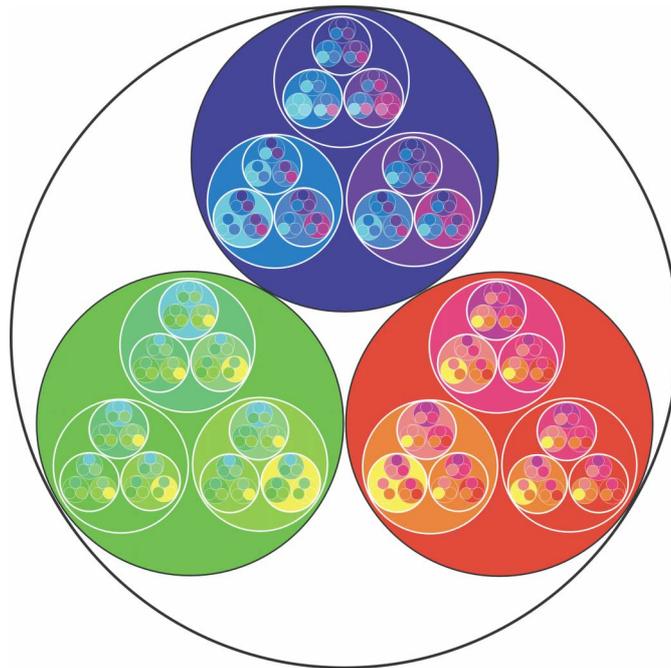


HOLOCRACY – THE TRUE DEMOCRACY

*How to develop holism, idealism and wisdom in today's
political culture.*

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Synopsis

Humanity is facing large-scale global conflicts relating to health, poverty and the environment. These conflicts spring from the individualistic and materialistic worldview which our secular democracy has institutionalized. To remedy the causes of these conflicts, we need to adopt a new perspective and to institutionalize a new set of principles, which can bring forth a more idealistic and universal thought-pattern in society.

The present article outlines such new principles, which not only hold great economic, technological and societal potential, but also entail the possibility to re-balance society as a whole.

It articulates a vision for a new parliamentary system, called holocracy. This vision culminates in a proposal for the European Union to formulate a "Declaration of Interdependence", to institutionalize the new political mode of thinking, and thereby show the way to the kind of global leadership which can guide humanity towards an age of peace, creativity and cooperation.

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Introduction

What we learn after we know it all is what counts.

—Seneca

The world is currently experiencing a unique ‘awakening’ – a process that brings along a number of great political and societal challenges.

I call this process ‘awakening’, because:

- The expansion of the Internet has connected millions of previously isolated people, resulting in unprecedented levels of cultural innovation and evolution.
- Global integration and the EU’s integrational process make transcultural perspectives in politics vital and inevitable, calling for new political thinking and institutions.
- The currently unfolding spiritual renaissance questions traditional solutions and values, while we are looking for new frames of reference that may fit our vision for the future. Across the world, people are acknowledging that reality has more dimensions than previously suspected, and a great synthesis between the world’s philosophies and religions is taking place.

Looking at today’s political system, it is obvious that humanity has created a tremendously inadequate system for the proper allocation and use of global resources. Billions of people the world over are suffering from horrific living conditions with highly restricted access to basic resources such as water, food, shelter, a clean environment, healthcare and education. At the same time, rich and industrialized countries are experiencing a rise in lifestyle-related illnesses, political apathy and social disintegration. These are manifestations of a society, which has lost its true sense of proportion, lacks the ability to address the underlying causes of dis-ease and therefore concentrates on allaying its symptoms.

It is not easy to address the actual problems, since the power to do so is slowly eroding, as politicians increasingly relinquish their control to multinationals. This is not happening consciously, but rather out of a lacking ability to see through the dynamics of globalization, possibly combined with personal ambitions which cloud clear judgment and discrimination.

One indicator of the power of multinationals is the fact that, as early as 1996, 51 of the world’s 100 largest economies were identified as corporations. This illustrates the magnitude of the totally unregulated and un-democratic power, which resides in the hands of anonymous persons – often men – in the business arena. These people do not answer to citizens and hold their own financial interest higher than any societal benefits.

The liberty of action of politicians is being restricted proportionally to the increasing power and influence held by multinationals. This means that politics are increasingly turning into the selling of a pre-determined, ‘inevitable’ political agenda to the public. This dynamic has been only too obvious in the Danish EU referendum. I personally think that the EU is an important project, and even though it has unfortunately adopted a very materialistic slant, it is still better than no union. I am, however, opposed to EU-supporters’ strategy of scaring voters into voting yes to the union. A key argument brought forward by EU proponents has been that there is no alternative: this attitude shows no respect for voters, and has probably strengthened opposition to the EU, if anything. Modern politics are characterized by lobbyism and hidden agendas. If we sit still and think that our democracy cannot be corrupted, we will wake up one day to find that we were wrong. But by then, it will be too late.

Yet the future is still open, and citizens of the various democracies still have the power to decide upon what they want to see happening in years to come. To realize this, however, we need to acknowledge the elements that are, behind closed doors, trying to take over the actual power in society. To ensure that commercial organizations continue to be humanity’s servants, and not its masters, we have to implement political structures which strengthen civil society globally, place the power back into the hands of citizens, and make sure that it stays there.

The Great Political Challenges

At the turn of the 21st Century, the great political challenges facing us are the following:

- The necessity to **establish sustainability at all levels**. The Earth’s ecosystem is under pressure and humanity’s riches are spread so unevenly among people that it makes global peace and justice impossible.
- **The need for a vision**. The bible states that “when there is no vision, the people perish.” Our civilization needs a vision that goes beyond material wealth if it wants to thrive. We need to rediscover our spiritual heritage and recreate a vision for society which corresponds to our true potential.
- The need for **compassion and community***. Many of our traditional communities have been dissolved or made redundant, and no new communities have been created to replace them. This places undue stress on family life, and contributes to high divorce rates and a large number of split up families. We have to recreate

* Communities will increasingly tend to be communities of shared values that are intentionally chosen. This can be ecovillages, co-housing, spiritual communities etc.

local communities and foster a global solidarity which can promote the will to share our common resources in a worthy manner.

In a nutshell, this is the challenge of the future – a challenge which it is increasingly urgent to address, since our democracies are eroding concurrently with our ecosystems. If the democracies of this world don't take the opportunity to reclaim their power from commercial interests, and hand it back to their citizens, there is a good chance that these same democracies, over just a few generations, will degenerate into de facto dictatorships run by transnational corporations and the media. Current developments in the US and, partly, Italy are already sending us ominous warnings as to what would happen.

What Is Holocracy?

The global problems humanity is facing are of a complex nature. A widespread awareness of their underlying causes is necessary before any actual reform can take place.

These causes are:

- that the lack of acknowledgement of life's spiritual dimensions makes it difficult to talk about the actual *causes* of society's current problems.
- that the political culture and thinking mode are power-oriented, which limits the *quality* of any potential dialogue at this time.
- that our societal institutions lack transformative and healing potential, which makes an *idealistic and holistic attitude* difficult.

The democratic institutions and processes in place today constitute a barrier to a higher-quality political dialogue and thinking mode. This situation is much like the one which characterized society approximately 200 years ago, before the advent of democracy. At the time, the monarchy and the King's absolute power limited the *freedom* of dialogue. Today, it is the lacking ability of institutions to handle the existential dimension that limits the *quality* of the dialogue.

By a high-quality dialogue, we mean the kind of two-way communication which harbors the ability to listen behind what is being said, and hear the motive and the quality of the thought-process from which an argument originates. We are talking of a dialogue which is authentic, and where one does not seek to hide one's true intentions behind arguments which are politically correct or strategically opportune – this is to say an open and reflective dialogue, through which one does not try to win over an opponent, but to achieve an increasingly correct understanding of the matter at hand.

A qualitatively sound dialogue is one that touches upon what really matters to the parties involved, and reaches in to the core of a problem. A good dialogue is a process

whereby each participant takes responsibility for his/her feelings, and understands that problems are not only 'out there', but rather a reflection of that which each of us holds within ourselves.

Such a dialogue is a precondition for achieving a higher degree of wisdom in the political sphere. And the precondition for establishing such a dialogue is, in turn, a change in our political institutions to enable a greater degree of idealism, compassion and holism in our political culture. This is why we need holocracy – a government which addresses the whole, instead of parts of the whole.

Holocracy is an attempt to introduce new principles into political thinking, which will allow the development of such a culture – principles which can heighten the quality of the dialogue, and thereby the quality of civilization as a whole. The contents of this article are therefore neither politically rightist nor leftist, but tackle *principles*. This piece is all about working with these principles, thereby lifting the current political culture up to a new level.

The 12 Memes And The New Consciousness

There are many signs that we are in the decisive phase of the battle between cynicism and idealism in the world. In this final clash with cynicism and traditional thinking, it is important to have some clear landmarks for the political visions of the future. This is why the following presents some basic observations about human psychology and development, which in professional terms is called *developmental psychology*. By applying this knowledge at the societal level, one can achieve a deeper understanding of the mechanisms at work in society's developmental process.

American psychologist and researcher Clare Graves formulated the hypothesis, in the 60s, that there existed a set of basic 'memes' in the human consciousness – a meme being a kind of 'attractor' consisting of a set of beliefs, thought patterns, values and behaviors, and corresponding to a certain level of developmental consciousness. The name *memes* was chosen, because it rhymes with themes, and the different memes are characterized by corresponding life-themes. The model developed by Graves was developed further and popularized after his death in 1984 by two of his students, Don Edward Beck and Christopher Cowan, who renamed the theory 'Spiral Dynamics'.

Meme is a word which is widely used today, with a broad array of contradictory meanings. In Spiral Dynamics, it is simply *a fundamental level of development, which can be expressed in any kind of activity*. Memes are not rigid levels, but rather flowing waves which overlap and weave into each other, resulting into a net, or a dynamic, unfolding spiral of awareness. It is a disorderly and

asymmetrical spiral, with a lot of superimpositions rather than clean types. It consists of mosaics, interwoven patterns and amalgamations.

Generally, the developmental theories which psychologists work with are based on the assumption that human consciousness evolves from certain primitive stages (where life is about survival), through a series of stages, where it gains a broader and greater existential perspective and deeper levels of empathy, compassion and understanding for other people. It can therefore be very helpful to understand the various stages, in order to gain insight in people’s widely different motivations and perspectives. Graves model is not just a theory. It has been tested on over 50.000 individuals across the world, in both industrialized and developing countries, without registering any significant deviations from the basic model.

