of nondual states, and exceptional theoretical reasoning—it takes an Integral Theory, a theory that can untangle these three deeply-seated fallacies and thus, in the end, be able to honor the deep truth in the Romantic traditions: namely, that there is a higher or deeper realm of awareness and being than that offered by present rationality and egoic mentality and modern industrialization—but without the elevationism,

anti-intellectualism, and regression that the Romantics, now turned retro-Romantics, are driven to. One of the greatest things Integral Theory offers Romantics is a way out: a way to preserve and honor their experience of pure nondual Being (or some similar authentic state), but without actually destroying it in the process with so many confusions.”

When Lesa again fleetingly smiled at Margaret, this time Margaret actually held her hand up to her throat and made a “cut-throat” gesture, presumably meaning “stop it.” Stop the foot-note speechifying and return to the Handout, I suppose.

Lesla nodded. “Okay, okay, lemme finish real fast. This is why an even fuller AQAL analysis involves using not just quadrants, levels, and lines, but also **states** (i.e., states of consciousness, peak experiences, nondual awareness, altered states, etc.). These are often experienced as outside the realm of reason and logic and ego, but because states per se do not usually show development, as almost all structures do, it is best to refer to those types of states of consciousness as **non-rational** and **non-egoic** states, and not as **trans-rational** or **post-rational** states (or trans-egoic or post-egoic; nor, at the other end, as pre-rational or pre-egoic, and so forth). States, per se, do not move from **pre-x to x to post-x**, and so are not directly caught up in that developmental fallacy (i.e., the pre/post fallacy). *States* especially need to be distinguished from *structures* and *structure-stages*, which actually do move from pre-x to x to post-x (pre-rational to rational to trans-rational, or pre-personal to personal to transpersonal, or subconscious to self-conscious to superconscious, or id to ego to Spirit). The pre/trans or pre/post fallacy applies to developmental structures, not really states (because, as noted, states don’t usually develop; however!—notice that if the particular states do develop—as in contemplative development or state-stages—*then they can indeed be involved in a type of pre/post fallacy*—a confusing of **pre-x** and **post-x** states, simply because both are **non-x**). But here we are talking about the fact that once you confuse a non-rational state with a pre-rational structure (i.e., the *structure/state fallacy* along with, more specifically, the *non/pre fallacy*), then you usually further

commit the *pre/trans* or *pre/post fallacy* right after that. And then your beautiful Romantic vision ends up recommending an embrace of infantilism and retro-regression on a large scale, the disasters of which are hard to over-estimate.”

“What the hell are we here for?” one member of the press semi-shouted. Heads nodded vigorously up and down.

“We’re here,” said Lesa, “because if you live another 30 years, you might live forever.”

Okay, that worked. And that startling possibility—and several even more staggering implications that went way beyond any Kurtzweilian shenanigans—is indeed what this press conference was called to announce, along with the compelling evidence for all of them, generated by future computer scenarios running the AQAL Code. But, as if deliberately punishing them, she said, “Finish reading the Handout, and I’ll explain, I promise. And sorry for the repetition here, because the Handout also goes into Eros and Agape, as you’ll see, but without the detour into Romanticism. So give it a shot, please, and raise your hands with any problems.” And so, presumably, back they went to the Handout; the pitifully painful sound of people being forced to think was almost audible:

Movement on one level of consciousness is **translation**; movement to a higher level of consciousness is **transformation**. If a holon stays at its particular level and embraces the present translation (and its agency-and-communion), that is **Agape**, or the drive to conserve and embrace the present (as well as its past elements and lower levels). Translation itself can emphasize agency or communion (this is the minor scale known as the **agentic/communal axis**), both of which fall under the Agape drive at any given level, which is the drive to conserve and preserve that level (and its lower-level constituents) using healthy translation, or agency-and-communion *at that level*.

If a holon actually changes levels (and doesn't just reach up or reach down—but moves up or moves down), that transformative change can be either *progressive* or *regressive* in character. Normal progression, or upward transformation, is driven by healthy **Eros** (unhealthy Eros is *repression*, or **Phobos**, i.e., driven essentially by fear), while *regression*, or downward movement, is driven by unhealthy Agape, or **Thanatos** (i.e., the dissolution/death drive), so the Eros/Thanatos opposition gives us the minor scale known as the **progression/regression scale**). As noted, healthy Agape *reaches down* and *embraces* lower levels—starting with its own present level, which is exactly why Agape is profoundly conservative, or half of the radical equation of verticality (progressive Eros, naturally, being the other half.) Some people think of Agape as embracing only lower levels, but it embraces what is already fully present in a loving self-embrace and immanent spirit, and that certainly includes its present level, unlike Eros, which is always reaching up (and moving up) for more and higher and bigger and brighter. Eros is the love of the higher and emergent wholes; Agape is the love of the lower and already-emerged wholes (including its own present whole). Eros is transcendent, Agape is immanent. Eros is Freedom, Agape is Fullness. Both, needless to say, are desperately needed. (But you know many systems that completely ignore one or both, don't you?)

Thus, to summarize these particular scales, a healthy holon is faced with two basic choices: upward *transformation*, driven by Eros, or healthy *translation*, driven by Agape. Hence, the **transformation/translation** axis in *healthy* practice is essentially the same as the **progressive/conservative** axis, and, when used in that sense, we call both of them the third major axis (#3).

(That axis is not to be confused with political parties per se, needless to say. It is true, however, that many political parties are so strongly influenced by this particular

pressure in their own awareness and being-in-the-world that they intuitively tend to use terms like these to describe their actual political orientation. But however important this axis is—and it is clearly quite important—it is rarely the single most important scale pushing against one’s awareness, and it has to be situated with all the other major scales to really make sense. There is, after all, progressive amber and conservative amber, progressive orange and conservative orange, progressive green and conservative green, progressive teal and conservative teal, and so on.)

It seemed to me that Lesa continued to be slightly flummoxed by trying to present to the press corps possibly the most complex, postmodern, metaphysical—some called it post-metaphysical—system in existence. They were agitated, wanted to know if it eventually gets to incest, or murder, or rape, or polar icecaps melting, or Presidential misconduct, or some spectacularly bloody disaster they could present in a few-words headline (“President Found in Lincoln Bedroom with Known Terrorist as Polar Icecaps Melt”). They all perked up, and even beamed, when it was announced that a future computer scenario (running the AQAL Code) had given very credible evidence that 30 years from now, or what they called P+30, something absolutely unprecedented in human history would happen. But today, as soon as the teachers at Integral Center started explaining the slightest details of this scenario and how it was reached, the press fell asleep. The sound of painful thinking was almost immediately followed by the sound of insipient snoring. Lesa—the best and brightest of Integral Center—not to mention one-half of the best sexual fantasy I’ve ever had, and kept having every 5 minutes if either half of it was around, thus fitting the average frequency of X-rated sexual fantasies for a male my age—started explaining again almost as soon as she had stopped. I thought Margaret would get irritated with her, but Margaret had fallen back into the black hole of love, into which many sane minds went, from which none returned. The look in Margaret’s eyes had no bottom; it went all the way down

to psychic infinity and was utterly lost in the deconstructed emotional debris, along with her capacity to reason—and there her idiot vacancy bumped into mine, as we both sat slack-jawed, eyes pawing the stage.

“Well, I was saying that Eros is the love of the lower reaching up to the higher, and Agape is the love of the higher reaching down to the lower. This also means that Agape is the love for all present and all lower holons (that is, for all present-altitude and all lower-altitude occasions). But for a holon to not just love and embrace the lower but to actually *move down* or *regress* to the lower levels and dissolve the upper levels is *dysfunctional* or *unhealthy* or *pathological*, and that is driven not by Agape but by unhealthy Agape, which we appropriately call **Thanatos**—not just self-embrace, but self-destruction—the self-destructive drive. It is a drive that kills or destroys the present level (hence, “death drive”—and not the death of transcendence, which involves egoic death and upward Eros, but the downward death of mere destruction, deformation, and dysfunction. Not transcending and including something, but simply smashing it.) Likewise, there is also **unhealthy Eros**, or unhealthy upward transformation, which is Eros that does not transcend-and-include but transcends-and-represses: hence, not healthy Eros but **Phobos**, fear and repression. Thanatos drives **regression**; Phobos drives **repression** (that’s a very important discovery, btw). And believe you me, men and women of the press, any political movement that has one of those drives will indeed institute one of those forms of un-freedom. Regression kills all higher capacities; repression kills all lower capacities. And, without an Integral perspective, even if the political theory or practice wants to, it can’t even spot what it’s doing wrong, and thus it sadly confuses the nature of emancipatory interests and practices. In an attempt to help create more freedom and fullness for its members, it will sadly create less of each for all. Integral Theory, on the other hand, is a deeply **emancipatory** theoria and praxis. And it can offer and deliver emancipation, transformation, and liberation... because, frankly, it can tell

its ass from a hole in the ground. It knows which way is up. And which way is down. And doesn't get them confused. Needless to say, more about that latter.”

Although the press was laughing, they seemed uncertain why they were. Unless Lesa got back to the coming tetra-Singularity at P+30 and the staggeringly positive, headline-making culture-shock headed our way, she could kiss the press goodbye. And she could kiss Margaret too, not goodbye but a hot damn hello, with the two of their bodies gliding and gleaming and glowing and glistening in the beaming moonlight, swaying gently and lovingly, keeping rhythm with the hypnotically metronomic sound of their interlacing heartbeats, their exquisite yin-yang black-white bodies moving back and forth, and back and forth, and back and forth, and... um, I guess there's no “in and out,” so it would be, um..., um..., oh, I got it, with each of them... uh, never mind.

To repeat, the two healthy vertical-direction choices for a functional holon are to *remain at a given level* (conservative translation; Agape) or *transform to a higher level* (progressive transformation; Eros)—which is the **(#3) progressive/conservative axis**, also called **the transformation/translation axis** (or simply transformative/translative).

We have to be very careful here, as noted, because some political parties call themselves “Conservative” or “Progressive,” and they may—or may not—be acting on exactly the progressive/conservative polarities in axis #3. To avoid confusion, we will usually use “transformation/translation” instead of “progressive/conservative,” but the latter is very helpful and will also be used—just be extremely careful here! The Democrats often call themselves “liberals” or “progressives,” and the Republicans often call themselves “conservatives”; but there are conservative Democrats and progressive or liberal Republicans (e.g., “Wall-Street Republicans”). Remember, the only axis that *most* defines the Left or Democrats is the **externalist**, not the progressive; and the only axis

that *most* defines the Right or Republicans is the **internalist**, not the conservative. So we need to do a full AQAL Index of a movement to get anything like a real understanding of what it's all about.

Occasionally, as is common knowledge, very influential political movements have recommended regression as salvation, and therefore we sometimes need to use the specific progression/regression axis (although IC believes most Romantic movements are caught in various forms of state/structure, pre/non, and pre/post fallacies; see *Integral Spirituality*). But for the most part, as indicated, we use the **progressive/conservative** scale: does the political movement wish to conserve the past (and tradition), or look to the future (and reconfiguration), for its salvation? This #3 axis, in and of itself, moves loosely from **regressive to reactionary to conservative to stasis to progressive to revolutionary to radical**. (As usual, it is hard to tell the two extreme ends from each other—extreme reactionary and extreme revolutionary: the extremes meet.)

