

Philosophical Foundations of Direct Democracy

(Conclusions by Jiri Polak)

The common denominator of the cultural changes described in the previous issues of this Newsletter can be defined as gradual disintegration of (the illusion of) objective reality, shared by all. This disintegration started in the *Renaissance* (discovery of the perspective); it was enhanced in the early nineteenth century (the *Romantics*), accelerated since the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century (dissolution of fixed forms in all branches of arts and literature, discoveries in physics and later, the emergence of the notion of *paradigm* in science). This process can also be summed up as a transition from *transcendence* to *immanence*.

From time immemorial, a similar process is observable in the sphere of social and political development. So far, every political system has consisted of two main components: The rulers and the ruled. At the beginning, the gap between these two opposites was absolute and enormous. The ruler was considered God, the subjects were insignificant. Later on, the ruler was no longer considered to be God, but he/she still claimed to have received his/her mandate from God (or, as in China, from Heaven). For a short historical moment, the idea of popular sovereignty, i.e. democracy, emerged in ancient Greece. In Rome, during the republican era, it was to some extent preserved, but combined with the non-democratic institution of rudimentary political parties. In the period stretching from the 1st century BC to 13th century AD, even these rudiments of democracy were extinct.

Since the 13th century, people in the West began to strive for a limitation of the ruler's power by acting collectively, as *Estates*.

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THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE NDDIE

NETWORK FOR DIRECT DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE



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PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY

(continuing)

Political importance of collectives - classes or ethnic and other social groups - kept increasing during the 18th century; finally, it resulted in the abolition of feudalism by the Great French Revolution and the establishment of the USA.

Since the 19th century, beside the lingering representation by estates, a new type of collective representation became dominant - political parties. The gap between the rulers and the ruled was now considerably diminished, but it was still there, although, to a great extent, in disguise. The new elites pretended to represent the people, in spite of representing various vested interests and especially themselves, as ruling oligarchies. They have succeeded in making people believe that multi-party systems *are* democracies. In theory, the outcome of the First World war established democracy as the ideal (and final) political system. A myth emerged, nourished by the political establishment in collusion with the big media, pretending that democracy is impossible unless supported by political parties, and that ordinary citizens are unable to act independently, without parties (or other organizations). The existence of this myth was prolonged by the polarization created and fostered by fascist, nazi and communist dictatorships.

The end of the cold war and the spreading of the internet have changed everything. Political elites are still dominant everywhere; Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy is still very much in force. But due to the above described developments, under the surface, a revolutionary change is taking place.

(As pointed out in *The Future of Teledemocracy* by Prof. Becker and Prof. Slaton, see below.)

Political elites can pretend to be qualified to represent ordinary citizens only as long as reality is perceived as objective and common for both the elites and the citizens. But now, we witness the emergence of the insight that reality is not objective. **What we perceive as reality is in fact the sum total of billions of individual perceptions interacting with, and influencing one another.** Therefore, nobody can pretend to be qualified to put him/herself in the place of anybody else and decide on his/her behalf. A truly democratic political system must be an institutionalized synthesis of billions of individual decisions continually made, without (attempts at) manipulation, in the course of a never ending process. For practical reasons, to some extent, certain forms of representation will always be necessary but the citizens must have the final say.

The elites, whose power such a system of Direct Democracy will abolish or severely reduce, will do their utmost to prevent or delay its installation. But, due to the above described developments, in the long run, they will have no chance to succeed. The transformation of mature political systems into genuine democracies is a historical necessity. The doctrine of **First Principles of Human Governance** is not only an ideological slogan. It is supported by massive scientific evidence.

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AGENDA

Friday, November 16, 2001

17:00: Getting acquainted

19:30: Opening Lecture: "Instruments of Direct Democracy and their Positive Effects on a Democratic Society"

Basic information on DD-instruments and their importance concerning citizens' participation, with some examples from Germany - by Thomas Rupp (Mehr Demokratie)

Questions and Discussion

Saturday, November 17, 2001

9:00: Welcome by Arjen Nijboer (Referendum Platform, NL) and Heiko Dittmer (WIT, B)

9:15: Introduction Round. Who is who? - Expectations, Short Reports

Example 1, **Czech Republic - How did the Movement Start?**

As informal group, the Czech MDD (hspd) has existed for several years. As a result of a workshop (2000) led by Heiko Dittmer and Thomas Rupp, we started collecting signatures for a petition, but almost exclusively by the internet, which

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is a slow and ineffective procedure. In the spring of 2001, the group was formalized and gained the cooperation of Vladimir Rott as webmaster. Since March 2001, another group called Open Initiative has been collecting signatures in the streets of Prague in support of the right to I&R. So far they have got more than 4,000 signatures. In the fall, the hzpd has started cooperation with the Humanist movement. Report by Eng. Theo Formanek, a top party politician: Czech politicians are totally corrupt. They don't care about the voters but only about their own careers and media exposure. Report by Dr. Milan Valach: As a university teacher, he has met hundreds of students. Conclusion: In Czech Republic, young people aged 20-25 years don't care about DD at all. We must hope for the generation now 10-15 years old.

