

INTEGRAL LIFE⁺



INTEGRAL POLITICS

A SUMMARY OF ITS
ESSENTIAL INGREDIENTS

Ken Wilber

*The following is an abbreviated excerpt from a series Ken was working on in the mid-00's titled *The Many Faces of Terrorism*. There's nothing you really need to know about the plot, since these excerpts don't really deal with that, and it's much too dense to summarize in a short intro anyway. 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. 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 this ebook, is discovered/created by Lesa Powell (the object of Margaret's mutual affection). Lesa is .*

“It's amazing that, to this date, nobody has been able to give a satisfactory definition of liberal and conservative, or more generally, Left and Right of the political center. We will refine these definitions as we go along; for now, we use them all very loosely as referring to Democrat and Republican in America.

“There are, of course, many definitions that have been offered for ‘Democrat’ and ‘Republican,’ and many of them are useful enough. But none of them seem to hit the nail on the head in a simple, clean, obvious way. Except one, and I'm proud to say it was first suggested by one of our own IC members in the book *Up from Eden*. What is the basic difference between Democrat and Republican, or between the Left and the Right? Here's an easy way to tell. If you ask the simple question—*Why do human beings suffer?*—you will get two major answers. The

Right will say, *You suffer because of yourself*; the Left will say, *You suffer because of someone else*.

“For example, why are some people poor? The Republican will say: ‘Because they are lazy, they don’t work hard enough, they have an entitlement mentality, they are indolent, they don’t have family values, they’d don’t have a proper work ethic: I worked hard for my money, let them work hard for theirs!’ The Democrat will say: ‘They are poor because they are oppressed, they have not been given a fair chance, they are downtrodden, they are victims—it’s not their fault, it is society’s.’ *The Republican generally places blame within; the Democrat, without.*

“Thus, take the heated issue of gun control—what should we do to curb the almost 50,000 deaths annually in this country from guns? The Republican says: criminals will get guns anyway, so let responsible citizens have all the guns they want, because the problem is not out there anyway; rather, we must instill morals in our society: raise children who have family values and will not go around killing people with guns or other means.

“The Democrat says: take away all the guns.

“In other words, the Republican thinks the problem is internal, the Democrat, external. And they get infuriated—absolutely infuriated—with each other. Take the shootings at Columbine, Colorado, where [TBA.] The liberals wrung their hands and made films like *Bowling for Columbine*, which had a simple solution to the whole mess: ban guns, period, and this tragedy would never have happened. The conservatives responded red-faced and just as angry: criminals will get guns anyway, so the real problem is not the guns but a liberal society that has no internalized sense of shame, doesn’t believe in ethical **self-control** and so must use **gun control**, which almost invites people to engage in this type of ultimate narcissism.

“And so goes the interior-exterior raging debate about the cause of human suffering— from guns to poverty to abortions to unemployment. *Economic wellbeing*—**Republican**: instill values of personal industry, work ethic, and free-market capitalism, and those deserving will prosper; **Democrat**: redistribute the wealth. *Abortion*—**Democrat**: abortion on demand; **Republican**: practice responsible sex and abstinence and you won’t need abortions in the first place. *Homelessness*—**Democrat**: make housing available to those who are disenfranchised; **Republican**: teach the values of self-responsibility and industry and you won’t have many indigent. *World hunger*—**Democrat**: feed the hungry; **Republican**: teach them to feed themselves. In each case, the Republican mostly recommends *interior* changes, the Democrat, *exterior* changes.

“Likewise, when it comes to social change, the Republican recommends *interior development* (character education, family values, God values, industriousness, self-responsibility, work ethic); the Democrat recommends *exterior development* (material improvement, economic redistribution, universal health care, welfare statism). Of course, there are all sorts of exceptions and mixtures. But more often than not, that is a genuinely basic difference in socio-political orientation between the Democrat and the Republican.

“So that is the first variable of an Integral Politics, namely, *where does the political theory or movement locate the source of human suffering?* This is the *internal-external scale*, which is particularly important because it is ultimately responsible for whom, or what, you blame for your problems—and society’s problems—and what you recommend to solve them. This is a huge divide between many political parties, and one of the major fragments that an Integral Politics will have to integrate. But, as we will see, there are several major variables in an Integral Politics, and we want to look at where any political movement falls in terms of all of those variables.

“In terms of Code AQAL, this simply means that the ‘interiorists’ or the ‘internalists’— which are mostly Republicans in this country— emphasize the importance of the Left-Hand quadrants in the causation of human suffering, while the ‘exteriorists’ or the ‘externalists’— usually Democrats—emphasize the Right-Hand quadrants as the primary cause of human suffering. In order to make the world a better place, the Republicans mostly wants to tinker with the interior (Left-Hand) quadrants, the Democrat wants to engineer the exterior (Right-Hand) quadrants.”

“Dr. Powell, could you briefly relate that to militant actions like 9/11?” a student in the fourth row asked.

“Sure. Good to see you, Steven. Try it like this. When you ask Republicans what could possibly cause the militants themselves to engage in such desperate acts, they will not hesitate to ascribe virtually all blame to the terrorists themselves: they are evil, they are subhuman, they lack any sort of values, they lack character, they lack the true God, they lack something or other, but in every case, it’s *their fault*, period. It’s an interior problem—their interiors are fucked up real good.

“And the typical Democrat will go to the other extreme and blame the exteriors: yes, the terrorists are responsible for these acts, but it’s something horrible in their environment that made them do it. And in this case, that something horrible is a four-letter word: the West.

“The AQAL Code tells us that *both* of those views have a degree of truth to them (simply because *all* occasions have both Left- and Right-Hand quadrants!). But let’s come back to terrorism, shall we? Nobody on the world scene—absolutely nobody, here or abroad, theoretically or practically, in academia or in office—is taking an Integral Political stance, so the responses to militant terrorism predictably and unfortunately fall into one of those dualistic and partial and fragmented stances, and we want to see if we can do better.”

“Thanks Dr. Powell.”

“Thank you, Steven.” Lesa paused, looked down at her notes, glanced at Margaret, who for some reason had walked in accompanied by Sharlene, and continued reading. “Now, **that is the first variable in an Integral Politics that we need to include—internal versus external emphasis, or Left-Hand and Right-Hand quadrants.** The second variable involves the levels themselves: *what general level of development* is the political party or movement coming from, emphasizing, or acting from?”

“I will give several examples of this in a moment. But you see where I am going with this, yes? The AQAL Code—all quadrants, all levels, all lines, all states, all types—gives us a way to understand politics in a very deep and meaningful way: you simply need to locate the political stance or movement within the AQAL matrix. I’ll say it again: simply locate the movement in the AQAL matrix. Simply find its Kosmic address, and you will begin to understand exactly what that political party is all about, and what it wants to do to you....”

“Okay,” Lesa said, “we’ll come back to that. In order to simplify that Kosmic address when it comes to politics, we use four major variables (and several minor ones), and we attempt to integrate all of them in Integral Politics. Those variables are interior/exterior quadrants, individual/collective quadrants, altitude or levels, and transformation/translation type.