Lesa had seated herself on a chair around the oval table at the back of the stage, along with her other IC presenters. She was presumably waiting for the press to finish reading the Handout, but most of them were skimming it, it was pretty obvious. My own mind wasn't exactly on business....

Altitude: Levels and Lines

Each holon possesses those **three major axes** (internalist/externalist, individualist/collectivist, progressive/conservative), but, as always, all of those exist *only at a particular altitude*, so it is necessary to specify the altitude of any political idea or movement, in both its theoria and its praxis.

What *level* does it spring from? What *level* does it serve? This is the **levels scale** (#4, or the fourth and last major scale we use). This scale is very important, because the most basic values of a political movement (not its only values, just its most fundamental values) will be set by its altitude—after all, one can be amber progressive, orange progressive, green progressive, turquoise progressive, etc. Or one can be amber conservative, orange conservative, green conservative, etc. Likewise, one can be amber collectivist, orange collectivist, green collectivist, etc. Or amber externalist, orange externalist, green externalist, and so on. Being a collectivist or a conservative or a progressive, and so forth, usually pales in significance to its altitude, although all of them are important and necessary for an Integral indexing.

Nonetheless, if forced to pick one, **levels** is perhaps the most important of all the scales and axes. And guess what? It's the scale that is almost completely ignored by every major political theorist, past and present.

The level or altitude provides the type of *content* (amber, orange, green, teal, turquoise, indigo, etc.), while the three axes provide the *orientations* for that content (internalist/externalist, individualist/collectivist, progressive/conservative).

For a finer analysis of altitude, we look not just at the general level of a political theory or movement, but *what developmental levels in what developmental lines*? In particular, what level does it **talk** (the cognitive line)? And what level does it **walk** (the self line, or the center of gravity, COG)? And in both of those lines, what level does it come from, and what level of constituency does it actually address—i.e., what is not only the theorist's but the masses' center of gravity? (You'd be surprised how wildly off-kilter many political theories are, consistently over-shooting their readership, i.e., over-estimating their altitude. Karl Marx, for example, often wrote green intellectually, but attracted a center of gravity in the masses that was amber. His talk, and the masses'

walk, were quite different. This confusion meant that Marxism could not really be transformative—it was aimed much too high to have actual effect in the social structures and social integration of society’s that implemented it—and thus it ended up merely as a translative soporific, or a translative “religion”—and hence Marxism soon became the opiate of the masses, and in dozens of cultures, most notably the Soviet Union and China. Capitalism, on the other hand, with all of its problems, nonetheless spoke orange to a huge number of individuals at this point in history who could indeed reach up to that orange altitude—and especially an Ayn-Rand audience dying to get beyond an amber and suffocatingly conformist level to some sort of real if hyper-inflated and instrumental individuality—and thus capitalism served as an actual pacer of transformation for a very large number of cultures, for the better or for the worse: which is definitely another discussion altogether.)

“But looking at various lines, especially one’s walk and one’s talk (in both the author and in the reader) are a few examples of the **lines scale**, which is one of the important, if minor, scales. Often, when emphasizing the necessity for both levels and lines, we speak not just of altitude but of the **levels/lines scale** (and still number it as #4; it’s the same basic dimension).

Also related to the levels scale is the **stage/stations scale**.

Stages as stations means: Because there are individuals at virtually all altitudes, each level of consciousness or **stage of development** must also be considered to be a **station in life** (or an honorable and to-be-respected way of life or lifeworld), and any enlightened social theory and praxis would do exactly that. We have to find a way to let red be red, and amber be amber, and orange be orange, and green be green, and turquoise be turquoise, and so on, and find a way for *all* of them to fit, at least in the real world (a fact that green refuses to see, since green pretends that it will “change and transform the

entire world”—if, of course, you adopt *their* green values. But green hates orange, fulminates at amber, loathes red, thinks turquoise is the anti-Christ, and so on. Green honestly tries to be non-marginalizing, but without an Integral map, and a little more altitude, fails rather badly). So any truly integral political theory must specify how to integrate across all levels in the Spectrum; and this means the Prime Directive, both of which mean, in essence: Since the leading edge today is turquoise, there are at least 6 major levels, or structures, or altitude, or **stages of development** that must be included as **stations of life** or **stations of the lifeworld** (i.e., magenta, red, amber, orange, green, teal/turquoise) in today’s political world. Are only one or two of those levels/stations taken into account, or are all 6? And not just theoretically, or having a map! How do you **actually** do it in the real world, or more accurately, make the relatively minor integral changes you can in the real world and hope that they help to make development a little more integral with each subsequent sociocultural transformation?

Hence, **the stage/stations scale**: *how many levels of consciousness does a political theory authentically address?* It does no good to say that I am taking the whole Spectrum into account if I cannot tell you exactly how to let red be red and amber be amber and orange be orange and green be green—and still govern from turquoise. Without cracking that nut, there is no Integral. As noted, adults will stop their development at any number of stages—there will always be red adults and green adults and indigo adults—and that is their right. At any point in history, the political ideal is to **let each stage be itself, and govern from the highest reasonably available at any given time**. (There was a point historically when that was amber, and then orange, and then green, and today, it’s close to becoming teal/turquoise, and that’s part of the stunning surprises with P+30.) But more on that later, with Trialectics.... The point

right now is, **stages of development** will become **stations in life**, and we have to deal with that unavoidable reality in an enlightened and integral fashion.

Another minor scale that is sometimes important and can be included is the role of the Governor or Regulator, which every social holon possesses (this scale runs from nonexistent anarchist to minimalist Guardian to maximalist State; this is the **Regulator scale**, and we usually present it as **minimalist/maximalist** Regulator). This scale often overlaps, but is nonetheless distinct from, the **(#2) individualist/collectivist axis** (i.e., while it is true that many collectivists are State interventionists, some collectivists wish to achieve collectivism via means other than State intervention, such as naturalism or local communitarianism). Although minimalist/maximalist is often enfolded in the individualist/collectivist axis because of their frequent overlap, this is nonetheless an independent variable.

[Lesa Footnote: the four healthy drives of all holons (Agape, Eros, agency, communion) should not be confused with the four quadrants. Although they are similar in some ways, and simple depictions like figure 4 don't always distinguish them, they are in fact importantly different. The four quadrants are **spaces** or **actual dimensions**; the four drives are **drives** *that can and do occur in any of those spaces*, and help orient a holon to and within those spaces, dimensions, or quadrants (i.e., a molecule in the UR-quadrant has agency and communion drives; communion is not something that only occurs in the lower quadrants. As depicted in figure 4, if an individual emphasizes his or her communal drives over agentic drives, they will tend to favor the Lower or We/Its quadrants, it's true, but that is not the same as being the Lower quadrants).

[As for vertical orientation, Eros drives to embracing a higher-level space, Agape drives to embracing a present and/or lower-level space. Horizontally, on any level,

agency drives toward being a whole (autonomy), communion drives toward being a part (of any other whole; relationship). Often, agency drives toward the individual spaces (upper quads) and communion toward to the collective spaces (or lower quads), but not always, because, e.g., the drive to communion can be satisfied by any number of other wholes, including mystical states (whereas only when communion coincides exactly with the same-level collective dimension does it coincide with the social dimension and the collectivist axes). Commentators often confuse agency/communion **drives** with individual/collective **quadrants** (these are usually the same commentators that confuse or equate individual and social holons). Drives are drives, but quadrants are the dimensions or spaces *in which* those drives can and do operate (all four drives operate in all four quadrants: e.g., a molecule in the UR has Eros towards cells, Agape towards its own atoms and quarks, and agency and communion toward other molecules on its own level). Thus, the agentic/communal axis refers to the relative emphasis on drives in a holon; the individualist/collectivist axis is the space in which those drives may or may not be satisfied. This is why, when it comes to political theory (as opposed to psychological theory), which is concerned with the governance of the public spaces, the axis we analyze is the individualist/collectivist one. Nonetheless, because they do share some similarities, we occasionally use the agency/communion drives of a holon to speak of individual/collective dimensions, and vice versa, but this is for convenience only.

[Several of our colleagues are already working on this (see especially Gregory Wilpert, 'Integral Politics: A Spiritual Third Way, *Tikkun*, 16, 4, Jul/Aug 2001; see also *A Theory of Everything*, by our IC member Ken Wilber, and its endnotes).]

To summarize all of this, here are the 9 major and minor scales in the symphony of Integral Politics (the first three scales are axes, the fourth is altitude; the fifth refers to

multiple intelligences; the sixth and seventh are axes; the eighth is level/quadrant; the ninth is social nexus-agency; all are referred to as “scales” and are taken directly from the elements in the AQAL Code, elements that actually press on an individual’s awareness and being-in-the-world, and elements that consequently inform a person’s political orientation, among many other things):

- Major:**
1. internal/external (nature/nurture); also largely Left/Right
 2. individual/collective (individual/social holons)
 3. transformation/translation (progressive/conservative, Eros/Agape)
 4. altitude/levels (levels/lines)

Minor:

5. lines (esp. walk and talk)
6. agency/communion (autonomy/relationship)
7. progression/regression (upward/downward transformation)
8. stages/stations (developmental levels informing UL adult lifeworld)
9. regulator (governing system)