Graves found that the memes were subdivided into two groups: the first six levels are called first-tier memes (which have a focus on subsistence issues such as survival, power and belonging), and the remaining two levels belong in the second tier (with a focus on the existential dimensions of life such as creativity and self-realization). In the second tier, a revolutionary shift in consciousness takes place – reaching the level of ‘being’. I have developed this model further, based on some of the principles of spiritual psychology [1], which are not taken into account in Graves’ assumptions. The resulting model is shown in *Figure 1*.*

An interesting aspect of Spiral Dynamics is that people either respond intuitively to it by saying: “Yes, that is how it is, I just haven’t been able to put it into words,” or reject the model as nonsense. This happens because the ability to free oneself of one’s current meme, and see the spiral as a whole, is characteristic of the abstract memes (ideBlue, ideGreen and ideRed). If one can recognize the spiral in one’s own life, it necessarily means that one has a certain measure of abstract memes in one’s being. The concrete memes, on the contrary, can, and will not, see this pattern.

Spiral Dynamics.

Spiral Dynamics use various names and colors to indicate the memes, which are also called levels of consciousness or existential waves. The use of colors is distracting to some people at first. But Beck and Cowan have often worked in environments where there is racial and ethnic tension, and have discovered that it helps people stop focusing on skin color and concentrate on meme-color instead.

* Spiral dynamics as formulated by Beck and Cowan only contain eight memes, and was not founded on the idea of three basic memes. The partitioning into three basic memes is my own extension of their theory and an idea that comes from the esoteric psychology.

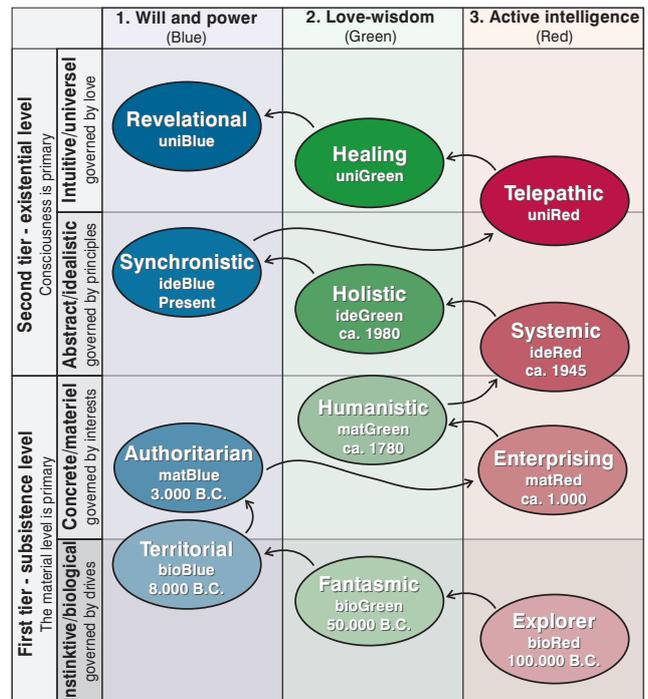


Figure 1: Overview of the 12 memes that constitute the human evolutionary path

The following interpretation of the memes is based on the assumption that there are three fundamental principles – will, love and intelligence – which find their expression in four tiers (levels of consciousness), which in turn originate from a human being’s basic energetic structure. These tiers are called *the instinctive, the concrete, the abstract, and the intuitive*†, containing a total of 12 memes, as shown in Figure 1. The colors shown in Figure 1 have been chosen based on the understanding that there are three fundamental memes, represented by three columns. These have been given primary colors – blue, green and red. In the columns, the memes are labeled in such a way that there are four blue, four green, and four red shades. A lot of available research indicates that each individual carries *all* of these memes in his/her potential.‡. What memes actually do manifest in a person’s life is highly dependent on the environment in which he/she lives, and the challenges which he/she faces. It is therefore likely that the increasing complexity of the society in which we live will breed new memes in the future.

This means that social tensions will be entirely redefined. They will no longer spring from skin color, class differences, or political influence, but will depend on the *type of meme, on which a person’s behavior is based*.

In this context, it won’t be “black meets white”, but rather bioBlue meets bioGreen, or matGreen meets matRed.

† The fact of these four divisions must remain a postulate in this article because it is too lengthy to explain in detail. I can indicate the reason behind by stating that 4 levels and 12 memes correspond to the four layers and 12 petals in the egoic lotus [11]

‡ Graves research only pertains to the first 8 memes. The last four are based on the esoteric psychology [1].

While skin color can't change, levels of consciousness can. As Beck put it: "The focus is not on the types of people, but the types in people."

Example: The Sensitive Self (matGreen)

Example of a meme:

The matGreen meme is community-oriented and emphasizes human relationships, ecological sensitivity and networking. The human spirit must be freed from greed, dogmas and separation; emotions and caring replace cold rationality. The person seeks to protect the environment, Gaia and life. He/she is against hierarchies and seeks to create equality and community. The self is relative and the person leans towards subjective truths and group dynamics. It forms a foundation on which to build value-based communities, and focuses on dialogue and relations. The matGreen type strives to refresh spirituality, create harmony and develop human potential. He/she has pluralistic values, and sees reality as governed by social structures. This worldview is referred to as pluralistic relativism.

The matGreen type emerged about 150-200 years ago (see also overview in Table 1, page 8). A simplified overview of the other memes is shown in Figure 3, page 6. In-depth descriptions will be given in an upcoming book about society's spiritual challenge.

The Complementarity of The Three Basic Memes

The three basic memes, which are also termed the primary rays, are:

- **Will and power.** The impulse which lies behind all intentions and the will to live. The BLUE meme.
- **Love and wisdom.** The impulse which lies behind relationships to other people, happiness and insight. The GREEN meme.
- **Active intelligence.** The impulse which lies behind the impulse to act, create and tackle challenges. The RED meme.

One of the vital elements in understanding the interaction of the three primary rays (or basic memes) is the complementary role which the rays play in the evolutionary process. In spiritual psychology, one of the basic premises is that everything moves in orderly cycles which evolve towards the realization of a governing idea or intention. This creates a spiral movement, which can be literal or symbolic. Underlying this movement is a universal spiral dynamic, as illustrated in Figure 2.

To understand Figure 2, one must be aware that we are dealing with an *abstract* description. The rays' names have a double meaning: Will and power encompass both

the will to realize a goal, and the power to do so. Love and Wisdom signify the love dimensions and the ability to bring about enlightenment. Active intelligence incorporates not only the impulse to be active, but also the faculties of intelligence that allow one to act effectively. This duality points at the compound nature of the rays, and indicates that one should not interpret their influence concretely, but understand it as an abstract idea.

Interaction between the three primary qualities

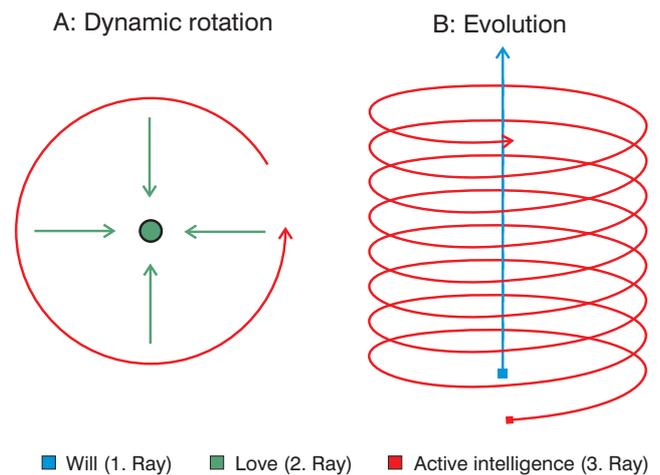


Figure 2: The dynamic, which arises as a result of the interaction between the three primary rays. The spiral is a fundamental dynamic in all evolutionary systems.

The interaction between the basic memes in Figure 2 arises from each of them expressing one aspect of the spiral's total movement, respectively *center*, *rotation* (activity) and *direction*. This can be explained as follows:

The center is dominated by GREEN (love-wisdom).

This is the power that keeps matter and form together, the receiving power, the power of attraction. It is a magnetic power which, through the tone it sends out, attracts living entities* and holds them to a particular pattern. It is symbolized by a green dot in the figure.

Rotation is dominated by RED (active intelligence).

This power is behind the impulse to move and act. It brings about rotation, is dotted with the power to act and contains the faculty of intelligence. This is symbolized by the red arrow in the figure. Combined with the center, it results in a rotating movement (A in the figure).

Drive is dominated by BLUE (Will and Power). This quality is first and foremost one of intention. It is a power, which propels one forward in the direction of the goal – the archetypal masculine power, symbolized by the blue arrow in the drawing. Combined with rotation, it results in a spiral movement (B in the drawing).

* Living entity is a concept that is used because one understands that everything in the universe is alive, and that these laws govern atoms as well as wells, human beings, etc.

The essence of the spiral movement is such, that it has a direction, a center and a rotational impulse. If the three aspects are in balance, the quality of the evolutionary process is optimal. If they are out of balance, they create a sick spiral, which results in an unbalanced development. This is the case in our current society, which is generally quite unbalanced.

The Unbalanced Spiral

Today, the GREEN meme (second ray, Love) is especially weak, as society is dominated by a concrete, masculine way of thinking. Based on the spiral dynamic described above, this results in a weak center, but a lot of dynamism. Since the center is weak, it becomes necessary to create a “fake” center, drawing on RED and BLUE energy.

This happens:

- **through fear** (BLUE) “If you don’t do as I say, then...”, or
- **through bribery**, since money, ambition and other such factors are tied to RED energy.

This dynamic was especially obvious in the Danish EU-debate, where it is interesting to observe the degree to which politicians actually tried to threaten and bribe the Danish population into voting yes. Instead of adopting a GREEN stance, which could have addressed people’s idealism and created a natural center, the government tried to create a fake center. This naturally results in great opposition on the part of the population, since no one likes to be either threatened or bribed. Even individuals, who basically were pro-EU, were left with a bitter aftertaste after voting yes, because they had the sense of being misled and fooled by politicians who acted in bad faith.

While GREEN thus is distinctly weak today, RED and BLUE are comparatively strong, yet with a very concrete orientation.

What happens when BLUE and RED are weak?