“*Interior/exterior* (or *internal/external*) we just introduced. It covers the reputed cause of human suffering: where does the political movement look for social reform, to individual responsibility or to state responsibility? *Individual/collective* refers to the Upper quadrants and the Lower quadrants: does the political movement most emphasize individual rights or collective rights? *Altitude*, of course, refers to the *level of consciousness* from which the political party stems, as well as

the level to which it is aimed—in other words, the *levels* part of the matrix equation. And *transformation/translation type* refers to the type of change process that is recommended: progressive and transformative, or conservative and translative? There are other, minor variables, which we will mention, but those are the main items. **They constitute three independent axes (internalist/externalist, individualist/collectivist, progressive/conservative)** at each of the major **levels**, and using that scheme allows us to index and accurately classify every single major political movement in existence.

“Integral Politics, very simply, means a politics that includes and integrates all of those items disclosed to us by the AQAL Code—particularly all quadrants across all levels. Since AQAL is the very structure of human existence, any politics that fails to take all of those dimensions into account is doomed to wander in the prison of partiality, cutting and torturing and enslaving those it claims to help and govern.”

“As an example of levels of consciousness in politics, I will focus on one area that is dramatically affected by levels. And we will do so by briefly reviewing the history—the genealogy, if you will—of *vertical* political movement in the West, by giving the view from 50,000 feet—that is, a very broad orienting generalization—which is spotted by using the AQAL Code....

“Let’s begin our story by noticing that in this country, mainstream Republicans or conservatives have very strong amber/traditional values. Hence, when they say that ‘character counts,’ or that they want to ‘instill values in people,’ or that they are ‘the party of values,’ they almost always mean *amber* values *only*, traditional values, ethnocentric values: nationalism, family values, militarism, patriotism, patriarchalism, good ole Biblical injunctions and command morality. They do *not* mean green values, red values, teal values, turquoise values, etc.

“But that sort of traditional, conservative political movement—grounded in mythic-membership and the amber value system—was the dominant form of governance for most of humanity’s civilized history, East and West, from the great Axial Period (around the 6th century BCE) up to the Enlightenment in the West. This amber value structure, and the governance systems that it supported, were those of the great Republican empires and ancient nations, East and West, North and South, Rome being one of the mightiest. These were agrarian societies (in the Lower Right), and therefore typically they had a corresponding mythic-membership culture of amber or traditional values (in the Lower Left). At their best and healthiest, and *for their time*, these cultures were a thing of beauty and wonder.

“Of course, prior to those amber, traditional, ethnocentric, agrarian societies, there were mostly the red, egocentric, warlord societies of raw power and enslaved humans, all set in tribal warfare and frequent social anarchy. Every now and then a present-day political party will appeal to the red anarchical, tribal, and power instinct in people, especially males, but there are few governments in today’s world that can sustain these values solely on their own, although some dictatorships—and we must include Saddam Hussein’s—have come awfully close to doing so. And when you see the breakdown of the Soviet Union, with its amber totalitarianism—however much that totalitarianism needed to be dismantled—instead of transformation upward there was transformation downward, a loss of altitude; and thus as amber crumbled, red resurfaced, and the Russian mafia is now the most feared red-tribal society anywhere on the planet.

“But the important point to note is that, precisely because the spectrum of consciousness and the spiral of values are constantly regenerated—*everybody is born at square one* and begins their growth through the spiral as it exists in their culture at that time—then, even in today’s modern/orange world, magic/magenta values are still around, and

egocentric/red values are still around, and traditional/amber values are still around—and hence there will always be human beings who, stopping at those value stations in their own lives, will be attracted to political leaders, philosophies, and systems that give voice to these values—their values. And thus, as we will see, there are red blocks of voters, and amber blocks of voters, and orange blocks and green blocks and so on....

“Historically, the **magenta** or magical-animistic stage emerged in humans perhaps as early as 500,000 BCE. By 50,000 BCE, the **red** wave had begun to emerge and start its long and colorful career. Starting around 10,000 BCE, with the invention of farming, the **amber** wave began to emerge, and it gained a mature and dominant form during the first millennia CE, with Greece and Rome being typical, and it continued to be the dominant mode of consciousness certainly up to the nascent nations that existed in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Of course, the whole point is that even if a society’s dominant culture is amber, there are nevertheless pockets or subcultures of all the earlier stages, where many people still reside, and a small percentage at a few of the higher stages as well. And thus in a culture whose center of gravity is amber, we will still find large pockets of magenta and red alongside amber, as well as some nascent orange and green. Thus, a running series of culture wars is always played out in various ways within every society. (We also find small pockets of one or two stages higher than the dominant mode—pockets from which future revolutions or progressive transformations will be born.) Nonetheless, most societies have center of gravity and thus a dominant mode of discourse that especially reflects the altitude of the governing or steering systems of that society, and this Governance system effectively marginalizes—and must marginalize—competing modes of discourse and power. (It can do so in a healthy or unhealthy fashion: functionally or dysfunctionally. We will return to this.)

“Up to around 1200 BCE in the West, the highest major mode of average consciousness was traditional amber. In its sophisticated forms, the great Republics organized at that stage produced the roots of what we today would call Republican or conservative political philosophy—aristocratic, hierarchical, disciplined, agrarian-patriarchal, traditional, amber-value oriented, with emphasis on military defense, national identity, and ethnocentric religion. Over 90% of such societies had slavery.

“But beginning around the Renaissance and culminating with the Enlightenment, an entirely new level of values began to emerge—namely, the *orange*, modern, worldcentric value system—and with it, a radically new type of political philosophy was born: **liberalism**.

“Liberalism reflected many things at once: a move from ethnocentric to worldcentric perspectives; from monarchy/aristocracy to democracy; from slavery to equality; from a society informed by myth to one informed by science; from a role-identity to an ego-identity; from duty and honor to dignity and recognition; from ethnocentric values to universal values (especially freedom, equality, solidarity).

“In short, it involved *a vertical transformation in levels of consciousness*: a move from amber to orange, from ethnocentric to worldcentric, from conventional to postconventional. It was the birth of liberalism in the modern Enlightenment.”

“But, of course, the Western Enlightenment was many other things as well, not all of them healthy. Remember what we call *the dialectic of progress*—the mixed blessing—of modernity: the good news is that the quadrants themselves were finally differentiated in a conscious, large-scale way. The four quadrants—or simply the Big Three of I, we, and it; or art, morals, and science—were finally differentiated and allowed to pursue their own truths in their own ways, which resulted in a spectacular freedom and progress in each domain. Science, for example,

could pursue its own truths without the Spanish inquisition breathing down its throat, art could pursue natural themes instead of religious themes, and moral action could be conceived as a natural right apart from a mythic God giving it sanction, all in the freedom bought by this extraordinary new differentiation—what Max Weber called ‘the differentiation of the value spheres,’ which has also been called the **dignity of modernity**, which indeed it was.