Example 2, Italy:

In sharp contrast with Czech Republic, there is plenty of interest in DD among young Italians. Their strategy is to put forward their own representatives as candidates for representative bodies. 423 young people tried to be elected in the last elections. So far, the results have been modest but not hopeless. Regrettably, after having delivered their report, the Italians stopped attending the conference.

Example 3, The Netherlands:

Arjen Nijeboer summed up the situation by the words: Movements, changes, and chances. In the Netherlands, new DD laws are being introduced. Politicians are becoming responsive to the pressure exerted by DD organizations. Interaction between WIT and the Referendum Platform exists and benefits both branches of the movement.

Example 4, Germany:

The German Mehr Demokratie is the oldest and strongest DD organization in Europe. It has about 2,500 paying members and about 10,000 small scale sponsors. Roman Huber talked about the German experience and gave valuable advice to non-German participants concerning strategy, fund-raising, contacts with media, etc.

Afternoon:

The participants were divided by sortition into four workshops to discuss specific problems and bottlenecks inside their respective countries. The common problem (except in Germany and Holland) is lack of financial resources and zero access to the media. The latter, however, is no problem in Spain where many DD activists are journalists. In a country like Ukraine, people don't care about politics. They only try to survive. In a country like Sweden, virtually nothing is happening on the DD front. However, in December, there will be a local I&R conference in the town of Kalix (northern Sweden).

Evening:

Statements pro and contra a EU Constitution, facts and opinions about Europe... and how all this refers to Direct Democracy.

Sunday, November 18, 2001:

9:00: Which requirements the process for the further European development should meet?

Presentation and discussion about status quo and vision -

by Heiko Dittmer and Franz Isemann.

DD on the European level. Exactly how could it work?

- **Rules, requirements, conditions.**

Draft for discussions presented by Michael Efler.

Good by plenum

Papers presented:

Mehr Demokratie, Germany, Working Group Europe / World, November, 2001: Draft of key elements of a procedure for Direct Democracy on the European level

13 Demands of the SOS Democracy Intergroup in the European Parliament, which should form the basis of a democratic and citizens' EU, as against the EU of the bureaucrats and political centralizers.

Demokratie Initiative 2000; Europäische Initiative für Direkte Demokratie - Sektion Österreich: Volksbegehren zur Erweiterung der Verfassung durch "Dreistufige Volksgesetzgebung"

GDDM - Global Direct Democracy Movement

The conference progressed in a cordial and relaxed atmosphere, now and then seasoned by bursts of laughter, e.g. when Jiri Polak pointed out that in this country, there is a tradition of throwing people down from a window (1419 and 1618), so that we could do the same (in effigy) with contemporary leading politicians. Evidently, the popularity of international DD conferences is increasing ever since the first one held in Pířibram in 1998. The next NDDIE conference is scheduled for November 2002, in Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia.

FOUNDING DOCUMENT OF WDDM

PREAMBLE:

We, members of the Continuing International Congress on Direct Democracy (CICDD) decided during our second Congress in Delphi, Greece, the birthplace of democracy, to establish a formal World-wide Direct Democracy Movement.

We dedicate ourselves to work toward the introduction of Direct Democracy (DD) into the representative systems; through Citizens Initiatives and Referendums, and, ultimately, transform them peacefully into true democracies of the people. We pledge ourselves to remain faithful to genuine democratic principles as expressed in our Mission Statement. We aim to inspire others to join us and help to develop principles and methods leading to direct democracy (DD) of the people. We have been and will remain dedicated members of CICDD and share our ideals and proposals with all participants in the Network, individuals, and families.

MISSION STATEMENT:

We, members of the Worldwide Direct Democracy Movement, believe that all citizens have the right to directly perform lawmaking and other governmental functions in any polity in which they live. Therefore we seek to develop and promote any participatory processes which allow people to exercise their rights to make their own laws and/or manage their own government.