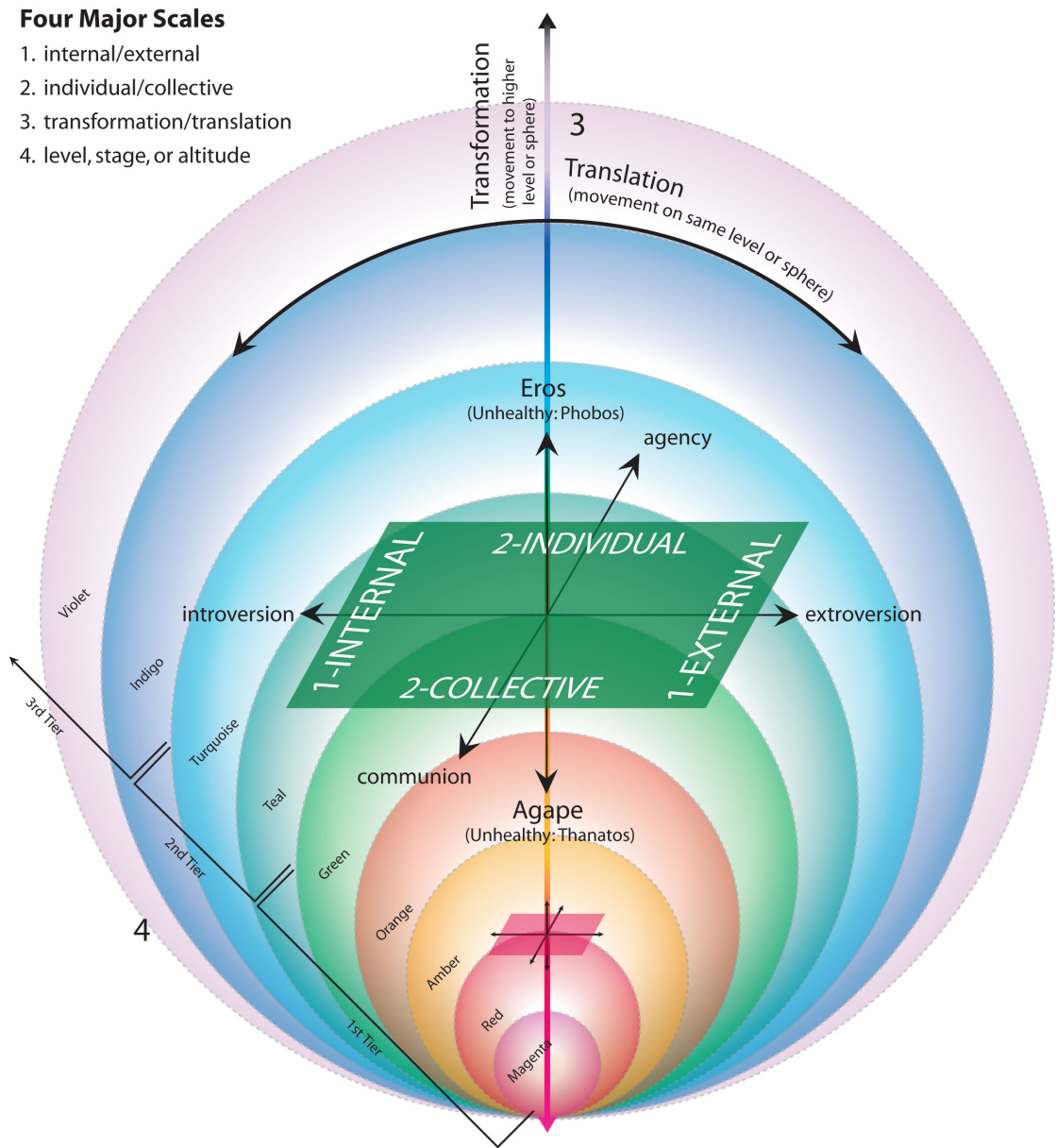
These can be represented loosely by figure 4 [brilliantly executed by Kayla Morelli].

Dimensions of the AQAL Matrix and Political Scales

The moment-to-moment pressure of experience gives rise to political parties.

Four Major Scales

- 1. internal/external
- 2. individual/collective
- 3. transformation/translation
- 4. level, stage, or altitude



Development is Envelopment

Concentric spheres of increasing consciousness, love and embrace– with a single slice or level taken out and expanded above.

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Figure 4. Elements of the AQAL Matrix, Which Press on Awareness to Inform Political Theory and Action as Indicated.

Lesa moved back to the front-center of the stage, after retreating into silence, and space, for a moment.

“So, ladies and gentlemen of the press, what you can see in the Handout is that especially using the four major scales—nature/nurture, individualist/collectivist, progressive/conservative, and levels/lines—we can: one, classify and index every major political movement in history; two, create a truly Integral Politics for an Integral Society; and three, **maybe** convert theoría into praxis or real political action and emancipatory interests....that is, maybe if we do everything right.... and, not to rush the conclusion, we *must* do everything right if p+30 is to be what we think it will be....

“Before discussing that, let me give, as a very quick example of how we can use the AQAL Code to index every major political system, the notorious political distinction known simply as **Left** and **Right**. Two items immediately stand out about that distinction: nobody can agree as to its definition, and yet it never goes away. In Bobbio’s best-selling Italian book, *Left and Right: A Useful Distinction*, he attempts to defend this distinction and argue for its importance, yet his proposed definitions were met with stiff resistance. What is it about Left and Right that they won’t go away—and that nonetheless defy definition—and what the heck do they mean, anyway? And is it actually possible to integrate them?—to get Left and Right finally, deeply, fully together? Can we?”

Lesa and Margaret’s bodies are glistening, moist in the moonlight of earth Goddess love, calling out to me, beckoning, urging, calling me... and will I join them, they ask? Will I join them?

“You bet!” I blurt out in a whispered croak, loud enough for several rows to hear me and turn their heads suddenly, sharply, and stare at me—I pathetically turn my head, too, as if joining in the search for the idiotic culprit. But then, after the recent terrorist affair, my neighbors are used to this cracked behavior from me. They collectively roll their eyes up, then return them to

the stage. See, the real problem is not Lesa and Margaret, or any fill-in-the-blank answer to testosterone's Darwinian lunacies—it's really Kim. Fantasies about Lesa and Margaret do not replace nothingness; they replace even deeper and more disturbing, painful, also alluring fantasies about Kim (painful cuz she might shut me down). I just can't get Kim out of my mind—and it's pathetic, but no matter how hard I tell the Upper Left to knock it off, the Upper Right delivers a fresh batch of testosterone to my nerve endings each and every second, and off it goes again, endlessly, infuriatingly. Do women have the faintest fuck of an idea what men go through here? When women, for medical reasons, are given testosterone injections, the most common complaint is: "Doctor, I can't stop thinking about sex, all the time, day and night. Please, can't you make it stop? *Please make it stop...*"

How do you think I feel? Please, can't I make me stop? Or maybe: please, can't I get rid of me? Or won't I *please* go away?

Kim looks at me like I'm nuts. I whisper, "Well, how do you think I feel?" She gives me a look that says it's back to the turkey baster. But I really can't help it. Margaret and Kim and female waves of eroticism—maybe Eros itself—run up and down my body in much-too-intense waves, turning from a rhythm of loving embraces into something more like a pack of swarming rats, jerking my body involuntarily up and down, left and right, as if being shot by a rain of invisible bullets. Left and right, left and right, up and down, up and down, in and out, in and out, oooh... Gurgling sounds and movements emerge from my seat.

"Ken, you're embarrassing me," Kim whispers.

"I'm not doing anything, honest. I'm just being me. It's never bothered you before, not like, you know, *bothered* you."

"I was never thinking about you like this, thinking about you in, you know, *that* way, like I am now, or was now, anyway."

“Ha ha!” I look at Ronnie, who I just noticed has returned and plunked down in the seat next to Kim, and instead of asking him about the really important issue—what did James have to say about the results of Pluraltrx666?—I have only one thing on my mind. I reach behind Kim, shake his shoulder, jerk him out of iPod Ronnie World and into a different present moment, out of his MyUniverse.narcissism, which now defines my generation (did you see that alarming study showing that egocentrism and narcissism in college students has almost *doubled since the Boomers?* How could *anybody* beat the Me Generation at narcissism, for Christ’s sake? Well, it’s easy, just have Boomers as your teachers and boomeritis as your main course lessons.)

Okay, well, maybe later on that. First things first. Namely, me. I lean forward and look at Ronnie. “It’s hook-up time!” I mouth silently. Kim shakes her head “no,” I shake my head “yes,” she shakes her head “no,” I shake “yes,” she shakes “no,” I shake....

“What on earth are you two doing?” Margaret whispers, slightly alarmed. Kim looks at Margaret, shrugs, blinks twice, and the both of them fully understand something. I think it was about turkey basters. Ronnie grins and goes instantly back to his innerscape. “Catch ya later on James and the Frankie F. bongo,” he says dryly. Oh, yeah, I forgot about that.

“Bobbio defines the **Left** as believing in **equality** and the **Right** as believing in **inequality** or **difference**. *But here, acknowledged by Bobbio, is a list of all of the major ways that Left and Right have been defined by serious theorists and scholars of the last three decades:*

Left	Right
equality	difference
secular	religious
modern	traditional

freedom	authoritarianism
progressive	conservative
nurture	nature
profane	sacred
equality	inequality
democratic	theocratic
emancipation	tradition
egalitarian	hierarchical
postconventional	conventional
future	past
materialistic	spiritual
autonomous	conformist
disenchanted	numinous
meaningless	value-rich
individualist	authoritarian
collectivist	libertarian
libertarian	conformist

“The point is, how on earth can we explain the existence of that list? Many have tried. But using AQAL, perhaps it’s apparent what is going on here. Each of those different definitions has some element of truth but is founded on only *one* of the major scales (and occasionally a

minor scale). This is why we find that the distinctions between those two columns (Left and Right) won't go away: the two columns are based on the two poles of the various axes or sometimes various altitudes, and none of those are going away because they are part of the AQAL matrix! Therefore both of those columns and what they represent need to be included, not excluded! **The point is not one column versus the other!** If you define yourself as Left or Right, one thing is sure: you're not Integral. If you think one of those columns is correct and the other is wrong, congratulations, you're first tier, or thoroughly not-Integral. The real point is that a genuinely viable politics would have to include both columns! How to do that without contradiction is a major achievement of Integral Politics.

“But the second point is that, indeed, nobody can agree on the *actual* definition of Left and Right because in those columns there are, as it were, at least *three different definitions* of Left and Right depending upon *which axis* one is implicitly using. Toss in *altitude* or *levels* of Left and Right, and the confusion is complete.*

“Progressive/conservative is an obvious definition of Left/Right, and indeed it is often used: the Left is progressive, the Right is conservative. But there are many cases, as we have noted, of ‘progressive Republicans’ or ‘conservative Democrats,’ so that is not a fully workable definition. Another that has been often used is individual sovereignty versus collective sovereignty, with the Left espousing human rights over republican or civic virtues (precisely because the republic has often sanctioned slavery, sexism, etc.). But the (post)modern Left has

* Lesa: “As we will see in more detail later, if you use the progressive/conservative axis, the Left is **progressive** and the Right is **conservative**; if you use the individual/collective axis, the Left is **individual** and the Right is **collective** (and the new Left, or postmodern, is **collective** and the new Right, or Wall-Street Republican, is **individual**); if you use levels, the traditional Left is **orange** (and the new Left is **green**) and the old Right or traditionalist is **amber** (and the new Right is **orange**); if you use the internal/external axis, the Left is **externalist** and the Right is **internalist**. And so on with the minor axes. **Only the internal/external definition holds across virtually all schools of Left and Right**, however (with Left being externalist and Right being internalist), and that is the first major point, because AQAL succeeds in defining Left and Right where previous attempts have largely failed. But, of course, we want to use all major and minor axes to fully define and index any particular school—and we want to find a way to integrate all of them in both *theoria* and *praxis* if we are ever to find a genuinely integral political consciousness—and that is the major aim and claim of Integral Politics.”

clearly identified with collectivistic egalitarianism over individual rights. Individual rights have virtually disappeared in postmodern thought and law. Only if you are an individual who is a member of a minority do you have any rights that can't be easily trumped, and that because of class or collectivist sovereignty.

“And that is why, if we are to pick one of the three axes that has *most often and consistently* been identified with the Left/Right axis, **it is the internalist/externalist one**. Virtually all schools of the Left—including new Left and old Left and everything in between—believe in some form of *external causation* of human suffering. Whatever happens to you, it is not your fault! It is society's fault. How to cure that is another thing. But the cause is clear to the Left: it is bad nurture, not bad nature, that causes human suffering. Likewise, both old and new Right both believe in the fundamentally interior cause of human suffering, from family values to the work ethic, or lack thereof. Thus, if we have to pick only one, we say that the Left is externalist and the Right is internalist. There are then progressive and conservative, and individualistic and collectivistic, schools of each. (Not to mention levels of each. The standard simplistic move in regard to levels, which is to say that Right is amber and Left is orange, won't work at all, because there are neo-cons or new-Right folks at orange, and so on. Levels are definitely important, and we will get to them in a moment, but they do not adequately define Left and Right.)