The problem which typically arises with BLUE, occurs when a society or an organization doesn’t have a vision that expresses a spiritual ideal, in which case there is a lack of forward drive. This dynamic is observed when the political arena lacks vision, and politicians are mostly concerned with making small-scale adjustments in the vision of the welfare state – a vision that has become a reality in quite a few EU countries such as Denmark, Norway, Holland, etc. As long as the goal of equality, freedom and security are left unrealized, this vision can motivate citizens to gather around the vision. It is a vision which ceases to inspire and motivate once it has been realized. If politicians in welfare states want to gather the population around a common project, they must formulate a new vision which carries sufficient power. This requires a leap into second-tier thinking and the abstract memes – a

challenge which today’s politicians have not yet managed to meet.

The problem which typically occurs when RED is weak, is that things stagnate and break down. There is a lack of effectiveness and economic understanding, and things don’t function properly. A lack of RED impulse was a major factor in the fall of the East bloc, whose economies collapsed. RED can also be lacking in spiritual communities, and in organizations which have a GREEN orientation. Here, one can find a thriving, high-quality human development process where all members are heard, and transformations can occur. But if there is a lack of movement and action-oriented energy, ideas fail to manifest and the economy never takes off. This results in frustration and a loss of faith in the feasibility of the group’s idealistic visions.

The key to a good result is an understanding of the importance of each of the fundamental energies (BLUE, GREEN and RED) in the creation of a dynamic balance. Any unbalance will have serious consequences. However, when a good balance is achieved between *goals and direction* (BLUE), *process and community* (GREEN) and *intelligent action* (RED), almost anything is possible.

Developing The Memes

As said earlier, consciousness evolves over four major stages, each consisting of three sub-stages. The path to development can, however, be quite individual, and it can’t be defined rigidly. It should rather be seen as a series of landmarks and bearings, which can be used for orientation along the road. At each level, new challenges present themselves, which make up that particular level’s creative assignments, and move one’s consciousness one level up.

The Instinctive Memes

Generally, one could say that the three first memes (instinctive), constitute a phase where the person develops through living out his/her instincts, and experiences the consequences of this behavior. At this stage, the individual pushes his/her will through as far as possible, without any sense of shame or regard for others than him/herself. Since consciousness is anchored in the basic instincts, imagination and inventiveness are quasi-absent, and it is the immediate satisfaction of the primary drives that is manifested. The challenge for these memes consists in acknowledging that consciousness is not the body, and instead starting to look at the contents of consciousness as opposed to its physical expression.

		1. Will and Power (BLUE)	2. Love-wisdom (GREEN)	3. Active intelligence (RED)
Second tier - Existential	Intuitive/universal (higher mental/intuitive)	12. uniBlue: Revelational Rolle: Magician The spiritual plan for the earth's development is sensed directly. The person sees its genius and beauty, and seeks to contribute to its realization. The focus is on tuning in to the center, from which spiritual power emanates, and on contributing to elevating the earth's civilization.	11. uniGreen: Healing Rolle: Mystic Universal love is experienced directly and immediately. The influence of schools of thought and all forms of separatism dissolve. Compassion for all living beings is a matter of course, because there is a direct experience of the spirituality behind all things.	10. uniRed: Telepathic Rolle: Esotericist The focus is on understanding the laws of life and creating the best possible conditions for the growth and development of consciousness at all levels (e.g. physical forms, plants, animals and humans). Starting point for a true esoteric science, which understand both spirit and form.
	Abstract/idealistic (abstract mental)	9. ideBlå: Synchronistic Rolle: Inspiration Life has a higher purpose, which relates to the spirit's ability to express itself in concrete form. Strives to bring our vision and development in harmony with this higher goal, in order to accelerate the development of consciousness, knowledge and an enlightened global civilization.	8. ideGreen: Holistic Rolle: Integrator The earth is a living being. Development unfolds best in groups, where the individual can engage in a creative process with others who seek to develop personally and spiritually. Ecological awareness that goes beyond sustainability to a valuing of universal life expressing itself.	7. ideRed: Systemic Rolle: Analyst Acknowledgement and self-realization. There is a holistic understanding of how things interact. Uses both intuition and analysis to understand the world. Seeks balance between achievement and being, work, family and community.
First tier - Survival	Concrete/material (Concrete emotional/mental)	4. matBlue: Authoritarian Role: Judge Life has meaning, direction and purpose, with results determined by an almighty order. Based on this order, some behavioral rules are enforced which observe absolute and immutable principles of “right” and “wrong”. Breaking the rules has serious consequences.	6. matGreen: Humanistic Role: Facilitator Community-oriented, human bonds, ecological sensitivity, networking. The human spirit must be freed of greed dogmas and a sense of separation. Emotions and caring replace cold rationality. Against hierarchies, establish equal duties and relations. Focus on dialogue and	5. matRed: Enterprising Role: Initiator Individual truth and meaning. Objective, mechanistic, operational, “scientific” in the traditional sense. The world is a rational and well-oiled machine with natural laws which can be learnt, mastered and manipulated to meet one's goals. Strongly achievement oriented
	Instinctive/biological (Physical/emotional)	3. bioBlue: Territorial Role: Conqueror The world is a jungle full of threats and thieves. Conquers, cheats and dominates; enjoys the self to extremes without remorse or regrets. Magical-mystical spirits, dragons, animals and powerful persons. Feudal lords protect their subjects in exchange for obeisance and labor.	2. bioGreen: Fantasmic Role: Dreamer Animistic thinking; everything is swarming with magical spirits evil and good and their blessings, curses or spells determine the course of events. They form ethnic tribes. Spirits live in the ancestors and bind the tribe together. Political ties are established on the basis of family	1. bioRed: Explorer Role: Adventurer The level of fundamental survival: food, water, heat, sex and security have first priority. Uses habits and instincts just enough to survive. The separate self has barely been awakened or maintained. Builds groups to ensure the survival of the species.

Figure 3: An overview which shows the four developmental levels and three primary rays, and how their meeting gives rise to altogether 12 different memes. Humanity as a whole is dominated by the concrete memes, while less than 2 % of the earth's population has developed the abstract memes ideRed and ideGreen, (according to Clare Graves' research, where 50.000 individuals from around the world were tested).

The Concrete Memes

The next phase consists of memes, which are anchored in a concrete emotional/mental understanding of reality. The largest majority of today's earthly population is primarily located in this phase, and influenced by these memes, and therefore represents a consciousness which is dominated by a concrete understanding of reality (there is only one truth) as well as a striving for happiness through the satisfaction of concrete urges/desires. There is an awareness of others' thresholds and a feeling of community characterized by mutual dependence and intelligent self-interest. Personal desire is still the person's driving force, but at this level there is a stronger individualization directed towards what one may call a creative personality – a personality which harbors an ability for independent (and abstract) thinking. The challenge for these memes is to recognize that reality cannot be grasped solely through its concrete and physical aspects, but that there is a greater reality, a greater truth, which lies hidden in abstract and intuitive recognition.

The Abstract Memes

When people come to an awareness of the limitations inherent in the form-oriented and concrete understanding of reality, consciousness is turned toward a more abstract understanding of the patterns and mosaic, which they are a part of. The core principle of this is, that one no longer identifies with a particular truth, but seeks to see the greater pattern behind concrete truths. The person recognizes that all of the different memes have their own strengths, and are complementary, because they express various aspects of a larger whole. One therefore acknowledges the *entire* spiral, both the part of it that is under oneself, but also the part of it that is above.

This is where one finds the central difference between the survival level and the existential level. Survival-memes see themselves as possessing the highest form of consciousness to be found, and have not yet reached the recognition that there are much more advanced levels of consciousness than their own in existence. The existential memes (PURPUR and up) have acknowledged that life consists in a continuous development toward increasingly comprehensive recognitions. This is a *decisive shift*, since the individual now sees that he/she can actively do something to *accelerate* his/her own development. This creates an openness toward those, who are more developed than oneself, and compassion toward those, who are less developed. In contrast to this, the concrete memes cannot tolerate each other (because they each have their own truth), and even less so the second-tier memes (because they cannot embrace abstract thinking).

The first tier memes, authoritarian (matBlue), humanistic (matGreen) and enterprising (matRed), think that they hold

the key to the truth, and that there is only one truth: their own.

Second-tier memes, systemic (ideRed), holistic (ideGreen) and synchronistic (ideBlue) also believe that there is one truth, but recognize that they have only discovered a little portion of that truth. This renders these memes humble, seeking and open to wisdom as well as accepting toward the truths held by other memes.

The Intuitive Memes

The last meme-level, where consciousness dwells on the intuitive plane, is characterized by the central place given to the soul conscience. These memes – telepathic (uniRed), sacred (uniGreen), and revelational (uniBlue), are influenced by the love vibration of the intuitive level, and are concerned with expressing it in the world. These three memes therefore constitute the true spiritual path to development. The intuitive memes harbor the very source of creativity, since great innovative creation always occurs through an understanding of a greater truth. All of the world's great geniuses, artists and leaders have had a certain measure of access to inspiration from this layer. Organizations and societies which have a wish to stimulate evolution and innovation should therefore be aware of the ways in which to favor the development of these memes, as the information society depends on their inspiration.

How Memes Arise

To round up this very short introduction to the memes, it may be interesting to take a look at the time periods when these memes are seen to have emerged in humanity. Table 1 indicates Graves' estimates of the emergence of the different memes over time (as well as my estimates for the emergence of the last four memes). In this context, it should be noted that in the periods preceding the registered emergence of new memes, these new memes have already manifested for some time in individuals or small groups of people.

It is only when the new memes have reached a certain critical mass, that one registers their political influence in society as such. Even the intuitive memes (uniRed, uniBlue and uniGreen) have for example always existed in prophets and mystics. Table 1 shows when they can be said to become "mainstream" among the rest of the population. It presumably takes a minimum of 0.1 % of the population, or one out of 1.000 people, to manifest these memes before one can say that they are duly registered in society as such. Thus ideBlue, or the synchronistic meme, can already be found in society today, if one looks closely for it. But it is clear that, if one weren't really on the lookout for people with these qualities, one could easily overlook them.

