

Solving Climate Change

Achieving a Noospheric Agreement

John M. Bunzl

Abstract

This article situates climate change at the disjuncture between inadequate, at best nation-centric, worldviews and the new, world-centric realities of globalization. One such reality is the need for nations to maintain their competitiveness in the global market—a competition that systematically precludes dramatic cuts in carbon emissions. This article argues that a transformation of consciousness towards the global is needed, and that the nation-state system needs to be transcended and included by a global noospheric agreement disclosed by Vision-logic. Towards this, a growing but little-known campaign is presented. It is analyzed using Ken Wilber's 20 Tenets to substantiate its claim to be a transformative holon capable of transcending and including the nation-state system. The campaign is argued to be the world's first form of global electoral politics, a second-tier politics that meshes with the new realities of globalization and so opens the way—potentially—to solving climate change and other global problems.

Keywords: climate change, global governance, global democracy, global problems, evolutionary world politics



“The central idea of Simpol is very powerful; that is, the notion of how to link votes in one country with votes in another - how to link political action in one country with action in another. International competition is built-in to the nation-state system at its current level of development, and so the issue is *not* environmental concerns, but how to get humans to *agree* on environmental concerns. This is really fascinating and very hopeful. In my opinion this is the crucial issue for the 21st century”

Ken Wilber, Founder of Integral Theory

Integral Theory maps evolution in the four domains of inner and outer, individual and collective, human experience (Ken Wilber, 2000). It provides an “all quadrants, all levels (AQAL)” framework that helps us situate problems such as climate change in the wider context of socio-cultural, economic and political transformation, and allows us to assess solutions in a more complete, integral manner. Integral Theory cannot produce a solution to climate change. What it can do is provide reasonably objective criteria both for framing the problem and for assessing the validity and usefulness of any solutions.

Climate change arises mainly from excess carbon emissions, a form of pollution that manifests in the Lower-Right quadrant (LR).¹ Pollution, of course, is nothing new. As human societies and their modes of production became more complex, pollution, like other products and by-products, took on more complex forms. Likewise, complex modes of governance evolved in response. An important aspect was the regulation and deterrence of pollution and other commons-related problems (Polanyi, 2001). All of this evolved in the LR and meshed with the successive unfolding of waves of consciousness in the Upper-left quadrant (UL), and with corresponding values and worldviews in the Lower-left quadrant (LL).

Excessive carbon emissions are a by-product of our late-industrial techno-economic base; a base which, unlike its early-industrial predecessor, is global. Emissions arise locally but the adverse effects are global. Large-scale pollution also arose in the early-industrial era, but throughout that early period its reach and impact were, at most, national. Crucially, national governments had evolved *before* the early-industrial base and so could deal with this and other problems through appropriate regulation, tax, and enforcement regimes. Today, the evolution of the early-industrial base into its later, globalized form, presents humanity with a rather different problem. Whereas early-industrial societies had governments already in place to cope, our globalized, late-industrial societies possess no form of binding global governance capable of dealing with global threats. There is consequently a pathological mismatch between our *global* techno-economic base (including its forms of pollution), and our outdated, inadequate, *national* mode of governance (McIntosh, 2007; Wilber, 2000).

Before we move on, an interesting question: since *national* modes of governance evolved *before* the early-industrial base, why has a *global* mode of governance not evolved in advance of our present, late-industrial base? An answer, perhaps, is that the AQAL selection pressures that produced nation-states were different from today’s pressures. Whereas then, external military threat may have been the prime driver that transformed Europe’s Middle-Age small states into nation-states, today, military competition is far less pronounced. Economic or pollution threats, because they are more subtle, did not cause us to perceive a need to upgrade our governance to the global level.

But it’s not just governance and techno-economic base (both LR) that are out of sync. The present predominant set of shared values and worldviews (in the LL) *also* remains a good deal less than global. Since we still do not *think* globally and systemically, it should hardly surprise us that we are failing to solve global problems. So, the LL and LR quadrants *en toto* are out of sync, too. This arises, Wilber points out, because “technological innovation happens very fast (in the LR), simply because you can change the *materials* of production

fairly quickly, But the superstructure—the worldview, the cultural accoutrements of religion, meaning, beliefs, shared values, and so on (LL)—*moves much more slowly*, because this involves...an interior subjective transformation of consciousness (in the Left Hand)—a notoriously slow and difficult process.”² There is, as Wilber points out, “a disjuncture between LL and LR; between old superstructure and new base, between old paradigm and new realities... And that spells disaster.”³ What we are dealing with, then, is not just climate change or even global problems generally, but the need for a *profound cultural shift* to put LL back in sync with LR; a transformation of *consciousness* towards the global. If that wasn’t enough, we have no adequate global governance in the LR to help us. Not only is our train off its tracks, the driver is out to lunch.

The Pathologies of Rational

The worldview that meshed with the West’s early-industrial era and gave rise to the present nation-state system was the Rational worldview. Rational is level 12 in the LL quadrant and it arose with the Formal Operational (Formop) level of consciousness in the UL (Wilber, 2000).⁴ Rational can be said to comprise *early* Formop, which correlates with Orange or modernism, and *late* Formop, which correlates with Green or post-modernism. Today, these two sub-levels of Rational represent, on average, the world’s predominant sets of values, even if each sees the world differently. Both are the culmination of many prior levels of interior growth and represent a remarkable achievement. But like all levels of development, they bring with them their own limitations and pathologies. A key positive characteristic of Orange is its focus on positivistic scientific discovery; a focus on the UR which brings with it the limitation of tending to recognize only simple cause and effect relationships (Stewart, 2008).⁵ The key hallmark of Green, meanwhile, is its pluralism; its ability to see and recognize multiple ideas or “truths”. But Green’s accompanying pathology is its “flatness”; its inability to differentiate between truths, and then to integrate them in a hierarchic (i.e., holarchic) manner (Wilber, 2000). While it sees many truths on the same level, it cannot rank them and so cannot hold them in mind integrally.

In the context of addressing global problems, these pathologies, although different, combine with one another and most clearly show up in the way efforts to mitigate climate change tend to target individual entities, such as individual citizens, corporations, or governments, imploring each to act. Both Orange and Green see all these entities (the fish), but as we will see, they have a problem recognizing the water they swim and compete in. And it’s in the water—in the relationship *between* the fish—where we can quite easily identify why climate change, despite widespread global agreement about its urgency, still remains substantively unaddressed.

Even a cursory glance at the newspapers demonstrates the problem. The London *Financial Times* (November 16, 2006), for example, noted that “governments remain reluctant to address [the climate change] threat because any country acting alone to curb its greenhouse gas emissions, without similar commitments by other governments, risks damaging the competitiveness of its industries.” In other words, it’s not that governments do not *want* to act. It’s that they fear it will harm their economic *competitiveness* in the global

market. In that respect, British prime minister, Gordon Brown, rightly noted that “The truth is we must tackle climate change internationally or we will not tackle it at all.” (*Financial Times*, February 7, 2007). The relationship *between* governments, and in particular its destructively competitive nature, is therefore key.