“The downside was that the Big Three of art, morals, and science did not just *differentiate*, they soon began to *dissociate*, and this allowed an aggressive and highly successful science to colonize the other values spheres, inadvertently reducing art and morals—the Beautiful and the Good—to mere tools of instrumental rationality. This has been called *the disenchantment of the world*. This disenchantment was not a definition of modernity, but of unhealthy modernity. Please remember that distinction, because every critic of modernity has forgotten it—or was, forgive me, too stupid to understand it in the first place.” Lesa looked up and smiled.

“But as for that disenchantment, what happened? Well, put bluntly, the interior dimensions of ‘I’ and ‘we’—the Left-Hand quadrants—were all reduced to puppets of the Right- Hand world of sensorimotor ‘its’ and exteriors: **scientific materialism** was born. The modern version of flatland was born.

“And liberalism was born with it. Liberalism grew up in the same flatland atmosphere, the atmosphere that recognized only exteriors, only matter, only things you can see ‘out there’— which is precisely why, to this day, most liberals can only comfortably think about what needs to be fixed in the exteriors (such as economics) in order to make society a better place. To think about fixing interiors would imply that some interiors are better or worse than others, and liberals usually recoil at the implication—thus inadvertently paralyzing any effective interior

development and focusing almost exclusively on the exterior engineering of social systems.

“But there is also a very positive reason for the liberal reluctance to discuss interior development, and it needs to be carefully noted, namely: **the separation of church and state**. The previous political philosophy (conservative traditionalism), stemming from the mythic-membership wave (amber), was essentially a *church-state fusion* philosophy: the Pharaoh, Caesar, Czar, or King was either God or God’s representative, a one-party command-and-control political system plugged straight into an ethnocentric religion and its one-and-only God. Liberalism wished to go beyond this **ethnocentric governance** to **worldcentric governance** based not on religious mythic values or conventional family values, but on postconventional freedoms extended to as many individuals as possible.

“Therefore—and this is incredibly important—the defining general liberal stance, when it first emerged, is that *the state shall not officially promote any specific or favored version of the Good Life*—it shall not promote any particular religion—which is often summarized as the separation of church and state.

“In simple terms, this means that the State cannot force you to belong to any religion. Prior to modernity, if you belonged to any religion other than the state-church, your existence was tenuous. Often, *the head of state* was also *the head of religion* (as was true for many Pharaohs, Caesars, Khans, etc.), and thus to disagree with that office was to be guilty of both the *political crime* of **treason** and the *religious crime* of **heresy**, a double punishment known for its barbarity.

“Remember that in the 13 American colonies, prior to the Constitution, weekly church attendance was mandatory in every single colony! Can you imagine what that was like? Not to attend church was a criminal offense. When liberalism demanded that there be a separation of church

and state, such practices were in essence eliminated. This is stated by liberalism as: *Right precedes Good*—which means, it is your right to choose your own religion, or no religion at all. It is *your right*, not the state's, to choose your version of the good life. Hence, your right precedes the good, and you can choose whatever good you want; whereas in traditional cultures, *Good precedes Right*: the group's spirituality is the one you must accept, or the tribe's Goddess is what you must embrace, or the state's religion is the only good allowed, and you have no right to publicly disagree with it without severe punishment, as we saw—or just ask Galileo, or ask al Hallaj, or ask Giordano Bruno—not to mention perhaps 200,000 European pagans and witches burned or stoned for not adopting the correct Good.”

Kim, who had been listening to Lesa with that look of rapt, unblinking concentration that signaled she was actually absorbing what was said, finally started blinking like crazy, and slowly turned and looked at me.

“So, okay, check out the conclusion that the friggin’ National Science Foundation reaches. And remember, this is the conclusion that is getting whispered into the ear of the President of the United States: ‘The 21st century could end in world peace, universal prosperity, and evolution to a higher level of compassion and accomplishment.’”

“The government of the United States concluded that? Our government? They care about a higher level of compassion?”

“You know, they’re compassionate conservatives.’

“Gimme a break!” I scoff.

“Look who’s not being integral.” Kim grinned. “You’re supposed to integrate Democratic and Republican.”

“Yes, the ideas, not the assholes.”

Lesa continued: “The separation of church and state put an end to that persecution. It is your right to worship if, when, where, who, what, and how you wish. Liberalism therefore recommends what is known as a *procedural republic* (where right precedes the good), not a *substantive republic* (where the good precedes right); and it generally defends negative freedoms (the freedom from) more coherently than positive freedoms (the freedom to). The liberal stance therefore advocates a type of *equality* and even *egalitarianism*. But in all cases, the emphasis is on *exterior* and *social* equality. Interior hierarchies are looked upon with suspicion, as are interiors in general. And, in fact, in the classic liberalism of, say, John Locke, interiors are pretty much denied altogether—the so-called *tabula rasa*—more about that later.”

Then Lesa, her voice rising and falling in massive emphatic bursts: “But there is a great difficulty with such liberalism: the very capacity to protect and promote *universal equality* is the PRODUCT or the RESULT of several stages of *interior* hierarchical growth (egocentric to ethnocentric to worldcentric—or magenta to red to amber to orange, which is why representative democracies show up no place in history until the orange level begins to emerge). The liberal stance that says all people are equal is *itself an elite value reached only by a minority of the population at most times*. Liberalism is the product of several major hierarchical stages of growth that then turns around and denies the importance or even the existence of hierarchical stages of growth.

“*Liberalism thus denies the very path that produced liberalism*. And one of the major reasons that it does so, I am suggesting, is that not only was liberalism born in the higher atmosphere of worldcentric awareness over ethnocentric awareness—a significant plus—it was also born in the climate of the disenchantment of the world—the climate of flatland, of scientific materialism, of economic reductionism, which maintained that all the truly important realities are exterior/sensorimotor occasions—a significant minus.

“Even the psychological systems that grew up with liberalism—empiricism, behaviorism, positivism—maintained that the interior world is nothing but a series of pictures or representations of the exterior world, which is the only really real world (again: liberal science maintains there are only facts, no interpretations: that is, there are only exteriors, no real interiors). *Tabula rasa* interiors was the widespread belief, and this just further embedded the prejudice that all real realities are exterior, and therefore all real social change must be exterior. 15

“From the beginning, liberalism therefore *misunderstood the genesis of its own stance*. It failed to grasp the fact that liberal values arise only through a series of interior, nested, hierarchical stages of growth—and liberal values are fairly late-emerging values at that (beige to magenta to red to amber to orange, at which point liberal values begin to emerge...). Therefore liberalism—because it was *in fact* a postconventional, worldcentric, universal wave of fairness, justice, and tolerance—immediately extended to all the other stages the status of equal value, even when those lower stages, such as red and amber, had no intention of returning the favor—and, in fact, were they in power, would crush liberalism as soon as they possibly could. And every time those lower stages do come into power today, the first thing they attack and attempt to eradicate is liberal freedoms.