Meme	Life circumstances
100.000 yrs. ago bioRed	Homo Sapiens <i>Survivalus</i> Intelligent use of tools 0.1% of the population, 0% of the power
50.000 yrs. ago bioGreen	Homo Sapiens <i>Mysticus</i> Tribes, magic, art, shamanism 10% of the population, 1% of the power
10.000 yrs. ago bioBlue	Homo Sapiens <i>Exploiticus</i> Warlords, conquests, discovery 20% of the population, 5% of the power
5.000 yrs. ago matBlue	Homo Sapiens <i>Absoluticus</i> Literature, monotheism, goals 40% of the population, 30% of the power
1.000 yrs. ago matRed	Homo Sapiens <i>Materialensis</i> Mobility, individualism, economy 30% of the population, 50% of the power
200 yrs. ago matGreen	Homo Sapiens <i>Humanisticus</i> Human rights, freedom, industry 10% of the population, 15% of the power
50 yrs. ago ideRed	Homo Sapiens <i>Integratus</i> Complexity, telecommunication 1% of the population, 5% of the power
30 yrs. ago ideGreen	Homo Sapiens <i>Holisticus</i> Chaos theories, Internet, eco-awareness 0,1% of the population, 1% of the power
In the near future ideBlue	Homo Sapiens <i>Synkronisticus</i> * Deeper meaning, holographic awareness App. 1 million people today, globally
In app. 300 yrs. uniRed	Homo Sapiens <i>Telepaticus</i> Esoteric science, world service App. 200.000 people today, globally.
In app. 1.000 yrs. uniGreen	Homo Sapiens <i>Sacradikus</i> Intuitive group life, sacred love Ca. 1-2000 people today, globally.
In app. 3.000 yrs. uniBlue	Homo Sapiens <i>Revelaticus</i> Civilization of light, Divine will manifested

Table 1: An overview of the memes’ development throughout history, and of the portion of society which expresses the various memes today. The timelines for the future are highly speculative and were inspired by Martinus (DK) and Alice Bailey (US).

Manifestation of The Rays

The statement that evolution is governed by three primary forces is a somewhat simplified explanation, and in order to gain a slightly more nuanced perspective, it may be useful to add some information about the rays. Above and beyond the spiral which is created by the primary rays, spiritual psychology also purports that these primary rays *manifest* in four additional rays which are called secondary rays. These are illustrated in Figure 4 and can be described as follows:

* Notice that for the last four memes, no percentage of power is indicated. The reason is that these group have very little formal power, yet influence society greatly through their ideas and example.

4. **Harmony through conflict.** The meeting point, or point of balance which integrates all the qualities of the other rays.
5. **Concrete knowledge.** The manifestation of the intelligence principle, which expresses itself in the scientific point of view.
6. **Idealism and devotion.** The manifestation of the love principle, which expresses itself in personal love and idealism.
7. **Order and rituals.** The manifestation of the will principle, which expresses itself through the ability to organize and manifest ideas.

Together, these are called the seven rays. In order to gain a better understanding of their essence, let us look at the way in which the seven rays manifest in society.

The Seven Rays In Society

The seven rays manifest in the individual human being, in organizations, and in society as a whole. In society, the rays manifest as:

Politics (first ray – will and power). The goal here is to create a political process and a structure which make it possible for society’s laws to reflect the spiritual laws in an appropriate way. Society’s laws protect weaker individuals against stronger ones, in such a way as to ban the law of the jungle from society. Through this, it becomes possible for human beings to manifest the selfless love which is impossible without a certain protection from the egoistic forces. In the political sphere, the goal is to stand for truth and hold on to a vision of humanity’s spiritual purpose and potential.

Religion (second ray – love and wisdom). The goal here is to bring about illumination and universal awareness in the future, creating a personal sense of connection to the heart of the universe and expressing themselves through an experiential mysticism or world religion, which builds upon knowledge (and not on faith as the religions of earlier times). This world religion will reveal how all of the current religions display facets of a more comprehensive truth. Simultaneously, there will be a reckoning with many of the more rigid forms and dogmas inherent in today’s religions. Truth and love will then take up a center stage.

Education (third ray for active intelligence). The goal here is to create illumination in all subjects such as, for example, law, business, leadership and philosophy. People will work on communicating the vision of an enlightened civilization based on spiritual knowledge and ideals. The relationship between the whole and parts of the whole, enlightenment of the mind, selfless service and the nature of genius will be central.

Art and culture (the fourth ray – beauty and harmony). Here, beauty is what matters and the focus is on

understanding art and culture as some of the most important avenues for the Divine to manifest its essence. Art is uplifting and revelational of beauty. By consciously tuning in to divine inspiration when working, the artists, designers and architects of the future will manifest it in our society. When the arts world opens up for a more conscious way of working with the spiritual dimension, it will increase the quality and the life-essence within all art forms, and enable a cultural quantum leap.

Science (fifth ray – concrete knowledge). The science of the future will first of all be the science of the soul. Scientists will base their work on the recognition of the illusory nature of matter, and deal with the nature of life and the spiritual laws which govern the development of form and consciousness. Clairvoyant research into the nature of atoms, as well as entirely new research disciplines which integrate the scientific work with consciousness and matter will see the light. Precision, a detailed approach and technical skill will still be one of science’s distinguishing features, but it will unfold with a much greater degree of freedom of thought that it does today.

Psychology and social care (the sixth ray – devotion and idealism). This ray stands for idealism, helpfulness and charity, endowed with a new kind of wisdom. It will entail an understanding of the dynamics of consciousness and development in all realms, among people, animals, and in the biosphere as a whole. Here, people will work at developing new types of communities which care for the less fortunate. This will happen on the basis of an understanding of each person’s responsibility for their own situation, and a spirit of true service which not only takes care of people’s physical needs, but also caters to their need for releasing the psychological bonds which maintain them in problematic situations.

Economy (seventh ray – ritual order). This area deals with the physical aspects of civilization such as infrastructure, production, the economy and communication. The focus is on creating balance in the global economy and establishing legal equality and spiritual freedom at the global level. The basic premise is an understanding of the spiritual laws which govern the economy, and on a cooperation with the inner planes around the development and implementation of economic systems which will serve the needs of the whole to a greater extent than the current systems are able to do.

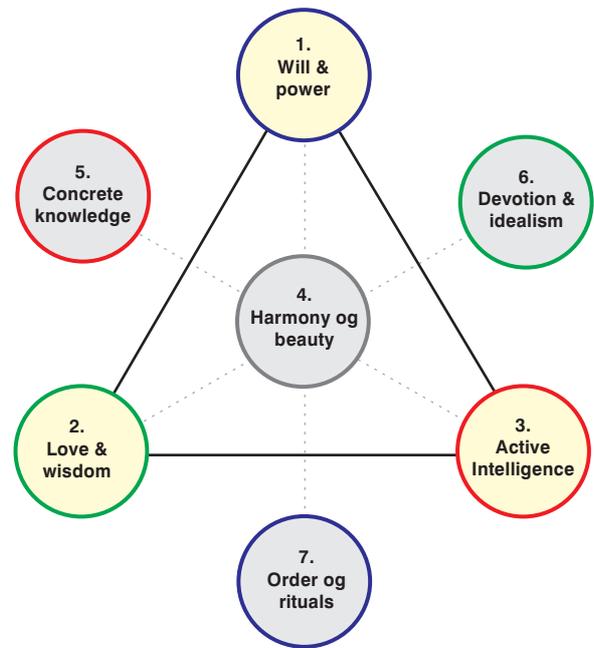


Figure 4: The seven rays. The primary rays (1-3) are the fundamental qualities of consciousness. The secondary rays (4-7) are tightly connected to the concrete expression of the primary rays.

Quality In Leadership And In Democracy

At the present time, I would like to move from a general description of the memes to an analysis of their significance for the way we view and think about society.

The memes essentially reflect different *ways* of thinking, and therefore understand truth in entirely different ways. »Truth is in the eye of the beholder« is an appropriate expression in this context. Thus it is fundamentally impossible to talk about what truth is, unless one simultaneously refers to the particular meme through which one views this truth.

For example, if we ask the BLUE memes (who express the power aspect) “What is democracy?” they will answer along the following lines:

- bioBlue: Democracy is an attempt by the weak elements in society to impede on the power and expansion of the stronger ones.
- matBlue: Democracy entails, that the people itself can choose its leaders, and thereby pursue their individual economic and political interests.
- ideBlue: Democracy provides an institutional framework for a legislation and an exercise of power which ensure that freedom, legal equality and a true cooperative spirit are the foundation upon which collective will is based.
- uniBlue: Democracy is a recognition of the universal brother-sisterhood, which finds its expression in a service-minded leadership, through which a country’s

enlightened individuals can lead and exercise power within a constitutional framework.

As can be derived from the above, the truth about the essence of democracy is different, depending on a person's meme. To make things even more confusing, the remaining memes will have even more varying interpretations of the subject.

When we discuss politics, we discuss attitudes and our understanding of the appropriate way to act in a given situation. The problem today is, that the concrete memes have created colossal ecological, social and political crises over many generations through their way of managing the world's resources. These crises arise from the concrete memes' *mode* of thinking. Thus it is highly unlikely that these same memes should be able to come up with a solution to the problems they have created.

To solve the problems, it is vital that we shift to new memes, in order to reach a *different* understanding of the appropriate course of action – an understanding which builds upon a knowledge of human psychology and deeper needs, as well as an openness toward life's spiritual dimension; a line of thought which is about stimulating people's motivation to reach for goals which allow them a greater degree of satisfaction and human growth, instead of promoting the hunt for illusory notions which characterizes our society today.

In short, a more authentic society and a truer democracy.

True Democracy

In the West, there is a widespread notion that modern democracy is the best possible type of government. Despite this, political alienation is extremely widespread, and there is a general feeling of apathy and powerlessness in front of bureaucracy in the democratic countries. How does this fit together?

The reality of it is, that our parliamentary democracies are far from being true democracies. Constitutionally, we have the right to elect our leaders; we are granted freedom of expression, the right of assembly, etc. All of these fundamental rights are of great significance, but they do not in themselves make up true democracy. In true democracy, government is based upon the enlightened formation of public opinion.

As is all too obvious in new democracies, democratic elections hardly guarantee a fair government. There are innumerable ways of undermining, influencing and manipulating politicians, just as there are all kinds of ways to ensure that only those, who serve a certain group's particular interests, even have a chance of being elected to office. This is most obvious in American politics, where politicians can raise phenomenal funds to finance their electoral campaigns. It goes without saying that these candidates' supporters are only paying the candidates in

order to gain power and an attentive ear for their points of view. If this were not the case, they would soon cease to invest their money there.