But, because those leading the fight against climate change generally reflect Orange or Green worldviews, their approaches routinely fail to recognize the relationship between governments. A typical example occurred in the UK in August 2007 when a wide array of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and climate campaigners held a major protest at London’s Heathrow airport against its expansion. Despite widespread public sympathy, the protest had little effect given the government’s justification for the expansion’s go-ahead:

“Kelly [Ruth Kelly, Secretary of State for transport] said abandoning expansion plans might salve green consciences but it would have no impact on the environment because the global appetite for air travel would continue to grow at 5% a year. ‘If Heathrow is allowed to become uncompetitive, the flights and routes it operates will simply move elsewhere. All it will do is shift capacity over the Channel. It will make us feel pure, but with no benefit to the rest of the planet’ [she said].” (*The Guardian*, November 22, 2007).

Both Orange and Green certainly see the truth of damaging airport expansion. But what Orange fails to see is the truth of competition *between* major airports; the dynamic of destructive competition *between* national economies and thus between their governments. As for Green, international NGOs such as Friends of the Earth or Greenpeace, if they recognize destructive international competition at all, they generally see it, in my experience, as just another global problem, and so fail to see its *primacy*. That, unsurprisingly, is because Green tends to reject all hierarchies. Only seeing individual global problems rather than the higher (or deeper) relationship between them consigns NGOs and activists—the global justice movement, as we might call them—to a flat, fragmented, and incomplete worldview. Despite routine setbacks such as the one at Heathrow, they also seem disinclined to acknowledge how destructive competition between governments renders their efforts rather futile.

Destructive International Competition and the Legitimation Crisis

If present responses to climate change are symptomatic of today’s inadequate worldview, we should expect other global problems to be similarly affected. One important issue is the regulation and taxation of corporations, especially multinationals. If we look at rates of corporation tax across the world we see that, there too, destructive international competition is a key barrier to governments raising adequate revenues to fund public services:

“Governments vying to attract inward investment are weighing the advantages of cutting business costs...Tax rates have been falling across the world over the past quarter of a century.... This trend is forcing some experts to the conclusion that governments have embarked on a race to the bottom.” (*Financial Times*, January 19, 2007).

Destructive competition is also a significant impediment to securing adequate human rights. Having long fought to end Apartheid in South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) came to power only to find that international competition for investment prevents it from implementing the very laws it hoped to introduce to promote black economic empowerment:

“S Africa relaxes empowerment rules. The South African government has exempted foreign companies from having to sell a 25% stake in their local operations to black business... The government exempted foreign players because “we had to be mindful that we also have to position South Africa in a global environment where there is fierce competition for investment”, said Mandisi Mpahlwa, South African Minister for trade & industry.” (*Financial Times*, December 15, 2006).

The same goes for worker’s rights generally. Here, destructive competition to attract investment leaves governments similarly unable to prevent sweat-shop wage exploitation:

“The £25 suit... but at what cost? Asda [part of Walmart] is today offering customers a passable two-piece suit for the price of a round of drinks in a London bar. Bangladeshi student, Shafiqul Islam, said “People can’t survive on £12 a month, but if the government protests, Asda and others will go to China or somewhere else.” (*The London Paper*, January 22, 2007).

The above examples simply show that, almost regardless of the global problem we may be most concerned with—be it climate change, trade justice, human rights or global poverty—and almost regardless of what NGOs, charities and activists may do to mitigate them, no substantive progress is likely unless and until the underlying problem of destructive competition between nations is properly recognized and properly dealt with.

The problem, then, is not so much carbon emissions or any other global problem, but *how destructive international competition can be overcome*; how it can be transcended and included by a higher, cooperative, international regulatory framework that makes competition constructive rather than destructive. And that, clearly, is a matter of human agreement. As Wilber points out, “The startling fact is that ecological wisdom does not consist in understanding how to live in accord with nature; it consists in understanding how to get humans to agree on how to live in accord with nature” (Wilber, 2001, p. 268). That is because, without international agreement, there can be no implementation. Without international agreement, moreover, emissions reductions by individual citizens, corporations or nations can have only a very limited impact. This radically shifts the debate from climate change to how adequate international cooperation and agreement can be secured.

The Genesis of Destructive International Competition

The dynamic of destructive international competition emerged with the globalization of our late-industrial techno-economic base. With it, the main factors of world trade—global markets, global investors, commercial banks and transnational corporations—evolved an *ability to move globally*. Because production, jobs, and investment are the key elements

without which no national economy can thrive, their ability to move requires governments to compete with each other to secure them.⁶ To be successful, governments must make the cost of doing business lower than in competitor countries. Failure to do so would only invite capital flight, unemployment, inflation, and eventual economic collapse, as investment and jobs would only move elsewhere. *Raising* taxes and *tightening* regulations to substantially reduce carbon emissions or to solve other global problems has thus become virtually impossible. As a result, governments are either being forced to *weaken* them in their bid to remain relatively attractive to global investors or, at least, not to increase them so as not to unduly harm their “international competitiveness” (Blair, 2008).⁷

The way the need to maintain competitiveness constrains governments is depicted in Figure 1. As indicated, if the degree of competitive pressure between nations were low, as it is on domestic issues, their ability to act freely remains relatively high. Thus, the curve extends out to the lower-right of the diagram. But when the degree of competitive pressure between nations is *high*, as it is for international issues under globalization, their freedom to act is curtailed. This severe limitation is shown by the vertical dotted line.

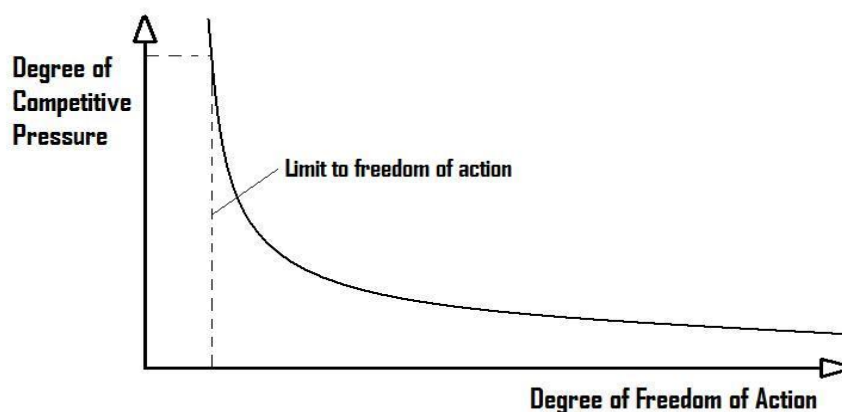


Figure 1

For efforts to combat climate change, this constraint is similarly depicted in Figure 2. Since the degree of competitive pressure between nations is high under globalization, each nation fears losing out to others, so they either free-ride or cooperate only minimally, thus limiting emissions cuts to a wholly inadequate level. The same generally goes for measures to treat other global problems. International competitive pressure thus strongly *determines* government action. Destructive competition, we might conclude, represents the worldview of the nation-state system; a vicious circle nations are caught in, cannot see beyond, and leaves them incapable of dealing with the new life-circumstances created by globalization.

