

Charter 47

Next Generation Democracy

For a true participatory democracy in an enlarged European Union

For a Union where the citizens are closer to the citizens

For a real substance to the Constitution's article 47

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Abstract

- We need a far more ambitious, coherent and concrete plan to secure the next generation of the European democracy. A democracy where we as citizens have much better possibilities to take part in the handling of the cross-border tasks characterizing Europe and the rest of world society in the 21st century.
- Already today the EU consists of 453 million people. We are part of a world population of 6.3 billion people, which will have grown to nearly 9 billion people in 2050. More than three times as many as the 2.5 billion people who in 1950 had just buried the 40 to 50 million who died during the Second World War.
- There is no getting round it. We in Europe must prove that a real participatory democracy across national borders is possible. And that 'more democracy' is the best way to secure that welfare society that many of us benefit from already, but which none of us can take for granted.
- Thus Charter 47 contains an extremely ambitious proposal for the establishing of a 'democratic infrastructure' in Europe under the heading Next Generation Democracy. It will cost €2 per citizen per year to establish this democratic infrastructure. This is 40 times the amount offered by DG EAC's *Citizens for Europe* programme.
- It is clear that if we choose to spend so much money to the benefit of more participatory democracy, then the money has to be spent in accordance with some very concrete guidelines, which it is important to discuss in full openness. Fundamentally it is about strengthening the network between the citizens - across national borders. We need a Union where the citizens are closer to the citizens.
- All in all an additional number of 1,000,000 citizens should have the possibility of meeting in cross-border face-to-face-meetings, and everybody who is interested will benefit from a number of IT and media initiatives in the service of democracy. The actors in civil society, who are working to ensure debate, dialogue and creation of the networks already today, will obtain far better working conditions with the establishing of Next Generation Democracy.

- Apart from this, completely new and very extensive initiatives can be taken within the framework of Next Generation Democracy. Thus, in part 2 of this paper a concrete proposal under the heading Waves of Democracy can be found. This is an initiative that is about gathering around 500,000 young people every year and giving them the possibility of meeting for 10 days at meeting places called Citizens Colleges, which it would be appropriate to establish in local communities everywhere in Europe.
- An informal setting where young people can live together for a short period of time to discuss some of the many questions which have to be handled in the 21st century. In this way we can connect the local communities to the metropolis of Europe, and the young people to the decision-makers in Brussels.
- We can open a *channel of influence*, making it clear for the young people of Europe, as well as citizens in general, that there are real possibilities to influence our common future in Europe and the world.
- Charter 47 is about securing the next generation of the European democracy in a still more global world.

Background

- The Charter 47 Paper has been prepared by the organisation New Europe, but of course it is also a result of co-operation for several years with many inspiring actors and partners from all over Europe.
- For instance the focusing on Citizens Colleges is due to the project Youth 2002 which gathered 1000 young people from 32 countries in Europe at 13 folk high schools in Denmark for 14 days (July 2002).
- In continuation of this the Charter 47 Network is supposed to be an informal gathering of actors who support the Charter 47 Paper as a starting point for a concrete discussion of how we can ensure more participatory democracy in Europe.
- The Network is naturally open for everybody. The intention is to collect as much input as possible, and later in the process to adjust the Charter 47 Paper in accordance with that. Comments, both critical and praising, are very welcome. Please mail to soren@nyteuropa.org

The overall structure

The overall democratic infrastructure:

Next Generation Democracy

Guidelines:

- Citizens-meeting-citizens (cross border)
- Citizens-communication-with-citizens (cross border)
- Citizens-organising-citizens
- +
- Best practice

Principles:

- The global perspective
- The problem and solving oriented perspective
- The political citizen's perspective
- +
- Citizens-to-citizens enlightenment

The first specific project within this framework:

Waves of Democracy

Elements - overall:

- Citizens' Colleges
- Web communities
- Citizens Agenda

First wave:

The NN Forum for Democracy

Elements - concrete:

- The XX Citizens College
- The XX Web community
- The XX Agenda
- +
- The Observatory for Democracy
- The Open University for Democracy

Preface - On the way towards a European participatory democracy

In the last 50 years, surprising to many, we have succeeded in building the institutions in EU that make legislation across national borders possible. Despite this fantastic progress, we have still not succeeded in securing a satisfactory participatory democracy and a strong common European public.

The EU still lacks a real participatory democracy

Time is here to secure that the citizens obtain the possibility to involve themselves and each other in the work of EU, i.e. in handling the cross border problems and possibilities of our time.

We must do our very best in this way to strengthen the political institutions which are the basis for the managing of the extensive and cross border challenges and possibilities we face in the 21st century.

The need to promote a real participatory democracy can be seen in the light of the rapid globalisation, but it is also a consequence of an EU recently enlarged with 10 new countries and more than 73 million citizens.

World society on its way towards 9 billion people

Today EU consists of 25 countries and more than 453 million citizens. An impressive population, nonetheless, it is only a small percentage of the world population that already today amounts to 6.5 billion people.

In 2050 we will be around 9 billion people in the world. Far more than three times as many as the 2.5 billion people that a 100 years earlier just had buried the Second World War's 40-50 million dead.

Despite the small population seen in a global context, EU is an economic and to an increasing extent also a political heavyweight. Today, world BNP totals \$43.000 billion. EU's BNP make up \$13.000 billion.

The EU has a global role - and a global responsibility

EU's development is important and also for the development of world-society. Several of the world's regions look towards Europe: "Do the Europeans succeed in establishing a true democracy across national borders, cultures, languages, religion and other dividing lines?"

Will the Europeans succeed in showing that the road paved with democracy and human rights is the most save road towards welfare across national borders and peace on a whole continent?"

The consequences will be immense if the European answer is negative. Why should other regions in the world extend their national democracies with a cross border dimension if the European experiment ended in failure?

"More democracy" is the only way forward!

We must admit that EU is the litmus test of our time of the next generation of democracy. In the past 100 to 150 years democracy has to a wide extent established itself locally and nationally.

The next phase in the development of democracy deals with the fact that democracy must establish itself locally, nationally *and* continentally *and* globally.

Therefore, it is so crucial that the European experiment turns out well, both for the sake of world-society as a whole but also for the sake of ourselves, in Europe. We Europeans must not be blind to the fact that we as the first can get into a jam in a world-society with 9 billion people that is *not* characterized by democracy across national borders.

The "European experiment" must not fail

Therefore we should act. We should aim big and determined because it is necessary. In the future years we should launch world history's largest effort for a participatory democracy across national borders,

World history's largest effort for more participatory democracy - now!

cultures, traditions, languages, religion and other dividing lines. The 21st century is characterized by problems and possibilities which go beyond all these dividing lines.

This makes it even more important that democracy follows suit. The task is to establish a European participatory democracy with the world-society as horizon. We must be an example that deserves the best honour of all:

The example that the rest of the world-society can benefit by choosing to follow.

1a

NEXT GENERATION DEMOCRACY

The new European 'democratic infrastructure'

Basis and guidelines for securing a real participatory democracy

- The intention with part 1 is to describe the 'democratic infrastructure', which it is very important to build in Europe. It is necessary to invest €2 per citizen per year in the establishing of this 'democratic infrastructure', which is 40 times the amount of the present budget of the Citizens for Europe programme, or 1/40 of the present agricultural budget.
- It is crucial that this amount is invested in accordance with some completely clear guidelines, which it is important to discuss in openness. That is exactly what we do in part 1, and in the following part 2 we give one example of how these guidelines could be put into practice.

The aim for more participatory democracy is easy to put forward but hard to fulfil. Therefore, it is crucial that the discussion remain concrete. Thus, the following pages contain a concrete description of the method, which is important for the building of a real participatory democracy, will follow.

Important to maintain a concrete discussion

The method is described in the form of three central guidelines, supplemented with a fourth guideline that deals with *best practice*. Last but not least this first draft for Charter 47 contains an example of how these four guidelines can be put into practice under the heading *Waves of Democracy*.

However, this can only be seen as the beginning. It is important to emphasize that Charter 47-Next Generation Democracy above all describes a framework. It is always an open question whether the framework is the right one, and it is also an open question what concrete projects and initiatives could be put into the framework.

All who are interested can contribute to the final content of Charter 47

It would therefore be useful in the work for more participatory democracy in Europe if as many actors as possible - not least actors in civil society - would contribute with adjustments, comments and new proposals.

The foundation for the building of a participatory democracy

The need for a European participatory democracy is incontestable. The question now is whether the foundation to meet this need is present.

A number of conditions must be present

For certain a number of legal, economic and political conditions must be present to make it realistic to establish a participatory democracy for 453 millions citizens. A participatory democracy for so many

people can hardly be established on the basis of uncoordinated voluntary work.

Therefore it is gratifying to see that the European Constitution distinguishes itself by containing an article about participatory democracy. For the first time participatory democracy has been written down as a part of the EU's legal basis.

The legal condition

In article 47 it says, among other things, that the EU's institutions "in appropriate ways" shall give "citizens and representative organisations the possibility of expressing their views regarding all of the Union's fields of cooperation and of discussing them publicly"¹.

¹ *On the whole the future constitution means that the citizens get a much more central role in the future EU. Not least via the European Parliament which is the one of EU's institutions that is strengthened the most with the new constitution. On 81 of the 108 fields where EU can make legislation the European Parliament is now placed on an equal footing with the Council. This is a doubling compared to today. The enhanced say to the European Parliament probably also means that the European Commission will be strengthened. The reason is among other things that the future constitution proposes that the European Parliament has a decisive say regarding the election of the president for the commission. This again means that the commission will have a more well-founded, European, and political mandate in the future with all that follows.*

*In this connection there is also reason to emphasize article III-181 (earlier article 149 in TEF) about education, youth, sport and vocational education. This article in the European Constitution is identical with the original article although with an important exception. In number e it is now stated that the objectives of the Union's effort are: "to prompt to the development of exchange of young people and youth leaders **and promote the young people's participation in the democratic life in Europe**. The addition (stressed in bold writing) gives new meaning to article II-181's other formulations about "mobility", "distance teaching" etc. In the article the importance of the European Council is also mentioned.*

To this can be added that in connection with the Commission's statement about the possibilities to enter into negotiations with Turkey about admission, after recommendation from Commissioner Margot Wallström's cabinet, an obligation was inserted with the following wording: "There has to be a significant increase in the political and cultural dialogue so that people from the member states and from Turkey are brought together. The Commission must develop proposals that show how this dialogue can be created and developed". An obligation that corresponds completely with the fundamental assumptions in the Charter 47 paper, including also the specific proposal about the establishing of Waves of Democracy.

So far so good. The legal element is important but far from a sufficient condition. It is similarly important that the economic foundation to secure a real content in article 47 also can be found.