“‘*We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal....*’ Well, all men might be created equal, but very soon they reach different developmental levels, *only the higher of which* start producing liberalism. Whereupon liberalism begins vigorously denying interior hierarchies and thus effectively dissolves the path to its own genesis.

“Thus, liberalism works very hard to destroy the path that produced it. In place of interior development, merely exterior development is then recommended by the flatland liberal. Material improvement and economic reshuffling become the major aims of governance—redistribute the material wealth, provide *physical* healthcare for

everybody, provide *physical* shelter for everybody, provide *physical* food for everybody, provide *physical* wellbeing for everybody. All of which is wonderful, but in itself, *this leaves all values, all interiors, all meaning, all significance, all spirituality, and all depth to the conservatives*, who often represent a lower wave of development (traditional amber instead of modern orange) but who at least haven't forgotten the interiors!

“*Interior talk*—values talk, spirit talk, character talk, meaning talk—is thus left largely in the hands of the conservatives. The liberal then looks at the typical traditional-amber conservative values—which are ethnocentric, nationalistic, and jingoistic, but which are adaptive and *unavoidable* at that stage, yet can easily slide into homophobia and gay bashing, sexism and misogyny, militarism and imperialism—and says, ‘If those are what we mean by “instilling values,” *then I’m staying out of the values game altogether!*’—failing to see that its own worldcentric fairness is simply the next stage in the nested hierarchy (or holarchy) of unfolding values. Liberalism thus attempts to escape ethnocentric values, not by transparently championing its own higher worldcentric values (itself a Good), but by ‘claiming’ to be value-neutral and egalitarian, whereas in fact it is championing the next stage of value structures, the next wave of interiors, the leading edge and truly progressive edge of development. And this it calls being ‘value-free’ and ‘egalitarian,’ where it is nothing of the sort, not really. It is coming from a very high level of values that then claims it is without values—and this misunderstanding of its own stance would continue, and be amplified, by green postmodernism, which, trying to overcome this contradiction, jumped out of the frying pan and into the fire. The modern and postmodern *world of whatever* was born.”

“The problem is that liberalism—championing equality—will not face the fact that it is an elitism. It is a value structure held by a minority in most cultures, including ours—but it is an elitism, the only elitism, that

wishes to treat EVERYBODY fairly and equally, even if they disagree with you. Even if they disagree with you and your values, you as a liberal will accord them equal status before the law. *But the number of people who can do that*—the number of people at worldcentric orange or higher—is less than 50% in this country and less than 30% in the world at large. And the point in any event is that orange itself is a developmental achievement reached only at higher stages, and if you don't get to those higher stages, you simply don't produce liberalism.

“So if liberalism stated its own stance more accurately, it would say that liberalism is an elite developmental stance, often reached by a relative minority of people, but whose values insist on treating not just that elite but everybody equally—an unheard of fairness and generosity. It is an *egalitarianism held by an elite*. But the typical liberal, not understanding both of those clauses, often arrives at the disaster of a conclusion that it is an egalitarianism held by everybody, or easily could be. Whereas, at this time in history, very few people share that value, and it's losing ground, by the way—more about that later.

“So if I could drop out of my professor mode and into a more colloquial delivery, I guess I'd summarize this by saying that liberalism is an elitism that is open to everybody, but to actually get there and share liberal worldcentric values requires interior hierarchical development from egocentric to ethnocentric to worldcentric. Failing that interior development, liberalism and its worldcentric values are dead meat.

“It is such an intricately infuriating problem. But it's true. Failing to grasp that simple developmental reality, liberalism promptly succumbs to flatland floundering. The separation of church and state—some form of which is absolutely necessary, to be sure—degenerates into an extreme and rancid version that amounts to the oppression of all interiors, via a sin not of commission but of a sin of omission, an oppression by silence and consequent ineptitude. Instead of pioneering a *new wave* of interior talk—higher values talk, higher spiritual talk,

higher character talk, higher meaning talk—it talks only of tepid egalitarianism, a supposed plurality of equal values, tractionless multiculturalism, and an endless yada yada yada of whateverland.... Whereupon every interior, no matter how vulgar and narcissistic and self-serving, is accorded not just equal respect but equal value, period—and the regressive nightmare is about to begin.”

And there we are, with the generation of whateverism and pluralitis and boomeritis. The vacuum of values that is our culture. And since nature abhors a vacuum, in rushed the idiots. But an entire culture built on having no culture! Something is deeply fucked-up about this. No wonder the conservatives—an important but ultimately anti-evolutionary pull if left to their own devices—can have such a field day with how “liberals spoil all values.” It’s half true, and that’s what liberalism and the Left end up giving us, if left to *their* own devices.

A culture of no culture. Ultimately leading to boomeritis and whateverism—boomeritis if you’ve got an ego big enough to withstand this horrifying vacuum, and whateverism and irony if you don’t. Jesus this is depressing! But I will not let it get to me! Watch the Thinker, do a Walk Through, then rest in my own true nature, the Great Perfection of primordial Goodness. Yes!

“And so classical liberalism, and virtually every variety of the Left, saddled with a flatland psychology, does indeed *work very hard to undercut its own existence*.

“But let me finish this section by repeating our original starting point, namely: one of the scales we examine in Integral Politics is the **level of consciousness** that is a driving any political movement. And what we have seen is that traditional Republican values mostly stem from amber, and liberal Democratic values mostly stem from orange. These are simply two examples of how important the levels component is. I’ll summarize all of these components in a moment—the three axes at

each level—but these examples particularly highlight the *levels* aspect of Integral Politics.”

While I was contemplating the Great Perfection of liberal idiots, as well as conservative idiots, a reporter asked Lesa a question.

“What about the often commented on fact that liberals and conservatives have seemed to switch positions since the Enlightenment?”

“Yes, and that brings us to the second of the three major axes we examine, the **transformation/translation axis**. Those of you familiar with holonic theory will immediately recognize this axis. It simply represents the direction you face in evolution or development: Eros or Agape. Do you face the progressive side or the conservative side of development itself? Now obviously liberals are usually progressive and conservatives are just that, conservative. And both of those are important, aren't they? As is well known, Edmund Burke, watching the horrors of the French Revolution resulting in the Terror, gave what is still perhaps the best defense of conservatism ever given: *society is an incalculably complex system*, which is therefore quite beyond the capacity of any human or group of humans to figure out and try to rationally engineer, and so we must rely in a sense on cultural selection, or those institutions that have been demonstrated and proven to work in the past. We must, in other words, *conserve* those institutions that work. Hence, **conservatism**.

“(Here we run into a terminology problem, in that ‘conservative’ can refer to this second axis and also to the general political movement of Conservatism itself, which may or may not be conservative on this axis or scale. So from now on, I will capitalize the terms Conservative, Liberal, and Progressive if they refer to specific political movements or parties, and use small letters for those words if they refer mostly to one of our axes. I think this will be clear as we proceed.)