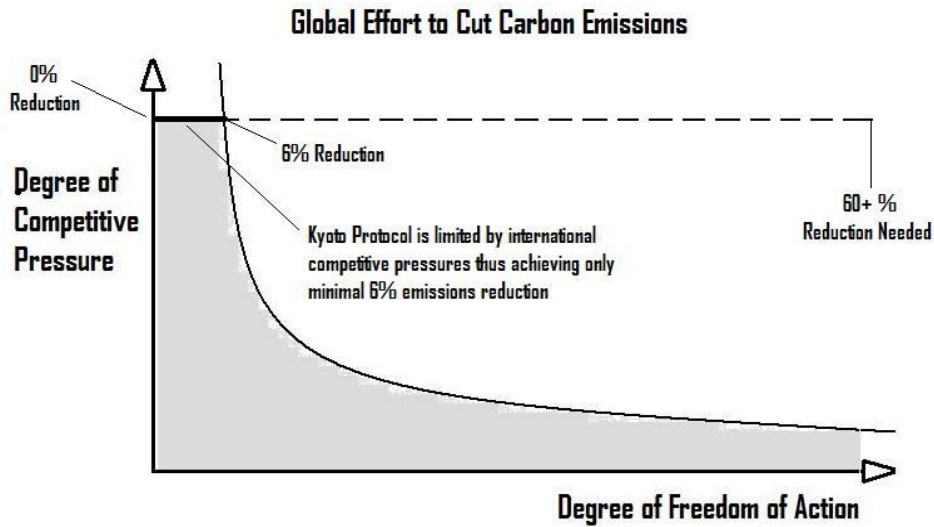


Figure 2

Our focus on this phenomenon might appear to absolutize the LR quadrant. But all we are emphasizing is that destructive international competition is a *global* reality in the LR; a new yet fundamental reality that has the nature of a vicious circle and which, if left unacknowledged and unaddressed, can only bring on collapse. That global reality in the LR, moreover, is not matched by today's, at best, *nation*-centric values and beliefs in the LL—and especially when it comes to perceptions of politics and governance.⁸ Since LR and LL no longer mesh, and because we have no adequate global governance to resolve destructive international competition, "...something," Wilber points out, "has to give: some quadrant will get a painful deconstruction. There will have to be a profound *cultural revolution* in order to tetra-mesh with the techno-social revolution that just occurred."⁹ Either that, or we face a wholesale regression into chaos.

Pseudo-Democracy

This severe restriction on government action is, however, not the only unwelcome effect of destructive international competition. Of particular importance is its effect on democracy.

Since the free movement of capital and corporations forces governments to maintain their international competitiveness, their policies, as we saw, are severely restricted. All parties in power in virtually any country, then, not surprisingly end up implementing substantially the same narrow, business-friendly agenda. That is why we find left-of-centre parties adopting policies traditionally espoused by right-of-centre parties. It is why New Labour's Tony Blair was said to be the best Conservative leader since Margaret Thatcher. While the *mechanics* of free and fair elections may still exist, the *quality* of democracy has

been drastically hollowed out, reducing it to what I have elsewhere described as *pseudo-democracy* (Bunzl, 2001, pp. 30-36), a kind of electoral charade in which, in terms of macro-economic and environmental policy at least, it no longer matters much which party we vote for, or whether we bother to vote at all. This is how destructive competition severely constrains governments and, by consequence, the ability of citizens to remedy the situation through conventional democratic processes. What all this amounts to is a legitimation crisis; a breakdown in the adequacy of the existing worldview and its governance systems to command allegiance (Habermas, 1973).

Psychological Denial

Truncated, as they are, by the highly limiting possibilities of competing nation-states, Orange-Green worldviews have the effect of keeping us all in an effective state of psychological denial. This is because the present stifling context of destructive competition persists not simply by constraining present policies, but also because that is *the way people think*.¹⁰ Since Orange and Green have trouble recognizing destructive international competition, and since there's a serious disjuncture between *nation-centric* worldviews and *world-centric* realities, politicians effectively have no choice but to try to reconcile national interests, like keeping their economies internationally competitive, with global interests, like drastically cutting carbon emissions. But because destructive international competition, as we saw, makes these two objectives fundamentally incompatible, the result is an on-going attempt by politicians to persuade citizens (and perhaps themselves) that they *are* compatible; to have us swallow the lie that in the age of globalization environmental sustainability *can* somehow be reconciled with economic growth and competitiveness when, in fact, it can't.¹¹ Since we remain submerged in the current context of competition and can see no other possible context, we are forced, in effect, to lie to ourselves. Such, then, is the disjuncture between LR and LL.

This denial applies, of course, to just about everyone and manifests in different ways. For society as a whole, it can be seen in the way people still believe that changing the party in power might make a substantial difference. There are, of course, *some* important differences between parties or candidates, but the scary overall reality is that politicians have lost control over the global economy and they have *no substantive answers*; their failure to deliver on climate change being just one example. But, rather than waking up to that scary reality, we lamely carry on choosing between inadequate political parties, or, equally lamely, we don't vote at all. Meanwhile, the global justice movement has its own version of denial: the belief that if only it shouts loud enough and campaigns hard enough, it can somehow drive governments toward substantive action. But destructive competition, we saw, means governments simply cannot respond, so leaving the movement's demands largely unmet: a cacophony of desperate cries for change in the chaotic, undifferentiated and echoing flatland of a million other similar cries.

Destructive competition and pseudo-democracy, then, are vital phenomena we must understand if global problems and the global legitimation crisis are to be overcome. What's more, they are problems emanating from a crisis of human understanding and agreement; that

is, from a crisis in the noosphere. As Wilber notes, “Gaia’s primary problems and threats are *not* pollution, industrialization, overcultivation, soil depletion, overpopulation, ozone depletion, or whatnot. Gaia’s major problem is lack of mutual understanding and mutual agreement *in the noosphere*.” To solve biospheric problems, then, we need a noospheric agreement. And as Wilber goes on to emphasize, “Anything short of that noospheric agreement *will continue to destroy the biosphere*” (Wilber, 2000. p. 541).

So, what might a global noospheric agreement actually look like? And how could it be achieved? Wilber suggests that, “What the world now needs is the first genuinely second-tier form of political philosophy and governance.” But, he goes on to ask, “...exactly how will this be conceived, understood, embraced, and practiced? What precise details, what actual specifics, where and how and when?” (Wilber, 2001, p. 90).

We’ll now purport to answer those questions by presenting an existing, but as yet little-known campaign that aims to deliver a form of democratic global governance, or what we could otherwise call a noospheric agreement. Unfortunately, space allows only a very brief discussion of the campaign and its claim to be a genuinely transformative holon. A more detailed account, including answers to many common questions and objections, is given in *People-centred Global Governance—Making it Happen!*¹²

Design Criteria for a Noospheric Agreement

Given the underlying problems of destructive international competition and pseudo-democracy, what might the design criteria for a noospheric agreement be?

If the free-movement of capital and corporations is global, our first deduction must be that only a *global* solution—i.e., global governance—can possibly suffice. Also, since the United Nations (UN) exercises no autonomous, objective binding authority over its member-nations, and since gaining such authority could only occur in the unlikely event that nations voluntarily gave it up, it is unlikely the UN could resolve that contradiction. We must therefore look directly to nation-states. But since the nature of governments’ failure to act is the vicious circle of destructive competition and their fear of losing out, it follows that any solution must be implemented *simultaneously* to avoid that fear. If all or sufficient nations acted simultaneously, no nation, corporation or citizen would lose out: global and simultaneous, everybody wins. But, since nations are locked in a vicious circle and the most powerful ones may not see global cooperation as in their interests, our solution must give citizens the power to *compel* their governments to cooperate. So our solution must not just be global and simultaneous, but operate through existing electoral systems in a way that is completely new, binding, has trans-national coverage, and so transcends party-politics and nation-states.