The economic condition

So far the EU and the member states have not invested enough money at all to secure a real participatory democracy in Europe.² A participatory democracy across national borders, languages, cultures, religion and other dividing lines is possible, but it implies a totally different effort than what might be sufficient on a national level.

Here the structural funds of the EU enter the picture. If only a small percentage of the structural funds of the EU, the Union's second largest budget heading, was used to promote a European participatory democracy, it would ensure the necessary financial basis.

Wallström's paradigm shift: "Use the structural funds!"

Such a step, apart from being something completely new, would be in accordance with the proposal that commissioner Margot Wallström put forward in European Voice, September 2004. Wallström thinks that some of the EU's structural funds should be used to build a 'democratic infrastructure' in Europe.

"The EU has helped to build many infrastructures and other physical means of communication between people in an enlarged Europe. By the same token, the same attention should be paid to the building of human infrastructure to create common ideals and goals."

Margot Wallström

The legal base and the economic framework are thus crucial elements in the foundation needed, but not even that is sufficient. Without

The political

²See e.g. the council's decision from 26 January 2004 about an EU actions programme to promote active citizenship in Europe (2004/100/EC). Here €72 millions are allocated for the period 2004-2006. It is equivalent to about €0.05 per year, per EU citizen.

political will-power nothing happens. Therefore it is very gratifying that Margot Wallström has been given the newly established post as commissioner for communication. And this is done at a time where the readiness to comply with initiatives to promote participatory democracy ought to be extensive all over Europe.

condition

If we - for a short while - presuppose that the future European Constitution is passed and the decision makers of the EU at the same time show their readiness to comply with Margot Wallström's proposal to use structural funds for the building of a democratic infrastructure in Europe, then the Charter 47 initiative really makes sense.

Right now we have a unique chance to ensure more participatory democracy!

It becomes very relevant to discuss the guidelines we should use to establish a democratic infrastructure, and in this connection to submit concrete proposals to show how these guidelines can be put into practice.

The guidelines for the building of a participatory democracy

The legal base, the economic basis and the political basis are important elements in the pursuit of establishing a real participatory democracy in Europe.

Clear guidelines are necessary to make the most of the chance for more participatory democracy

However, the work is not done just because the foundation for the work is present. It is also necessary with a clear description of the guidelines which must keep the efforts on the right track.

Without a clear method and strategy the big risk is that the money is wasted on insufficient and incoherent initiatives³ that in the end do not make any difference.

In other words: To ensure that article 47 has a real content it

³ For a discussion of EU and the member states' previous practice please see enclosure 1

naturally has to be in the form of concrete projects and initiatives.

.. but without anticipating political discussions

What characteristics should these projects and initiatives have? What guidelines should we use? Here we have to be concrete *without* anticipating the political discussions that must be left for open discussion within the framework of the European participatory democracy that it is all about.

The best we can do is therefore to discuss the general guidelines that we want to use in the building of a European participatory democracy. These guidelines should also be used when the money to promote a real participatory democracy is to be allocated between various projects.

Before we take a closer look at the proposal for these guidelines, there is reason to underline the basic assumption which is the starting point for this paper and for the following guidelines:

Basic assumption:

We live in a still more global world. In the dawning supranational democracy, that must be used to manage globalisation's challenges and possibilities, the road to political influence goes via cross border political alliances.

We need a Union where the citizens are closer to the citizens.

The prerequisite for a well-functioning participatory democracy across national borders - and a union closer to the citizens - is *a union, where the citizens are closer to the citizens*⁴!

⁴*The reason for the so-called EU-scepticism must to a much larger degree than we usually do be seen in the light of the scepticism that the citizens have towards each other - across borders. We are still very far from the point where the citizens see the citizens of other countries as potential like-minded persons. It is much more common as a rule to see the citizens of other countries as adversaries. Without thinking much about it we are content with seeking political like-minded persons in our own countries. In practice that means that we always refer ourselves to belong to a political minority. In an EU with 453 million citizens divided among 25 member states all nationalities are a minority. The way towards influence goes via cross border political alliances instead of narrow national alliances.*

Too often we look at EU from a 'country perspective' where expressions such as 'Denmark thinks', 'Germany takes the view', 'France has a wish to' are the normal ways of speaking. This contradicts the 'political citizen perspective' that is about the fact that we can find like-minded in all countries. In the political citizen perspective we have as citizens acknowledged that we can and must seek political like-minded locally, nationally and continentally and globally if we want to have a say on some of the most important conditions in the global world of the 21PP^{stPP} century.

It is in this light we must see it as a common European task to ensure the 'democratic infrastructure' that makes cross border political networks a real possibility for the citizens.

"It may be naïve of me, but I believe that we have to start by strengthening contacts between people."

Margot Wallström

The task to create more participatory democracy can therefore not be reduced to a 'filling station attendant principle' where an active Union just hands out brochures and other material to passive citizens. This will lead to nothing. The task is much more fundamental. In the end it is about bringing the citizens of Europe closer to each other. The citizens must have the opportunity to become part of networks which means that they together across national borders can be part of political debate⁵ with the decision makers of the EU, a debate that belongs to a well-functioning democracy.

Communication strategies must never be reduced to a "filling station attendant principle"

Information about the EU should in future follow a 'citizens-to-citizens-principle'. Fundamentally the case is that the EU cannot inform the citizens about the EU. In the end, only the citizens themselves can inform the citizens about the EU and the challenges and possibilities in a still more global world where the EU is useful in managing them.

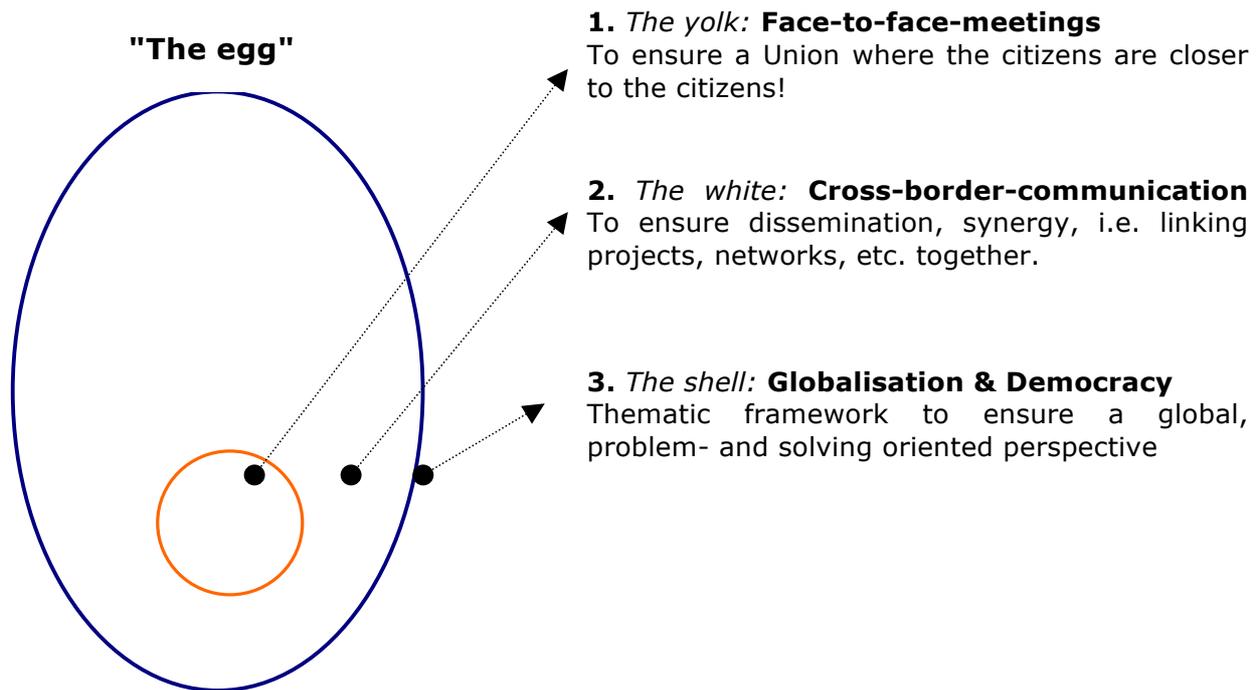
In the light of these considerations the following guidelines should be the basis for the implementation of article 47:

- Face-to-face-meetings
- Cross-border communication
- Globalisation & Democracy

The so-called 3 +1 guidelines for more participatory democracy

⁵What is crucial to focus on is a so-called 'problem and solution oriented debate', stressing the point that nobody will feel engaged in a debate which is just about talking, talking and talking. Life is too short for that. Citizens will only engage in political discussions and political activities if it is clear to them that solving concrete problems and about turning concrete possibilities into reality is at the core.

Used in the right way these three guidelines will be able to promote a real European participatory democracy *without* overlooking the global world-society that Europe is a part of. The three guidelines can be illustrated in this way:



Face-to-face-meetings

(1) 'The Yolk': Face-to-face-meetings must ensure a Union where the citizens are closer to the citizens, because it is a possibility to bring thousands of especially young Europeans together for political debate and social gathering across national borders. It should be one of the core tasks in the building of a real participatory democracy that the citizens get the possibility to meet and live together for e.g. 10 days to discuss politics, and to teach and involve each other in European and global themes.

1. Guideline:
Face-to-face meetings

Every year additional 1.000.000 citizens should have the opportunity to take part in cross border face-to-face-meetings. 500.000 of these citizens should be young Europeans, who should be given the opportunity to live together for 10 days as described below.

Of course it will be very expensive to establish these face-to-face meetings but, nonetheless, it is one of the best investments we can make to secure a well-functioning EU. Not only with reference to promoting a real participatory democracy but also a flexible European work market where the citizens to a larger extent are prepared to live in other countries. Face-to-face-meetings⁶ are one of the most outstanding ways in which we can contribute to fulfil the political citizen perspective.