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WE BELIEVE IN THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES

1. People are sovereign, and they are the only legitimate authority to govern their society.
2. The power to formulate laws and policies must be vested directly in the People without representatives at all levels of societal life.
3. Every person shall have equal right and opportunity to participate in public affairs
4. The people shall define major societal issues and policy alternatives when they are based on well-informed choices.
- 4.1 Public opinion can be easily influenced by vested interests and money. Therefore, we oppose such manipulations. Public debates must be factual, balanced, impersonal and non-manipulative.
- 4.2 Each issue must be presented and considered independently and its best alternative be selected strictly on its own merit.
5. People's initiatives, backed by sufficient number of signatures, should mandate a binding referendum and/or recall unworthy representatives (I&R+R) decided by public vote.
6. Individuals and families must be made acquainted, from 'bottom up', with sensible educational tools to understand social morality, the common needs and interests of all, thereby enabling them to pursue knowledge-based societal policies.
7. We as 'Facilitators' shall endeavor to help citizens to set up Planning Cells, Citizen Juries, and Citizens Forums, as local bodies to supervise municipal and local administrations and public administrations. These 'Forums' shall hear and attempt to settle issues, and if they cannot, then refer them either to the courts or to Citizens Parliaments.
8. We believe in and advocate peaceful and gradual transformation of society into genuine democracy.
9. We are against any form of aggression and violence, but believe that the people must defend themselves, if and when, they are attacked.
10. We advocate respectful dialogue and constructive proposals
11. Voting and gathering signatures can take place by secure electronic methods, therefore, we endeavor to have such methods legally established.
12. The results of public decisions will constitute the body of the law.

Signed by International Coordinating Committee for the formalization of the Worldwide Direct Democracy Movement.

HOW SAFE IS INTERNET VOTING ?

• *On 10 march, in a letter from Mr Dwayne Hunn* (reported by Mr. Don Kemner): ...

"Internet-based voter registration poses significant risk to the integrity of the voting process, and should not be implemented for the foreseeable future.

The report says online registration would have to rely on unique biometric input (fingerprint, retinal scan, etc) to verify a voter's identity and avoid the 'high risk for automated fraud (i.e. the potential undetected registration of large numbers of phony voters)'. The voter registration process is already one of the weakest links in our electoral process, according to the committee, so attempts to implement Internet-based registration 'without first addressing the considerable flaws in our current system would only serve to greatly exacerbate the risks'.

The report cites three broad areas for further research, which NSF will help fund through its existing Digital Government program:

- the economics, design, certification and policies of poll site Internet voting
- the technical factors of security, encryption and authentication of using kiosks and remote voting
- the political science issues of how poll site and remote Internet voting would affect participation, the character of elections and democracy itself"

For more about IPI, see <http://www.internetpolicy.org> Mr. Hunn's Web Page: http://dwayne_hunn.tripod.com/ Dwayne Telecommunication Services: <http://www.myexcel.com/> People's Lobby <http://www.peopleslobby.net/>

• Mr. *Evan D. Ravitz*. "Interesting that no mention is made of the far simpler, harder to "hack", and more available to everyone TELEPHONE voting. Even though our Vince Campbell, who directed the NSF Televote project in 1974-5 (report at <http://vote.org/televote.htm>), contacted folks involved in this latest study, this technology has been ignored. A friend of mine in the free ("open-source") software movement sends this web site about a new free internet voting system: <http://thecouch.org/free/>

• *13 March, in a letter from Mrs. Carolyn Chase* (cdchase@dearthtimes.com)

"INTERNET VOTING IS NO "MAGIC BALLOT", DISTINGUISHED COMMITTEE REPORTS Panel calls for further study of security and societal issues.

Trials should proceed in which Internet terminals are used at traditional polling places, but remote voting from home or the workplace is not viable in the near future. So says a new report, commissioned by the National Science Foundation (NSF), in which a committee of experts calls for further research into complex security and reliability obstacles that for now impede the Internet's use in public elections.

In December 1999, the White House directed NSF to lead a study of Internet voting. With a grant from NSF, the

Internet Policy Institute (IPI, a nonprofit, nonpartisan institute) and the University of Maryland organized an October 2000 workshop whose results are summarized in the report available at <http://www.internetpolicy.org/>

Internet voting systems fall into three categories: poll site voting (in which traditional election locations are augmented with Internet technology), kiosk voting (in which Internet terminals would be placed for convenience at non-traditional sites such as malls), and remote voting (in which citizens could vote from virtually any Internet terminal, including at home or work).

Remote voting holds the greatest promise of convenience and universal access, but it also poses substantial security issues in addition to other risks, according to the report.

"E-voting requires a much greater level of security than e-commerce — it's not like buying a book over the Internet", said University of Maryland president C.D.Mote, Jr., who chaired the committee. "Remote Internet voting technology will not be able to meet this standard for years to come."

... public interest now tends to focus on reliability. ... the 2000 elections demonstrated the "critical importance of ensuring confidence in the integrity and fairness of election systems."

The committee's main findings about feasibility are:

Poll site Internet voting systems offer some benefits and could be responsibly deployed within the next several election cycles. ... Election officials would control both the voting platform and the physical environment, making security more manageable than with the other two methods. ...