But exactly how will this be conceived, understood, embraced, and practiced? What precise details, what actual specifics, where and how and when?

For a few years now, a small number of citizens, primarily in the UK, have been test-running a global campaign that meets all the above criteria. Over two general elections, in

2001 and 2005, they succeeded in getting 27 Members of the UK parliament and countless candidates from all the main political parties to pledge to implement the campaign's global policy package simultaneously alongside other governments.¹³ In some UK electoral areas, more than one candidate signed the pledge, meaning the campaign gained support in parliament regardless which of those candidates won the seat. This showed the campaign was capable of transcending party-political divides and was global in scope, leading one Member of Parliament, Lembit Opik, to recognize that "We live together at once, on the same small planet. There are some things we should do together, at once, on this same small planet."

But how could a very small number of citizens achieve such big results in so short a time? The answer lies in their discovery of a new, powerful way to use their votes. They do this by writing to all parliamentary candidates in their electoral area, informing them that they will vote in all future national elections for ANY politician or party—within reason—that pledges to implement the campaign's policy package simultaneously alongside other governments. Or, if they have a party preference, they encourage their preferred politician or party to sign that pledge. In that way, campaign supporters still retain the ultimate right to vote as they please, but they also make it clear to all politicians that they will give strong preference to candidates that have signed the Pledge, to the exclusion of those who have not. So, politicians who sign the Pledge attract those votes and yet they risk nothing because the policy package only gets implemented if and when sufficient governments around the world have signed up too. But if politicians *fail* to sign the Pledge they risk losing votes to their political competitors who have, and so could risk losing their seats. With many parliamentary seats and even entire elections around the world often hanging on a relatively small number of votes, it's not difficult to see that only relatively few campaign supporters could make it in the vital interests of all politicians to sign up. And therein lies the power citizens already have to ensure their governments cooperate.¹⁴ As increasing numbers of citizens in all democratic countries deepen their consciousness and learn to use their votes in this way, so more and more governments could be driven towards global cooperation.¹⁵ As more signed up, others would come under pressure to follow.¹⁶ Whether democratic or not, and whatever their level of development, the worsening world predicament is in any case making it in the interests of all nations to solve problems cooperatively (Wright, 2001; Stewart, 2000). What this campaign provides is an appropriate framework for that to occur, and a way for integrally-informed citizens to take the lead.

Thanks to this novel way of voting, some Members of the European, Australian and other parliaments have signed up alongside their UK colleagues. The campaign presently has supporters in over 70 countries and endorsements from some leading statesmen, economists and ecologists.¹⁷ Back in 2005, supporters started their own global process for developing—with the possible help of independent experts—the global policies to be included in the campaign's policy package. This process is designed so the policies to be implemented are democratically developed, globally inclusive, tailored to the varying needs of each country, and yet that the process still remains open and flexible over time.

In contrast to present government-led treaty-making, not only is this new campaign driven by citizens, it offers a *multi*-issue framework for designing and implementing global

policies. A key drawback of present efforts is that each global issue is addressed in isolation. The Kyoto Protocol, for example, deals *only* with carbon emissions. The problem is that, even if all nations reduced them simultaneously, the cost for big-polluters would *still* be far more than for low-polluters, thus making it unlikely that big-polluters would cooperate at all. Or, if they did, their reductions would likely be token or inadequate. But with this campaign, there is the possibility of dealing with *two or more* issues. For example, emissions reductions could be coupled with a global tax on currency speculation, so permitting considerable revenues to be raised which could then be used to compensate big-polluting nations, or oil-producing nations, thus keeping them on-side with the emissions part of the agreement.

NGOs and campaigning organizations already have well thought-out policies to deal with climate change, oil depletion and other global problems.¹⁸ What they don't have is a viable political means for getting them implemented in a globalised world; that is, a more *authentic* mode of politics that meshes with the new realities in the LR. That's why they are beginning to see this novel campaign as a vehicle for driving politicians and nations towards cooperatively implementing them. They are beginning to recognize that if politicians no longer have the power to deal substantively with global problems, then citizens must logically take the lead, both in designing the necessary policies, and in using their collective voting power to drive politicians to implement them, simultaneously.

The campaign we are talking about is the Simultaneous Policy (or Simpol, for short). As Opik went on to say, "The compelling logic of Simultaneous Policy is really collective common sense—it's a campaign to find out how common sense really is!" However, in an attempt to substantiate Simpol's claim to be a genuinely *transformative* (rather than a translative) holon, we will now briefly review its congruity with some of the key Tenets of holons and holarchies as they relate to *vertical transformation* (Wilber, 2000, pp. 43-85; Koestler, 1979). That is because, if we are suggesting Simpol has the transformative potential to transcend, negate and include nation-states, we should expect it to be highly congruent especially with those Tenets.

Unprecedented Emergence (Tenet 3)

How can Simpol's claim to be a genuinely transformative holon be substantiated? Helpfully, Wilber identifies a key hallmark of transformative holons in noting that their "Emergence...means that *indeterminacy*...is sewn into the very fabric of the universe, since *unprecedented* emergence means *undetermined* by the past" (Wilber, 2000, p. 54). "The past," as Wilber calls it, means the past and present context and its worldview. Since all policies implemented around the world today are strongly *determined* by each nation's need to maintain its international competitiveness, we could say that destructive competition determines the past and present.

Indeterminacy, by contrast, or in this case the ability to implement policies that are *not* limited by the need to maintain international competitiveness, will only come, Wilber indicates, from the emergence of an *unprecedented* (i.e., a transformative) holon; a holon that is *undetermined* by the constraints of the past and thus opens up unprecedented possibilities

for the future. That, precisely, is what the concept of global simultaneous implementation achieves by expressing a *satisfactory basis* for fruitful international co-operation whereby no nation, corporation or citizen loses out to any other. Moreover, Simpol's potential to drive all politicians and parties to support, and ultimately to implement, its range of measures means it is uniquely operative *through* established national electoral systems and is therefore binding. Simpol puts forward no candidates at elections, so it cannot be described as a political party. Yet it allows us to powerfully use our votes to drive *existing* politicians and parties to support its agenda, so having a direct influence—potentially a decisive influence—on national electoral outcomes. Simpol, then, could be described as perhaps the first, genuine form of global electoral politics; a novel, transformative way of voting that is global, undetermined by the past, and therefore wholly unprecedented: *unprecedented emergence*.

Deeper Consciousness (Tenet 8a)

Simpol's claim to deeper consciousness and transformative potential resides in its identification of destructive international competition as the key barrier to solving global problems. As Wilber notes, "In *transformation* [as opposed to translation] whole new worlds... disclose themselves. These 'new worlds' are not physically located someplace else; they exist simply as a *deeper perception* (or deeper registration) of the available stimuli in *this* world. They appear to be—and might as well be—'other worlds' to the junior holons, but these 'other worlds' disclose themselves—they become *this worldly*—via transformation and self-transcendence" (Wilber, 2000, p. 67).