Cross-border-communication

(2) 'The White': Cross-border-communication must also be a central element in the democratic infrastructure and here contribute to promotion of as much dissemination as possible and coherence between various initiatives. Even with the largest possible investment it is only possible to bring a small number of Europe's citizens together in face-to-face-meetings. Therefore, we also have to create an infrastructure for networking that is cheaper to use, but nevertheless, that distinguishes itself by connecting millions of citizens for the benefit of what can be called citizens-to-citizens-enlightenment. This can happen by including, among other things:

2. Guideline:

Cross-border-communication

⁶*Cross border face-to-face-meetings are exactly what the EU's decision makers are already used to. No politician agrees with another politician **only** because they come from the same country. The politicians meet regularly with their colleagues from other countries. Here they experience that political alliances cross national borders. This makes it even more important that the citizens have the opportunity to experience the same thing. This is at the same time a crucial element in the effort to close the gap between the citizens and the decision makers in Europe.*

- Modern IT
- Traditional media

Modern IT: There is a need for initiatives showing the possibilities for including the most advanced IT for the benefit of a participatory democracy in Europe. Advanced translation tools will be able to promote communication among citizens across national borders. Highly developed role-playing on the Internet can be used to link the educational sector with the informational campaigns that the EU already offers.⁷ A joint IT effort can be used to link different projects, initiatives and actors in a way that we only see the outline of today. Modern IT contains a number of potential possibilities for *life long learning* and *eLearning* that will be obvious to combine with the wish for promotion of a European participatory democracy.⁸

a) Modern IT

Traditional press: The media should be included as a central actor in the building of a European participatory democracy. The actors of the

b) Traditional media

⁷*Example: Next Generation European Parliament which is an advanced role-play built on a 3D animation of the European Parliament where you can move around virtually exactly as if you were in the building. European high school pupils could invite each other to participate in a game about solving common European problems via the European Parliament. The Commission's Europe Direct Service could be integrated as the 'civil servant' that the pupils can ask for advice if they cannot move on in the case they have been given in the role-playing.*

It is worth remembering that we are only at the beginning of the development of IT. The nano technology will open up for even more possibilities. Already as a starting point, technological advances should be linked with the wish for a real participatory democracy in Europe. We should use the newest technology in the service of democracy. This could easily be done within the already existing financial framework.

⁸*Modern IT should also be included as 'the citizens' political civil servant'. It is not lack of information that is a problem today, but rather that we all are drowning in information. It should be a common European matter to develop the IT tools that enable the actors of civil society - in accordance with a principle about citizens-to-citizens enlightenment - to sort and communicate the information that is necessary for serious political work across national borders. The citizens should have the possibility to follow the Internet's communication recommendations about short texts, pictures, sound, animations and illustrations. Not only the advertising and the entertainment industry should have the possibility of creating exciting forms of communication.*

media should oblige themselves and each other to promote as much debate as possible across national borders in a far more ambitious way than the media do today.

An example could be an 'exchange agreement' which means that the citizens would have easier access to write letters to the editor for newspapers in other countries. In itself this would promote a common European public. Another example could be a joint agreement to secure that the citizens obtain better possibilities to advertise cross border political events in the press.⁹.

It is similarly important that the electronic press enters the scene, among other things by showing the citizens that already today are involved in cross border activities of some kind. A European television and radio channel is just one of several necessary elements. We cannot do without the media as fellow players, if a democracy for almost 500 million citizens is to function at all.

In one way or the other it must be made clear to the media that they have a heavy responsibility to contribute to the establishment of a common European public. It is no use or excuse that the media are ruled by short-sighted economic interests. However, the reality is that the most effective way to include the media is to establish projects and initiatives which are so extensive that the media cannot ignore them. (cf. Waves of Democracy, described at the end of this paper).

We must make activities that the media cannot fail to notice

⁹*The first initiative could be to make the European Commission's representations in the member states far more open than they are today. It would be a good idea if these offices systematically were in dialogue with e.g. the actors of civil society, and initiated a cross border debate about the Commission's different political proposals in the news publications that the Commission publishes. These publications are read by the press which in this way could be inspired to take up threads.*

Globalisation & Democracy

(3) 'The Shell': Globalisation & Democracy should be seen as a *thematic guideline* to secure a global, as well as a problem- and solution-oriented perspective on the political discussions.

The global perspective deals with the fact that the participatory democracy we build in Europe should set a good example for the rest of the world. We cannot build a participatory democracy by turning our back against the citizens in the rest of the world. In that case we risk taking one step forward in the short term but two steps back in the longer term.

This point is very important because we human beings have a tendency to lay too much stress on what is close to ourselves. We have to persist in the fact that we and Europe are part of a larger whole. In 2050 the European population will only amount to about 7 % of the world population as compared to 23 % in 1950. The increase of population in the industrialised countries will in the future 45 years grow with 4 % to about 1.2 billion people while the population in the developing countries will grow with 55 % and maybe round 8 billion people. The world's cultivated agricultural areas will remain almost the same, nonetheless, with all that follows.

Thus, the increase in population radicalizes the already very serious challenges we face in the world-society. It is about securing a sustainable development. The fight for the raw materials of the world - not least water and oil - increases as the world population increases and it plays a still more central role in relation to the paramount problem about social inequality in world-society. 3 billion people live for less than two dollars a day. How these problems can be solved is always an open question. However, it is indisputable that the challenges are a reality and in future years it will be even more

3. Guideline

Globalisation & Democracy

.. a thematic guideline that maintain..

a) The global perspective..

meaningless to use the national borders as a cloak for not dealing with these challenges. The world-society is one coherent series of houses. If it burns in one end of the house, then the fire will reach us also. If not directly then indirectly.

No matter how we look at it, the future political models for solutions must always have world-society as horizon.

The problem- and solution-oriented perspective deals with the fact that in the fast and volatile media world it is important to keep proportions¹⁰ and the right starting point for the political discussions. It is about objectivity - a cross-party virtue. The future European participatory democracy should be formed on the basis of a cross-party consensus about a problem- and solution-oriented debate. The starting point must be a description of the cross-border problems and possibilities characteristic for our time. On this basis we have to discuss how these problems can be solved and the possibilities be fulfilled. We have to discuss whether our political tools, such as the EU, are sufficiently developed to meet these tasks. On an overall level this model may be used:

b) The problem- and solution-oriented perspective

1. Globalisation
2. Political tools
3. Political actors

The problem- and solution-oriented debate deals with the fact that we under the heading globalisation find a number of challenges and possibilities which the different political actors discuss. The political actors discuss *what* challenges and possibilities we face and *how* these

.. debate with the starting point in concrete problems

¹⁰Example: During the period 1997 to 2001 there has been a multiplication by five of the news coverage of the theme 'terror'. These figures must be related to the fact that international terror activity was at it highest in the middle of the 1980s. With a few exceptions - e.g. 1991, 1999 and 2001 - the annual number of terror attacks have fallen since then. At present the annual occurrence of terror is a third of the level between 1985 and 1988. Source: Politiken, 10 August 2004.

challenges should be solved and the possibilities fulfilled. Here the political tools enter the picture. A European participatory democracy should be based on the assumption that in the end political action is only possible if we have effective political tools locally, nationally, continentally and globally.¹¹

Best practice

(+1) Best practice is the supplementary fourth guideline - about organisation. We should have as much participatory democracy as possible for the money. The basis for the building of a participatory democracy deals with subjects such as 'legal base', 'economic framework' and 'political willpower'. The method for the building of a participatory democracy includes three guidelines - that is 'face-to-face-meetings', 'cross-border-communication'¹² as well as the thematic heading 'globalisation and democracy'¹³. Apart from this it is, however, necessary to add an organizing guideline which is about *best practice*. With reference to *best practice* we should focus on the following key words on a completely different level than it is the case today. The following key words are described further in the enclosure:

The so-called +1
Guideline:

Best practice

.. we want to make
the most of the
money

¹¹Too often we are too direct in the discussion about the EU. We discuss the EU starting with the EU. That is completely wrong. Instead we should discuss the EU starting with the cross-border challenges and possibilities we face. The case is that many of these cross-border challenges and possibilities often are invisible for the citizens. Nobody can expect that the citizens will involve themselves in the discussion about political tools (e.g. the EU) if it is not at all clear to the citizens what challenges and possibilities these political tools are supposed to be used to solve. Example: It is visible to most people that pollution crosses national borders. Precisely for this reason there is a general understanding and it is appreciated that the EU can act in this field. This means that the political discussions about the environment do not start with the question whether the EU should have an environmental policy or not but on the contrary it is about which environmental policy EU should have.

¹²Stressing a) Modern IT; and b) Traditional media

¹³Accentuating a) The global perspective and b) The problem- and solution-oriented perspective. To this can be added that c) The political citizens perspective (which was stressed under the heading face-to-face-meetings) is actually also found under the heading Globalisation and Democracy, namely under the point Political actors.

- coherence
- synergy
- continuity
- dissemination
- creation of European networks
- collecting of experience

These key words, important for the securing of *best practice*, are reflected in the following proposal, together with the three other guidelines, with the heading *Waves of Democracy*, which could be one of several possible projects to be established in the future years.

2a

WAVES OF DEMOCRACY

The specific proposal

Guidelines put into practice – an example

- The intention with part 2a is to describe a concrete project where the guidelines described in part 1 are put into practice. Thus, Waves of Democracy is a coherent project that over time will gather 500,000 young people at Citizens Colleges, but it will also involve far more citizens exactly because it is a project that can be connected to already existing activities including especially activities within the formal educational sector.
- Waves of Democracy will pre-empt half of the €2 per citizen which it has been proposed to invest in the overall democratic infra structure Next Generation Democracy. If Waves of Democracy is established, there will still be around ½ billion € per year for other projects and to strengthen already existing initiatives.

The democracy of Europe must have its basis among the citizens. At the same time we have to create a cross-border democracy that is not only centred in the metropolises of Europe and in Brussels. Also the local communities and the cities should take part. Waves of Democracy is an attempt to approach the citizens of Europe, especially the young people, and at the same time use the local communities of Europe as setting for the debate on our common future in Europe and the world. Within the framework of Waves of Democracy the three above mentioned guidelines become the following three concrete proposals:

- Face-to-face-meetings: Citizens Colleges
- Cross-border-communications: Citizens Web Community
- Globalisation & Democracy: Citizens Agenda

The purpose is that these three headings together should become 'a wave' flowing from as many of Europe's local communities as possible, and from here further on to the capital in that country, continuing to Europe, and ideally also continue to the rest of world-society. Gradually as these waves will flow from more and more local communities to the capitals and further on, waves between the local communities will also be created. On the whole a flood of waves will be created in the form of networks crossing all kinds of dividing lines. Infinite numbers of actors will be able to see themselves as part of Waves of Democracy.¹⁴.. Some actors will link to the local, others to

We need a European democracy that is based among the citizens..

.. and also includes the local communities and the towns

Guidelines in practice

Waves of democracy must flow from the local communities of Europe

¹⁴ See amongst others:

<http://www.european-net.org>; <http://www.modeleuropeparliament.com/>;
<http://www.eurocities.org/masterIndex.html>, http://www.eun.org/eun.org2/eun/en/index_spring.cfm;
<http://www.act4europe.org/code/en/hp.asp>; <http://www.newropeans.org/>;
<http://www.tol.cz/look/TOL/home.tpl?ldLanguage=1&ldPublication=4&NrIssue=78>
<http://www.generation-europe.org/page.asp>

the national, to the European or to the global level. Others again will enter into a traversing thematic level. The 'geographical wave' is thus just one of many¹⁵:

Local community)))) The capital)))) The country)))) Europe)))) The world

The local community is here intended as the starting point and the physical setting for Waves of Democracy. However, this does not mean that the influence flows only from the local to the European, and further on to the rest of the world. 'Waves of Democracy' is about putting European questions on the agenda - that is with world-society as horizon.