“Interestingly, although Bobbio equates Left/Right with equality/difference, he inadvertently gives the externalist/internalist definition (as nurture/nature)—which is the real definition of Left and Right—in several places (i.e., he explains that the Left believes that people are born equal and that bad social institutions and bad nurture cause all the problems—we are unequal because of nurture, not nature; the Right believes people are not born equal but are born with different types and degrees of talents, and further, people should be allowed to pursue those differences and be not homogenized into a faux equality—we are unequal because of nature, not

merely nurture. So the Left places the blame and the cure with external nurture, whereas the Right places them with internal nature: the Right believes that nature itself equips each of us differently, so that it is something in our nature that causes inequality, and, moreover, that inequality is not necessarily a bad thing to be exterminated, but that allowing these differences in talent to play out will actually help both individuals and society the most).

“Here is one telling example of Bobbio using the nature/nurture distinction, where he chooses Rousseau as the archetypal Leftist and Nietzsche as the archetypal Rightist. Both choices are revealing, in that **Rousseau**, whatever else he is, is a champion of ideas that are shot through with the pre/post fallacy (he really thinks preconventional egocentrism and postconventional autonomy are the same—thus elevating magenta/red to turquoise), and thus he ends up as the archetypal **retro-Romantic**, confusing regression and progression, and thus everything from the Terror to the Maoist Cultural Revolution would soon fly under his banner, with more heads dropping in the name of egalitarian compassion than you could shake a guillotine at). And **Nietzsche** is a telling choice as well, because Nietzsche equally represents (at least in this regard) a first-tier (and hence fragmented) theorist, one who is also caught in profound pre/trans fallacies (confusing red power with turquoise empowerment), and thus under whose banner every **fascist** from Hitler on would parade. Fairly or not, Nietzsche rather frequently elicits those sentiments in people. For Rousseau, humans are everywhere born equal and end up in chains. For Nietzsche, humans are every born with unequal amounts of talents and excellence, all of which end up everywhere flattened into a uniform mediocrity. Isn't it obvious that they are both half-right, half-wrong, and that only an Integral approach could take both of the correct halves and jettison the confusions? Because if we don't do that, then Hitlers on the far Right and Stalins on the far Left will continue to rule, make no mistake about it, it's *absolutely guaranteed*.

“But here is the quote, which is one of the places where Bobbio inadvertently hits upon the most defining characteristic of Left and Right, namely, the former sees external/nurture as the primary cause of human suffering, and the latter, internal/nature.

The contrast between Rousseau and Nietzsche is reflected in the attitude they adopt to the naturalness and artificiality of equality and inequality. In his *Discourse on the Origin of the Inequality among Men*, Rousseau argues from the premise that men are born equal but are made unequal by civil society, and that it is the society which slowly imposes itself on the state of nature through the development of the division of labor. Conversely, Nietzsche works on the premise that men are by nature born unequal (and that is a good thing because, among other things, a society founded on slavery as in ancient Greece was a highly developed society precisely because it had slaves), and that only a society with a herd morality and a religion based on...submissiveness [e.g., Christianity] could make them [faux] equal. The same degeneration which created inequality for Rousseau created equality for Nietzsche. Just as Rousseau saw inequality as artificial [created only by humans], and therefore to be condemned and abolished for contradicting the fundamental equality of nature, so Nietzsche saw equality as artificial [created only by humans], and therefore to be abhorred for contradicting the beneficent inequality [i.e., the excellence of achievers and winners over losers] which nature desired for humanity. The contrast could not be starker: the egalitarian [Left] condemns social inequality in the name of natural equality, and the anti-egalitarian [Right] condemns social equality in the name of natural inequality.

“The contrast could not be starker. Boy, I’ll say. Those who embrace the Left, and those who embrace the Right, are both contributing to the brutality of the political dimension.

And both are incapable of fashioning an emancipatory political interest, no matter how much the Left fancies that it has done so. Which means that both Left and Right are doomed to create warfare of one type or another—cultural, economic, physical, emotional—because both are pitifully partial slices of a larger Kosmic pie.”

“People are starved for that, just starved,” Margaret whispers with gentle intensity, “for Kosmic pie.”

“Starved? For pie? Absolutely, pie. Pie is great, pie in the sky and pie on earth, pie for each and pie for all. Apple and pecan and etcetera. Excellent point, Dr. Carlson.”

By now, Margaret is used to my blather, and politely steps over it, female chivalry for a male clearly incapable of functioning—although if she pays any attention to Lesa, she soon becomes the same sad shape, there at the bottom of a vacant infinity—I know, I’ve seen her there.

“The political movements, Ken. The movements. Left and Right won’t go away, like Lesa is saying, because the AQAL matrix is the structure of each moment, and *Left and Right represent dimensions of that moment*”—she says that with whispered emphasis—“dimensions that particularly became self-conscious at orange, but are present at all levels. And most important of all, we have to learn how to integrate them, make them one taste of a whole Kosmic pie.”

“Yup, yup, I knew that. Don’t hate, integrate, and pie for each and all.” Jesus. I have got to get a grip. Kim leans over and accidentally brushes against me, and here come the crowds of rats white-water rafting up and down my spine....

“Now we will come back to that integral Kosmic pie in just a moment. But this Left/Right distinction is so important, I want to finish with it. It is still defining our lives in so many ways, and it is a division that is killing us, literally. We have got to understand it, got to

realize it won't go away, and got to realize how to transcend-and-include its partialities in a larger, surer, and wiser embrace.”

I tried to focus on what Lesa was saying—she was my favorite teacher at IC, after all—well, after Mark. Well, um, after Joan. Well, anyway, Lesa.... My body began to shift, slowly, from the rats of rancid Eros to the lightning of Lesa's clarity. I knew what was coming, I'd heard it before, and the audience was about to get hit by a Taser right between their green-meme eyes. This lesbian black woman was about to give a rattling defense of the dead white male patriarchy.

“Okay, my friends. We just saw that if you have to pick only one axis or scale, or one definition, that most defines the Left/Right distinction, it is the internal/external (nature/nurture) axis. And my second point is that, if the **internal/external axis** is the only viable definition of Left/Right, the **levels** scale is certainly one of the most prominent—and so, of course, to give any political movement its full Kosmic address, you want to include levels (well, of course, you want to include as many of the major and minor scales as possible). And there, indeed, **Left** has been most identified with **orange** and **Right** most identified with **amber**.

“And that is true enough: most orange folks are Leftists and most amber folks are Rightists. (But, as noted, that does not work as an actual definition, but it does identify the largest demographic, so for many purposes that definition, **Left = orange** and **Right = amber**, works well enough, which is why **Left = modern** and **Right = traditional** is also a very common definition, as you can see in the two columns above. It's just technically incorrect in subtle ways, so be careful when you use it.) But, indeed, by far the most historically-defining aspect of the Left/Right distinction is that Left is orange, Right is amber—so let's have a look at that, using the AQAL Code to follow what is happening, focusing now on the **levels scale**.

“The distinction between Left and Right, as is well known, was first used in the French National Assembly of 1879, where the ‘modern’ contingent sat on the left of the aisle and the ‘traditional’ contingent sat on the right. The original or classic Left was defined as representing

liberte, equalite, fraternite—or liberty/freedom, equality, and fraternity/solidarity (**at orange altitude**). That is, using our **four major scales** to index the Enlightenment, it was orange/worldcentric (for levels, #4); externalist (#1); progressive (#2); and, when it comes to the remaining scale, that of individual/collective (#3), it is here that we find the famous internal contradiction of liberalism—because it is **individualistic** when it came to freedom or liberty, but **collectivistic** when it came to both equality and fraternity. (This is a contradiction because you cannot have both freedom and equality: each requires the restricting of the other. Alex de Tocqueville was probably the first major theorist to point out that you can have freedom or equality, but not both. Unless, we add, you re-situate them in an AQAL context.)

“But the point we are focusing on now is that, while the Enlightenment (and the birth of the Left) was indeed **progressive** (representing transformation to orange over translation/conservation of amber) and **externalist** (social institutions and bad nurture, not bad nature, are the cause of humankind’s suffering), all of those were set in a *postconventional, worldcentric, universal* context (its **orange level**), and that is absolutely crucial. It was The Universal Rights of Man, and not the rights of this or that man, this or that woman, this or that religion, this or that sex, this or that creed, this or that skin color—which is why the **orange Enlightenment**—created mostly by white, male, European, patriarchal, rational-analytic, Newtonian-Cartesian individuals—**has reduced more suffering, created more freedom, released more oppressed minorities, and done more to advance the cause of self-determination, respect, freedom, and human dignity than any other single movement in human history, bar none, and by the widest margin imaginable**. As only one example, the orange, industrial-rational, modern societies were the first societies ever to completely abolish slavery. Every societal type in human history—including foraging, hunting and gathering, maritime, herding, horticultural, and agrarian—had slavery, until the orange, Western, Left, modern Enlightenment. In a 100-year period, from around 1760 to 1860, every rational-industrial

society on the planet outlawed human slavery. So start with the end of slavery around the globe when you want to judge what is so derisively called the patriarchy or modernity, and then try to work through your deep confusions to something resembling reality.”

Lesa was wound up wildly, sizzling across the floor seemingly a few inches above it, propelled by some sort of overmind download into a human frame so marginalized that it was hyper-sensitive to just what composed “something resembling reality,” not to mention being marginalized; and being second-tier (at the very least), she settled for none of the typical dualistic solutions—matriarchy vs. patriarchy, modernity vs. traditionalism, Left vs. Right, and so on through the list of polarities and divisive dualities that have literally marked every single culture since the dawn of the human species. She would not pour her soul into another fragmented mold of Left versus Right or neo-Left versus everybody—which she saw as just a new cultural Iron Maiden—and then sell that Maiden to the masses with savage conviction in an attempt to convince others to join her in that new form of mental, emotional, and cultural slavery.

“So that is one of the major accomplishments of the white male patriarchy—and the orange Left—and it also includes, by the way, the setting in motion of the currents that created feminism and the creation of multiculturalism.* Way to go, dead white boys.”

Lesa said that with a mild shout; and, glancing at her radiantly obsidian skin, then looking at the audience, smiled the sweetest smile of soft content, then jumped right back into her

* The “patriarchy” is another important concept that yields its useful meaning only with an AQAL context. Feminists have endlessly argued about the beginning of the patriarchy—did it start with modernity, or with agrarian, or go right back to the start of Homo sapiens, with all men everywhere always oppressing women? This “men are pigs” and “women are sheep” view is hard to believe, not to mention making feminism itself impossible. Further, feminists have never given a very compelling definition of the patriarchy. Most of the definitions are redundant or tautological, and come down to not much more than, “In the patriarchy, all the penises are owned by men.”