Here, the Kyoto Protocol helps us understand what Wilber means. We might say that in *this* world of competing nations, a 5-6% (or inadequate) reduction in emissions is about all the present constraints will allow. We all know we need a far greater reduction of 60% or even 80%, but we have no idea how we can get nation-states to implement it given the competition between them. Such a reduction thus seems *other-worldly*; beyond realistic reach. But here, Simpol's understanding of destructive competition, its articulation of simultaneity, and its voting pledge combine into a powerful process potentially capable of achieving binding global governance; a process that makes the 'other-worldly' 60-80% reductions feasible because, to implement them, Simpol avoids anyone having to act against their own interests. It also offers citizens a way of driving the process. This is how Simpol transforms sterile policies into fertile ones, so enabling them to be brought into *this* world and thus within humanity's collective grasp. As Wilber notes, "Greater depth brings other worlds into this world, constantly..." (Wilber, 2000, p. 67). Simpol's deeper perception, then—its deeper *consciousness*—bring into this world a practical, if ambitious, potential solution.

Increasing complexity (and simplicity); increased differentiation/integration; increased organisation/structuration; increased relative autonomy (Tenets 12a-d)

In our brief explanation, you may have noticed that Simpol, by its own definition, facilitates the "structuration" or emergence of a new holarchic level. It does this by establishing a simple criterion for assessing whether any individual policy qualifies for inclusion in its policy package. This is expressed in the following question:

“Would the *unilateral* implementation of the policy measure (i.e., its implementation by a single nation or by a relatively small group of nations) be likely to have an *adverse* effect on the nation’s (or group’s) competitiveness?”¹⁹

If the answer is *no*, then the policy concerned is clearly one that individual nations, or restricted groups of nations, can happily implement independently, as they mostly do today.²⁰ Policies in this category could include those such as national housing policy, health and education policy, or culturally defined issues such as capital punishment or abortion. For policies where the answer is *yes*, on the other hand, these policies—and *only* these—need to be incorporated into Simpol because only simultaneous implementation can overcome the barrier of destructive international competition. Accordingly, policies are structured (or differentiated) into two distinct categories: *unilateral* policies or *simultaneous* policies. Unilateral policies effectively belong to the current context of competition while simultaneous policies belong to the yet-to-be-born context of cooperation. The simultaneous mode of policy implementation thus represents, potentially, the new, *higher* holarchic level; the new, more authentic level of complexity (Tenet 12a).

Under Simpol, then, all sorts of global problems could be dealt with in a far more effective, high-impact way, so giving humanity greater *relative autonomy* (Tenet 12d); greater power and flexibility as we proceed together into the future. Also, differentiating between unilateral and simultaneous policies (Tenet 12b) facilitates the implementation of *both*. That is because the two different types can now be matched up with their respective, appropriate, implementation methods; i.e., unilateral policies via nations independently, and simultaneous policies via Simpol, thus helping to ensure the swiftest possible implementation of both types. In that way, they are integrated (Tenet 12c).

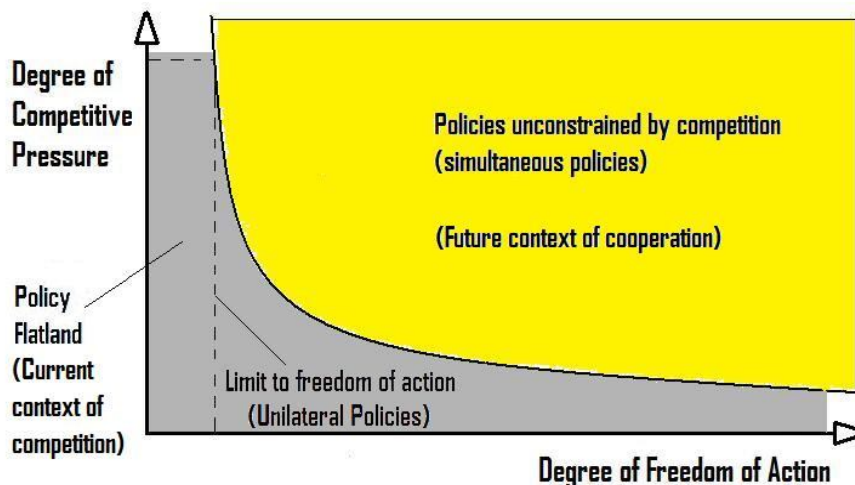


Figure 3

Anyone who is yet to discover Simpol (or something very similar) can, of course, see none of this. Whatever their level of development in the UL, they can only remain effectively trapped in the current context of competition, caught in the *undifferentiated*, stifling incoherence of what we might call “Policy Flatland”; in today’s world where all policies are jumbled together on the unilateral level. Caught, that is, in a mode of policy implementation—at a level of *political* consciousness—incapable of adequately responding to the world’s urgent need for drastic action. Policy Flatland is indicated in Figure 3. Only by identifying the need for simultaneous implementation—only by reaching a *deeper* political consciousness—can we go beyond Policy Flatland to embrace the deeper, more encompassing, more *authentic* context of global co-operation; the only context now capable of delivering us from our present crisis.

Self-adaptation (Tenet 2b); Negation and Preservation of the lower holons (Tenet 5)

The ways Simpol adapts itself to, preserves and yet negates the lower holons of citizens, political parties and nation-states, as well as corporations and NGOs, are myriad. So, we’ll list only the most important ones here.

In terms of *preservation*, Simpol’s policies would be implemented by nation-states, simultaneously, and not by any supra-national body. So, no change to any nation’s constitution should be required—all constitutions would be preserved. Secondly, the inclusion only of *simultaneous*-type policies means national sovereignty is maximally preserved. Third, Simpol is only implemented at some future point, if and when all or sufficient nations are on board. So, nations, parties and politicians can continue, until then, with their competition-based policy programs. In that way, signing the Simpol Pledge doesn’t conflict with their existing policies. Fourth, while citizens who support Simpol declare themselves highly *likely* to vote for politicians who have signed the Pledge, it crucially does not prevent citizens from having a party preference or, ultimately, from voting as they please. Far from diminishing voters’ autonomy, Simpol preserves it, while transcending our votes by extending their power to the global level.

Regarding the global justice movement, Simpol respects the validity of the movement’s campaigns in gaining necessary concessions—albeit limited—from the existing system. By supporting Simpol, however, and so taking on board the implications of destructive competition, the movement would have recognised that a large portion of its policy demands requires a simultaneous approach. It would thus have *differentiated* between unilateral and simultaneous policies and so would campaign for unilateral-type policies using its conventional methods, and for simultaneous-type policies by encouraging its many millions of supporters to support Simpol alongside the movement’s other campaigns. In that way, it would ensure its demands no longer risked routine dismissal on the grounds that their unilateral implementation would harm national competitiveness. Simpol, then, would allow the movement to move from partial modes of action to complete modes of action; from either-or thinking to both-and thinking; from a chaotic heap to a coherent whole, and thus to an integrated approach that makes “another world” not just possible, but also practical.²¹

In terms of *negation*, a key feature of transformative holons is that they preserve what works in the lower holons but negate what doesn't. Simpol negates what doesn't, we saw, by elucidating the danger of destructive competition between nations, so bringing into sharp relief their pathological alienation from each other. Likewise, Simpol negates nations in other ways. Since its range of policies is designed by its citizen-supporters (helped, if they wish, by their chosen independent experts) and not by politicians or governments, those policies are developed *outside* of established political processes.²² In that way, Simpol effectively takes the task of global policy-making out of the hands of nation-states; a move that not only negates them, it is justified and necessary because, as we saw, destructive international competition has already placed substantive international policies beyond national reach. In that way, we could say that although Simpol works *through* the system, it is not *of* the system; an example, perhaps, of what Wilber calls a "creative twist" (Wilber, 2000, p. 50).