Waves of Democracy connects the local with the European and the global

It is the debate about these big European and global questions that with Waves of Democracy is moved into the local community. Therefore the influence will be both ways, from the local to the global and from the global to the local. In itself it symbolizes the complexity the modern political human being has to be able to handle. In the 21st century, the point is *not* to choose one of these levels as the most important. The point is to be able to handle all four areas and find the right balance between the local, the national, the continental and the global. It is always an open question what the right balance is between these and other levels at a particular time and in a particular case.

.. and vice versa

Face-to-face-meetings: Citizens Colleges

In local communities everywhere in the EU Citizens Colleges should be established, a modern version of what is known as *folkehøjskoler* in

1. Guideline in practice:

.. just to mention a small percentage of the hundreds of relevant organisations, unions and institutions that are relevant in this connection.

¹⁵*It could be said that the local communities hereby become a centre of force for citizens-to-citizens enlightenment.*

the northern Europe. A Citizens College is supposed to be a non-formal boarding school where the citizens meet and live together for a short period of time. Some times for months, some times for a few days. During their stay the citizens, hopefully with very different backgrounds, can discuss a wide range of topics. A stay at a Citizens College does not result in an exams certificate. You participate because you would like to meet new people and together with them want to learn something new and discuss topics of common interest.

Citizens Colleges

Already today there are several excellent examples of Citizens Colleges having formed the setting for a common debate on European questions. In connection with Denmark's presidency of the EU, in the second part of 2002, 1000 young people from 33 countries in Europe participated in the project Youth 2002. For 14 days the 1000 young people stayed at 13 different folk high schools where they discussed the question: *If* a European Constitution is to be written, what do you want it to contain? The question was extremely relevant because it was posed at the same time as the European Convention had its so-called 'listening phase'. The period in the Convention's work where they were to listen to the citizens' proposals for the future Europe.

.. have already been tried, among others the project Youth 2002 and several other initiatives

Youth 2002 was a huge success. An outstanding example of what ought to be a natural element in a European democratic infrastructure. During the 14 days the young people at each of the 13 schools had prepared a proposal for a European Constitution. Subsequently 26 representatives - two from each school - met to discuss a common proposal. It turned out to be very complicated negotiations because the representatives from each school stuck to precisely their school's proposal. The negotiations lasted from 5 PM to 8 AM the next morning, but then a finished and coherent proposal was also on the table - a common proposal for a European Constitution.

It works!

Subsequently direct contact to the European Parliament, where the Youth Convention had gathered for its first meeting, was established

via satellite. On this occasion, the Convention's president, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, had taken a seat in the panel side by side with one of the convention's other members, MEP, Helle Thorning Schmidt. Via the satellite connection it was now possible to present the 1000 young people's proposal for a constitution for all of the assembly in Brussels. Rønshoved, one of Europe's local communities at the border between Denmark and Germany - previously a scene of several wars - together with a number of Europe's young citizens were in this way connected with Brussels and some of Europe's decision makers.

It is well-known that a stay at a Citizens College creates friendships for life. Very often the participants meet every year, even after 40 years. Already today we see that new friendships and networks were made in connection with Youth 2002. Enormous resources are present in this way in the form of non-formal learning, e.g. language learning. On the whole, Youth 2002 was an expression of the interdependence among the citizens that Europe needs so badly.

**A stay at Citizens
Colleges creates
lifelong friendships
and networks**

The establishment of Citizens Colleges everywhere in Europe is one of the best thinkable investments we can make in the building of a European democratic infrastructure and a well-functioning EU. Every year 500,000 of Europe's 75 millions young people should have the possibility of meeting each other at one of Europe's Citizens Colleges for 10 days, and in this way participate in an event similar to Youth 2002.

Youth 2002 gave me a human touch of Europe. Today I have a European map of faces, not borders. When I think of Spain I think of my friend Irene. When Romania crosses my mind I end up seeing Nicolae. And I can phone them up whenever I want to - that is the best of it all.

Ruth Aniansson
Youth 2002-participant

Every Citizens College should distinguish itself by having good facilities and also be on an architecturally high level. An architectural competition among students of architecture could be arranged for the building of Citizens Colleges. In this connection young as well as more experienced artists could be invited to help with the decorating of the schools. Yes, one could even imagine that young unemployed craftsmen from all over Europe participated in the building. Of course it will be expensive to build Citizens Colleges but it will be worth it to manifest and strengthen the democracy that we too often take for granted.

Students of architecture could participate in the cases where completely new Citizens Colleges must be built

A useful model would be to use the physical facilities that are already available to a wide extent. Or more precisely, in some cases it will be necessary to build completely new Citizens Colleges. In other cases it will be sufficient just to adjust already existing buildings and add the necessary IT facilities. In most cases it will be sufficient to use already existing facilities. Thus, a *registration arrangement* could be a possibility where a wide range of actors undertake the task of organizing a number of events of 10 days in new or already existing facilities.¹⁶ In practice this model would involve a core of special Citizens Colleges that year after year organize many events. These 'lighthouses' could be combined with more ad hoc Citizens Colleges that might only organize a few courses and subsequently be substituted by other ad hoc schools. This model will ensure diversity

NGO's and others could "register" to be organisers

¹⁶ Because Waves of Democracy is not an isolated phenomenon but a yearly recurring event, gradually indefinite numbers of actors will cooperate across different geographical and professional dividing lines to prepare new courses - with all that follows. In this connection it is important to stress the economics of scale contained in Waves of Democracy. A large part of the tedious but inevitable work to write applications, find participants, advertise, have IT work done, as well as write reports and give an account can be standardized. This means that many actors can use the time to prepare and organize the best possible event. In other words, it is possible to make some routines to make it easier for new actors and networks to organize a course or event.

without jeopardizing the common ground in any way¹⁷.

Cross-border-communication: Citizens Web Community

If we succeed in gathering 500,000 young people every year on Citizens Colleges all over Europe, we will have taken a big step forward towards the goal about a Union where the citizens are closer to the citizens. Not least in the light of the fact that the effect of such an initiative will be much wider and reach more people than just the young people gathered. The young people will tell about their experiences to around 1,000,000 parents every year. They can do that better and with more enthusiasm than anybody else will ever be able to. Add to this the rest of the family as well as friends. In this way at least 10,000,000 citizens will have firsthand accounts about the stay and the discussions at every Citizens College every year.

But not only that. An initiative of this size means that the European press cannot possibly ignore the initiative. It will not be necessary to use extraordinarily many resources to involve the press in Waves of Democracy. The press will have to be present just because of the extent of the project, in contrast to many of the events that are organized today for more participatory democracy in Europe. Although many of these initiatives are heavy to organize and cost a lot of money, that does not alter the fact that their extent is extremely modest. Waves of Democracy will be expensive to implement but unlike the present initiatives it will make up a whole that nobody can ignore.

So far so good. Although the dissemination will be huge, if only for the

2. Guideline in practice:

Citizens Web Communities

A tool to involve even more citizens

.. and promote life

¹⁷ *It is evident that this model must rest on a core of common characteristics present at all courses. There is nothing to prevent that the central and the decentralized can go hand in hand. It is not about anticipating certain discussions - on the contrary. It is about keeping the diversity and promoting the objective discussions. An example of a common rule could be that in a group of a 100 young people at least 20 nationalities should be represented. It is a good thing if everybody experiences to be a national minority. That is the way it is in the real world. On the international political world scene in the 21st century it is a fact that all nationalities are a minority. It could be a good idea that the future decision makers learn to handle this fact in a productive way at an early stage.*

reason of gathering 500,000 young people every year, we cannot stop here. Because it is so expensive to gather so many young people, it is crucial that the outcome is as large as possible. We cannot be satisfied with fulfilling one of the two points under the heading Cross-border-communication - the point that deals with the media. It is also necessary to bring in the Internet's possibilities for still more dissemination, synergy and coherence, an aim that is also about *non-formal learning, life long learning and eLearning*.

long learning

Among other things this means that the discussions and non-formal teaching at the Citizens Colleges have to be connected and also connected to the formal educational sector in Europe as well as the decision makers in Brussels, especially the European Parliament and also a reformed version of ECOSOC¹⁸. On every school the very best of modern information technology has to be installed.

Every Citizens College should present Europe's most outstanding Exploratorium with regard to what results can be obtained if the most advanced IT is used to the benefit of democracy. In relation to each school a web-community has to be built to gather the young people who have a connection with the school. In a few years every web-community will gather a committed group of thousands of young people, and in this way they can keep a common frame of reference to one of the many Citizens Colleges situated in one of Europe's many local communities.¹⁹

Advanced IT has to be installed at every Citizens College

¹⁸ *If, for the sake of the argument, one distinguishes a formal from a non-formal democracy in the EU (where institutions such as the European Parliament has to do with the formal part and initiatives such as Waves of Democracy have to do with the informal part), then it could be imagined that a reformed version of ECOSOC was placed between these two layers as still another tool in the effort to strengthen the connection between the citizens and the legislative institutions in the EU.*

¹⁹ *Talking of local communities, it would be appropriate to see the building of Citizens Colleges as a possibility for some of the rural areas that will be affected by the phasing out of the EU's agricultural subsidies. Commissioner Mariann Fischer Boel has to manage €13 billion yearly for the development of the rural areas. At least 15% of this amount has to be used for employment in other industries than agriculture. Here the establishment of Citizens Colleges could fit in nicely. The building alone and the running of Citizens Colleges would secure working places in*

Every web-community also has to play an important role when different speakers visit the Citizens Colleges to discuss the themes on the Citizens Agenda as described below. Any politician, civil servant, artist or scientist who is involved in the EU in some way will visit many of Europe's Citizens Colleges several times. Not only because in time it will be 'rules of good democratic form' to participate in the public debate in this way, but also because Waves of Democracy is a whole and it ensures exposure and influence to the speaker in question.

Everybody will thus have the possibility of following exciting presentations via the Internet

At all Citizens Colleges there will be a possibility to make *live streaming* of all the talks. In practice this means that other Citizens Colleges, as well as students and teachers in the formal educational sector and other citizens interested in the topics, can follow the different discussions on the Internet. Only the imagination puts a limit to the many forms of inter-activity that can be integrated in these types of events.

Every web-community will make a whole and as such it is to be connected with especially the work of the European Parliament. Thus, the Web-dimension in Waves of Democracy should play a crucial role in the preparation of the Citizens Agenda which a representative for that year's participants in Waves of Democracy could present for the European Parliament at its first assembly after the summer holidays, as it is proposed below.