But what are our alternatives? Alice Bailey makes some interesting comments to that effect:

Government by a true democracy: *This again will be made possible through a right use of the systems of education and by a steady training of the people to recognize the finer values, the more correct point of view, the higher idealism, and the spirit of synthesis and of cooperative unity. Cooperative unity differs from an enforced unity in that the subjective spirit and the objective form are functioning towards one recognized end. Today, such a thing as a true democracy is unknown, and the mass of the people in the democratic countries are as much at the mercy of the politicians and of the financial forces as are the people under the rule of dictatorships, enlightened or unenlightened. These latter might be regarded as selfish idealists. But I would have you here note the word "idealist"! When, however, the world has in it more truly awakened people and more thinking men and women, we shall see a purification of the political field taking place, and a cleansing of our processes of representation instituted, as well as a more exacting accounting required from the people of those whom they have chosen to put in authority. There must eventually be a closer tie-up between the educational system, the legal system and the government, but it will all be directed to an effort to work out the best ideals of the thinkers of the [53] day. This period does not lie so far ahead as you might imagine, particularly if the first move in this direction is made by the new group of world servers.*

This comment is interesting, since it shows how one looks upon the modern democratic leadership from a spiritual perspective*. The problems are most obvious in the USA, a country which truly is governed by its large corporations, though Europe also experiences more organizational control than it does popular government. This is mostly due to the fact that the tone and the consciousness level which dominate the political dialogue lack spiritual idealism and heartfelt compassion, and instead are based on power strategies and economic parameters. It doesn't need to be like this, but the condition for changing the situation around is that we collectively express the desire and belief of another political culture, and that we pursue this vision.

The Creative Class

The first step toward changing the unfortunate situation in which financially strong groups pursuing selfish goals can – to a large extent – rule over political life, is that the public recognizes that there is an alternative to the status quo – that it is possible to create an entirely new political

* Alice Bailey's works were channeled from the inner planes, and are considered an expression of the perspective which enlightened masters on these planes have on the development of the earth.

culture, which allows us to aspire to certain spiritual ideals and at the same time create a dynamic and stimulating society.

A recently published study of what Richard Florida calls “the creative class” shows that economic development and spiritual freedom are everything but contradictory [9]. The author has researched the relationship between the openness of American cities toward homosexuals, bohemians, artistic personalities and such. He found that the cities which show the highest level of tolerance for people who think differently are those which record the highest level of growth, and create the largest number of new jobs. The underlying cause of this is, that the cultural creatives* as a group are those who bring about innovation and development. Today, expansion is not a result of increased productivity or the amount of raw materials one owns. Growth is based on what could broadly be termed ‘cultural products’. It typically occurs when people invent totally new product categories, often information products such as software, movies and media. One can add to this the improvement of technology by complementing it with softer dimensions such as design, environmental friendliness and emotional appeal – requiring a kind of cross-professional cooperation which only advanced knowledge cultures are able to implement in practice. Thus if we look at economic development since World War II, the US economy has experienced a tremendous boost thanks to computer technology and all of its branch outs. The US heavily dominates the development of this technology, and it is in related branches that the new creative jobs can be born.

There are many reasons to believe that this development will continue, and that there are a multitude of new technologies waiting to be invented ahead of us. These “industries of the future” will increasingly emanate from the creative class’s – the cultural creatives’ – ideas and outlook. This is why metropolitan cities and countries which manage to gather a critical mass of these talents are the ones that will create the correct framework for those who will become the leaders of the 21st. Century. Europe is faced with a unique possibility to create a social revolution, since its cultural tradition encompasses openness, tolerance and spiritual freedom. Europe has experienced two world wars and their ramifications, resulting in a much greater awareness of the necessity of brother-sisterhood than is found in the US or other parts of the world. It is therefore no coincidence that it is Europe that spearheads the effort toward integration and is the driving force behind bridging the cultures and promoting the emergence of democracy in neighboring countries.

* The term “cultural creatives” was coined by American sociologist Paul Ray to describe the fastest growing social class in the USA. It denotes a population segment with an orientation towards holistic thinking, ecology and the qualities inherent in the new memes.

This is an incredibly important task, but unfortunately Europe is also prone to an all too materialistic and narrow-minded attitude, which relates to the great existential crisis we are facing.

The Existential Crisis

The difference shown between the concrete and the abstract memes indicates that it takes quite a large shift in consciousness to change from for example matGreen (humanism) into ideRed (systemic). Even though a lot of the thought matter is the same, the fundamental understanding of the relationship between oneself and the surrounding environment is completely different. This is what constitutes our great political dilemma today.

Regarding the memes of the past, one can say that bioGreen (creative) is hardly ever found any more. BioBlue (conqueror), on the other hand, has been observed in recent years in the Afghanistan conflict, in the warlords who arose in the wake of twenty years of war, civil war and most recently the American invasion. These warlords do not shrink back from any means of gaining power, and that is the plain truth. Scruples or principles count for nothing, and the only language they understand is the language of power.

The political parties in Denmark all represent different memes, while the memes of the future are still only manifesting themselves through a few select organizations and exceptional individuals. In regard to the political parties in place, one should note that it is in most cases a spiritual inspiration, which motivated their creation. Behind liberalism and socialism, we detect two great spiritual ideals, respectively freedom and brother-sisterhood. But these ideals are being expressed in a very concrete and rather rigid way, as the relevant parties are dominated by concrete thinking and therefore lack the ability to understand the abstract and intuitive levels in these spiritual ideas.

Leadership And The New Memes

The matter of leadership and politics give rise to an interesting question, relating to the ways in which abstract memes are distinct from concrete memes.

A fundamental difference is the fact that the concrete memes are form-oriented, or interested in a concrete goal, while the abstract memes are quality-oriented in terms of the ideas they work with. The following descriptions of the memes’ basic approaches to leadership can lift a corner of the veil covering the way in which the various memes operate.

matBlue (authoritarian): It is all about true learning. Society is based on a particular view of truth, and founded on clear laws and norms as to right and wrong. Those who observe the rules are rewarded, while those who disobey

and challenge the reigning vision of truth are judged and punished harshly. Law and order rule, and society's power structure is composed of rigid hierarchies. MatBlue sees power as righteous, and decisions are based on hard-and-fast moral values and the attempt to force these upon the surrounding environment.

This approach to power is observed in George Bush's war against terrorism, Christian-puritan America, Islamic fundamentalists, Russia, Sharon's Israel and China.

Enterprising (matRed): Revolves around the scientific view and the wish to create material expansion through a liberal economy. There is only regard for the human and environmental factors as far as their importance has been proven. Decisions are made based on concrete thinking and the goal is to achieve maximum economic growth and development.

This approach can be seen in Neo-liberalists, technocrats, materialistic science, the EU and transnational corporations.

Humanistic (matGreen): The individual's fundamental value is what counts. There is a desire to spur equality and self-realization, and to free human beings from restrictive ideological or religious bonds. Since each individual pursues his/her personal interests, it is necessary to govern society through the leveling of incomes and complex social and legal constructions which protect the community's interests. Decisions are made based on a desire to promote human values by implementing appropriate laws and behavioral regulation.

This is observed in postmodernists, socialists, peace movements, political correctness and personal development.

Moving on to the abstract memes, it is to be noted that these are relatively new, which limits the extent to which we have been able to observe them. We do, however, meet them here and there, and the following examples can give us a certain idea of the possibilities they harbor.

systemic (ideRed): Recognizing the complex factors behind the development of society, one gives up the attempt to come up with simple solutions. One knows that even though they may sound appealing, they seldom work. Through holistic research, one reaches a scientific understanding of the workings of consciousness and systemic correlations. This makes it possible to take measures which address a broad spectrum of the *causes* of society's problems. The focus is not on concrete goals, but on the creation of a healthy evolutionary dynamic.

This is seen in: the learning-oriented organization, Ken Wilber's integral thinking, Chaos theory and advanced knowledge cultures.*

Holistic (ideGreen): Recognizing that people base their decisions largely on what they feel, instead of how they think, ideGreen memes are about transformation and awakening every individual's own experience of the whole. By opening one's heart to one's own and others' suffering, one cultivates a spontaneous sense of compassion for all living beings. This spontaneous compassion results in a true spirit of cooperation, which in itself solves many problems.

This is observed at Findhorn, within the Red Cross organization, inner growth, the 'alternative world', transpersonal psychology and healing.

Synchronistic (ideBlue): Recognizing that human beings are in search of meaning, one seeks to gather the best ideals which contemporary thinkers can formulate, and to promote a development in this direction. Even though ideals may never be realized, simply attempting to do so will stimulate much creative thinking. This also means that a creative dynamic is brought about, which propels civilization forward towards an ever-higher level of *quality* in its thinking, science, art and culture. The methods used in promoting this development are characterized by holistic thinking and a deeply felt compassion for all life forms.

This is seen in the UN and the idea of global brother-sisterhood†, international aid organizations, spiritual-scientific schools and the world council of churches.

The intuitive memes are even more seldom, and have so far only been detected in single individuals. We won't delve more deeply into the details of their lifestyle here, but to exemplify what is meant by these memes, I will present some individuals as examples. UniRød is present in the person of Albert Einstein and Francis Bacon (who started the renaissance in England). UniGreen was encountered in Mother Teresa and Mahatma Gandhi. UniBlue is characteristic of Nelson Mandela and Winston Churchill. These exceptional individuals have, each in their own field, brought out the new quality of thinking, ideas and consciousness into the world, which characterizes the new memes.

* Ken Wilber is, more than anyone, an exponent of the integral idea. He has, among others, created an institute for integral thinking in the USA which has attracted a lot of attention. See www.integralinstitute.org

† The fact that the UN actually does not live up to this role, is due to the member countries' lack of desire to prioritize the community. The UN has the potential to show what this meme can accomplish, if the organization manages to fulfill its mission from the ideBlue perspective, and if there is sufficient support from our global society.

The Quantum Leap

In the spiral of evolution, a quantum leap takes place when a society collectively drops a set of memes and starts upon a new set of memes. This is the collective leap which we are on the threshold of, and the difficulties we encounter in completing this leap are due to the lack of a clear vision in modern politics.