The next step beyond poll site voting would be to deploy kiosk voting terminals in non-traditional public voting sites. According to the report, many issues related to kiosk voting still need to be resolved, such as authenticating a voter's identity and preventing on-site coercion of voters. The committee states that, although kiosk voting would be more challenging than poll site systems, "most of the challenges could, at least in principle, be resolved with extensions of current technology".

Remote Internet voting systems pose significant risk and should not be used in public elections until substantial technical and social science issues are addressed. ..."

• 4 April, in a letter from Mr. Steve Magruder

Democracy 2.0 - Decide this <http://www.democracy2.org>

Subject: (DW) Open Source E-Voting, E-Democracy, and E-Government Software

(Quote): "This was just announced. The main announcement, attached below, focuses mainly on e-voting links. Here are some links which may be of more interest to DO-Wire readers.

Issue Mapping Tool

<http://technodemocracy.org/papers/tdpnotes/Section3.html#IssueMapping>

Position Mapping Tool

<http://technodemocracy.org/papers/tdpnotes/Section3.html#PositionMapping> etc, just replace the affix: BubblingMechanism; CentralizedWorkspace; Dialoguing

Tool; PoliBots; Section6: TransactionNotification; Voice Wizards; Wizards; News; CRM (Constituent Relationship Management); ManyToOneTool; Tdnet; Section8: Citizen Observation"

Best Regards, Thom Wysong

"Since 1998, various information and ideas have been recorded which relate to creating Open Source and Free Software tools for e-voting, e-democracy, and e-government. Most of the ideas are based on common sense, not on rigorous study or thorough research. The intent has been to create a pool of ideas which could work in the real world and would make sense to real people. Additionally, it was figured that the ideas would someday be contrasted and compared with other research on e-voting, e-democracy, and e-government. Then, the best approaches could be grafted from the available options, developed, and implemented.

Beginning in 1999, this information and these ideas were collected into a single document known as "TDP Notes". The first version (v0.1) of this document was posted on the Internet in December 1999. Over time it has been expanded and updated. On 31 March 2001, the fourth version (v0.4) was posted.

As time goes by, it may become apparent that some, many, or all of the ideas presented in the document are not suitable for implementation. However, either way, it can still be useful as a catalyst for further thought and discussion on the topics covered.

Listed below are a number of links that may be of interest. Additionally, the "Table of Contents" offers a thorough breakdown of the document's contents. Version 0.4 of "TDP Notes" contains more than 26,000 words and prints out to over 50 pages in length. Future updates to this document will be announced on the TDP Mailing List <http://www.topics.com/lists/TDP/> Comments and feedback on the document are welcomed and may be sent to the author at wysong@technodemocracy.org

(to be continued)

TRANSPARENCY

On 28 June, Mr. Vladimir Rott forwarded to us the following information from Mr. Roman Novojilov: 2001 Corruption Perception index has just been released by Transparency International. For more details on this index see:

<http://www.transparency.org/documents/cpi/2001/cpi2001.html>

The order of countries from the least corrupt to the most corrupt ones:

1. Finland 2. Denmark 3. New Zealand 4-5. Iceland, Singapore 6. Sweden 7. Canada 8. Netherlands 9. Luxembourg 10. Norway 11. Australia 12. Switzerland 13. United Kingdom 14. Hong Kong 15. Austria 16-17. Israel, USA 18-19. Chile, Ireland 20. Germany 21. Japan 22. Spain 23. France 24. Belgium 25. Portugal ... 29. Italy ... 31. Hungary ... 42. Greece ... 44-45. Peru, Poland 46. Brazil 47-49. Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic ... 79-81. Ecuador, Pakistan, Russia According to this list, the most corrupt country is Bangladesh (nr.91).

CONFERENCES

THE DEMOCRACY SYMPOSIUM In Honor of Edwin & Joyce Koupal February 16 - 18, 2002 Williamsburg, Virginia

You Are Invited to join distinguished scholars in an extraordinary discussion to resolve issues associated with the National Initiative for Democracy, the first constitutional amendment and federal statute ever to be enacted directly by the People of the United States of America. The National Initiative will create a "legislature of the People", bringing the People into the operation of government as lawmakers in a partnership with their elected representatives.

Featuring these eminent panelists...

Ronald J. Allen, Wigmore Professor of Law, Northwestern University; "The National Initiative Proposal: A Preliminary Analysis", 1979.

Akhil Reed Amar, Southmayd Professor, Yale Law School; "Philadelphia Revisited: Amending the Constitution Outside Article V", 1988; The Bill of Rights: Creation and Reconstruction, 1998.

Benjamin R. Barber, Kekst Professor of Civil Society, University of Maryland; Strong Democracy; Participatory Politics for a New Age, 1985.

Ted Becker, Auburn Alumni Association Professor of Political Science, Auburn University; The Future of Tele-democracy (co-author), 2000.