The web-communities of every school will be a tool for influence

Globalisation & Democracy: Citizens Agenda

We need a Europe where the citizens are closer to the citizens. That

the local communities here and now. Still more important are the working places that Waves of Democracy can secure on the longer term. A Union where the citizens are closer to the citizens is not 'only' a Union where the participatory democracy functions better. A Union where the citizens are closer to the citizens is also a Union where the citizens to a larger degree are ready to live where work can be found, and a Union where the citizens take part in a number of cross-border communities, which can also include the development of new products to be sold on the world market.

is exactly the purpose of Waves of Democracy. But not only that. The discussions must have a concrete and goal-oriented content. It has to be that way if money is to be spent on bringing 500,000 young people together across national borders. A concrete content has to be laid down without being so concrete that it anticipates the discussions, which it is up to the young people to solve. An example of this balance could be found in Youth 2002 in the form of the question: *If a European Constitution is to be written, what do you want it to contain?*

Similarly a question should be asked within the framework of Waves of Democracy, a question that at the same time can serve as a link to especially the European Parliament's agenda. The European Parliament is the Union's directly elected assembly, and at the same time it is the institution which in future years will obtain a still more central role in the EU. The more important it is that the citizens really do connect to the European Parliament. Far more should vote at the elections every fifth year and more should take part in the work of the parliament between the elections.

The experience from Youth 2002 is that the citizens would like to participate in the political discussions if it is clear - that is - that they have real chances of influencing matters. Nobody feels like participating in something that everybody can see is purely ornamental. Therefore the task is, under the heading Citizens Agenda, to give the participants in Waves of Democracy a possibility to influence the work of the European Parliament. This could be done in several ways. The example below is not meant as a final proposal but as one of several possibilities²⁰. It is crucial that the work and events are coherent and well-prepared, and that the aim is to include as many citizens as possible. In chronological order, the following could

3. Guideline in practice:

Citizens Agenda

.. the young people should have the possibility of influencing the agenda

The young people would like to involve themselves in politics if they feel there is a point...

²⁰ *In the example it has not been taken into account that there are differences in the way the school year runs in each country. Here the purpose just is to describe the principle.*

be a possibility:

A representative from that year's Waves of Democracy presents the Citizens Agenda in the European Parliament. The Citizens Agenda is the result of one year's discussions among thousands of young people from all of Europe. The presentation of Citizens Agenda could be started with the words²¹:

A coherent project ensures influence and visibility

"We have been asked two questions:

a) If the EU has to do a special effort the next year, what three initiatives do you want the politicians of the EU to decide upon for the year 2005-2006?

The participants in Waves of Democracy should have the possibility of presenting their agenda in the European Parliament

b) If the EU has to do a special effort next year to strengthen the democracy and the participatory democracy in Europe and the world as a whole, what would you recommend the politicians of the EU and the actors of civil society to do in 2005-2006?

We have discussed the questions and worked with a large number of possibilities. During the last month, where an extraordinarily large number of young people have been together at Citizens Colleges everywhere in Europe, the discussions reached its final phase. We have worked with the themes 'sustainable development', 'democracy' and 'participatory democracy' and used the widest possible meaning of the concepts as the basis for our work. In our response to the asked questions we have found it important to present realistic proposals and also stressed a similar realistic financing. Last but not least we have found it important to seek answers that would be able to find wide political support in the European Parliament.

²¹ *It could be one of the tasks for the first team of young people to prepare the first draft for such a speech, a draft with a text that could celebrate the beginning of a proud tradition, preferably something colourful that the media will find interesting to show. On the whole such an initiative would be an excellent way of complying with the proposal from the participants in Youth 2002 about the establishment of a European Youth Parliament.*

We have now drawn a conclusion. We suggest the following:

(...)

Next year thousands of young people will follow the work of the European Parliament to see how the political groups in the parliament handle the problems that are among the most important in our opinion. At the same time we will follow the work of the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission in order to plan next year's Citizens Agenda.

In future months a Youth Baton, with participants from the past year's Waves of Democracy, will travel around Europe, especially to the educational institutions, to present this year's Citizens Agenda and communicate impressions and experiences from the life at the many Citizens Colleges."

- **October - March**

During this period the formal educational sector could work with themes to be included in the next year's Citizens Agenda. The intention is to work very thoroughly with the themes, particularly with the implementation of each proposal. It is important that everybody is introduced to a political course of events as realistic as possible where the complicated questions about financing are included as well. In the real world you do not have a free choice on all shelves.

During the winter term all the Citizens Colleges can be open for other activities

Role-playing could here occupy a special position. Via the Internet it will be possible to create very complex games which can function across national borders and language borders. During the winter time of Waves of Democracy a possibility could be that each Citizens College had courses of long duration. The participants on these courses could be given special tasks such as making the advanced role-playing work²², or cooperate with the formal educational sector in

..the preparations of next year's Citizens Agenda can take place in the formal educational sector among others during this period

²² *It is evident that new tools must be developed to be able to handle discussions with so many participants as we speak of here. That is exactly what the establishment of a democratic*

some way. Some of these young people could also be given the task to help when the many and very intense events of 10 days are launched at the Citizens Colleges during the summer.

- March - August

With the coming of spring the summer events of Waves of Democracy could be started in a colourful and coordinated way where many thousands of young people travel to one of Europe's Citizens Colleges all over Europe on the same day. It would be a good idea to let it take place together with European Spring Day which is already a well-established common European initiative today. At this time of the year, Waves of Democracy is supposed to have reached the point where the Citizens Agenda is to be formed. However, the goal is still far away. Many thousands of young people still have to be included in the process. As the exam period start in the formal educational institutions, all the Citizens Colleges will become still more important in the process.

With the coming of the spring Waves of Democracy can again flow from Europe's Citizens Colleges

The summer events should include a significant media effort so that the discussions at the Citizens Colleges are reflected in the media of Europe. It is clear that a course of events as it is described here gives the participants in Waves of Democracy a central position. It will be so central that a large number of organisations, political parties and other actors will try to influence the agenda that the young people discuss. That is exactly the intention, and in that case it will be a sign of the justification of the project. The preparation of the Citizens Agenda and the linking to the agenda of the European Parliament prepare the way for what could be called a *Citizens Channel of Influence*. The presentation of the Citizens Agenda in the European Parliament will take place one time a year. If the actors behind Citizens Agenda play their cards well, it is not at all inconceivable

The many young people - gathered in different local communities but working on the same activity - will resound in all media

infrastructure is about also. We must undertake the task to develop these tools in Europe. Hopefully they will be so good that also the rest of world society finds them relevant.

that their proposals will be put into practice.²³

2b

FIRST WAVE

The Terezin Forum for Democracy

An example of the first steps to be taken towards the implementation of Waves of Democracy

The intention with part 2b is to describe a possible "first wave" within the framework of Waves of Democracy. Thus, this part contains a description of the appropriateness of choosing Terezin in the Czech Republic as the starting point for Waves of Democracy. The hope is that other regions will follow suit and establish similar "waves" using their local community as a starting point with all the special characteristics that the community in question can bring into the whole.

²³*Of course, cases can easily be imagined where the actors behind Citizens Agenda do not get support from the European Parliament or the Council. In these cases it is not unthinkable that the actors then will try to collect 1.000.000 signatures to make the Commission present a text for concrete legislation, as it is stated in article III-47 number 4 as a possibility. Political fights of this type are not to be feared but on the contrary to be welcomed.*

Waves of Democracy is an ambitious project. However, even the most ambitious plan has to start somewhere. Here the town Terezin in the Czech Republic, in the heart of Europe, enters the picture.

We have to start somewhere..

Terezin, situated about an hour's drive from Prague, is a small village - outside the Czech Republic better known as 'Theresienstadt'. This is the name that the Nazis gave to the town, at the same time as they changed it into a ghetto and concentration camp. Although it might surprise some at first, there are several good reasons why exactly this town should take the place as 'first wave' in Waves of Democracy despite the unhappy story that Terezin carries around, as the historian Ingrid Lomfors and the artist Yvonne Rock have pointed out.

There are weighty reasons to start with Terezin

The *geographical* reason is that Terezin is situated in the middle of Europe. South, north, east and west meet here. The geographical position of Terezin will in itself send a signal about the conciliation we in Europe now have decided to pursue - a conciliation crossing the Iron Curtain that the Communists planted in the earth that the Nazis had fertilized. The position of the town in the Czech Republic, which became a member of the EU together with nine other countries on 1 May, will also symbolize the relief and joy that thousands of citizens all over Europe expressed when the enlargement of the EU was a reality finally.

The geographical..

The *historic* reason is particularly connected with the suffering that took place in Terezin during the Second World War. We still need to be reminded of these sufferings. Not least those who come from countries such as Denmark and Sweden. In Central Europe most families lost one or more family members during the war. This is not the case in countries such as Denmark and Sweden. Maybe that means that in these countries we take many things for granted - democracy, human rights and good social conditions.

The historic..

The generation of European citizens who experienced the war will decline in the future decades. Therefore it is even more important that we the descendants deliberately put ourselves in situations where we cannot shut our eyes to the atrocities human beings are capable of committing when democracy, human rights and good social conditions are not a matter of course.

The *cultural* reason for choosing Terezin is among other things that the thousands of people who were caught in the town during the Second World War sustained a rich cultural life despite all the suffering. This is yet another signal to us today. Terezin housed human beings who did not have the possibility to sustain a cultural life in practice. They should not even be motivated. They knew they had to die. Nevertheless they maintained that human life has more to it than meeting the basal needs, which they did not even have the possibility to have supplied. We have to remember this as well, in a time where we have so many more possibilities but where we decline to use them very often. We need to create a retreat where there is room for diversity, without being met with demands for exam certificates or the like all the time.

The cultural..

The *social* reason for choosing Terezin is that the town, despite its modest size, unfortunately contains a wide range of the social and environmental problems that large areas of Europe and the rest of world-society are encumbered with every day. A few years ago Terezin was affected by much flooding, the unemployment in the town is big, buildings are left empty and ramshackle and the infrastructure is totally run down. Terezin is an example of what always should be the main purpose of our political discussions and our political work - across party lines: *How* do we solve the concrete problems that we face in present society?

The social..

“Every European should visit such a place to realise that peace and

democracy cannot be taken for granted, but are something for which people should fight”.

Günter Verheugen
Visiting Terezin, December 15, 2004

In other words, there are very good reasons to let Terezin take the place as 'the first wave' in Waves of Democracy. In that light we can be even more concrete with reference to the implementation of the guidelines as proposed above as the foundation for the use of article 47:

- Face-to-face-meetings: The Terezin College
- Cross-border-communications: The Terezin Web Community
- Globalisation & Democracy: The Terezin Agenda

Guidelines in practice -especially in relation to Terezin:

Face-to-face-meetings: The Terezin College

The first Citizens College, within the framework of Waves of Democracy, should be built in Terezin and naturally have the name The Terezin College (TC). As Waves of Democracy establish itself, more and more local place names will enter the list and be examples of how local communities all over Europe can be the setting of the central discussions that aim higher than merely the local. We speak of European discussions with the world-society as horizon. It is clear that this perspective should be reflected in the architectural forming of the building. On the whole it will be a big architectural challenge to design The Terezin College.