AQAL sees differences in types going back to day one (because there are significant UR differences in males and females), with these types modified both by social systems (LR) and cultural worldviews (LL), but with increasing gains in types of freedom at each major transformation, so that the Western Enlightenment was not the start of patriarchy, nor its height, but the least patriarchal society, relatively speaking, to emerge prior to postmodernism, which is why the Enlightenment also brought with it the freeing of slaves and the rise of feminism. All of this is dealt with in chap. 8, “Integral Feminism,” *The Eye of Spirit*, which also includes what a truly all-quadrant, all-level or integral feminism would look like.

rapid-fire delivery. The audience was too stunned to respond, and Lesa didn't seem to care. But I had long ago learned that, of all the things that us students had been taught to blame the orange Western Enlightenment for, *most were actually items that belonged to amber-traditional societies*, East and West, including rigid **social hierarchies, caste systems, authoritarianism, sexism, and slavery**—none of those originated with the orange Enlightenment nor were in any way defining of it. In fact, almost exactly the opposite, **because the discourse of modernity, or the discourse of the Enlightenment, began to reverse or end all of those**. Yet, by the wildest irony of the last half-century, the beginning **cure** of those social horrors, namely, the Western Enlightenment, was misinterpreted as their **cause**. Boomeritis education is a swell thing, is it not?

I leaned over and whispered to Margaret, “Just saying what Lesa just said could get her thrown out of Harvard, you know that? I mean, ‘Way to go, dead white boys’? This would be worse than when the recent President of Harvard got thrown out on this ass because he dared to mention biological differences between the sexes.”

“Absolutely,” Margaret whispered back. “Which is indeed exactly what happened to Harvard's president, although at least Steven Pinker gave a decent second-tier response to the dogmatic feminism that got the President canned. Fortunately IC is not technically a part of Harvard. But Harvard today is basically a green Harvard, no doubt—over 95% of its graduating class graduated with honors!—so “graduating with honors” has become utterly meaningless under green grade inflation. Anyway, not only is the modern male patriarchy responsible for creating all of the positive things Lesa is saying—including feminism—the real problem with the modern world is not the Newtonian-Cartesian, mechanistic, rational paradigm, but the fact that more people cannot get up to a capacity for the Newtonian-Cartesian paradigm! Heck, 70% of the planet still can't get up to orange—**demographic research consistently shows that at least 70% of the world's population is at ethnocentric amber or lower**, and that is the major

problem with the modern world: most of it is still premodern. Of course there are higher levels than orange, but you have to get up to it, first.”

Margaret seemed to have awakened up from her dreamy immersion in Lesa, and then whispered with some urgency, “In fighting orange and the orange Enlightenment, green postmodernism has contributed directly to **the triumph of amber**—particularly amber fundamentalism, amber mythic-theocracy, amber fascism, amber sexism, and amber racism. You know what the single greatest problem facing the West is, according to a poll of all of the Integral Center teachers?”

I nodded “no.”

“The single greatest problem was stated this way: **when green attacks orange, amber wins**. And believe me, amber is winning, just ask Karl Rove. Despite a Democratic victory here and there, the ranks of voters have down-shifted toward amber, unmistakably and strongly. All of this thanks to the likes of green Harvard, which has finally succeeded in deconstructing even its own deconstructionists. A *Time* magazine cover story recently asked: **Is Harvard Necessary?** The answer was no, it’s not. Any school is the best school if it’s right for me. So there you go. All of you folks here at Harvard might as well be at Kansas State, there’s no real difference, that would be horrible ranking. Of course, the green pomo critics don’t realize what they’ve actually done under the banner of boomeritis; it would kill them to see the real results of their actions, to see that in deconstructing orange, amber is now winning, being not just a majority of the population but a majority of the governing system, reversing the gains of representative democracy under the liberal Left Enlightenment. But there it is: when green attacks orange, amber wins.”

“So let’s return to the historical point about levels of consciousness and their impact on politics,” Lesa continued, as Margaret seemed to float back into dreamy obliviousness. “All of the definitions of the Left in the above two-column list—that point to some sort of **justice** and

liberation and **emancipation**—are all echoes of this historically monumental transformation from amber to orange, and from the **ethnocentric** prejudice to **worldcentric** justice that such a transformation entails and demands. **It is definitely true: the Left in general—as you can see in that two-column list—is somehow struggling, at a higher level or from a higher set of perspectives (3rd-person worldcentric and not just 2nd-person ethnocentric) to be more fair, more just, more right, more emancipatory, more liberational, and more transformational—**you can actually see many of those words in that list—and that truth comes from the fact that its historical origin was founded in just that shift in levels of consciousness and care from ethnocentric tradition to worldcentric emancipation. (Seen in everything from the freeing of slaves to the founding of the women’s movement to the making touchable of the untouchables). Green would carry that on, and turquoise will carry it still further, all of them consecutively riding the most progressive wave of an Eros that will not be cheated! (Along with an Agape whose ever-increasing compassion and ever-more-loving embrace will not be denied!)

“Of course, as noted, things got complicated when green did in fact emerge on its own as a large percentage of the population (around 20%), in the 1960s, because if you were of a **progressive** and **externalist** bent at green—and hence if you were green Left, by whatever name (e.g., pomo socialist)—*then you will disagree strongly with the orange (old) liberal Left, especially because green thoroughly despises orange in general (and therefore green Left despises orange Left)*. But they are both above all else **externalists**, and hence both are still **Left**, as they both vaguely understand but don’t really like, and often try to deny, unsuccessfully. As a postmodernist, you will recognize some sort of odd affinities with the old Left—as noted, because you will **both** be **externalists**—but otherwise, you pretty much loathe each other, because you differ on so many of the other axes, not to mention altitude.

“In other words, this emergence of green—and the simple fact that evolution continues in any event—means that each party now has two major wings (along with plenty of minor ones).

But the major wings are due to the fact that originally there was basically just amber and orange, with the Right holding amber and the Left holding orange. But as both populations continued to grow and evolve, parts of the amber Right moved into orange, and parts of the orange Left moved into green—giving us an amber and orange Right, and an orange and green Left. And, all being first-tier, none of them get along very well with each other. This is the tension that, in America for example, shows up as the two major political parties each having to deal with an internal split between their two major wings and attempt to unify them: Republicans have to strive to unify their old, fundamentalist, Bible-thumping, patriarchal, militaristic, traditional values faction (amber) with their new, modern, Wall-Street, progressive, Ayn-Rand faction (orange). And the Democrats have to struggle to unify their old, modern, Enlightenment, freedom, individuality faction (orange) with their new, postmodern, pluralistic, sensitivity, care-bear, multicultural, post-colonial faction (green). And believe me, it is easier to get amber and orange together than to get orange and green together, which is why the Republicans will continue to outweigh the Democrats until the Democrats get their heads out of their butts and stop letting their green faction attack and deconstruct their own orange faction (this is why their candidates go back and forth and back and forth: orange one day and green the next, orange the next day and then green the next, ad nauseum). This is a dark day for the Left in general, especially because of its own mean green meme (MGM) faction, which is leading the internal deconstruction. The only hope is that a significant portion of the Left makes the leap to the hyperspace of second-tier Integral (teal/turquoise) and can integrate both green and orange (not to mention the rest of first tier)—but again, more on that battle now occurring within the Left later.

“Our simple point here is that historically, during the Enlightenment and thereabouts, Left was orange and Right was amber, and *that original historical altitude (and the respective values at each) accounts for almost half of the definitions in the above columns*. In other words, the Left/Right distinction *as it is normally used* is not just a difference in horizontal polarity *on a*

given level (i.e., any of the three major axes, although esp. the internalist/externalist axis), it is also—or has originally stemmed from—a *difference in levels* as orange values emerged and began to differentiate themselves from the previous, traditional amber values: if you were orange you would almost certainly be Left, and if amber, Right. Look at the list above, and you can see how many of those definitions stem from altitude: Orange tends to be **secular** rather than **religious**; it tends to be **modern** rather than **traditional**; **democratic** rather than **theocratic**; **individualistic** and **autonomous** (in terms of freedom/liberty) rather than **conformist** and **herd mentality**; **collective** (in terms of fraternity or solidarity) rather than **authoritarian**; and **egalitarian** rather than **hierarchical**.

“All three of the axes (internal/external, individual/collective, progressive/conservative) take their value contents from their altitude (or level), and that means: the original revolutionary Left was orange, whatever else it was; and the Right at that time was amber, whatever else it was. (The things they had most often in common after that altitude was: Left was externalist, Right was internalist; Left was progressive, Right was conservative; Left was individual, Right was collective—even though, as we are emphasizing, the internal/external is the only constant definition that stands up over time, and to this day.)

Asked a reporter in the audience, one of the few still awake—although those few seemed not only to get it but to start to become wired out of their skulls with rising excitement (they were starting to think not just about yesterday or today, but about tomorrow, and some of the outrageous futures that might lie ahead of us, and soon):

“So that is responsible for much of the historical shift between some of the values of the Left and Right? Many people realize that what the Left used to represent, the Right now does, and sometimes vice versa. That’s mostly due to altitude?”

“Yes, we’ve already noted that some of the values historically associated with both the Left and the Right have shifted—roughly into variations on New Left and New Right—and that reflects the altitude change that both were subjected to as evolution itself continued over the next three centuries. **The main axis identification remains the same (Left is still externalist, Right is still internalist)**, but the values that those represent can and did shift. As an entirely new level of consciousness—green—emerged, the original Left/Right as orange/amber actually became split on both sides, because now you can have **the old and new Left** and the **old and new Right**.

“So each party now has two major wings, as we started to explore. The old Right are the amber fundamentalists, very ethnocentric, militaristic, patriarchal, sexist, racist, and so on—I’m sorry, but they are—and not to worry about upsetting them, they’re proud of that fact, because the Bible tells them so. But the new Right are the orange libertarians and neo-Cons, the Wall-Street and Ayn-Rand Republicans, where, ironically, they champion many of the orange Enlightenment values that the Right used to hate. And, as we noted, the Left simultaneously and for the same evolutionary reasons now has two wings: the old Left shares many orange values with the new Right—because both are orange altitude (although, of course, the former is externalist and the latter is internalist, so there they ferociously part ways). And the (pomo) new Left hates them both.”

Reporter: “So, the old Left is orange, the new Left is green. The old Right is amber, the new Right is orange. Hence many of the ironic shifts in values of these two fundamental parties.*

* Lesa continued, from my iPod: “I tossed in a few of those doubly shifting values in the last two items on the list, such as libertarian. The **orange** Enlightenment was *individualistic* when it came to freedom and liberty, and mightily fought conformity and the herd mentality. It was, in that sense, libertarian in many ways, whereas the amber/Right was *collectivist* in contrast. With the rise of the **new Left**, which is **green** and which is decidedly *collectivist* and usually *statist*, the **new Right** has moved into **orange**, and is now often libertarian—the so-called Ayn Rand Republicans. So the liberal/libertarian Enlightenment, home of the Left, is now the home of the new Right, and libertarian values are most often associated with the new Right or neo-Con—although there is a large portion that are liberal (as externalist) at a higher altitude—and the new Left is most often associated with collectivist, statist, and anti-individual orientations—this is why, among other things, we see the Left’s general historical shift from despising State intervention to demanding it (the **regulator scale**).”