Large groups of people, in society, have seen the hollowness and deficiencies of today's political visions (or lack thereof), but they have not been able to put their finger on the core of the problem. In my opinion, the problem is that today's politicians keep giving us humanistic (matGreen) and competence-oriented (matGreen) visions, while society needs second-tier thinking, or visions and solutions which originate in the abstract memes. These years, we are seeing how intellectuals, grass roots, researchers and 'alternative politicians' from all corners of the world are articulating this new foundation, this new stream of thought. In the meantime, the unfolding revolution has gone unnoticed by mainstream politicians. For a matGreen politician (for example a social democrat), it is very difficult to notice the difference between, say, matRed and ideRed. The way in which abstract memes think is so different from the way in which the concrete memes think, that they cannot hear a thing of what is being said.

One of the clearest ways of recognizing the difference between concrete and abstract memes is to look at the fundamental motive underlying their arguments. The concrete memes will base their argumentation on the claim that it serves your personal *interests* to support a certain cause. The abstract memes will focus their argumentation on the view that it is in the interest of the whole and in line with the greater principles which shape evolution. Thus we see that the concrete memes focus on self-interest and personal gain, while the abstract memes focus on the whole and on more elevated principles. Herein lies the key difference, and therefore it is only through the abstract memes that the current political situation can be improved.

Realistically, what will most likely happen is that we will witness the creation of one or more new parties to represent the new memes' stream of thought, and that the traditional parties will lose a lot of their influence. It is of course also possible, that the existing parties could renew themselves but, historically, renewal comes rather from the emergence of new parties than from changes within the existing parties. The last time we collectively shifted out a meme was in the era of enlightenment, about 200 years ago, where the decisive event which marked the shift was the ratification of the American declaration of Independence – which for the first time institutionalized human rights. This marked the birth of »Homo sapiens *humanisticus*« (matGreen), whose perspective was institutionalized in the American constitution. Today we

are similarly on the threshold of a meme-shift toward ideRed (or ideGreen). The decisive event, which marks this shift, and which is currently unfolding, could be a European declaration of 'interdependence' (as opposed to independence). This could be included in a European constitution, which would institutionalize the perspective of the integral memes. The question remains whether Europe possesses the courage to carry this through, and thereby give birth to »Homo Sapiens *integralis*« (ideRed). Or maybe even go further, and seek inspiration in the holistic (ideGreen) and synchronistic (ideBlue) memes.*

The Holocratic Spectrum

Before I venture further into my political analysis, it is necessary to introduce a model which I use for the examination of the political situation. I call this model the *holocratic spectrum*. This spectrum is designed as a replacement for the traditional political polarity between:

- **The left wing** (which champions solidarity and socialistic ideals, expressing GREEN and a tad of BLUE thinking), and
- **The right wing** (which stands for individual freedom and liberal ideas, expressing RED with a little bit of BLUE thinking).

In contrast to the traditional political separation into wings, holocracy builds upon the knowledge that there are three basic memes, and that it is only through an understanding of the *interaction* between these memes that one achieves a proper picture of the true dynamics at play. This is why I have created a model of the political spectrum which is not an expression of the polarity between left and right, but a triad comprising:

- BLUE (spiritual will – idea and vision)
- GREEN (love – brother-sisterhood and solidarity)
- RED (intelligence – individuality and freedom)

When these are combined, they form the *holocratic spectrum*. This results in Figure 5, where the lower triangle consists of the three concrete memes (as an expression of the basic memes on this plane), while the other triangle consists of the three abstract memes (idem). I have tried to integrate various representative parties in the model as a basis for a discussion of the political challenges and possibilities inherent in society as it is today. This gives us a simple and clear picture which catches the core of the matter – the fact that all the parties in place embody a way of thinking which is characteristic of the concrete memes, while what we really need is parties which express the outlook of the abstract memes.

* Even if ideRed, ideGreen and ideBlue all are abstract memes, at the same level, there is reason to believe that ideRed will be the first to manifest politically.

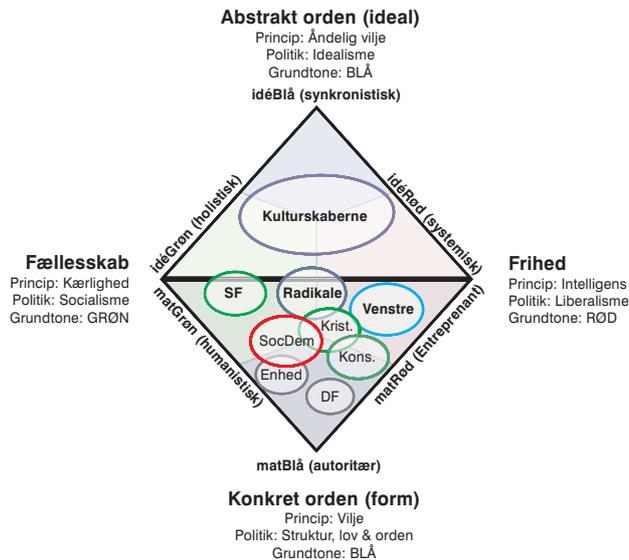


Figure 5: The holocratic Spectrum. 2D representation of the six key memes and an attempt to approximate the position of some political movements within this spectrum.

Holocracy

Now that we have shed light on the memes and the political spectrum, it may be interesting to formulate a concrete vision for institutionalizing a new kind of balance in society.

The central idea in the holocratic spectrum (and in holocracy as a whole) is, that one finds three complementary memes at each developmental stage, each meme being represented as one aspect of this particular stage. These memes differ greatly from each other in their outlooks, and each of their contributions is vital for the whole. The key to creative development in this context is to find a way of balancing the three essential memes: BLUE (will), GREEN (love) and RED (intelligence). This can happen by bringing about an awareness of their complementarity, as well as creating some institutional reference frames which express this complementarity.

For a democratically oriented person, the thought which may automatically jump to mind is, that each representative of each principle should be allowed the same number of votes in the parliament, in order to secure equal influence. This perspective however overlooks the notion itself, that voting in order to reach a decision is a specifically RED approach to decision-making, while strategic power struggles are inherently BLUE.

Men invented democracy, and originally only men – actually only land-owning men – had the right to vote. The act of voting for a decision fundamentally highlights the *opposition* between the parties involved, and will always leave a minority with a feeling of defeat. This is a feeling which later on brings its own punishment, when the previous minority gets to the power.

The basic principle of democracy (in its current interpretation) is that the individual must have the opportunity to present his/her points of view and fight for them. Thus democracy is an individual- and conflict-oriented way of making decisions, which indicates that it is a BLUE/RED matter, or rather a competition-oriented (matRed) approach to order (matBlue). The matGreen, humanistic, perspective is uncomfortable in this institutional framework, since it is constantly forced into fights which undermine the essence of what it stands for. MatGreen, or GREEN in general, is ideally that, which creates harmony, healing, happiness and transformation.

The Three Basic Memes And Their Decision-Making Processes

The three rays – or basic memes – have even more facets, and it may be interesting to shed light on how they can influence decision-making processes.

GREEN makes decisions by consensus, where the sense of community is crucial. The decision-making process becomes a learning process, in which all parties involved take part, and where one seeks to avoid strategic positions. Play, drama, song and other elements which create a feeling of bonding and heart-contact, open up a space for true dialogue. Within this space, one can get past individual ‘positions’ and recognize the psychological ‘gestalts’* underlying conflicts. By releasing these gestalts in a loving atmosphere, one gives rise to a much more creative decision, which everybody can back.

I experienced an interesting example of such a gestalt discussion about the EU. An acquaintance of mine was arguing that she did not like the EU, and therefore was against it. After a discussion of some length about the principles of having a binding cooperation, she said: “Actually, I don’t like the fact that the Germans should decide for us. They still possess some unpleasant characteristics.” It turned out that she harbored strong feelings about Germans, and hadn’t quite forgiven them. This gestalt colored her views on the EU, which indicates that one often faces irrational (and often unconscious) sympathies and dislikes rather than true political arguments. This suggests that it is necessary to introduce more GREEN healing, education and forgiveness into the political process, so that we may collectively manage to release the grip which the past may have on our judgment about the future.

The BLUE way of making decisions is through forcing one’s will upon others by diktat, and abusing one’s power

* A gestalt is an emotional- and thought complex, which usually is connected to a trauma. It resides in the subconscious, and affects our behavior as a kind of unconscious programming. When a gestalt is acknowledged and released, one reaches recognition and a greater degree of freedom of consciousness.

to achieve this. Ideally, it is a spiritually-inspired decision which benefits the whole. This concept is embodied by the kingdoms of the past, where one was appointed ‘King by the grace of God’. A King held authority in the name of Divinity. Underlying this is the thought that one should open one’s mind to the collective will, and should try to understand its essence*. The problem is that to do so requires the mindset of an enlightened being. ‘Average’ human beings will however be able to experience this collective will as the voice of their conscience or their soul. When we experience a sense of idealism, compassion and inspiration within ourselves, this is an indication that we are connected to a greater will than our own. BLUE is therefore the ideal form of power, as long as it is used selflessly and with compassion for the whole.

The RED decision-making process is characterized by finding out what is true and optimal. Through analysis and thinking, one finds out what is appropriate in relation to a particular goal, and this forms the foundation upon which a decision is based. Logical arguments weigh more heavily in the scales than compassion and idealism, since the latter are after all seen as irrational impulses. RED also carries the individual aspect, and the individual’s ability to manifest his/her will through voting. Ideally, RED is the recognition of the intelligent solution as optimal for the whole.

A Balanced Decision-Making Process

I view the ideal political decision-making process as one which includes all three dimensions in equal measures. There must be space for individuality and disagreement. There must be space for transformation, community and heart. And finally there must be space for inspiration, idealism and tuning in to the Divine purpose, which will turn the political dialogue into a magical and inspired process.

Thus it is necessary to understand that each principle has a particular *function* in relation to the whole.

- **Disagreement, free discussion and conflict** give rise to creativity and openness about perspectives (RED).
- **Solidarity, empathy and connectedness** are yet other elements which make transformation possible, something which cannot be obtained through voting (GREEN).
- Finally **idealism, inspiration and the selfless use of power** constitute a third impulse, which creates direction (BLUE).

It should be clear that the framework for a process, which can involve all of these functions, is fundamentally different from the parliamentary democracy currently in place. We need an institution which builds upon an understanding of the complementarity of these forces, and the dynamics of the spiral, and which provides the individuals who represent the various principles with the right tools to manifest their specific *quality* in the total decision making process.