1. Guideline in practice

The Terezin College

Apart from reflecting the role of the building in a debate aiming higher than the local community, the architecture should also reflect that the building is situated in Terezin. The town offers a number of architectural characteristics, apart from being surrounded by a wall.

To this can be added that the building should also reflect the geographical, historic, cultural and social reasons for choosing Terezin as the starting point for 'the first wave'. From this point of view it would be a good idea if a number of artists were invited to help with the decorating of The Terezin Citizens College. Naturally, all the Citizens Colleges have something in common but each of them should also present themselves as something special, and in this way they can live up to the motto of the EU: *United in diversity*²⁴.

The Terezin College should like other Citizens Colleges offer good facilities and have room for a 100 students, and they should also have the possibility of welcoming students with a handicap. To this it should be added that TC should distinguish itself by having IT facilities on a very high level.

Cross-border-communication: The Terezin Web Community

The IT facilities to be offered by The Terezin College should form the basis of an advanced Terezin Web Community (TWC) where the participants can prepare themselves before they arrive at the school. Via TWC they can meet each other in a virtual room that will offer more facilities over time. There will be a possibility to practise languages and last but not least you can here link to the discussion of that year's Citizens Agenda.

2. Guideline in practice

The Terezin Web Community

²⁴Thus, the reasons for placing each Citizens College in a specific place will be very different. These differences will also be reflected in the angle that each school chooses for the discussions in relation to Citizens Agenda. When it is fully developed, each Citizens College will offer at least one of the many subjects that to some extent should be included in the examination of a specific case. In practice that means that we will need Citizens Colleges which can offer non-formal courses in history, physics, chemistry, geology, astronomy, art, literature, politics, law, music, statistics, mathematics, geography, gastronomy, theatre, economics, biology, philosophy, medicine, botany, theology, psychology, metrology, sociology and many, many other subjects and handicrafts. It is crucial that we in Europe secure a retreat where we can maintain that the human nature is diverse, and that knowledge and insight can be searched out of pure interest.

After the stay at the school, TWC will become the place where the participants from time to time click into to find the latest news about each other and other participants and about TC on the whole. And also about the politicians and other speakers that have visited TC lately. If one of the speakers has talked about something that you are interested in, you can click into the presentation, available in a digital form because it was *streamed* live when the speaker concerned was at TC. Also 'old students' can visit the different panels of discussion at TWC. The different panels are again connected with the other Citizens Colleges and the overall web community.

The Terezin Web-community will become the focus both before and after..

Obviously, TWC will be a display window for potential new participants in the courses. Although the discussion and the preparation of the Citizens Agenda will be central at all Citizen Colleges, it will also be a fact that each school will contribute with their special approach to the common debate. Therefore, the idea is to find the Citizens College with that specific approach that fits with your own interests.

Citizens Agenda: The Terezin Agenda

Thus, to a large extent Waves of Democracy is also about finding the right balance between the centralized and decentralized, between the general and the personal. The good thing about the present projects to promote participatory democracy in the EU is that they are decentralized to a large degree. The problem is that they are so decentralized that focus disappears and too many things move in too many directions.

3. Guideline in practice

The Terezin Agenda

The relation between the general Citizens Agenda and the specific Terezin Agenda (TA) should in itself be an example of the right balance between the centralized and decentralized. Together with the other local agendas TA should result in the Citizens Agenda to be presented at the first session in the European Parliament that year.

.. should be one of several proposals for the final

From this point of view TA has thus a centrally laid down element in the form of the two questions:

Citizens Agenda.

a) 'What three European problems should the decision makers of the EU try to solve next year - and how?'

b) What should the decision makers of the EU do to further strengthen democracy in Europe and the world as a whole?

In other words, this element is common for all Citizens Colleges, however, this does not mean that all Citizens Colleges will deal with the questions in the same way. Here the decentralized element enters the picture. Apart from the strictly technical discussions TC will also offer courses that cannot be found at other schools necessarily. Naturally it is up to TC to decide what special courses could be characteristic for this school. If e.g. TC emphasizes 'culture' very much, it will obviously attract a specific group of Europe's young people. And this will undoubtedly affect the contribution that TC ends up presenting in relation to the Citizens Agenda.

Similarly all Citizens Colleges all over Europe will work with the same questions but in a multiplicity of different ways. That is also how it works in the real political life. We are all faced with a number of the same political challenges, and although each of us has a different background, we have to try to reach an agreement anyway. Similarly within the framework of Waves of Democracy. The Terezin Agenda is unique but not more unique than in the end it has to be connected with the other agendas 'streaming' from the discussions taking place at the other Citizens Colleges.

Multiplicity and focusing on the same time

In the end all the participants in that year's Waves of Democracy have to agree. A possibility is that all the participants select a number of participants who meet at the end of August. Terezin could - as the 'founding wave' - be the premises of this special event. Subsequently, the result of the final negotiations could be taken to a vote on the

main Web Community, and afterwards the final result would be ready for presentation in the European Parliament.

Best practice

The Terezin Forum for Democracy like Waves of Democracy is an example of Best practice. These initiatives secure *coherence* and *continuity*. It is not just another isolated project like the many isolated projects that are prepared, take place and are reported - and 'that was that'. On the contrary, it is a coherent chain of events where the chain of events of one year is connected to the chain of events of the next year in a natural way. And the *collection of experience* of one year is linked to the events of the next year as a matter of course.

At the same time it is an initiative that is so big, comprehensive and spectacular that the dissemination will be able to measure up to the invested amounts. To this can be added that an initiative of this kind will secure a number of *synergy effects*, among other things because the formal educational sector can be linked to the project, and because the media will take an interest in the project. Today both the formal educational sector and the media have a number of potentials which can take part in the development of a European participatory democracy. Waves of Democracy can contribute to the fulfilling of some of these potentials.

Last but not least it is beyond doubt that especially the young people, that in some way have participated in the preparation of the Citizens Agenda that was presented in the European Parliament, will follow the work of the European Parliament and the EU with much more attention than previously. For the young people, this is a natural consequence of being part of the process of preparing legislation in the EU.

The Terezin Forum for Democracy is an example of coherence and synergy

We all get more for the money and as citizens we have more influence..

... here we have an initiative with positive long-term effects to the benefit of more democracy

In short, Waves of Democracy will fulfil the objective about strengthening the participatory democracy in the EU and hereby ensure that the political institutions in the EU have a more solid foundation, which is a precondition to be able to make effective legislation across national borders. And in this way contribute to the solving of the problems and fulfilling the possibilities we face in a still more global world.

The Terezin Observatory for Democracy

The Terezin College is the physical setting for non-formal courses for especially young people, who will go to the school especially during the summer. As is the case with the other Citizens Colleges it will be possible to use the school for other related purposes than Waves of Democracy in a narrow sense from September to March. Some schools may offer courses for trade unions or other parts of civil society. Other schools may offer special courses for unemployed academics or more traditional courses. Other schools may offer courses for young people that could play a special role in one or more of the advanced role-playing, which the formal educational sector in Europe could link into. Parallel with this wide range of different courses, The Terezin College could play a special role as The Terezin Observatory for Democracy during the winter, an institution in the institution so to speak. An institution placed between the so-called non-formal and formal educational sector.

The Terezin Observatory for Democracy could be a special offer to students who have a special interest in the theme democracy, and particularly in the theme participatory democracy. The participants in the courses offered within this framework could also obtain the task of collecting relevant information, including looking closely at the experiences that Waves of Democracy and similar projects bring in.

**The Terezin
Observatory for
Democracy could
obtain the task of
collecting
experiences**

Charter 47-Next Generation Democracy like the specific project Waves of Democracy plans to spend a lot of money on securing a European participatory democracy. Therefore, there are very good reasons to put much weight on collecting of experience and evaluation. Here The Terezin Observatory for Democracy could play a special role.

The Terezin Open University for Democracy

For some time now politicians and citizens in Terezin have expressed the wish to open a university in the town. If the interest is there, these plans could be combined with The Terezin Forum for Democracy and The Terezin Observatory for Democracy. One thing is certain - in Europe we lack a university or something similar that has a special focus on the *practical* aspects of the European democracy; i.e. the question how we can make this cross-border democracy function as well as possible all the time. All good forces should be joined to find the right concept for such a university, which also should be interested in the question whether 'Next Generation Democracy' can be implemented completely. In these years we are preoccupied with establishing a real democracy and a real participatory democracy in Europe across the borders of the European countries. Still another challenge lies ahead of us. The case is that 'Next Generation Democracy' has not reached its goal until democracy reaches all the remote places of world-society, which should be the horizon for our political actions in the 21st century.

The Terezin Open University for Democracy could be the first formal institution in Europe that only focuses on democracy and participatory democracy in practice

Enclosure 1 - Description of the present system of subsidies

Although much is done to promote a European participatory democracy already today, this does not alter the fact that on the whole the effort does not have the intended effect. That is unfortunate because all actors in the process are prepared to obtain the best results. Nevertheless, the 'best results' fail to materialize because a number of basic preconditions are not yet present. Generally there are three problems:

(1) *Too little money has been allocated* to the promotion of a European participatory democracy. It is naïve to believe that a participatory democracy for 453 million citizens really can be promoted with a three-year grant of about €75 million, or about €0.05 per citizen per year (cf. the grant that the Council has allocated for the period 2004-2006). By way of comparison it may be mentioned that the advertising industry in a country like Denmark spends about €650 per citizen to get their messages out to the citizens. Of course the numbers cannot be compared just like that but, nonetheless, they indicate how much is needed to gain a foothold in 'the fight for attention in the public sphere'. From that point of view it is hardly unreasonable to aim at at least €2 per citizen per year to secure a European participatory democracy. If the money is spent in a carefully prepared way, it can make a much bigger difference than what would be thought in the light of the relatively modest amounts; especially because the money would contribute to the fulfilling of a wide range of the synergy effects that are potential in already existing initiatives, among other things in the formal educational sector.

(2) *The allocated money is scattered to the four winds and is eaten up by administration.* Sometimes the EU is financing up to €50,000 of a project to promote participatory democracy. In practice the fact is that an applicant spends a lot of time on writing an application. *If* you are lucky and work very hard, you succeed in finding the necessary co-financing. *If* you are lucky again, you go through the eye of the needle and the EU grants your application. *If* you are lucky once again, the Commission pays the first instalment in time, alternatively you have to lay out the money yourself but that does not mean that you can be allowed to enter interest expenses into the project.