Coming to political parties, a powerful negation and transcendence is inherent in Simpol's voting pledge. To reiterate: when citizens support Simpol, they vote in all future national elections for ANY politician or party—within reason—that has pledged to implement Simpol alongside other governments. Or, they encourage their preferred party, if they have one, to make that pledge. The emphasized word "ANY", you'll have noticed, implies a strong negation of political parties. In recognising that destructive international competition forces *all* parties in power to follow a market-friendly agenda that precludes any solution to global problems, our support for Simpol powerfully shows politicians that our consciousness has deepened; that *we* smelt the coffee; that for us, consequently, their game is up. If a politician comes canvassing for your vote but notices a Simpol sticker in your front window, they'll know that whatever else they may say, they'll almost certainly need to sign the Simpol Pledge to have any chance of gaining your vote or the votes of other supporters; votes which, in their bid either to gain a seat or to avoid losing it, could make all the difference. The finer the margin of public support between the main competing candidates or parties, the lower would be the number of Simpol-supporters needed to make it in the vital interests of politicians to sign up. The finer that margin, in other words, the more powerful is Simpol's negation of politicians and parties, and the stronger, likewise, is its agency or power to transcend.

As a final comment on negation, Simpol could be said to negate those citizens who don't yet support it because it seems, at present at least, to be the only initiative that allows us to use our official votes to drive national politicians to solve global problems, or to otherwise implement a form of people-centred global governance. Furthermore, supporting Simpol is open to all, no financial charge is made, and citizens are free to cancel their pledge at any time. So, there is really no excuse not to support it. Since it seems to be the only form of global electoral politics available, and since it works in parallel to established methods of solving global problems—methods which aren't working and may ultimately fail—supporting Simpol could be argued to be a matter of personal responsibility, as well as an immensely valuable opportunity. Citizens who support it could, in that sense, be said to have made themselves a part, potentially, of the global political solution, whereas those who do not yet know about it, or who do not support it, could be said to remain part of the problem. It

follows, then, that citizens who haven't yet signed up are negated, potentially, merely by that omission; a negation that would likely become more acute and keenly felt if Simpol were to become more widely known, publicised, and supported by the public as a whole.

Be it at the level of political parties, politicians or citizens, then, Simpol's concept of global, simultaneous implementation, transcends, negates, and includes. But that shouldn't be any surprise. For as Erich Jantsch points out, "In the self-organization paradigm, evolution is the result of self-transcendence *at all levels* [my emphasis]" (Jantsch, 1980, p. 183). And as the originator of Holons and Holarchies, Arthur Koestler, knew very well, "...evolutionary progress ... requires *simultaneous* [my emphasis], coordinated changes of all the relevant components in the structure and function of the organic holarchy" (Koestler, 1978, pp. 175-6). That is because, whether it concerns the governance of multi-celled organisms or other societies of organisms, including human, evolutionary biologist John Stewart points out that "If...constraints...fail to...act *globally and simultaneously* across the organism [my emphasis], individual cells will...begin to compete by reproducing as fast as they can. Cancer is an example of this breakdown of constraints in multi-cellular organisms".²³ Neither should it surprise us that destructive competition and free-riding are, together, the key barrier to solving global problems. For they have, according to Stewart, *always* been the barrier to evolutionary progress. This barrier applies, he says, "to all living processes. The circumstances that cause it are universal. Individuals who use resources to help others without benefit to themselves will be out-competed. They will be disadvantaged compared to those who use the resources for their own benefit. ... The barrier has applied whether the evolutionary mechanisms are those that adapt corporations, individual humans, other multi-cellular organisms, single cells or autocatalytic sets" (Stewart, 2000). But if that universal barrier completely prevented the evolution of cooperation, evolution could not progress. Yet it *has* progressed and has done so, says Stewart, "by building cooperative organisations out of self-interested components"²⁴; by finding a way to make it in the *interests* of individual entities to cooperate. And that, exactly, is what Simpol achieves by avoiding anyone having to act against their own interests. Destructive competition has always been the problem; and simultaneous action, likewise it seems, has always been the solution.²⁵

Simpol from the Inside: Vision-Logic

The higher or deeper stage that lies beyond Formop-Rational at which a genuine solution to our global ecological, economic and social crisis might disclose itself is referred to by Wilber as "Vision-logic". Vision-logic is level 13 in the UL quadrant of Wilber's model. It is Vision-logic, he suggests, "that drives and underlies the possibility of a truly planetary culture..." (Wilber, 2000, p. 191). Theorists from Aurobindo to Habermas have identified a similar developmental stage. Aurobindo defines Vision-logic as a stage that "can freely express itself in single ideas, but its most characteristic movement is a mass ideation, a system or totality of truth-seeing at a single view; the relations of idea with idea, of truth with truth, self-seen in the integral whole" (Aurobindo, 1949, p. 977).

Simpol, we are suggesting, is reasonably expressive of Vision-logic. Following Aurobindo's definition, it could certainly be said that Simpol represents a "single idea". But

that single idea gives rise to a “mass ideation”, to a whole new way of looking at, and thinking about, the world “at a single view”. Unlike Rational, Simpol holds both the distinct entities themselves (eg. corporations or governments) *and* the relationship between them in mind, integrally. That is to say, the policy content of Simpol, once implemented, would serve to regulate the individual entities. Then, its global, *simultaneous* implementation takes into account the competitive relationship between them. It thus holds both truths—fish and water—in mind together, integrally. Whereas Wilber notes that “rationality is global, [but] vision-logic is more global” (Wilber, 2000, p. 267), we might define it more precisely by suggesting that: Rationality is global, but Vision-logic is global and simultaneous.

Citing Habermas, in whose model “mature or communicative reason” equates with Vision-logic, Wilber concurs that Rational “establishes the postconventional stages of, first, ‘civil liberties’ or ‘legal freedom’ for ‘all those bound by law,’ and then, in a more developed stage, it demands not just legal freedom but also ‘moral freedom’ for ‘all humans as private persons’. But even further, mature or communicative reason (our vision-logic) demands both ‘moral and political freedom’ for ‘all human beings as members of a world society’” (Wilber, 2000, pp. 267-268). And achieving such a world society, as well as global social justice and environmental sustainability, is the end-point of which Simpol (or something very similar) would be a necessary, facilitating and transformative starting-point.