“Thus, to continue the story, somebody who is conservative on this second axis tends to champion only those practices that have historically demonstrated that they work. They are not progressive or revolutionary—looking to the future for some sort of change and salvation—they are traditional, even reactionary, looking to the past for stable, proven anchors, and reacting— ‘reactionary’—to anything new and possibly likely to cause social disintegration. According to this conservative view, *attempting to rationally engineer society is a prescription for disaster*. Engineered compassion ends up creating many more problems than it solves, says the conservative. It mostly salves the conscience of the liberal but leaves the real world in a shambles: witness the Terror.

“The Reign of Terror, incidentally, is where we actually get the word *terrorism*. The progressive (or Left leaning) government of Robespierre systematically engaged in the murder of citizens in order to ‘further the cause of compassion.’ This activity became known as terrorism. The Reign of Terror is the first action of the first progressive or liberal government in European history. Not a good start, eh?”

“As important as conservative is, there are, of course, there are times in history where embracing tomorrow and Eros—or our upward-moving and forward-looking impulse toward higher wholes—is called for, and not just embracing yesterday and Agape—or our downward-moving and backward-looking impulse. In other words, times when we must be progressive and not just conservative. The civil rights movement in America is an oft-cited example. And ‘liberal’ itself has often been associated with the progressive (or Eros) side of politics. Where Agape reaches down and attempts to protect what has already come into being, Eros reaches up and attempts to create new forms, higher spaces, emergent wholes, higher embraces: egocentric to ethnocentric to worldcentric to Kosmocentric.

“And in order to make an omelette, a few eggs have to get broken. The **progressives** are always the **revolutionaries**. Of course, not everybody who calls themselves ‘revolutionary’ is necessarily a true progressive: many ‘revolutionaries’ are just lower levels parading as a newly-emergent higher levels: which is exactly what happened with the Terror, as every egocentric- power trip was mistaken for worldcentric compassion—thoroughly confusing pre-conventional and post-conventional—and to this day, ‘Off with their heads!’ unfortunately has been the calling card of most revolutionaries pretending to be progressive but who actually embody the worst sort of regression imaginable. Already we can see the pre/post fallacy that would come to mark so much of the ‘liberal’ and ‘progressive’ yearnings in humans—a confusion still with us today, alas, in too much of anything called ‘liberal.’

“But the important point for now is that, indeed, any political party can be situated on this axis of transformation/translation, progressive/conservative, or Eros/Agape—along with the internalist/externalist and individualist/collectivist axes at each of the major levels. Does the political party wish to progressively transform or conservatively translate? ”

Reporter: “And those sides switched? That is, the traditional liberal progressives and traditional conservatives switched?”

“In a sense, yes. More specifically, here is what happened. The progressive/conservative stance ends up changing its actual values, simply because evolution itself continues to unfold, and what is new today is old tomorrow—and thus what is progressive today is conservative tomorrow. So this axis itself is an independent variable—Eros/Agape, or transformation/translation, or progressive/conservative, or (r)evolutionary/stationary. When we call it ‘progressive/conservative,’ those terms mean only that axis, which is one variable in the AQAL matrix, and, as I said, not the political parties by those

names, which can be all over the place. But this is indeed an independent axis, as when we speak of the progressive wing of the Republican party or the conservative wing of the Democratic party. So Left and Right are not the same as progressive and conservative, since you can have progressive Left and conservative Left, as well as progressive Right and conservative Right.

“But here is how the progressive/conservative scale unfolded historically, up to today (where we believe an Integral Politics might begin to kick in and change things by integrating or balancing them)—and it’s actually quite fascinating.

“Around the time right before the Enlightenment, the establishment level was amber. Because the establishment level was amber, then to be conservative meant, of course, *to conserve amber*, to conserve traditional amber values. That was the Agape side of the street. But evolution was about to bring forth a new and higher level of consciousness: *orange*. And thus the Eros or progressive side of the street would soon bring forth a new political orientation, one that conscientiously referred to itself as siding with progress: namely, the progressive movement.

And the new and rising political orientation of Liberalism (or the Left in general) did indeed often think of itself, and eventually sometimes refer to itself, as progressive (even though that actually was only one factor—one axis—in its overall orientation).

“Thus the birth of the new and higher level of consciousness (orange), and the birth of the Enlightenment, was the birth of a new political orientation—Liberalism—that was originally both *externalist* (as all Left parties are) and *progressive* (for reasons we just discussed). At the new and modern level of orange, this political orientation therefore believed in worldcentric, postconventional morality (“all men are created equal”); the external cause of human suffering (e.g., John Stuart

Mill); was strongly individualistic (on the individual/collective scale); and decidedly progressive and even revolutionary on the progressive/conservative or Eros/Agape scale, as witness France and America. So there are the **three axes** and the **level** of original Liberalism or the original Leftist parties.

“So we can see that to be conservative at that time was to be amber, and to be progressive was to be orange. *But evolution continues, doesn't it?* By the 1960s, **a new level of consciousness started emerging in the culture at large**, and the *Revolution of the '60s* began.

If you were young and *progressive*, you were no longer orange, *you were green*. Orange thus became the new status quo, the new establishment, and ‘Down with the establishment!’ now meant down with amber *and* orange. A new wave of revolutionaries swept through the streets of Paris, France, in May, 1968, and they were carrying the banner of green, not the banner of orange. Orange was not the new hero, but the new enemy. To be modern was no longer to be progressive but to be reactionary. The new hero was *postmodern*.

“And, as so often happens, that new progressive-revolutionary movement would get caught in a new Reign of Terror, driven by a new pre/post confusion—the one referred to as boomeritis. This Terror would not break bodies but minds; it would not take your life but your career. (We have evolved, haven't we?) So again we find that under a high postconventional banner (this time, green), there was a wave of preconventional, egocentric, narcissistic, red power. A new Reign of Terror would descend on society, this time in the universities, where ‘Off with his head’ was the battlecry of *The Shadow University*—the Larry Summers affair here at Harvard being a very tame example—and where even Foucault would call Derrida a *terroriste*.

“Of course, the positive gains of healthy green must be remembered as well, which is what the best of the civil rights movement was all about.

But wherever you see the progressive or revolutionary edge of politics, watch out for a new Reign of Terror (from Russia 1917 to the Shining Path of today)."

Same reporter: "Don't you find terrorism at the conservative end of the scale?"

"Oh yes, but for different reasons, different values, and different drives. This has to do with Eros gone sour, which is Phobos (which drives liberal or revolutionary terrorism) versus Agape gone sour, which is Thanatos (and which drives conservative or state terrorism). The results often look the same, but the psychology is profoundly different. But yes, the conservative-looking face brought us such fun amusements as the Spanish Inquisition. State-sponsored terrorism is usually conservative, and the terrorism of those who identify themselves as rebels or revolutionaries is progressive, or rather likes to think of itself as progressive, anyway. Whether it actually is or is not is another story. Still, it sees itself as progressive and opposed to conservatism in almost every way.

"So there are two major types of physical terrorism—state-sponsored, which usually thinks in conservative terms to justify itself; and the terrorism of revolutionaries, which usually thinks in progressive terms to justify itself. Neither is a true freedom fighter—who is truly post, and is not caught in pre/post confusions—but we will come back to that when we examine the difference between being a terrorist and being a true freedom fighter or authentic revolutionary.