Brian Beedham, Associate Editor, The Economist, London, England; "Full Democracy; It Means Government by the People and We Are the People", 1996.

Gregory A. Fossedal, Chairman, Alexis de Toqueville Institution, Arlington, VA; Direct Democracy in Switzerland, 2001.

Edward McGlynn Gaffney, Jr., Professor of Law, Valparaiso University School of Law; Religious Freedom: History, Cases and Other Materials on the Interaction of Religion and Government (co-author), 2001.

Craig B. Holman, Senior Policy Analyst, Brennan Center for Justice, New York University; Democracy by Initiative: Shaping California's Fourth Branch of Government (co-author), 1992.

Arthur Lupia, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan; The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What they need to Know? (co-author), 1998.

Pauline Maier, William R. Kennan, Jr. Professor of American History, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence, 1997.

Richard D. Parker, Williams Professor of Law, Harvard Law School; Here, the People Rule: A Constitutional Populist Manifesto, 1994.

Christa Slaton, Professor, Department of Political Science, Auburn University; The Future of Tele-democracy (co-author), 2000.

Robert M. Stern, President, Center for Governmental Studies, Los Angeles, CA; Democracy by Initiative: Shaping California's Fourth Branch of Government (co-author), 1992.

Caroline J. Tolbert, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Kent State University; Citizens as Legislators: Direct Democracy in the United States (co-author), 1998.

Mark Tushnet, Carmack Waterhouse Professor of Constitutional Law, Georgetown University Law Center; Remnants of Belief: Contemporary Constitutional Issues, 1997.

The Democracy Symposium concludes a decade-long effort to define the National Initiative for Democracy, a proposed legislative solution to this problem in governance.

The National Initiative includes:

- The Democracy Amendment, which asserts and institutionalizes "First Principles", i.e., the People's authority to exercise their inherent legislative power to create and alter governments, constitutions and laws; and
- The Democracy Act, a federal statute that establishes citizen-initiative-based legislative procedures and an administrative agency, The Electoral Trust, to implement those procedures in every government jurisdiction of the United States.

The Symposium's ultimate product will be the final draft of the National Initiative.

You can learn more about the National Initiative at www.democracysymposium.org



Swiss Forum for Direct Democracy /Europa Magazin

A meeting took place on October 24 at Olten europa-magazin@crossnet.ch



European Citizen Meeting

Organized by Europahaus Burgenland, Eurotopia Transnational, and Inter Citizens Conferences (ICC) discussing PROSPECTS OF THE EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT; Eisenstadt, Austria, October 26-27 (28). <http://www.europahausburgenland.net>



The European Alliance of EU-critical Movements (TEAM)

TEAM Council meeting was held in Vienna, 9-11 November <http://www.ljudmila.org/team>

CONFERENCES II.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE/ CONGRESS on DIRECT DEMOCRACY (CICDD)

is scheduled to be held in Zurich, Switzerland,
on 5. - 7. July, 2002

It will be led by

Prof. Ted Becker, USA



Prof. Christa Daryl Slaton, USA



the Council of Europe; **Bruno Kaufmann**, Switzerland; reporter for *Die Zeit*, Hamburg; chairman of *Eurotopia Transnational*; Prof. **Tomas Ohlin**, Sweden

Dr. Becker and Dr. Slaton chaired the two preceding CICDD congresses (Pribram 1998 and Athens/Delphi 2000). In 2001, they published **The Future of Teledemocracy**, a classical, epoch-making work (Praeger, Westport, Connecticut, London; can also be ordered from their website www.auburn.edu/tann); it combines scientific precision and creative imagination with brilliance of style. In Kuhnian terms, it is *revolutionary science* par excellence.

The concept resembles Jaroslav Langer's *Grenzen der Herrschaft*. It is "a must" for everybody who wants to get acquainted with the history of DD initiatives and movements all over the world as well as the present situation.

Preparatory committee: **Vladimir Rott** (vjr@vjrott.com), local organizer; **Andi Gross**, MP, Switzerland; member of

INTERNATIONAL

USA

In August, *Triaka* sent us an extract from the California State Constitution: SECTION 8 - Initiative. (a) The initiative is the power of the electors to propose statutes and amendments to the Constitution and to adopt or reject them (by direct voting). (b) An initiative measure may be proposed by presenting to the Secretary of State a petition that sets forth the text of the proposed statute or amendment to the Constitution and is certified by electors equal in number to 5 percent in the case of a statute, and 8 percent in the case of an amendment to the Constitution, of the votes for all candidates for Governor at the last gubernatorial election. This initiative process in California is the frequently used product of a movement toward Direct Democracy launched in 1911 to counteract the state political machine then controlled by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company. There is no such DD provision in the U.S. Constitution

• On 20 October, Mr. **John Suhr** wrote, "I've been working on my own homepage: Electric City Society Homepage <http://hometown.aol.com/ElecCity/index.html> which includes links to two Vivarto Net Conferences - one using EDD to help achieve world peace and the other to help solve a local energy crisis (which has subsequently subsided). You can access the Vivarto Conference directly at; www.globaldemocracynow.com

• On 25 October, Mr. **John Suhr** wrote, "We need global EDD to control global corporations and global finance. Also, stockholders (including employees...) could vote on corporation affairs by continuous E-voting - rather than just at the annual meeting. Directors and executives now ignore them the rest of the year if they can.