If you are lucky, you then succeed in carrying out the project without exceeding the main posts in the budget with more than 10%. In other words, it may have serious consequences if e.g. two speakers take a much more expensive flight than expected. *If* you in the end

are lucky again, the Commission then approves your budget and reporting without comments and the full amount is paid. *If* just a tiny little thing is not as planned you have to pay yourself.

All things considered the present system of funding results in what may be called 'atomism'. You get through a project with difficulty, write a report and 'that was that'. In practice there is no possibility to connect to other projects; or to use good experiences in a following project and in this way secure coherence in things. Everything is haphazard together with too much administration that in no way measures up to the output. Many of the actors who have been involved in projects of this kind express much frustration. When a new so-called 'Call for proposals' is known, still more say:

"We would like to, but we are almost not able to, and we dare not do it now. The workload is too big and the risk of being caught in an administrative or legal quibble is simply too high. Neither the workload nor the economic risk can bear comparison with the actual output."

On the whole the present projects are generally characterized by a lack of:

- coherence
- synergy
- continuity
- dissemination
- creation of European networks
- collecting of experience

(3) *We lack a coherent plan:* how can we secure a real participatory democracy in the EU at all. The Calls for Proposals are written out without a prior and overall debate about what works at all; and what guidelines we should follow in every project; and on the whole what guidelines should be the basis of the allocation of the money. The consequence of this is also that there is no common core in any way for the decentralized projects to relate to. It would actually be obvious that the decentralized projects in various ways handed over results of some kind to a common fund. E.g. it could be an idea that various conferences were 'streamed' on the Internet and subsequently put on a common server. In this way the decentralized projects would continue to live after the projects had ended.

Enclosure 2 – Financing

We have to acknowledge that the establishment of a participatory democracy in Europe costs money - a lot of money. Massive amounts have to be invested if we want to avoid paying a much higher price in the form of a European democracy that does not work. Thus, the question is not if money is to be spent, but how much, who is going to pay and what should the money be spent on more precisely.

A model with several sources of financing, among others it could be the EU, the member states, the business world, funds and the citizens themselves, would be the ideal. On the other hand, a scrupulous enforcement of this ideal may quickly result in too many resources being eaten up by traditional fundraising like it is the case today. A first model of financing, which could be tried for a period of 10 years, could therefore follow a more simple 70/30+10 principle to cover the current expenses in connection with various projects.

Behind this principle is the suggestion that the EU as a rule of thumb contributes 70% and the member states 30% of the financing. Apart from this, the actors who receive a grant for a particular project must present benefits in kind of 10 %. Because it should be avoided that the actors in question spend disproportionately much time on obtaining support in the form of *up front money* which very often turns out to be impossible to get hold of. In the end it is to the benefit of everybody that the actors spend time on actual debate creating activity and on securing the outcome resulting from well-organised projects.

Concurrently with this model of financing it will probably be necessary that the EU contributes substantial means to cover a number of preliminary expenses especially in future years. This means that the EU should pay for a large part of the democratic infrastructure which is about securing the first setting for face-to-face-meetings, as well as cross-border-communication. An example of the first thing could be, among other things, the building of Citizens Colleges where the EU (especially in the new member states) should pay the main part of the bill. An example of the last mentioned thing could be the establishment of a central language learning module on the Internet where the EU should pay for almost all of it.

Enclosure 3 – New possibilities for ECOSOC

A differentiation between the formal and non-formal democracy of the EU can serve to clarify the possible new role for ECOSOC. The formal part of the democracy of the EU is about the legislation process and the institutions which are central in this connection, especially the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission. On the non-formal side we find the citizens in the EU, among these also the thousands of activists who are organised in a large number of unions and organisations.

We should not fall into the trap of formalizing the non-formal, i.e. pulling the actors of civil society into a lot of formalism, in the end this would become a bad copy of the formal structure already existent in the present EU²⁵. However, an intermediate level could be established where some of the leading organisations of civil society got a seat in a reconstructed version of ECOSOC. Here the parties of civil society could have a consultative role in relation to the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission. This does not mean that ECOSOC would take over the role as facilitator between the institutions and the citizens; ECOSOC would only be an extra strengthening of this connection.

²⁵ *In March 2004 ECOSOC held a large conference about "participatory democracy". In connection with the conference a large amount of relevant material was presented.*

Enclosure 4 – Article 47

Article 47: The principle of participatory democracy

1. The Union Institutions shall, by appropriate means, give citizens and representative associations the opportunity to make known and publicly exchange their views in all areas of Union action.
2. The Union Institutions shall maintain an open, transparent and regular dialogue with representative associations and civil society.
3. The Commission shall carry out broad consultations with parties concerned in order to ensure that the Union's actions are coherent and transparent.
4. No less than one million citizens coming from a significant number of Member States may invite the Commission to submit any appropriate proposal on matters where citizens consider that a legal act of the Union is required for the purpose of implementing the Constitution. A European law shall determine the provisions for the specific procedures and conditions required for such a citizens' initiative.

One thing is the wording of article 47, something else is the interpretation. The basic point of view in this paper is that if the formulations in the article about, among other things, "in appropriate ways" to give the citizens "possibility to express their opinions on all of the working fields of the Union and to discuss them publicly" are to mean anything in a EU with more than 453 million citizens - dispersed over an area larger than 3.8 million km² - a real democratic infrastructure has to be established in Europe. Just like strong bridges are needed to carry much traffic, a strong democratic infrastructure is needed to enable a lot of political involvement. Without a strong democratic infrastructure the participatory democracy will only be for the few - and this means its abolition.

Enclosure 5 – Article III-282

SECTION 4

EDUCATION, VOCATIONAL TRAINING, YOUTH AND SPORT

Article III-282

1. The Union shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and complementing their action. It shall fully respect the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity.

The Union shall contribute to the promotion of European sporting issues, given the social and educational function of sport.

2. Union action shall be aimed at:
 - (a) developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States;
 - (b) encouraging mobility of students and teachers, inter alia by encouraging the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study;
 - (c) promoting cooperation between educational establishments;
 - (d) developing exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the education systems of the Member States;
 - (e) encouraging the development of youth exchanges and of exchanges of socio-educational instructors **and encouraging the participation of young people in democratic life in Europe.**
 - (f) encouraging the development of distance education;
 - (g) developing the European dimension in sport, by promoting fairness in competitions and cooperation between sporting bodies and by protecting the physical and moral integrity of sportsmen and sportswomen, especially young sportsmen and sportswomen.
3. The Union and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organisations in the field of education, in particular the Council of Europe.
4. In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article,

(a) European laws or framework laws shall establish incentive actions, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States. They shall be adopted after consultation of the Committee of the Regions and the Economic and Social Committee.

(b) the Council of Ministers, on a proposal from the Commission, shall adopt recommendations.

Apart from the amendment there is in number e (stressed in bold writing), there is also reason to pay attention to the procedure for decision making which this article rests on. Here it is stated quite clearly that it is the normal procedure for legislation which is applicable, and that the European Parliament therefore has a large say. This element is lacking in article 47. It could be feared that actual initiatives still have to be decided under article 17, previously article 308 where the influence of the European Parliament is extremely limited; although it is positive that the Council now has to obtain the consent from the European Parliament as opposed to earlier where the parliament just had the right to be heard.

Enclosure 6 – European Year of Citizenship

2.3 A European Year of Citizenship through Education in 2005

The current EDC project coming to an end towards the end of 2004, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe intends to proclaim 2005 "European Year of Citizenship through Education". This year will conclude the second phase of the EDC project (2001-2004) and could be the starting point for new perspectives in the field of EDC for the Council of Europe and its member states.

2.3.1 Aims and objectives

For the Council of Europe, the main objective of the year will be to increase its visibility and illustrate the organisation's know-how and its capacity to be active in the education field, a domain that is indispensable to the safeguard and further development of democratic values. The Council of Europe's education programmes have always been close to its fundamental vocation, which is to protect and promote pluralist democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

The overall aim is to promote implementation of Recommendation (2002)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship, that draws on the results of the first project on EDC and provides guidelines for the second phase.

The year will also provide an opportunity for member states to take over ownership of the project. It will assist decision-makers in developing policy instruments, e.g. reform of national curricula and legislation.

The "Year" will increase awareness amongst EDC professionals at different levels. The interest and publicity surrounding a specific year should help to disseminate achievements in EDC-related areas, notably by making full use of the quality indicators developed within the current projects. This applies to both the formal and non-formal sectors of education.

At national level there will be considerable flexibility to adapt to specific interests and needs. The programme will possibly include the organisation of seminars and training activities for teachers and multipliers, exhibitions and the preparation of legislative reforms to support formal and non-formal education. Each country will define its own programme.

2.3.2 Target groups

The "Year" will first and foremost be aimed at reaching education policy makers, multipliers and professionals having a specific interest in the subject. Some countries have already indicated that they will also target the general public in awareness-raising activities.

2.3.3 Working methods

In the Council of Europe, a wide range of initiatives has been proposed. These will be further developed by an ad hoc committee of experts set up specially for the "Year". Here are a few examples of what the Council of Europe could do:

- provide legislative assistance in the field of EDC to those member states that wish it through consultations with experts;
- assist member states and relevant NGOs with the organisation of teacher/multiplier training seminars,
- develop instruments that facilitate the acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values, generally known as "core competencies", that reflect the Council of Europe's fundamental values notably human rights and fundamental freedoms, pluralism and the rule of law. This could be done by the means of an

“EDC kit” that the Council of Europe intends to produce.

- set up a website providing links to national websites and giving information about activities at European and national levels. It will be updated on a regular basis.

THESES ON HOW TO STRENGTHEN PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

STARTING POINT

We live in a globalised world with a population of 6 billion people which is projected to approach 9 billion by 2050. At the same time, we live in a recently enlarged EU with a population of more than 453 million citizens.

The EU gives us the opportunity to legislate across national borders and create a ‘better world’ characterized by globalisation *and* democracy, but unfortunately the democracy of the EU is not working that well. We are constantly at risk of getting a globalised world *without* democracy.

OBJECTIVE

We must do our utmost to strengthen the democratic institutions of the EU by increasing the participatory democracy. We will launch the greatest effort in world history to reach a cross border participatory democracy, thus setting an example for the rest of the world and making a concerted effort for a world characterised by globalisation *and* democracy.

MEANS

We will only be able to establish an efficient participatory democracy if we establish a Union, where the citizens are closer to the citizens. We will have to establish a democratic infrastructure which will give the citizens a real chance to engage in cross border political networking thereby ensuring a Union where the citizens are closer to the citizens.