"Right now, we were at the point in the historical account where 'progressive,' which meant 'progress toward orange and away from amber,' now means 'progress toward green and away from orange.' So what do we find in the Democratic (or Leftist) Party today? Two major wings: the conservative Democrats, who still adhere to the 'old' orange values of individualism, free will, truth, and individual justice; and the

progressive wing, the postmodern wing, the green wing, which despises everything the old orange Democrats represent, and stands instead for green values across the board: collective values, values that are anti-individualistic, anti-business, anti-capitalism, anti-modern-rationality, based instead on feelings, sensitivity, embodiment, sharing, multiculturalism, pomo versions of Marxism, and so on.

“Thus, as the progressive or leading edge—the liberal edge—began to push into green, the progressive wing of liberalism pushed away from orange and into green and became the radical Left or pomo-green Left—violently condemning the modern West, condemning orange and all its actions (from science to business), virulently condemning the Enlightenment (by almost entirely misunderstanding it, but anything orange was guillotined), and demanding state or government-intervention to correct these evils, whereas the old-time liberals remained with the orange vales of the Enlightenment and its anti-government hyper-individualism. You all have noticed that split into the orange-*modern* and green-*postmodern* wings of the Democrats, yes? And how pomo green calls itself anti-liberal, meaning anti-orange?

“Well, this created a terrible strain and even split within the Left itself, with its fundamental base still holding Enlightenment, orange, modern values, generally pro-West, and its more radical wing championing postmodern, green, collectivist values, angrily and starkly anti-West. Both are still Leftist because both are stark *externalists*, which is the major defining axis of anything called the Left. But these two Leftist wings rather thoroughly despise each other—it is a serious, deep, and widespread split within the Left, and one we will return to often, because it holds the fate of Western democracies, we believe. But this is why the Democratic Party itself in America has rather completely fallen apart—green versus orange—and will remain so for the foreseeable future. This is also where the *levels component* also plays such an

important role in identifying political orientations, because it is the only way to see and understand these two wings within the Left.

“Meanwhile, just as the Democrats have progressive and conservative wings, so do the Republicans or the Right. The ‘old’ conservative Republicans are firmly entrenched in amber values: traditional, mythic-membership, fundamentalist, Biblical, ethnocentric, militaristic, nationalistic, patriarchal, patriotic. The ‘new’ Republicans (or New Right or neo-cons) are not traditional but modern, not amber but pushing into orange—the so-called Wall-Street Republicans—in other words, modern-worldcentric conservatives with orange values—Ayn Rand Republicans.

“And thus, today the two major wings in the Right are amber and orange: amber, fundamentalist, traditional, religious (‘the religious Right’), ethnocentric, militaristic, patriarchal (against abortion and gay rights, in favor of prayer in school and national security, all of which are their hot buttons); and orange, modern, economically-driven, worldcentric, neo-con, Wall- Street Republicans for whom not abortion but taxes, not ethnocentric but merit-centric, not homo-religious but homo-economicus has become paramount.

“Thus, the very values that a few centuries ago were the leading-edge (and literally *revolutionary*) liberal values have now become the values of many *conservatives*, who in effect began embracing and defending Enlightenment values of individualism and free-market practices—exactly the values that they fought so desperately three centuries ago! Of course, the other most influential subgroup of Conservatives stayed closer to the ‘old-fashioned’ conservative amber values, which is why ‘the political Right’ today is a strange mixture of amber and orange, just as ‘the political Left’ today is a strange mixture of orange and green. (What holds them together? That’s correct: the Democrats are all externalists, and the Republicans are all internalists.)

“But neither of them has been able to span the entire Spiral. And that, exactly, is the problem. Both the Republican and the Democratic positions are partial, fragmented, alienated and alienating—so far, they are both totally and entirely first-tier political parties and movements.”

So what is Integral Politics?

“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 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?"

“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.

“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.