In the Electric World of the future, the need for corporations will fade, I think. Other large institutions, such as government, also. We will become E-informed and thus much more self-directed and self-sufficient. Corporations are the result of industrialization during a period of slow communications, so representatives were necessary there as well as in government to guide investment. Today with e-voting, E-information systems progress in automation, etc., I think we can anticipate largely automated production of necessary goods in the future. Nanotechnology holds the possibility of being able to make anything by molecular or even atomic assembly.

The automated facilities could just as well be owned by the public in the E-world. The "market" would go on-line.

Money likewise has evolved through the ages and is now just electrons in computers here or there. It is public property, so should be distributed according to equal protection of the laws principles. The trick will be to provide everyone with so much that they won't want to hoard it any longer. Make everyone as rich as Bill Gates and stop struggling with artificial scarcity. Provide sufficiency for all, but do it in a sustainable way."

• On 24 October, Mr. **Dave Parrish** wrote, "Our new primary web site, www.ni4d.org, is now officially on the air. Among the important changes on this site are new drafts (dated October 8, 2001) of the Democracy Amendment and the Democracy Act. Auxiliary sites have been established for the Democracy Foundation (www.demofound.org) and Philadelphia II (www.ni4d.org/philadelphiaii).

We have also established a web site (www.democracysymposium.org) dedicated exclusively to The Democracy Symposium.

Finally, we bid fond adieu to our old website, www.p2dd.org, which has now been decommissioned. Anyone visiting this site will be automatically redirected to www.ni4d.org.



SWEDEN

In several places, pilot projects are in progress testing the internet as a democratic tool. In the town of *Kalix*, for the first time in Swedish history, the citizens were given the opportunity to vote in consultative referendum on the communal tax. About half of the eligible voters have participated. The result coincided with the voting in the City Council.

The first Swedish conference on Citizen Initiative and Referendum is scheduled for 8-9 December in Kalix. It is organized by the Initiative & Referendum Institute Europe. Chairman: Mr. *Bruno Kaufmann*



SWITZERLAND

On 4 November, Mr. *Jeff Sowers* sent us the following information: Switzerland plans online government Swiss citizens should be better informed thanks to e-government services (Keystone Archive).

The Swiss authorities are aiming to introduce electronic government on the internet to give the public more streamlined access to services.

An online discussion forum on the subject has been set up to allow political parties, organizations and individuals to submit opinions and suggestions for e-government.

The online forum runs until November 7, after which the government will begin building-up its online presence.

The government says it wants to exploit the benefits of having services online, with the main aim of informing citizens easily, involving them more directly in political processes, and providing direct access to federal offices.

A government strategy paper says "e-government aims to create more transparency and to boost peoples' confidence in the governmental procedures."

The Swiss government also stands to make substantial cost savings by enabling the public to get information, download forms and pay bills online.

Roughly half of Switzerland's population currently uses the Internet, with the numbers rising continuously.

One of the most important functions of the electronic initiative will be to enable expatriates to vote online. ...

The government says some technical hurdles still have to be overcome before the possibilities of e-government can be fully maximised. For instance, it is preparing to carry out tests to develop electronic signatures.

Another difficulty is how to make the websites user friendly, a problem which some other governments have failed to overcome.



GERMANY

In Germany, the "Menschen für Volksabstimmung" campaign is in progress. Its purpose is to introduce the

citizens' right to I&R on the federal level. 73 organizations representing about 4,3 million members are involved. By the end of summer, several tens of thousands of signatures had been collected. To learn more about the German DD

movement - the strongest in Europe - you are invited to read *Zeitschrift für direkte Demokratie*, Humboldtstrasse 76, 60318 Frankfurt am Main, tel. and fax 069-59 44 46, email: zeit-schrift@mehr-demokratie.de.

Mr. *Thomas Rupp*, one of prominent personalities of the European DD movement, has been recently appointed editor in chief.



EUROPE

On 30 August, Mr. *Anthony Cougham*, secretary of THE NATIONAL PLATFORM, 24 Crawford Avenue, Dublin 9, Ireland, sent us a statement headlined "French President Jacques Chirac's call for a State Constitution for an EU Federation ... As if the Treaty of Nice is already ratified despite Ireland's "NO"!" (Website: www.national-platform.org)

The National Platform, Ireland is affiliated to TEAM: The European Alliance of EU-critical Movements, which is the network of political parties and organizations across Europe, inside and outside the EU, that stand for a Europe of independent democratic cooperating states, opposed to euro-federalism.