“That’s right.”

“I always wondered about that.”

“There are other, quadratic reasons for it, which also need to be factored in, but probably the single largest factor is indeed altitude.” Lesa Powell was still in rapid fire, virtually lost in her own delivery, a jet stream that students called “Pow-wow.” Next to me, Margaret slipped into that intellectual current, you could feel it, and then slipped out of her self and into Lesa.

“Our point is that those contradictions and shifts had to come from someplace, and they came from the moment-to-moment pressure of the AQAL matrix. Moreover, without an Integral framework, those dimensions cut into your experience in less-than-integral ways, which the political arena heretofore has amply demonstrated and given embodiment. And so it goes....”

And here, noticing the clock, Lesa jerked out of Pow-wow and came abruptly back to earth. “So let me conclude with an emphasis: **The point is that you can use the AQAL matrix to index, classify, and track all of the major political movements to date. Not to mention begin to think about what a truly Integral Politics would mean, right here, right now.** Okay, with that, we start some of the more interesting stuff, yes? P+30, yes?”

I knew what that would mean. Off the Wall, is what it would mean. And that means Kim’s kids, our kids, our turquoise kids—no, indigo kids—no, violet kids. (And have you seen that “Indigo Kid” stuff today? Totally magenta magic being pushed by—guess who?—Boomer parents. Will they never cease “the wonder of being me?”).

Off the Wall. Our kids. The Talk. I keep flipping through the booklet—oh, look, Margaret was right, here it is, page 197—“Bill Clinton and the Beginning Moves toward a New World League”—but for some reason, I can’t keep my mind on any of the details floating before my eyes. I lean over to Margaret.

“So Lesa’s presentation is heading toward the whole notion of needing a second-tier governance system, and eventually a World League. It’s coming, isn’t it? It’s really coming. This second-tier thing. An Integral Age. Holy Molely. I mean, sheeeeeesh. Can you let stuff like that in, Dr. Carlson? Can you imagine a truly positive, deeply optimistic future?”

Margaret blinks slowly, several times, as if waking up a little bit, or perhaps shaking off a happy dream. “Oooh, dear me, let me see... yes, yes, definitely. No problem at all. It’s wonderful, really wonderful.”

“I couldn’t do this—let all this kind of optimistic stuff in very well, even humanity’s in an abstract way—till Mark had what I call ‘The Talk’ with me. Now I’m doing better, I can really start to do this, let this stuff in. Start to, anyway.”

“Yes, he told me.”

“He did? Mark spoke to you about this? What did he say?”

“He said he thought you would make it.”

“I’ll make it? Really? He said that? Well, I seem to wobble a little bit, but let’s hope. And, um, you know, um, I’m, um, in love.”

“I would never have guessed. Congratulations, Ken. Who’s the lucky girl?”

I dreamily tilt my head and nod in Kim’s direction. She slips Margaret a look that I guess I would interpret as “Who the hell knows what he means?”

“Well, Ken, that’s wonderful, just wonderful. She’s definitely a...” I was waiting for some adjective like “wonderful” or “beautiful” or “brilliant,” but all Margaret managed to say was “...girl.”

“Um, right, you’re right, she’s the most... girl I’ve ever known. Definitely. Big time. Oh yes. Girl, girl, girl. Big, big, big. Time, time, time. Oh yes.”

Kim silently rolls her eyes up; Margaret and Kim nod. Apparently their conversation was going quite well.

“Okey dokey, I’m in love for sure, and I’m letting it all in, and 10%10x is the math of my future.”

“Good for you Ken!” Margaret keeps smiling.

“Oh, let me say one last thing about one of the minor scales—the minimalist/maximalist role of the State, or the governance system in general—the **Regulator scale**—and then I’m going to step down and stop bothering you nice people, because all of this is just a prelude to our real news about a tetra-Singularity, which some of the other teachers here at Integral Center will present right after this, so hold on, friends.

“The role of the State or Governor (at whatever level) is usually, at its best—and I have to emphasize that—*at its best*—attempting to represent and embody the role of the newly-emergent, higher-level morality and ethics trying to overcome the lower-level morality. It is, frankly, the higher-level minority imposing its leading edge on the majority—and the best example of this is perhaps when, in the ‘60s, the State or Federal government **imposed civil rights** and **worldcentric ethical policies** on some of the ethnocentric population who were trying to continue in their discriminating and oppressive (and amber) ways. That is what the vanguard of the proletariat—*at its best*—has always been about; that is what orange emancipation and green civil rights were all about. (And if you think amber Kings and Queens were bad, you should have seen the red warring tribes before them that they forced to unify.) The Regulator is often the result of a 10% tipping point expressing itself in cultural, political, and regulatory ways, which is exactly as it should be.

“But, of course, if the State or the Regulator then tries to engineer anything more than that, it usually back-fires, big time. The whole argument for anything like a relatively free market

is that the free market is a massively complex system (and feedback mechanism) that can never be understood, let alone controlled, by human rationality and human intervention, which are only a small part of this massively larger system. The larger living system itself protects against human social engineering, which is too stupid to engineer anything as organic, humongous, and complex as human societies. The free market—*at its best*—helps to protect against that social engineering. The same argument applies for governance (Burke) as for the market (Hayek, Mises). It's a complex system that cannot be mastered by human linear rationality, so keep your hands off it as much as possible, please.

“*Nonetheless*, the other side of the argument—the antithesis to the thesis, both of which an Integral view accepts for a synthesis—is that of course there are cases in which you must intervene, and engineering those must be as integral as humanly possible. The less integral, the more disastrous. But—and politicians, please remember this, even as you continue to do your duty—simply realize that in every case you do intervene in human affairs and pass regulations in the name of compassion, the chances are very high that in the long run, you will hurt exactly the people you intervene to help.

“That's a huge problem. In the *long* run you will hurt them, because in the *short* run, there are always politicians who ‘love’ the people, but actually love their vote, and thus are willing to lie to the people now—and hurt them in the long run—in order to get into power. So please be careful about how to intervene in complex human interactions and attempt to legislate them, control them, interfere with them in the name of compassion. Some sort of Terror is often on the way. On the other hand, as with the civil rights movement, sometimes intervention is the best and only thing for the State to do—just make sure you truly are acting from the highest levels of consciousness available, or you will almost certainly usher in a new Terror....

“But this is a terribly complex issue, and all I really want to do is say that State intervention is another variable, another scale, that we analyze. At one end are the anarchists,

who want absolutely no State power at all, and at the other end are totalitarians, who want virtually every aspect of public and private life controlled by the State. The more minimalist-anarchist that one is, then usually the more individualistic, libertarian, and even atomistic one is. And the more maximalist or totalitarian, then usually the more collectivistic. But these are indeed independent variables (minimalist/maximalist and individualistic/collectivistic), because one can back the use of an active State to enforce individual rights and a minimalist State to achieve types of collectivism (such as self-organized communities). But every social holon has a Regulator, or the governing mechanism of the nexus-agency, and this scale measures the degree and type of activity (or the AQAL configuration) of that Regulator in any political theory and praxis.”

I lean back over toward Margaret. I don't think I would say any of this if we weren't both suffering from oxytocin poisoning.

“So you can let Lesa's love in?”

“To every corner of every cell of every part of my being,” she whispers, as if that's the most normal, easy, natural thing in the whole wide world. All I manage to whisper is, “Wow.”

“You know this, Ken. We talk about this unconditional Love in Integral Life Practice all the time, and you always nod your head in agreement.”

“It's easy to nod your head.”

“It's easy to *love*, Ken. Just close your eyes and click your ruby slippers together and keep saying, ‘There's no place like home, there's no place like home, there's no place'—”

“Okay, that's *not* funny!”

“Oh, come on, Ken, everybody knows about your Kansas dream, or nightmare, around here. It's cute. I'm just teasing you a little.”

“My recurring Kansas dream, er, nightmare, is about what happens if a majority of the population comes to power, which is worldwide at a menacing 70% ethnocentric or lower, for Chrissakes! Your quote is how Dorothy in *The Wizard of Oz* gets home, by clicking together her ruby slippers—and ‘we’re not in Kansas anymore, Toto’—and Kansas is where they keep outlawing the teaching of evolution, so it’s a perfect example of my nightmare, and you know that—so ha ha ha ha, very funny. I’m not dreaming again, am I?”

“Well, ultimately everybody’s dreaming all the time, till satori. But no, I don’t think so. Why don’t you try Mother Teresa’s advice: love until it hurts, love until hurts.”

“Believe me, it already hurts.”

Margaret smiles.

I mumble, “Seriously, the pain has begun, big time.”

“Excellent,” is all she says.

“The simple fact is,” Lesa concludes, and she looks directly down at Margaret, and then at me, “we are looking for a new politics, a new political movement, a new breed of men and women who make the future as they unfold it. The integral wave of consciousness is already headed this way, it’s crashing ashore, it’s gloriously emerging whether we like it or not. The question is, do you have the guts to grab the surf board of an integral politics and ride that wave?”

“Yes? No? What shall it be, my friends?” As Lesa continued to stare at Margaret, and at me, I felt her gaze go through me like a laser through a piece of tissue paper.

Then gazing out to the students seated behind the press corps:

“It’s up to *you*. Right here, right now, it’s up to you. And so what will *you* do—what shall *we* together do—my dear friends of the new and rising culture?”

[The Handout is reprinted in its entirety starting on the next page. Please stay tuned for future postings from *The Many Faces of Terrorism*, covering the exact nature of an Integral Political society, including the Three House Parliament, Integral Trialectics, electing Integral Political leaders and how that might occur, the nature of an Integral Political platform—not to mention an in-depth discussion of all facets of terrorism itself: cause, contours, cure, among other items.... And please join us at the *AQAL Journal Forums* (<http://multiplex.integralinstitute.org/Public/cs/forums/default.aspx?GroupID=53>), which is the only place that such AQAL discussions are now occurring. Membership not only supports Integral Institute in forwarding these ideas, it gets you access to things like Integral Naked, Integral Spiritual Center, and the *AQAL Journal Forums* themselves, so I hope to see you there!—Ken]

The Handout: Political Theory and the AQAL Code

The AQAL code or AQAL matrix is the very architecture of this and every moment as it arises—possessing quadrants, levels, lines, states, and types. This sounds complex, but it really isn't. The quadrants, for example, are just another version of 1st-person, 2nd-person, and 3rd-person perspectives, or I, We, and It, and every moment can indeed be looked at from an I-perspective, a we-perspective, and an it-perspective—such as we find in art, morals, and science, respectively. What is so amazing about AQAL is that although it seems complicated, all of its aspects come down to dimensions of your very own experience, right now. *And the more of your experience you are conscious of each moment, then the more AQAL space you actually inhabit (and the less aware you are each moment, the more of it you inhibit: ignorance is not without a price tag).*

So this is not just an abstract, boring theoretical issue, but an issue of how much of your own life you are conscious of, and a map to help guide you in exactly that: the AQAL Code is what is known as **psychoactive**: start learning it, and it automatically starts checking your present experience for areas you didn't even know existed, from shadow elements to different perspectives to Big Mind itself, and helps you become aware of them.