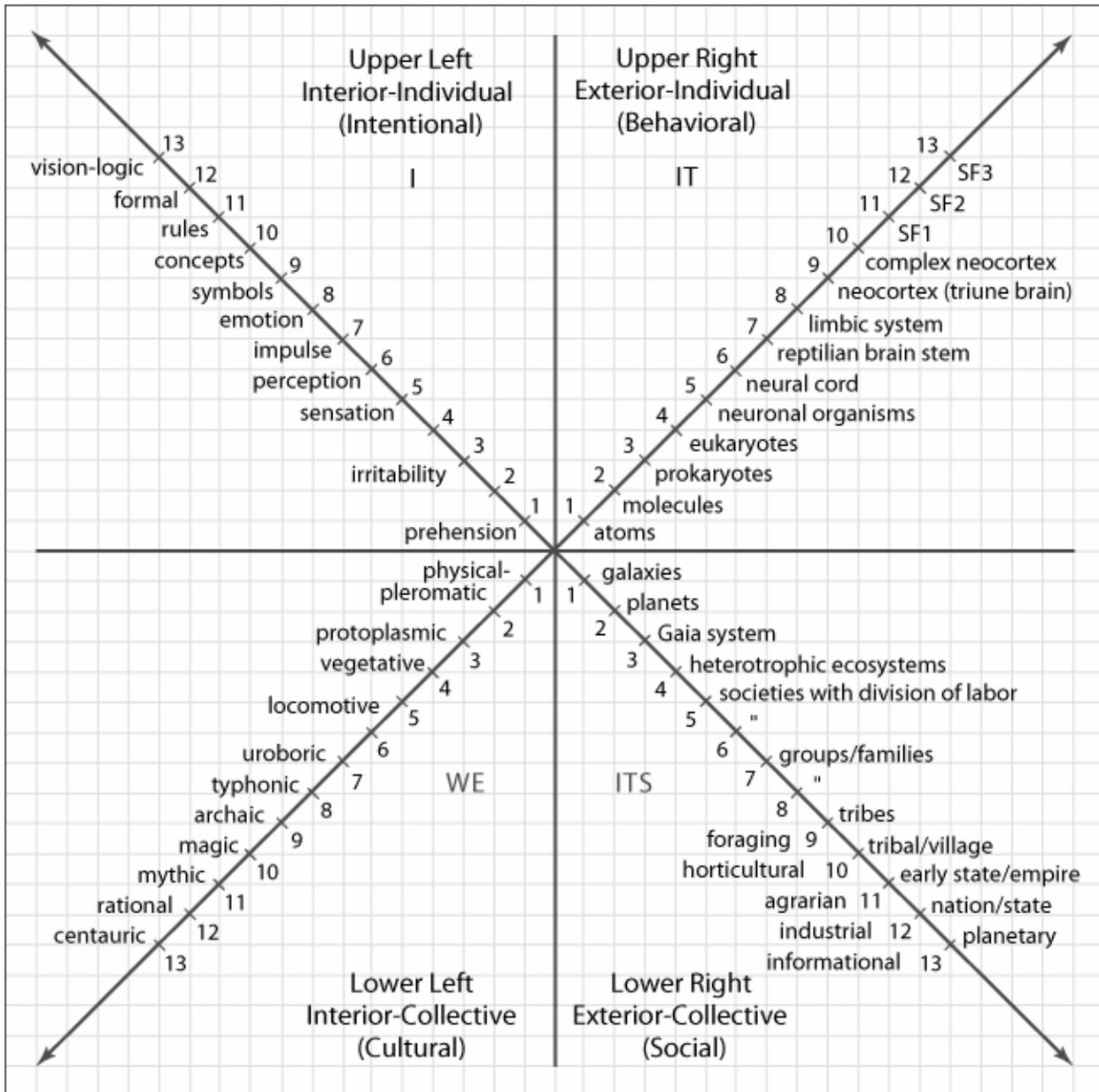


Figure 1. *The 4 Quadrants (and a Few Examples of Their Elements).*

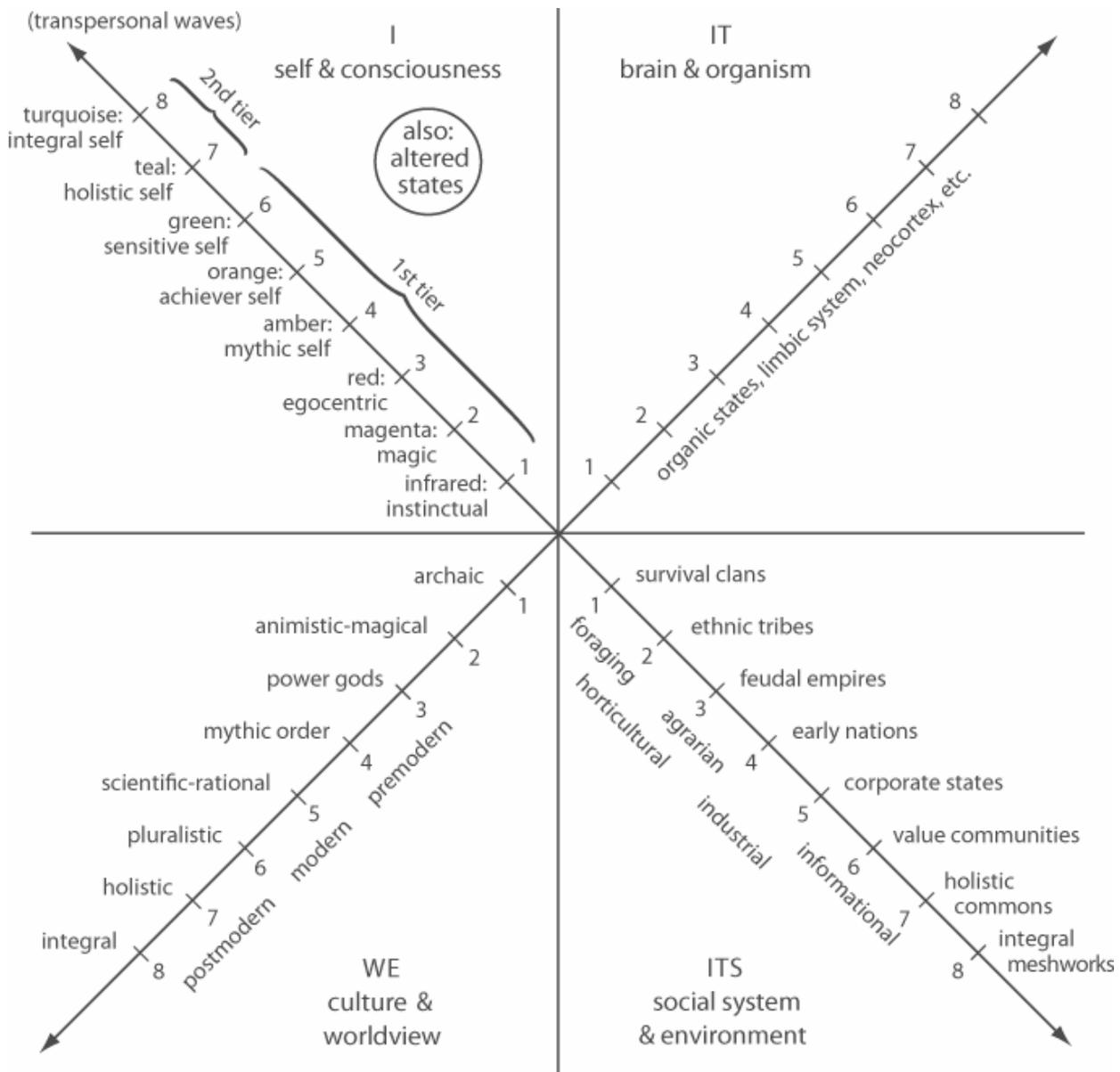


Figure 2. *The 4 Quadrants in Human Beings*. [The UL includes **structures** or levels of consciousness, given their rainbow-**altitude** colors, and altered **states** of consciousness; the **self- line** is chosen to represent levels/lines, but there are up to a dozen or so *multiple intelligences*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

“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.

[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?

"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.*"