The easiest way of doing this is probably to establish a triad system consisting of:

- **The Senate**, which represents the BLUE principle. This is the seat of formal decision authority. Here, an open debate will create a space where all viewpoints can be heard, and where legislation represents a synthesis which respects all principles.
- **The heart keepers**, who represent the GREEN principle and are to facilitate the process and nourish inner growth. This is necessary to allow wisdom in decision-making, and enable a constant search for the truest understanding of the deeper mechanisms involved in a decision, as well as heal and transform stumbling blocks which hinder the process.
- **The vision keepers**, who represent the RED principle. This group consists of intellectuals, artists, visionaries, scientists, and clergy etc. who provide critical thinking with a spiritual perspective. Their role is to challenge conventions, educate politicians and society, introduce new perspectives and keep a spiritual focus and motive.

As history has taught us, power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Holocracy needs to have built-in controls and balancing factors, which ensure that politicians truly represent the people and serve the whole. This requires a greater degree of openness, a better dialogue with citizens, and above all the cultivation of an attitude of wisdom and service among politicians toward mankind.

* The existence and characteristics of the collective will, or Divine will, and the creative intention behind this aspect, are concepts which I am taking up in an upcoming book. They are echoed in religions and in Christ’s words: “Your will be done”.

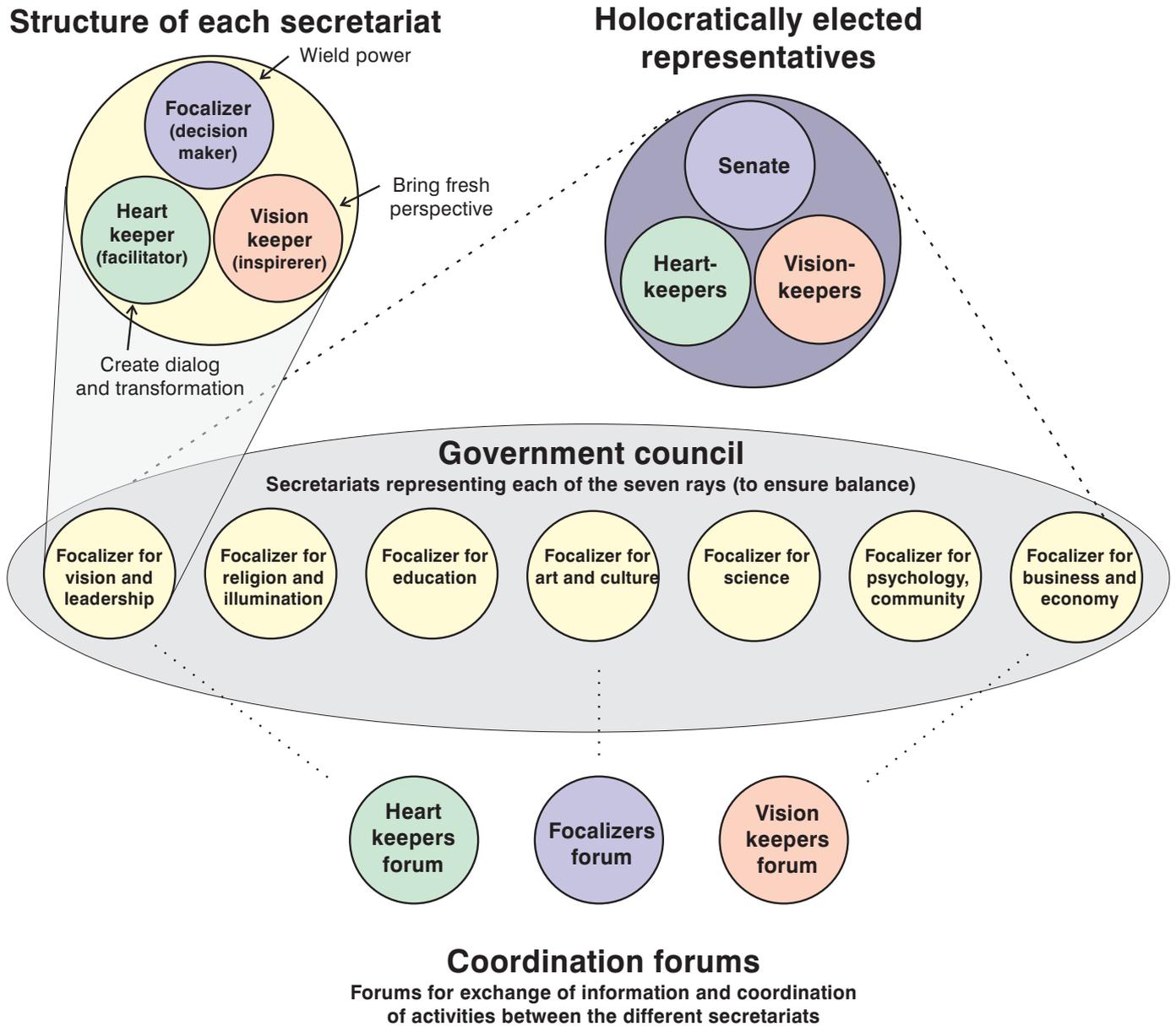


Figure 6: Illustrates the relation between different institutions in the government.

A Possible Electoral Process

The central idea about holocracy is to create an institutional structure which nourishes wisdom, idealism and inspiration, rather than repressing and distorting these qualities, as is the case in the current political system.

A concrete way of reaching this balance is the following:

The Senate is elected directly, in a process which resembles traditional voting, except for the fact that there is a stricter control on the influence of lobbying and finances. The Senate legislates and appoints a government, with seven central ministries (which reflect the seven rays) and minor ministries under these if necessary. A focalizer is appointed as the leader for each ministry, who represents the energy and perspective of this ray in government (see also Figure 6). The term focalizer is used to underline that

he or she holds the focus and the decision-making power in the name of the Senate and the people.

The heart keepers are also elected directly. This chamber has the same size as the senate, but only carries an indirect decision making authority. In the holocratic process, it is the heart keepers' role to guide the decision-making process in such a way that polarization is avoided and synthesis is created. Their role is to nourish an inner transformation and healing, and to anchor the political process in the public through frequent hearings and other open processes, where citizens have an opportunity to take a direct part in the decision-making process.

The vision keepers are 21 persons, subdivided into seven groups of three. Each of the seven groups represents one of the seven rays. Thus there are seven groups of vision

keepers which one can be elected into (since there are three individuals in each). To be eligible, one has to have demonstrated a particular talent for, or have brought an original contribution to, a field related to one's ray. The vision keepers have to be apolitical, and only people outside the realm of party politics can be chosen as vision keepers. The vision keepers' role is to hold on to the vision – to set the agenda, point out the future and bring a greater degree of inspiration to the political process. Seven members of the vision keepers are elected by each of the other chambers (Heart keepers and Senate). And seven more are chosen by the preceding group of Vision keepers. This way, it is possible to achieve a balance between the various rays and between the Heart keepers and the Senate.

This proposal for implementing a holocracy is of course just one of the many different ways in which it could be done. The core of the matter is, that one institutionalizes a balance between the three primary rays, resulting in the optimal functioning of the spiral. There are of course many details about holocracy which have to be studied more in-depth, but this article should be sufficient to communicate the central idea, and to show that holocracy is a realistic possibility.

The holocratic government

The central holocratic institution is the parliament, as shown in the upper right circle of Figure 6. As previously said, it consists of three chambers, which create a balance between the three basic memes. Out of this, a government is shaped which consists of seven larger ministries that represent the seven rays' domains in society (as described on page 8). Each ministry designates a triad consisting of a focalizer, a heart keeper and a vision keeper.

- **The focalizer** answers to a minister who represents government and holds the political responsibility and decision-making authority.
- **The heart keeper** is responsible for establishing dialogue and transformation, among others communicating information between the various ministries and ensuring a creative flow of energy internally in the ministry. The heart keeper serves as a safety valve, which counteracts the development of power arrogance, and furthermore makes sure that the press and the public have access to relevant material. The heart keepers have total access to the information flow and are always included in the important discussions.
- **The vision keeper's duty** is to be in charge of the development of knowledge and competencies within the ministry's field of authority, to encourage a broader perspective of things and to bring about an understanding of the ideas which lie behind the ministry's assignments from a spiritual point of view.

Coordination And Process

The heart keepers, vision keepers and focalizers all have their internal communications network with their respective counterparts in other secretariats. This ensures the free flow of information between ministries at all levels. Under each of the seven large ministries, it is possible to create a series of lesser ministries, in order to tackle areas which are important, but which do not represent one of the seven rays. These could cover areas such as habitat, agriculture, work environment etc.

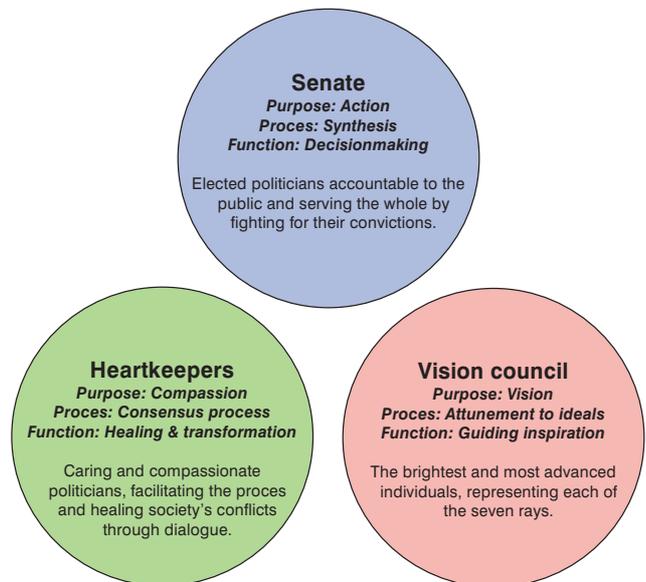


Figure 7. Illustration of the various institutions in the legislative process of holocracy.

The Government

The role of the focalizers is to make the best possible decisions. The focalizers for the seven central ministries make up a central government council. In this council, the energies between the seven rays are balanced. This is *very* important, for it establishes the starting point for a correct relationship between the different rays, and therefore a balanced government. Key decisions are reached by consensus, whereby each participant seeks to express not only his or her personal viewpoints, but also the particular *quality*, which they stand for. In these decision-making processes, the heart keepers participate as facilitators, in order to enable the concentration and transformation which is the precondition for obtaining wise decisions. The vision keepers can also participate as inspirers, but the formal decision-making authority still lies with the focalizers.