For a free daily news service of critical information on EU affairs, visit Euobserver.com on the web.

• On 21 June, Dr. *Michael Macpherson* sent us the following letter:

"If the Irish voted no to the Nice treaty, it might be for some fears about enlargement, but maybe also because the Nice treaty was pure haggling between state politicians without any democratic vision of Europe. Imo, referendum would be good for Europe, but only if they ask the right question: 'Do you want more democracy and citizen power in Europe? And to start with by shifting the power from the Council of Ministers and the Brussels Commission to the European parliament and to a President elected by the People?'

Referendum would be even better for Europe if the people could select the issues which are important to them. What is the point of working up good policy ideas if there is no way to get them realized?

The movement to introduce elements of direct democracy into European constitutions is growing. ... In short, we need "Citizens' initiative and referendum". More information about this is at the newly updated website <http://iniref.tripod.com>"

• Information from Mr. *Arjen Nijeboer* (12 September): "We are currently making new pages for the website www.iri-Europe.org of the newly established Initiative & Referendum Institute Europe. This in our effort to gather

all significant information on I&R in Europe on one website. These pages contain Polls on I&R - both among the population and among politicians. ... Examples are below....

Polls on I&R among the population:
 Germany: 75 % in favor; Netherlands: 80 % in favor;
 Polls among Dutch politicians: majority against ..."



TERRORISM AND GLOBALIZATION

After the event of September 11, analyses of the background factors resulting in such atrocities have begun to appear both on the web and in certain periodicals. They are written by University teachers, islamologists, and some writers - people belonging to the world's intellectual elite.

Examples:

• Ahmed Bouzid, Los Angeles Times, October 21 2001.

<http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/commentary/la-000083832oct21.story>

"The roots of terrorism can be traced as far back as Aug. 19, 1953, when CIA toppled the flourishing democracy in Iran, which resulted in the establishment of the rule of ayatollas, replaced by the shah in 1963 and then by Khomeini in 1977. Followed the hostage crisis, US support to Saddam Hussein, the Iraq - Iran war, the Kuwait war leading to the establishment of American bases in Saudi Arabia - in the eyes of moslem fanatics a western provocation, etc. etc."

• Joseph Stiglitz, ex-chief economist of the World Bank and recently a Nobel prize winner in economics, reveals

the real role played by the World Bank and the IMF. Instead of helping the developing countries, these institutions exploit them and bring them to the brim of bankruptcy. E.g.: Indonesia and Brazil, but especially Russia the national output of which was cut nearly in half.

• Prof. Michel Chosudovski, Canada, sums up the development of terrorism and shows that, to a great extent, Bin Ladin and the Talibans are products of many years' support on the part of the USA. Only when these terrorists attacked their former benefactor, they became "bad guys".

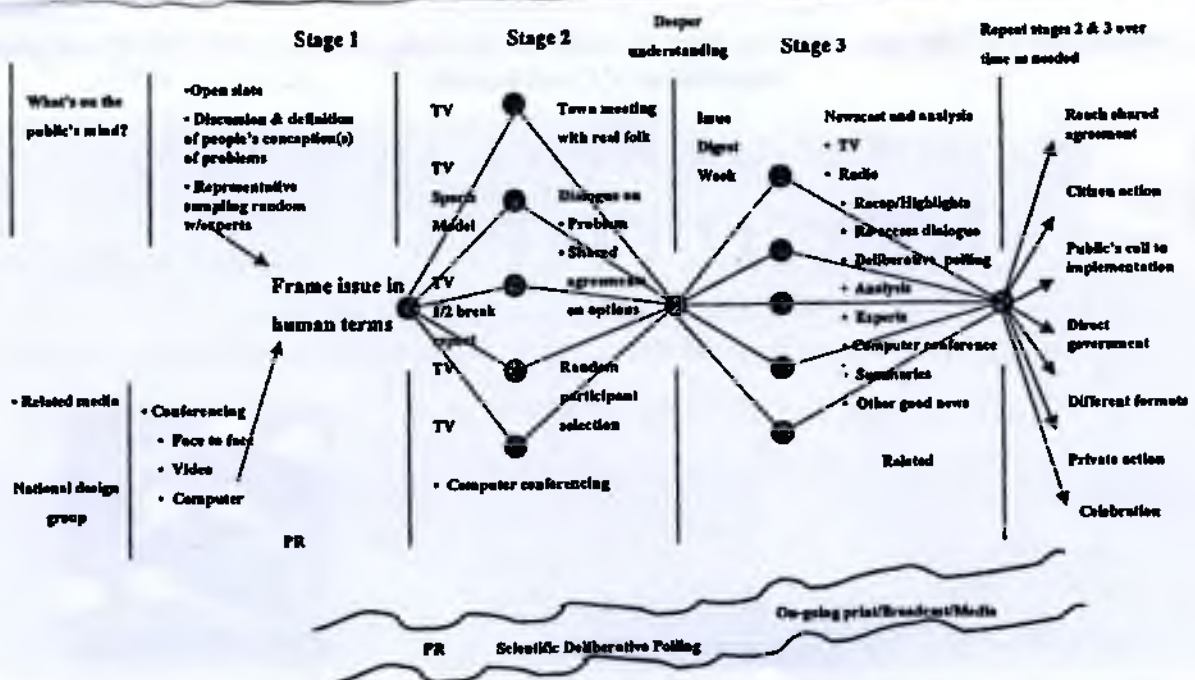
• Ph D.Larry Mosqueda, The Evergreen State Colledge, draws our attention to the fact that, since the end of the WWII, The USA have killed, directly or indirectly at least 8 million innocent people in various countries (Guatemala, Chile, Grenada, Vietnam ...). The 5,000 American lives lost on September 11 should be put into this context.