Feeling these dimensions and wishing to place them into political action is what generates a political theoria and praxis. However, consciously or unconsciously focusing on only a few of its elements—just a few quadrants to the exclusion of others, or just one level to the exclusion of others, etc.—generates a partial politics, exclusionary and brutalizing in its nature and means.

Integral Political Theory itself has two major parts. First, any political theory can be classified and indexed using the AQAL matrix. Doing so clarifies the nature of that political movement, while also demonstrating the nature of the fragments that need to be integrated in a more Integral Politics. Which is what the second part does—namely, identifies and outlines an Integral Politics for any group, society, or planet in need of it. (That covers *theoria*, but of course, down the line we also need to cover real *praxis*—an Integral Political Practice, or an actual political platform of action, which we will save for a later discussion.)

Here is a very brief summary of the essential AQAL elements and how they relate to existing political movements. We focus in this handout primarily on **levels/lines, quadrants, and types** of change process (namely, transformation/translation). This gives us 3 orienting axes (**internalist/externalist, individualist/collectivist, transformative/translative**) and one altitude scale (what **levels** do those three axes stem from in each movement?). These are four major scales, three of which are actually polarities or axes, and one of which is evolutionary altitude. Using these **four scales** (and several **minor scales**, as you'll see), any and every political theory and movement can be usefully mapped. Here are the four major scales (along with the minor ones). The AQAL elements are *italicized*; when used as the various axes and scales, they are listed in **bold**; the four major scales (three major axes plus altitude) are additionally numbered, so that they are bold and numbered in parentheses (**#1, #2, etc.**).

The Quadrants or Dimensions: Who's to Blame, and Who Has the Most Rights?

(#1) The *interior and exterior quadrants* constitute the **social causation axis**, also called the **internalist/externalist axis** (or sometimes, colloquially, the

nature/nurture axis), which answers to the question: Who or what is primarily to blame for the cause of human suffering, the internal world or the external world?

Nature/nurture is a never-ending debate because, according to AQAL, neither side can ever win. They're both right.

(#2) The *upper and lower quadrants* constitute **the individual/collective axis** (or individual/communal axis), answer to the question: What has ultimate sovereignty, “I the individual” or “We the people”?—the human rights of the individual or social rights of the collective?—private autonomy or public autonomy—individual holon or social holon?

(Of course, none of these, in reality, are ever a simple either/or—they literally cannot exist without each other—but rather *a matter of percentages*. We use these axes by attempting to gauge both the theoretical and practical weight given to each polarity in any political system. Nonetheless, especially in first-tier movements, you do find occasions where a system defines itself as one pole of a polarity versus the other, and actually spends its time trying to eradicate the other pole: only the state has rights, or only the individual has rights, or only society is to blame, etc.—with similar, if sometimes unavoidable, shortsightedness with altitude: only amber values are real, only green values are real, and so on. In all cases, these are simply noted and entered in the indexing system. A truly integral politics, of course, finds the middle way, or the genuinely integrative way, in all major polarities—via **transcend and include**—and makes room for all major altitude values, via **the prime directive**.

Change Type: Transformation or Translation?

Each sentient being or holon (a holon is a whole that is a part of other wholes; e.g., a whole atom is part of a whole molecule, a whole molecule is part of a whole cell, a whole cell is part of a whole organism, etc.), besides possessing four *quadrants*, will be primarily engaged in either **translation** (change at one level, via *agency* and *communion*) or **transformation** (change between levels, via *progression* and *regression*). This gives us three additional axes (two of them considered minor): does a holon wish to transform or translate?—the **transformation/translation axis**; if it wants to translate, does it wish to do so primarily via agency or communion?—the **agentic/communal axis**; if it wants to transform, is the transformation upward or downward, progressive or retrogressive?—the **progressive/regressive axis**).

In practice, although it is important to take all three of those **minor scales** into account (and any fully Integral indexing does so), these often shake down to **one major axis**, which we call **(#3) the transformation/translation or progressive/conservative axis**. The three minor scales are collapsed into that one major scale as follows (although, again, if a finer analysis is needed, we use all three of those axes):

At a given altitude or level of development, a holon can either *translate* at that level or *transform* to an entirely different level. Horizontal translation (driven by Agape, which embraces the present) involves *agency* and *communion*; vertical transformation is almost always either *progressive* (Eros) or *regressive* (Thanatos).

Moving down the developmental scale, while still *retaining access* to the present level, is driven by Agape; but true regression, which involves the loss of the present level, is dysfunctional and driven by **Thanatos**, the “death” drive, which is a drive to destroy the present level and decompose it into lower elements or lower levels—more about that below.

Movement on one level of consciousness is **translation**; movement to a higher level of consciousness is **transformation**. If a holon stays at its particular level and embraces the present translation (and its agency-and-communion), that is **Agape**, or the drive to conserve and embrace the present (as well as its past elements and lower levels). Translation itself can emphasize agency or communion (this is the minor scale known as the **agentic/communal axis**), both of which fall under the Agape drive at any given level, which is the drive to conserve and preserve that level (and its lower-level constituents) using healthy translation, or agency-and-communion *at that level*.

If a holon actually changes levels (and doesn't just reach up or reach down—but moves up or moves down), that transformative change can be either *progressive* or *regressive* in character. Normal progression, or upward transformation, is driven by healthy **Eros** (unhealthy Eros is *repression*, or **Phobos**, i.e., driven essentially by fear), while *regression*, or downward movement, is driven by unhealthy Agape, or **Thanatos** (i.e., the dissolution/death drive), so the Eros/Thanatos opposition gives us the minor scale known as the **progression/regression scale**). As noted, healthy Agape *reaches down* and *embraces* lower levels—starting with its own present level, which is exactly why Agape is profoundly conservative, or half of the radical equation of verticality (progressive Eros, naturally, being the other half.) Some people think of Agape as embracing only lower levels, but it embraces what is already fully present in a loving self-embrace and immanent spirit, and that certainly includes its present level, unlike Eros, which is always reaching up (and moving up) for more and higher and bigger and brighter. Eros is the love of the higher and emergent wholes; Agape is the love of the lower and already-emerged wholes (including its own present whole). Eros is transcendent, Agape is immanent. Eros is Freedom, Agape is Fullness. Both, needless to

say, are desperately needed. (But you know many systems that completely ignore one or both, don't you?)

Thus, to summarize these particular scales, a healthy holon is faced with two basic choices: upward *transformation*, driven by Eros, or healthy *translation*, driven by Agape. Hence, the **transformation/translation** axis in *healthy* practice is essentially the same as the **progressive/conservative** axis, and, when used in that sense, we call both of them the third major axis (**#3**).

(That axis is not to be confused with political parties per se, needless to say. It is true, however, that many political parties are so strongly influenced by this particular pressure in their own awareness and being-in-the-world that they intuitively tend to use terms like these to describe their actual political orientation. But however important this axis is—and it is clearly quite important—it is rarely the single most important scale pushing against one's awareness, and it has to be situated with all the other major scales to really make sense. There is, after all, progressive amber and conservative amber, progressive orange and conservative orange, progressive green and conservative green, progressive teal and conservative teal, and so on.)

To repeat, the two healthy vertical-direction choices for a functional holon are to *remain at a given level* (conservative translation; Agape) or *transform to a higher level* (progressive transformation; Eros)—which is the (**#3**) **progressive/conservative axis**, also called **the transformation/translation axis** (or simply transformative/translative).

We have to be very careful here, as noted, because some political parties call themselves “Conservative” or “Progressive,” and they may—or may not—be acting on exactly the progressive/conservative polarities in axis #3. To avoid confusion, we will usually use “transformation/translation” instead of “progressive/conservative,” but the latter is very helpful and will also be used—just be extremely careful here! The

Democrats often call themselves “liberals” or “progressives,” and the Republicans often call themselves “conservatives”; but there are conservative Democrats and progressive or liberal Republicans (e.g., “Wall-Street Republicans”). Remember, the only axis that *most* defines the Left or Democrats is the **externalist**, not the progressive; and the only axis that *most* defines the Right or Republicans is the **internalist**, not the conservative. So we need to do a full AQAL Index of a movement to get anything like a real understanding of what it’s all about.

Occasionally, as is common knowledge, very influential political movements have recommended regression as salvation, and therefore we sometimes need to use the specific progression/regression axis (although IC believes most Romantic movements are caught in various forms of state/structure, pre/non, and pre/post fallacies; see *Integral Spirituality*). But for the most part, as indicated, we use the **progressive/conservative** scale: does the political movement wish to conserve the past (and tradition), or look to the future (and reconfiguration), for its salvation? This #3 axis, in and of itself, moves loosely from **regressive to reactionary to conservative to stasis to progressive to revolutionary to radical**. (As usual, it is hard to tell the two extreme ends from each other—extreme reactionary and extreme revolutionary: the extremes meet.)

Altitude: Levels and Lines

Each holon possesses those **three major axes** (internalist/externalist, individualist/collectivist, progressive/conservative), but, as always, all of those exist *only at a particular altitude*, so it is necessary to specify the altitude of any political idea or movement, in both its theoria and its praxis.

What *level* does it spring from? What *level* does it serve? This is the **levels scale** (#4, or the fourth and last major scale we use). This scale is very important, because the most basic values of a political movement (not its only values, just its most fundamental values) will be set by its altitude—after all, one can be amber progressive, orange progressive, green progressive, turquoise progressive, etc. Or one can be amber conservative, orange conservative, green conservative, etc. Likewise, one can be amber collectivist, orange collectivist, green collectivist, etc. Or amber externalist, orange externalist, green externalist, and so on. Being a collectivist or a conservative or a progressive, and so forth, usually pales in significance to its altitude, although all of them are important and necessary for an Integral indexing.

Nonetheless, if forced to pick one, **levels** is perhaps the most important of all the scales and axes. And guess what? It's the scale that is almost completely ignored by every major political theorist, past and present.

The level or altitude provides the type of *content* (amber, orange, green, teal, turquoise, indigo, etc.), while the three axes provide the *orientations* for that content (internalist/externalist, individualist/collectivist, progressive/conservative).

For a finer analysis of altitude, we look not just at the general level of a political theory or movement, but *what developmental levels in what developmental lines*? In particular, what level does it **talk** (the cognitive line)? And what level does it **walk** (the self line, or the center of gravity, COG)? And in both of those lines, what level does it come from, and what level of constituency does it actually address—i.e., what is not only the theorist's but the masses' center of gravity? (You'd be surprised how wildly off-kilter many political theories are, consistently over-shooting their readership, i.e., over-estimating their altitude. Karl Marx, for example, often wrote green intellectually, but attracted a center of gravity in the masses that was amber. His talk, and the masses'

walk, were quite different. This confusion meant that Marxism could not really be transformative—it was aimed much too high to have actual effect in the social structures and social integration of society’s that implemented it—and thus it ended up merely as a translative soporific, or a translative “religion”—and hence Marxism soon became the opiate of the masses, and in dozens of cultures, most notably the Soviet Union and China. Capitalism, on the other hand, with all of its problems, nonetheless spoke orange to a huge number of individuals at this point in history who could indeed reach up to that orange altitude—and especially an Ayn-Rand audience dying to get beyond an amber and suffocatingly conformist level to some sort of real if hyper-inflated and instrumental individuality—and thus capitalism served as an actual pacer of transformation for a very large number of cultures, for the better or for the worse: which is definitely another discussion altogether.)