The role of the vision keepers is to bring about recognition. They don't take part in government directly, because their role is beyond party politics. Their role is to bring about insight, analysis and inspiration for the senate, the heart keepers and the government, around that which is necessary and appropriate seen from the point of view of civilization in general. Their role is also to serve as a connection line to knowledge communities both within

universities and among NGOs, independent institutions, foreign countries and other places which hold necessary knowledge. Learning can only happen voluntarily, and therefore insight must necessarily be something which is offered as an opportunity, but not forced upon people, whether they are politicians or civilians.

The role of the heart keepers is to ensure the highest possible quality for the process. They will be present during the senate's assemblies and keep the right energy in the process and, if necessary, facilitate a dialogue between disagreeing parties. The heart keepers meditate in groups of seven during the senate's assemblies in order to hold the energy, and they can either be called in, or voluntarily offer a meditative perspective on discussions which run in circles or reach a deadlock. Furthermore, members of the assembly may at any time call on the heart keepers for the creation of a transformative process or to shed light on a problem if it is their impression that the process is getting polarized or power strategic. The heart keepers also serve the purpose of keeping connection lines open to those areas in society where idealism has its greatest focus. These are, for example, spiritual communities, local communities, families, associations, NGOs and such.

The idea of meditating heart keepers is inspired by Findhorn, a community which implements a similar approach during their big community meetings. It actually has an amazing effect, both on the overall energy and on the attitude of the speakers, to know that there are people who are helping you in your process of finding the best possible solution. It unlocks a greater faith and openness, which would otherwise not have been there. Such a process may on the surface look like it requires more time than traditional meetings, but in the long run it saves time, because the decisions made in this context are better, gather wider support, and do not have to be overturned quite as often.

The Balance Between The Chambers

For the sake of the balance between the three chambers, the heart keepers and vision keepers should be endowed with some indirect instruments of power, which enable them to affect the process, while the actual decision-making authority of the focalizers and the senate remains well-defined. The purpose of this structure is to create an actualization hierarchy* – to institute hierarchical relations between people and institutions that allow Divine light – expressed, among others, through human beings' inspiration and drive – to manifest. The purpose is to create a structure, where the three primary rays' negative

qualities are checked, while the positive qualities are granted the opportunity to be expressed.

The process of evolution towards organizational structures which reflect this kind of balance is something which can happen in and benefit the business world, civil society and the political realm. But nowhere is it more vital than in the political sphere, which sets the tone for our entire society. In this respect, Europe, and the European process of integration, represent a particularly interesting challenge.

The European Challenge

Over the past 50 years, Europe has been a pioneer in the building of bridges between nations, and in showing in practice that it is possible for all countries to benefit from such cooperation.

At the same time, the international situation shows us that our current government structure does not rise to the task of handling global challenges. This is why there is a desperate need for a different angle, which can lead us forward in a true spirit of cooperation, and which can enable a more just distribution of the world's material goods at a global scale. We need global decision-making structures which can handle mankind's joint problems such as growth, social instability, pollution, poverty, ecological erosion, disasters etc. But these structures must be essentially different from those we have in place today. If we centralized the power today, at a global level, based on the existing type of democracy, it would result in even greater abuse, corruption, apathy and powerlessness for those who feel that they have no influence.

What hasn't yet become clear for many Europeans, is that Europe is a pioneer in the creation of such a cooperative unity, and that the future world society partly depends upon Europe's success in this venture. What happens in Europe will constitute an example for the larger planetary integration which inevitably will happen at a certain moment in time. This perspective should be clarified with more emphasis to Europeans, because doing so could spur the necessary will to sacrifice something for the sake of the community, the union and the future, instead of worrying about short-term economic considerations.

The Transcultural Principles

What is important, when one attempts to understand a creature like the EU, is that the EU is a unified whole. It is a principle which is greater than the sum of its parts. To understand that which differentiates the EU from the individual nations, we have to look at the qualities which the EU possesses, and which individual nations lack.

Among the most important qualities, we note:

- **A greater perspective.** The European union has given us a transcultural identity, where we see ourselves as

* An **actualization hierarchy** consists of hierarchical relations which promote a true creativity and respect the individual's right of self-determination and equality.

parts of a greater whole, and learn to value other cultures. This gives us an opportunity for cultural innovation, since we inspire each other, and learn more about ourselves by being reflected in each other.

- **Greater effectiveness.** The common market has increased productivity and heightened the standard of living. This theoretically frees people up for more creative work, the fruits of which are then distributed appropriately.
- **Peaceful cooperation and brother-sisterhood.** The EU has demonstrated that it is possible to create a peaceful intercultural cooperation, and that it carries many benefits with it.
- **Greater security and stability.** By creating a large bloc of countries, the general security level has been raised, and the progressive forces in the world have gained a strong center from which to operate.
- **Greater creativity.** Much creativity arises from the meeting of cultures. This cultural richness is one of the EU's greatest assets, and must not be undermined in order to achieve short-term economic gain. Diversity is the key to evolution, and in this respect Europe possesses an amazing wealth.
- **Greater influence on global problems.** When the EU forms a united front, its effect is greater than the sum of its parts. The EU has the possibility to set a new global Agenda, if there is the courage to do so.

If we analyze these emerging qualities (which are not present in the nations themselves), we see that we gain a greater perspective, mutual inspiration, solidarity, and greater creativity, qualities which were not present before.

This observation indicates that the organizing principle in the EU entity is centered around the cultural exchange and consciousness development which it favors, as well as the ability to act out of a spirit of true cooperation and brother-sisterhood which promotes the European ideals the world over. With regards to European institutions, this could mean that it becomes necessary to place the emphasis on *openness, dialogue, a true cooperation and the fostering of consciousness and unity in all shapes and forms*. It also shows that standardization and uniformity are the characteristics which are least conducive to evolution, since cultural diversity and transnational consciousness are the new, emerging principles. The EU is an intercultural brother-sisterhood and must be governed with that knowledge in mind.

The Balance Between The Whole And Its Parts

A key problem which Europe is facing in the upcoming debate about the European constitution is how one weighs the interests of the whole (common European interests)

against the interests of its parts (nations), and its even smaller parts (local societies).

My experience tells me that the only meme which can truly establish a natural balance between the whole and its parts is GREEN (love). The reason for this is, that it is only when the whole (general government) has a genuine compassion for its parts (those who are affected by the decisions), and when love's bridge-building essence is a part of the reigning culture, that a balance can be established. Only through acceptance of the parts' – or the individual nations' – right of self-determination, combined with a clear and idealistic tone emanating from the whole, can a balance be obtained. In order for a system or an organism to function, there must be this general organizing principle. The core principle of the actualization hierarchy is, that the smaller being lives within the larger being and orients itself towards the larger being's goals.

In practice, this means that each individual state must cultivate a willingness to orient itself towards the common goal, while at the same time holding on to an extensive degree of sovereignty. True cooperation can only happen voluntarily. But in order for the individual nations to be willing to sacrifice something for the sake of the whole, they need first of all to see a clear purpose for this, and secondly to feel that the union is governed by a motive and wisdom which surpass personal interests and which are based upon some universal ideals. Some ideals spring from the traditional spiritual wisdom, and others are related to the principles which govern the whole, as described in the earlier description of transcultural principles.

If this is not the case, the willingness to accept unpleasant, but necessary decisions made by the common authorities will be lacking, their influence will be felt as an injustice, and the European population will experience the EU as a hierarchy of dominance*.

If we should establish some guidelines for the EU to become an actualization hierarchy based on the three primary rays, we see that:

- **There must be a clear vision**, which speaks to citizens' idealism, serves mankind and reveals Europe's spiritual purpose. Justice and order should reign in the administration, and there should be a willingness to place power behind this vision, to the extent necessary (BLUE).
- **The union's leadership should radiate a tone of true brother-sisterhood, openness and respect.** Gentleness, local democracy, compassion for citizens, the environment and the individual nations' special considerations have to be clearly present (GREEN).

* A **hierarchy of dominance** is a power hierarchy where someone exercises power over others based on selfish or hidden motives. This can happen through power, or indirectly through manipulation.

- **Finally there has to be a dynamic union**, which ensures that the material foundation is in order, that intelligent solutions are found and the business sector has reasonable conditions within the framework dictated by consideration for the environment, citizens and the surrounding world (RED).

Thus there should always be a balance between *idealism*, *brother-sisterhood* and *dynamics*, which can make the union something for citizens to proud of, something which serves the whole, and a center which mankind's progressive forces can operate through. European institutions must, in short, value and cultivate diversity in form and expression, while they also foster unity in the spirit.

The »Declaration of Interdependence«

The European process of integration is approaching a decisive phase, and in 2004 a constitution must be written for it. This constitution will hopefully come to guide the European union far into the future. If it is inspiring, it will also function as a guiding star for the peoples of Europe, like the American Declaration of Independence has done it for the US. A declaration which, even today – after more than 200 years – still defines what the US is about. Back then, the Americans institutionalized the humanistic (matGreen) meme for the first time, and formulated the fundamental human rights. The next natural step is to institutionalize the systemic (ideRed) meme, which would be a natural consequence of the process of integration.

At this critical point in time, it is therefore vital to formulate a vision which is not only applicable for Europe, but can be implemented for mankind as a whole. A vision which clearly formulates the European idea, and the ideals which the union must build upon. An idea which strikes a chord in Europe and Europeans, one that is worth living for (and dying for if necessary), which can mobilize the European will to show global leadership, and can show what two world wars have taught Europe's soul about power arrogance and the human capacity for cruelty, when brother-sisterhood and goodwill fail.

With the formulation of the upcoming constitution, Europe is given a unique historical opportunity to word a series of new political principles, upon which mankind can base its future. Principles which are suited to the creation of a true planetary democracy. This upcoming declaration could fittingly be called: "The European Declaration of Interdependence," and thereby underscore the fundamental oneness of the human race, the value of brother-sisterhood and the complementarity of the memes, as well as the dynamics involved in their expression.

It could be a declaration which establishes the need for wisdom in our public institutions and articulates the necessity to create a balance between the whole and its

parts, by letting our visions and our technology be infused with a true spirit of cooperation. This open heart, which lets in human suffering and an understanding that power can only build an enlightened society if it can encompass love's mercy, is Europe's gift to mankind and the fruit of two world wars. This is the gift which Europe should have the courage to stand by, and the will to place at the center of the constitution which our children are inheriting after us.

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