Closely connected to the emergence of a world society is Vision-logic’s planetary worldview and its transcendence of another of Rational’s achievements: the concept of multiculturalism. As Wilber notes, “The ‘multicultural movement,’ which claims a universal tolerance of all cultures freed from ‘logocentric, rational-centric, Euro-centric’ dominance and hegemony, is a step in the right direction, with all good intentions, but ends up being self-contradictory and finally hypocritical” (Wilber, 2000). In other words, multiculturalism’s assertion that all cultures can live harmoniously in any country in a relatively integrated fashion, too often proves false. Far from producing inter-cultural harmony, it has often contributed to raising inter-cultural and inter-racial tensions; and especially when the economy happens to take a turn for the worse. That’s why the good intentions of multiculturalism can only become a functioning reality—can only be completed and fully realised—if we move *beyond* multiculturalism to embrace a genuinely aperspectival, global-and-simultaneous view. If the world could, through Simpol, temper the global free-movement of capital by an international redistribution of wealth and resources, the freely given support this would provide to poorer countries would permit their citizens to make a decent living in their home country if they wish. Far fewer would then feel a need to migrate in the first place, so helping preserve and support the cultural richness and distinctiveness of all nations and peoples everywhere.

In terms of eliciting people’s support, this potential of Simpol should appeal to those with a pre-modern or modern worldview because it preserves national autonomy and cultural distinctiveness to the maximum. Moreover, the likelihood that Simpol’s policies would provide a substantive economic benefit to poorer countries should make it appealing to them in any case. Meanwhile, Simpol’s potential to produce a more globally inclusive, equitable, and environmentally sustainable world—and, moreover, a means for us to avoid collapse—

should appeal to those with a post-modern or integral worldview. Using the appropriate “language” to explain the concept to each vMeme level would, however, help in gaining their support.

As opposed to multiculturalism, then, Simpol’s more complete *simulcultural* view would respect and honour all cultures simultaneously *in their own context*, whatever their stage of development, by ensuring that each was not just respected, but equitably supported by a cooperatively governed global economy that was genuinely fair to all. That, in short, expresses what Wilber calls “the prime directive”; i.e., Simpol’s potential to accommodate itself to all cultures and levels of development while governing them from the highest presently-available level.²⁶

In this connection, there are important concerns that any form of democratic global governance could become skewed towards inappropriate policies coming, for example, from ethnocentric, Amber levels of development. Most of humanity, after all, finds itself at that level. Such concerns may, perhaps, be very valid for some global governance initiatives, but they are likely to be misplaced, I suggest, when it comes to Simpol. This, firstly, is because inappropriate, ethnocentric policies would tend to address nationally or culturally defined issues; issues, that is, which have no impact whatever on national competitiveness and are therefore automatically excluded from Simpol in any case. Secondly, since Simpol, by definition, could only be implemented with the support of all or sufficient nations, potentially inappropriate policies, if not already excluded as described above, would likely be screened out for the simple reason that they would fail to appeal to societies at *higher* levels of development. Meanwhile, the only policies that can be made palatable to *all* levels stem, almost by definition, from Vision-Logic because Vision-Logic is second-tier. In that way, then, inappropriate policies that came from any one of the first-tier levels would be unlikely to appeal to any of the other first-tier levels, and so would fall by the wayside for lack of global agreement, whereas policies informed by Vision-Logic should win through because they would be the only ones capable of appealing to all.

In all these ways, then, Simpol holds the potential, I suggest, for delivering—as securely and as safely as possible—the noospheric agreement Wilber identifies as essential. But it ought, also, to be compared with the UN, and with all the various other campaigns and initiatives aiming for global governance, to assess their relative transformative potentials. There is insufficient space to provide that analysis here, but it is offered elsewhere.²⁷ What it suggests is that, so far at least, Simpol seems to be unique, both in its strong congruity with the 20 Tenets, and in its provision of a *political practice* capable of permitting citizens (in all democratic countries, at least) to use their votes to drive their governments towards cooperation; towards actually *implementing* the noospheric agreement humanity so sorely needs. Because, without such a *practice* all you have is a theory. So it’s just such a practice that Wilber, following Kuhn, identifies as vital; as the prerequisite component of any new paradigm (Kuhn, 1962).²⁸

Returning to where we started, we humans have given rise to the noosphere and have *differentiated* ourselves from the biosphere, but to such a pathological degree that our very

survival is under threat. So the urgent need, now, is to *integrate* noosphere with biosphere; to bring ourselves, as Wilber asserts, “into an adequate harmony with *both* our predecessors *and* our peers” (Wilber, 2000, pp. 109-110). And that, effectively, is what Simpol (or something very similar) could enable by offering a way for us to bring our techno-economic noospheric mode of life “into an adequate harmony with the biosphere”; that is, the implementation of its policies would allow us to achieve ecological sustainability. But, in bringing citizens all over the world to cooperate, Simpol also brings us humans “into harmony with our peers”; into harmony, that is, *with each other*. Simpol thus holds the potential to integrate, in the outer realm of our social and political institutions at least, the physiosphere, biosphere and noosphere, so achieving, potentially, an adequate harmony between all three: the realization, finally, of our specie’s maturity.

The paradox of this and all previous major evolutionary transitions is, that if left to reach a critical stage, competition ultimately ceases to be a strategy for individual survival but instead becomes a strategy for collective suicide. At that point—a point we’re now fast approaching—co-operation becomes in everyone’s self-interest. But for a regression into chaos to be avoided and for cooperation at a new higher level to emerge, not only is global and simultaneous action required to overcome the barriers to international cooperation, an appropriate *catalyzing political practice* is also needed. For, as Wilber so rightly makes clear:

“Every revolution, every transformation, every shift in consciousness and culture that actually sticks has *of necessity* a Lower-Right component, and if that component is not present or prominent, you can dismiss any claims to have a new paradigm, a great transformation, or a new and revolutionary anything.”²⁹

That, so succinctly put, then, is what the Simultaneous Policy perhaps offers: not just a theory, but an integral political *practice* for us to responsibly and *consciously* co-create the now-vital holon of people-centered global governance; a world-centric governance born of an aperspectival Vision-logic that transcends and includes political parties and nation-states and “through which runs the blood of a common humanity and beats the single heart of a very small planet struggling for its own survival, and yearning for its own release into a deeper and a truer tomorrow” (Wilber, 2000, p. 206).

¹ There is, of course, an argument about whether climate change is human-induced or not. To my mind, this is irrelevant because, either way, global cooperation will still be needed to address it.

² Ken Wilber Online. *Excerpt A: An Integral Age at the Leading Edge Part III. The Nature of Revolutionary Social Transformation (page 1)*: <http://wilber.shambhala.com/html/books/kosmos/excerptA/part3-1.cfm>. Retrieved October 12th, 2004.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Although Orange and Green are today’s average or predominant worldviews, there are individuals and societies, and techno-economic modes of production, at every level up to the average, and a few beyond.

⁵ As Stewart notes, “Our limited ability to understand complex systems is reflected in our failure to solve the difficult environmental and social problems we face. These failures demonstrate that mental modeling guided by rational thought does not enable us to understand and manage complex systems. ... Rational analysis is very effective at modeling systems in which linear chains of cause and effect predominate. However, it is poor at modeling systems in which circular causality is common—i.e. systems in which each element impacts on other elements and they in turn impact back on it, directly or indirectly. Conscious rational analysis alone can rarely work out how such a complex system will unfold through time.”

⁶ In this sense, financial markets have become a “global commons”; a common resource for which nations compete.

⁷ While many political economists doubt a so-called “race to the bottom”, there seems to be little dispute about the present legislative paralysis or “regulatory chill” concerning climate change. For a review of the research in this area, see Blair, D.J., 2008, in the Reference section.