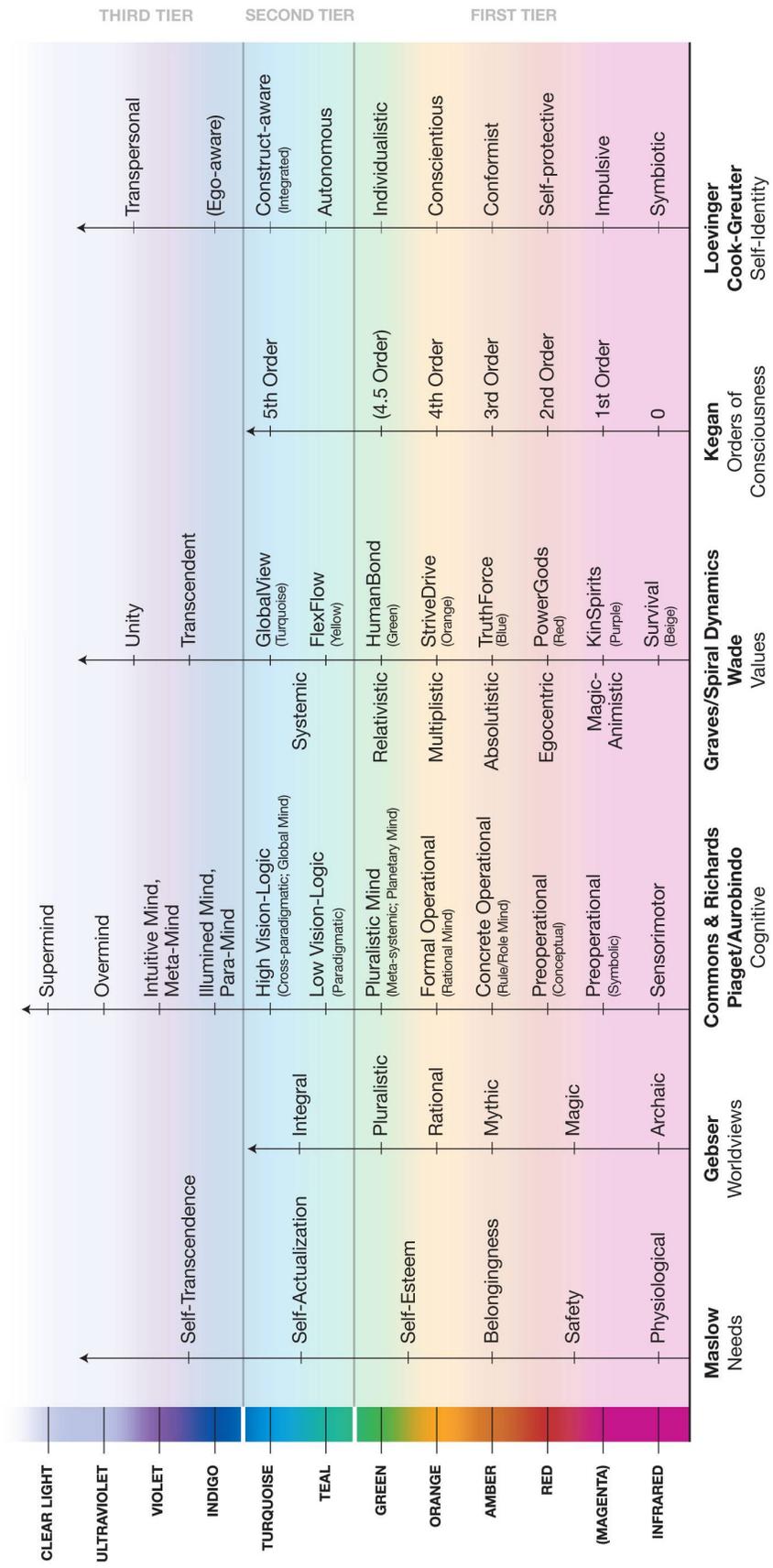


Figure 3. *Levels and Lines (or Waves and Streams) of Some Important Multiple Intelligences.*

[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.]

“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 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, “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.”

“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.”

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.

“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.”

Lesia 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.

“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.)

“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."

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.) 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.

[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.]

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)

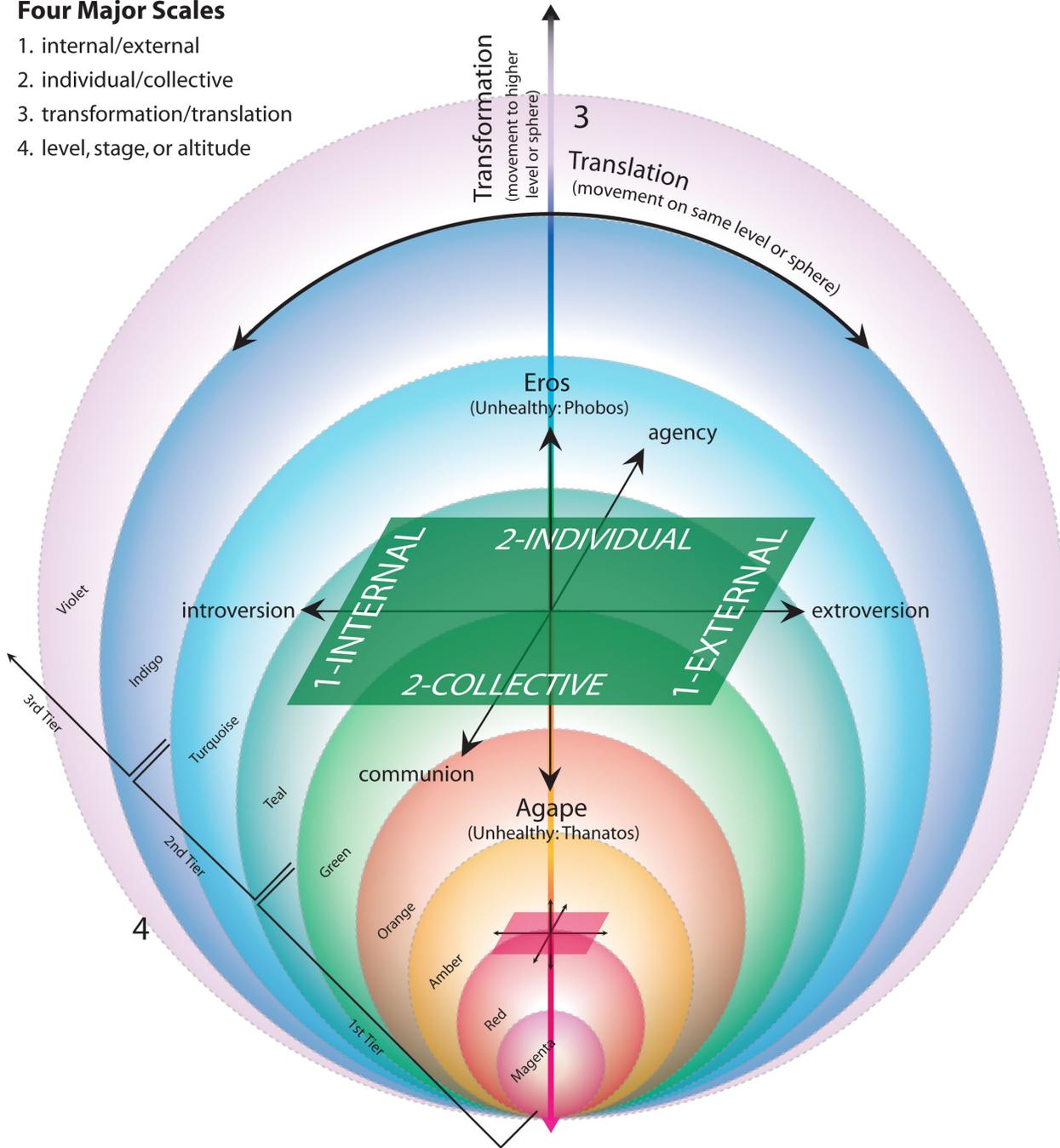
These can be represented loosely by figure 4:

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.*

“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 theoria into praxis or real political action and emancipatory interests....that is, maybe if we do everything right....

“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?”

“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

equality
secular
modern
freedom
progressive
nurture
profane
equality
democratic
emancipation
egalitarian
postconventional
future
materialistic
autonomous
disenchanted
meaningless
individualist
collectivist
libertarian

Right

difference
religious
traditional
authoritarianism
conservative
nature
sacred
inequality
theocratic
tradition
hierarchical
conventional
past
spiritual
conformist
numinous
value-rich
authoritarian
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.¹

“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

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

¹ 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.

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.”

Lesla 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.² Way to go, dead white boys.”

Lesla 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 rapid-fire delivery. The audience

² 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.

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?”

“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.³

“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.**

³ “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**).”

“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.”

“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?”

“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?”

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