• On 23 September, Mr.Evan Ravitz wrote, "This nation is the greatest purveyor of violence on the planet, and until we acknowledge that, we can't move forward." (Quotation from Martin Luther King). Mr.Ravitz goes on: "But we should not feel guilty! Our government's militarism does NOT represent the People!"

MODELS OF FUTURE DEMOCRACY

Ted Becker and Christa Daryl Slaton: National Electronic Town Meeting Design
 (Published in The Future of Teledemocracy)

Figure 5.1
 National Electronic Town Meeting Design



Participatory Direct Democracy

Thomas Mcarthur

(cont. from September 2001)

The Representative and the Parliament or Legislature

Under our present system a person must run for political office as a Party member or as an independent. Independents are badly abused by the system, as it is not an even playing field. With this in mind, it is reluctantly admitted that a Party must be under strict control of the members. The Election Act, which demands that a leader be named, makes it difficult for the PDD Party, for the Party must make sure that the person named is really only the spokesperson and has no special status. It is the electors that set policy, not party officials or representatives. The representatives vigorously present those policies and the majority carry the day. The Leader is the head presenter and not automatically the Prime Minister or Premier in waiting.

In the PDD Party system the caucus elects the Premier and his Ministers to office. It can be done in this manner. The first piece of business for the PDD Party Legislative caucus is to elect the Party Leader in the House or Leader of the Opposition or the Prime Minister or Premier. It is an open nomination process, there must be a mover of the nomination and seconded by a member when over three representatives in the caucus. The successful candidate needs to obtain a minimum of 50 % plus one vote. On the second anniversary of the person's election, a further two years can be confirmed by a majority vote of the caucus or an election called by the caucus. The Ministers are elected in a

similar manner. All are subject to the pleasure of the caucus and the caucus is subject to the pleasure of the people.

The removal of a Minister or a member, for cause shown, is now quite simple as a binding contract is involved which, if necessary, is summarily achieved in court. It can be initiated by the Constituency Association or by the people themselves as they are a third party to the contract.

Every Party member of the legislative assembly or house of commons is utilised within some area of government. It will hone their ability to understand government works and give them experience to qualify for a senior position. Recognition and respect are the keys to bring about togetherness.

In conclusion I would like to extend this last thought. In 1965 a survey was published by H.Cantril and Associates. The survey was taken in the early 1960s in twelve different nations and dealt with the aspirations and anxieties of one third of the world's population and two general issues were their concern: keeping alive and living well.

What is so striking about this massive survey was its political significance in the tone set by two tables, Rank and Order of Personal Concerns and Rank and order of National Concerns. In both cases the concerns were listed as either Hoping for or fearful of. Clearly this sets the stage that the people have no control over what happens in the world around them. The word "obtaining" was not used because it was not within their power to do so as they were either in a police state or under control by the Party (special interest groups sysem, who had taken over the people's political power.

It is this takeover of political power that must stop and then the people's aspirations and anxieties can be attended to.

Merry Christmas and a happier 2002 than the 2001 has been!

Yearly subscription \$ 10,- by cash, \$ 13,- by check. Account Mr. Jiří Polák, 002022-0168677293 ČS OP Praha 2, Jugoslávská 19, Czech Republic



WORLDWIDE DIRECT DEMOCRACY

NEWSLETTER

Vol. 3 (No. 4) November 2001

Published by MDD - Movement for Direct Democracy, Bellova 15, Brno, Czech Republic.

Responsible editor: Jiri Polak, Design: Bohuslav Binka, Picture: Katka Svehlova, Print: Studio Contrast.

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