⁸ As Greg Wilpert points out, “...we can see that the current manifestation of globalization does not represent a globalization along all possible dimensions or lines of human experience. Today, only some aspects of human development are globalized, while others are left out. Specifically, the economic and some elements of the cultural dimensions tend towards the global, while the moral and political dimensions remain largely stuck at the national level.” From *Tikkun Magazine*, <http://www.tikkun.org/magazine/index.cfm/action/tikkun/issue/tik0107/article/010713>. Retrieved November 22, 2004.

⁹ Ken Wilber Online. *Excerpt A: An Integral Age at the Leading Edge Part III. The Nature of Revolutionary Social Transformation (page 1)*: <http://wilber.shambhala.com/html/books/kosmos/excerptA/part3-1.cfm>. Retrieved October 12th, 2004.

¹⁰ Ibid. As Wilber notes: “The type of techno-economic base of a society constrains its various probability waves in very strong ways. Thus, it appears that there is a crucially important (if partial) truth contained in Marx’s most famous statement about these facts, namely (to paraphrase): ‘It is not the consciousness of men that determines their reality but their economic-material realities that determine their consciousness.’ That is, the Lower-Right quadrant (which includes the techno-economic base) clearly has a profound influence on the types of beliefs, feelings, ideas, and worldviews of men and women. For us, of course, this is in every way an AQAL affair – we needn’t buy in to Marx’s tendency to absolutize the LR quadrant. At the same time, it is very hard indeed to overestimate the impact of the LR quadrant on the various modes of consciousness and culture.”

¹¹ Another aspect of denial is people’s willingness to place their faith in green technologies, corporate social responsibility, ethical consumerism, Green political parties, and all manner of other so-called “solutions”. This includes emissions reduction targets that are legally binding on governments. For even if missed, courts have no power to ensure governments fully meet them. They thus constitute little more than promises likely—if not made—to be broken.

¹² The book is available for free download: http://www.simpol.org/en/books/Books_FS.htm. Further information on the campaign can be found at: <http://www.simpol.org>.

¹³ For a list of UK Members of Parliament who have signed the Simpol Pledge, please go to: http://www.simpol.org.uk/Pages/parliament_FS.htm

¹⁴ This also means there would be no point in politicians signing the pledge simply to gain more votes, only to renege on their pledge at some later point. That’s because, if they did, they’d only *lose* the votes they sought to gain and so jeopardize their political careers. Reneging, then, is not in their interests.

¹⁵ Although Simpol’s process works most easily in countries where elections operate on a simple majority, all elections are based on competition between candidates. So Simpol should prove reasonably effective regardless. It may, however, need to adapt its approach according to individual national electoral systems.

¹⁶ Important is that, although Simpol relies on democratic processes in *developed* countries to gain initial governmental support, this is not necessarily the case for *developing* countries. In those countries, the simple

agreement of the government, although not democratic or ideal, would potentially be sufficient. In such cases, however, appropriate safe-guards may need to be included. The intention, then, is that support would be gained first in the rich, democratic nations, after which remaining countries—whether democratic or not—would be encouraged to sign up. As more nations did so, pressure would mount on the remainder to follow.

¹⁷ For details, please go to: http://www.simpol.org/en/endorsements/Endorsements_FS.htm.

¹⁸ For example, see the proposal for “Contraction & Convergence” put forward by the Global Commons Institute to address climate change: <http://www.gci.org>.

¹⁹ Although we’ve referred to policies having an adverse effect on a nation’s *economic* competitiveness, policies adversely affecting a nation’s competitiveness in the military or other spheres could also be included.

²⁰ Included in this category, of course, would not only be policies having *no* adverse impact on competitiveness but also those likely to have a *positive* impact; i.e. those which give individual nations a competitive *advantage*.

²¹ The same, essentially, would go for political parties. Parties that sign the Pledge would effectively remove from their previous programs all those policies which reflect promises which, in reality, can only be delivered via Simpol. That’s because they would instead be reflected in Simpol’s policy agenda, which they would adopt. In this way, political parties would present what might be called ‘integral’ or ‘differentiated’ manifestos.

²² To ensure Simpol has sufficient democratic legitimacy prior to its implementation, and to ensure its transformative power is not abused by a minority, its Founding Declaration specifies that implementation can only occur if a majority of citizens (at least in democratic countries)—be they Simpol-supporters or not—had first given their consent. It is expected, however, that a majority would, by that time, be Simpol-supporters in any case.

²³ From a personal email to me dated June 11, 2002. Stewart also notes that “Simultaneous Policy has general similarities with all the major evolutionary transitions in which cooperative organisations were formed from aggregations of entities that were initially capable of evolving independently and that competed with on another. ... What all these [transitions] have in common with Simpol is that the cooperative organisations were formed through the emergence of constraints that limit the independence of the independent entities. These constraints (e.g. governance, management, etc) restrain destructive competition and enable cooperation to emerge. And the constraints have to operate simultaneously across all the entities in the organisation. If any entity is not constrained, it will continue to compete, and destroy the organisation.”

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ The necessity and ubiquity of simultaneous governance can be noted, for example, by the fact that, at the level of nation-states, any new law is applied “globally”, i.e., to *all* citizens in the *whole* national territory, *and* simultaneously, since it comes into force on a certain date. It’s also worth noting that, at the world level, implementing policies globally and simultaneously need not mean “one size fits all”. That’s because, just as national income tax is progressive, global taxes or regulations (including any exemptions or compensations) could similarly be tailored according to the differing abilities and needs of each nation. In this respect, Stewart, in an email to me of June 11, 2002, points out that “...Simpol also has some differences to all the [major] previous [evolutionary] transitions. None of the previous transitions involved intelligent entities. As a result, the systems of constraints that emerged were not intelligently designed. In most cases they ‘over-constrained’ the entities. They restricted their freedom more than what was necessary just to establish cooperation. In addition, the transitions took millions of years to evolve by trial and error. Humans, through a process like Simpol, can intentionally and consciously decide to introduce simultaneous global governance to prevent destructive competition. And they can design constraints that do not restrict independence and freedom any more than is necessary to provide the benefits of cooperation.”

²⁶ Please see: *The Handout* by Ken Wilber contained in *Integral Politics: A summary of its essential ingredients*. Retrieved 7th July, 2009 from <http://www.kenwilber.com>.

²⁷ Please see Endnote 12 above.

²⁸ Please see Ken Wilber Online. *Excerpt A: An Integral Age at the Leading Edge Part III. The Nature of Revolutionary Social Transformation (page 1)*: <http://wilber.shambhala.com/html/books/kosmos/excerptA/part3-1.cfm>. Retrieved October 12th, 2004.

²⁹ Ibid.

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Author Bio

John Bunzl is a social entrepreneur and businessman. He is founder of the International Simultaneous Policy Organisation. Having conceived the Simpol idea in late 1998, he wrote his first book, *The Simultaneous Policy – An insider’s guide to saving humanity and the planet* (2001). In 2003, he co-authored *Monetary Reform – Making it Happen!* with the prominent monetary reformer, James Robertson. In 2009, John completed *People-centred Global Governance – Making it Happen!* He has given talks at various organizations, including the World Trade Organization and the Schumacher Society. He was born 1957, lives in London UK, has three children, and is a company director.