PREMISES

In order to achieve a democratic infrastructure, a number of premises must be fulfilled:

- Political determination
- Legal authority
- Economic basis

Now - in this specific period and as something completely new - these premises are present:

- 'Margot Wallström'
- 'Article 47'
- 'The Structural Funds'

METHOD

We cannot expect great results *simply* because the 'basic conditions' for establishing a participatory democracy are present. We must also have the right guidelines as a foundation for our efforts:

- *Face-to-face meetings* - should be a key element in the efforts we make in order to establish a Union whose citizens are closer to the citizens. We have to establish a democratic infrastructure, which means that annually 1.000.000 more citizens will have the opportunity to meet and discuss political issues of mutual interest across the national borders. Half of these citizens should be young Europeans, who should be given the opportunity to live together for 10 days every year and the chance to influence the agenda of the European Parliament and the EU as a whole.
- *Cross-border-communication* should also be a key element of the democratic infrastructure which we are establishing in Europe. In order to strengthen the forming of EU citizens' networks, we must focus on the use of modern IT solutions as well as the traditional media. This will also mean the involvement of citizens who are not present at the actual face-to-face meetings and will promote all kinds of informal education, based on a principle of citizens-to-citizens enlightenment.

- *Globalisation & Democracy* should make up the thematic framework for the future European democracy. A thematic framework which is so loosely defined that it does not anticipate more than it should, but is simply meant to lay down the guidelines under the following headings:
 - Globalisation
 - Political Tools
 - Political Actors

The fundamental political debate takes place in a forum where the Political Actors are determined to solve the problems and make the most of the possibilities found under the heading Globalisation. However, these problems and possibilities cannot be handled without making use of a wide range of Political Tools. In other words, this overall outline promotes the discussion of *how* the given problems and possibilities should be handled and *how* the political tools could be employed most efficiently. In this way, the outline holds many of the perspectives found in the next section.

In addition to this, a supplementary guideline concerns:

- *Best Practice* - this should be the organisational foundation concentrating on making the most of the money given by the EU to promote true participatory democracy. Here we find keywords such as:
 - Synergi
 - Connection
 - Diffusion effect
 - Forming of networks
 - Collected experience

The many decentralized initiatives are not seen as an obstacle as each of them is able to promote participatory democracy. On the other hand, a common frame of reference could be beneficial as it would ensure the coherence of the individual projects, a greater dissemination effect and the collection of gained experiences in general.

PERSPECTIVES

We have to insist - especially by making use of the three former guidelines - on the following issues:

- *The global perspective* - we are building up a participatory democracy in Europe which should not be evolving at the expense of the world community. On the contrary, we must all bear in mind that Europe is a part of the world and that future political solutions must always have the world community as their horizon.
- *A problem- and solution-oriented approach* - we seek a cross-party consensus wishing a factual debate taking a starting point in concrete problems and possibilities. *How* can we solve these problems and make the most of these possibilities? *How* can political tools such as the EU become even more efficient?

No citizens will bother to engage themselves in the EU unless it is crystal clear what problems and possibilities the EU is meant to solve and handle!

It is clear for most people that the environmental problems are cross border in nature. This is exactly why citizens will support that the EU is able take action on these issues. If cross border problems are present, then the need for cross border politics and political tools will be equally present - and the other way around if the cross border problems are not present for the citizens.

- *The perspective for the political citizen* - we must develop a participatory democracy in Europe which is truly cross border, in the sense that the citizens, locally, nationally, continentally, and globally, become aware of and seek out politically like-minded individuals.

No citizens will bother to get involved in the political work of the EU if they are always reduced to a political minority.

In the future EU, all nationalities are minorities. Only through cross border political alliances, will the citizens have a real chance to belong to the political majority.

Furthermore, a supplementary pedagogical perspective can be added concerning:

- *Citizens-to-citizens enlightenment* - we should base the information structure of the EU on the knowledge that only the citizens themselves can enlighten the citizens on the matters of the EU.

Only the EU citizens can motivate themselves and others to get involved in the EU. What the EU can do, on the other hand, is to establish a 'democratic infrastructure' enabling the citizens to get involved in the political life of the EU.

Enclosure 8 – The Power of synergy

The overall democratic infrastructure: **Next Generation Democracy**

Guidelines:

- Face-to-face-meetings
- Cross-border Communication
- Globalisation & Democracy
- +
- Best practice

Principles:

- The global perspective
- The problem and solving oriented perspective
- The political citizen's perspective
- +
- Citizens-to-citizens enlightenment

The first specific project within this framework: **Waves of Democracy**

Elements:

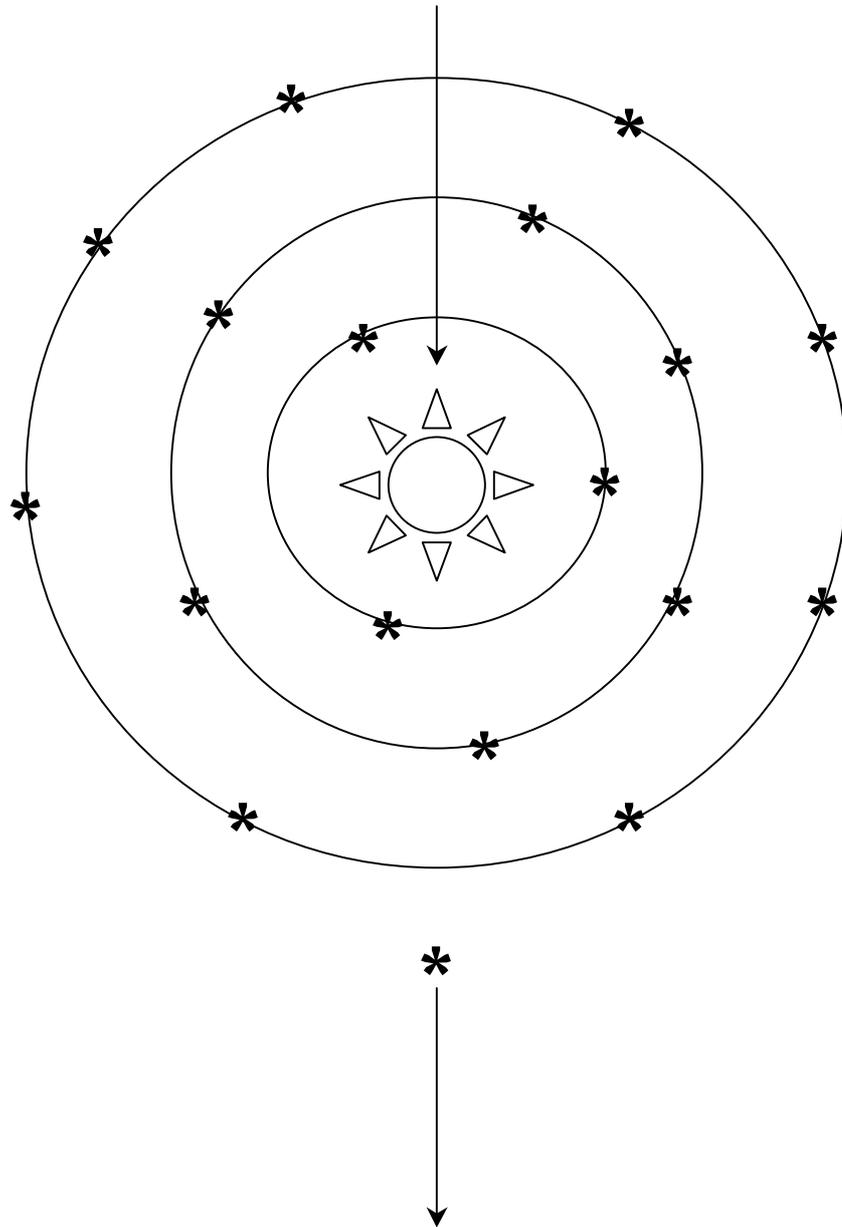
- Citizens' Colleges
- Web communities
- Citizens Agenda

First wave:

The Terezin Forum for Democracy

- The Terezin Citizens College
- The Terezin Web community
- The Terezin Agenda
- +
- The Observatory for Democracy
- The Open University for Democracy

The Democratic Infrastructure -
Next Generation Democracy



Below there is a preliminary list of the indefinite number of stakeholders who in various ways might be linked to the democratic infrastructure. If the fantastic thing happens that we succeed in investing €2 per citizen per year in the democratic infrastructure Next Generation Democracy itself, the *multiplicator* effect will in reality become much, much bigger since already existing and financed efforts and activities will be drawn in the direction of more participatory democracy.

As it appears from the list below it is everything from institutions in the EU and the member states to participants in the civil societies along with already existing programmes and activities in the EU and the member states which might be linked to the democratic infrastructure or parts of it. The underlined words are the key words from the Charter 47-Paper from which it will be constructive to make a link to the following *

* **The European Parliament**

Citizens' Colleges where MEP's can address young people from all of Europe. It will be worth the trouble since all addresses are broadcast and filed at the individual web community and thus also connected to the formal education sector and the entire discussion about the Citizens Agenda, which the young people are intended to present in the European Parliament each year.

* **The Committee of Regions**

As soon as Waves of Democracy is described to the public, region after region will notify their wish to establish a Citizen's College in their region: "So ein Ding möchten wir auch haben".

* **The DG websites**

The individual DG web sites will quickly find it appropriate to base the problem-and solution oriented perspective for the construction of their web sites. That is: the individual DG's will use the fascinating form of animations which Gapminder (see below) suggests to illustrate the problems which the DG in question is engaged in solving. If these problems are made clear to the citizens they might understand the function and justification of the DG in question more clearly and more easily estimate whether the DG in question lives up to its obligations.

* Eurostat

The problem and solution oriented perspective which plays a particular part in Next Generation Democracy should have a very extensive influence on the way Eurostat should be working in the future. Next Generation Democracy suggests concrete discussions of how a number of concrete cross border problems are to be solved. The more essential it is that the citizens should have access to clear and operational data about the character of the problems in question. Thus Eurostat has to be changed for (1) Data to become free of charge (2) Data to become operational, which the Swedish Gapminder has proved in a quite fantastic way.

* Gapminder

Cross-border-communication and the problem-and solution oriented perspective are quite obvious possibilities of linking to the Swedish Gapminder (Karolinska) which has very quickly established a cooperation with the UN and The World Bank among others and been highly praised by the Swedish Ministers of Aid, Education and State. Gapminder makes statistics accessible and operational in a quite unique way. (I will bring examples on CD which I have just received from Sweden).

* eContent

This programme should be adjusted to help ensuring better and more efficient cross-border-communication and also ensuring some very advanced web communities like for instance the Terezin Web Community.

**Act4Europe, *EUNET, *FIME, *European Houses, *EUNET, *ACC, *The Model European Parliament, *European Spring Day, *UEF, *JEF, *The European Voice, * The Federal Trust, *Information Europe Limited, *Generation Europe, *Newropeans, *The EUObserver, *Transition Online, * etc.* The numbers of participants are indefinite and the possibilities they can join the democratic infrastructure is correspondingly indefinite.