“But looking at various lines, especially one’s walk and one’s talk (in both the author and in the reader) are a few examples of the **lines scale**, which is one of the important, if minor, scales. Often, when emphasizing the necessity for both levels and lines, we speak not just of altitude but of the **levels/lines scale** (and still number it as #4; it’s the same basic dimension).

Also related to the levels scale is the **stage/stations scale**.

Stages as stations means: Because there are individuals at virtually all altitudes, each level of consciousness or **stage of development** must also be considered to be a **station in life** (or an honorable and to-be-respected way of life or lifeworld), and any enlightened social theory and praxis would do exactly that. We have to find a way to let red be red, and amber be amber, and orange be orange, and green be green, and turquoise be turquoise, and so on, and find a way for *all* of them to fit, at least in the real world (a fact that green refuses to see, since green pretends that it will “change and transform the

entire world”—if, of course, you adopt *their* green values. But green hates orange, fulminates at amber, loathes red, thinks turquoise is the anti-Christ, and so on. Green honestly tries to be non-marginalizing, but without an Integral map, and a little more altitude, fails rather badly). So any truly integral political theory must specify how to integrate across all levels in the Spectrum; and this means the Prime Directive, both of which mean, in essence: Since the leading edge today is turquoise, there are at least 6 major levels, or structures, or altitude, or **stages of development** that must be included as **stations of life** or **stations of the lifeworld** (i.e., magenta, red, amber, orange, green, teal/turquoise) in today’s political world. Are only one or two of those levels/stations taken into account, or are all 6? And not just theoretically, or having a map! How do you **actually** do it in the real world, or more accurately, make the relatively minor integral changes you can in the real world and hope that they help to make development a little more integral with each subsequent sociocultural transformation?

Hence, **the stage/stations scale**: *how many levels of consciousness does a political theory authentically address?* It does no good to say that I am taking the whole Spectrum into account if I cannot tell you exactly how to let red be red and amber be amber and orange be orange and green be green—and still govern from turquoise. Without cracking that nut, there is no Integral. As noted, adults will stop their development at any number of stages—there will always be red adults and green adults and indigo adults—and that is their right. At any point in history, the political ideal is to **let each stage be itself, and govern from the highest reasonably available at any given time.** (There was a point historically when that was amber, and then orange, and then green, and today, it’s close to becoming teal/turquoise, and that’s part of the stunning surprises with P+30.) But more on that later, with Trialectics.... The point

right now is, **stages of development** will become **stations in life**, and we have to deal with that unavoidable reality in an enlightened and integral fashion.

Another minor scale that is sometimes important and can be included is the role of the Governor or Regulator, which every social holon possesses (this scale runs from nonexistent anarchist to minimalist Guardian to maximalist State; this is the **Regulator scale**, and we usually present it as **minimalist/maximalist** Regulator). This scale often overlaps, but is nonetheless distinct from, the **(#2) individualist/collectivist axis** (i.e., while it is true that many collectivists are State interventionists, some collectivists wish to achieve collectivism via means other than State intervention, such as naturalism or local communitarianism). Although minimalist/maximalist is often enfolded in the individualist/collectivist axis because of their frequent overlap, this is nonetheless an independent variable.

[Lesa Footnote: the four healthy drives of all holons (Agape, Eros, agency, communion) should not be confused with the four quadrants. Although they are similar in some ways, and simple depictions like figure 4 don't always distinguish them, they are in fact importantly different. The four quadrants are **spaces** or **actual dimensions**; the four drives are **drives** *that can and do occur in any of those spaces*, and help orient a holon to and within those spaces, dimensions, or quadrants (i.e., a molecule in the UR-quadrant has agency and communion drives; communion is not something that only occurs in the lower quadrants. As depicted in figure 4, if an individual emphasizes his or her communal drives over agentic drives, they will tend to favor the Lower or We/Its quadrants, it's true, but that is not the same as being the Lower quadrants).

[As for vertical orientation, Eros drives to embracing a higher-level space, Agape drives to embracing a present and/or lower-level space. Horizontally, on any level,

agency drives toward being a whole (autonomy), communion drives toward being a part (of any other whole; relationship). Often, agency drives toward the individual spaces (upper quads) and communion toward to the collective spaces (or lower quads), but not always, because, e.g., the drive to communion can be satisfied by any number of other wholes, including mystical states (whereas only when communion coincides exactly with the same-level collective dimension does it coincide with the social dimension and the collectivist axes). Commentators often confuse agency/communion **drives** with individual/collective **quadrants** (these are usually the same commentators that confuse or equate individual and social holons). Drives are drives, but quadrants are the dimensions or spaces *in which* those drives can and do operate (all four drives operate in all four quadrants: e.g., a molecule in the UR has Eros towards cells, Agape towards its own atoms and quarks, and agency and communion toward other molecules on its own level). Thus, the agentic/communal axis refers to the relative emphasis on drives in a holon; the individualist/collectivist axis is the space in which those drives may or may not be satisfied. This is why, when it comes to political theory (as opposed to psychological theory), which is concerned with the governance of the public spaces, the axis we analyze is the individualist/collectivist one. Nonetheless, because they do share some similarities, we occasionally use the agency/communion drives of a holon to speak of individual/collective dimensions, and vice versa, but this is for convenience only.

[Several of our colleagues are already working on this (see especially Gregory Wilpert, 'Integral Politics: A Spiritual Third Way, *Tikkun*, 16, 4, Jul/Aug 2001; see also *A Theory of Everything*, by our IC member Ken Wilber, and its endnotes).]

To summarize all of this, here are the 9 major and minor scales in the symphony of Integral Politics (the first three scales are axes, the fourth is altitude; the fifth refers to

multiple intelligences; the sixth and seventh are axes; the eighth is level/quadrant; the ninth is social nexus-agency; all are referred to as “scales” and are taken directly from the elements in the AQAL Code, elements that actually press on an individual’s awareness and being-in-the-world, and elements that consequently inform a person’s political orientation, among many other things):

- Major:**
1. internal/external (nature/nurture); also largely Left/Right
 2. individual/collective (individual/social holons)
 3. transformation/translation (progressive/conservative, Eros/Agape)
 4. altitude/levels (levels/lines)

Minor:

5. lines (esp. walk and talk)
6. agency/communion (autonomy/relationship)
7. progression/regression (upward/downward transformation)
8. stages/stations (developmental levels informing UL adult lifeworld)
9. regulator (governing system)

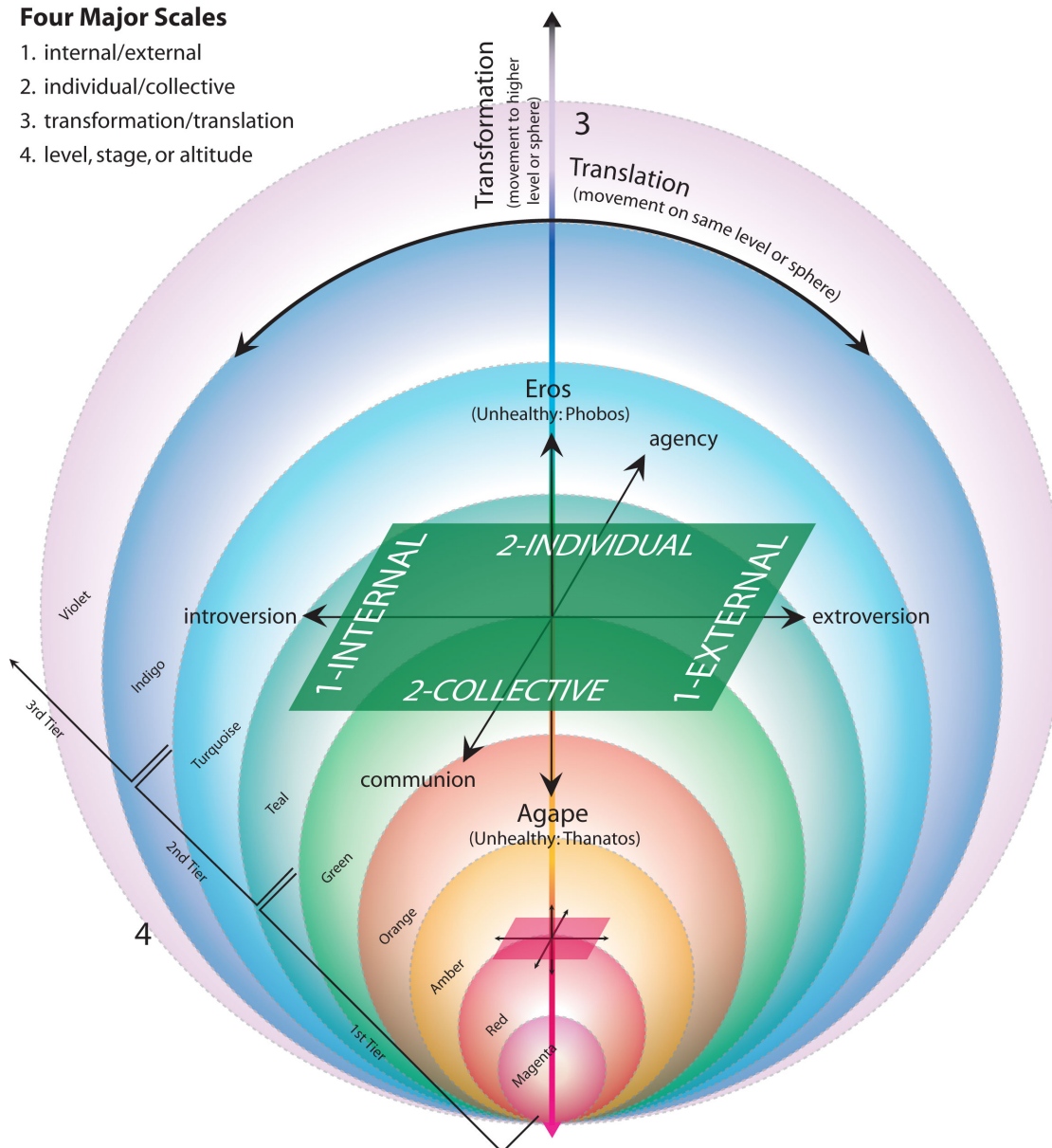
These can be represented loosely by figure 4 [brilliantly executed by Kayla Morelli].

Dimensions of the AQAL Matrix and Political Scales

The moment-to-moment pressure of experience gives rise to political parties.

Four Major Scales

- 1. internal/external
- 2. individual/collective
- 3. transformation/translation
- 4. level, stage, or altitude



Development is Envelopment

Concentric spheres of increasing consciousness, love and embrace– with a single slice or level taken out and expanded above.

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Figure 4. Elements of the AQAL Matrix, Which Press on Awareness to Inform Political Theory and Action as Indicated.