

**The multiple & systemic crises**  
**of today's Democracies and some**  
**propositions how to save it**  
***13 impulses for reflexion and discussion***

*Keynote Speech to the Conference "Political Crisis in Europe – Direct Democratic Answers" at the Andrassy University in Budapest*

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**1. Democracy became in the last 20 years a universal value. It's today a universal norm and equivalent for a reasonable public order.**

The paradox of this development:  
On the same time, in many ("old") Democracies Democracy became weaker and weaker and many miss there a lot of it.

## 2. The political development of the world and even Europe (especially the big E. of 49 states) is marked by many intemporalities /different unequal temporalities !

2011 has been for many (Magrebians/Arabs/Russians) the “Year of Democracy” , Europe’s 1848... – for many others (Europeans ?)it was more a symbol for the decline of Democracy.... (J.K.,2009:“Death of...)

**3. Democracy is a dynamic puzzle of many hundred constitutive elements – each of them qualify Democracy**

Democracy is a ongoing never ending (collective learning)process; asymptotic – but today many elements are regressing !

## 4. “Multiple Crises” means: many constitutive elements of D. are regressing

- Political Parties membership in massive decline
- Voters loose confidence in politics and trust in instututions
- Parliaments feel sidelined, goverments tend towards presidential- and semi-presidential systems
- Formal elections do not produce substancial legitimacy
- Democracy is reduced to elections without any real life impact
- Politics is more and more seen as a play or show, politicians as cynic actors and perceived as as much trustworthy as second-hand-car-dealers
- Constitutional safe guards erode, courts as well as the Public Sphere are high jacked by Majorities and Profitmaximisers,
- The real problems are global where no common interest is articulated and no common good protected

# 5. “Systemic Crises” means: Democracies are loosing capacities which endanger their very existence

- Democracies (D) can't realize their substancial promise, a fair distribution of life chances anymore
- More and more open and structural violence indicates the inability of D. to solve-conflicts which are natural children of freedom
- D. can not formulate, produce or protect anymore the “common goods” and the “general interest” and is enable to mediate between different legitimate interests.

**6. European Democracies are much too small (for the big things) and too exclusive (elite driven) for the people**

- They need to be transnationally enlarged and reconstituted and
- internally enriched by a much better inclusion of the citizens !

## **7. Representation has to become more representative by strengthening Direct Democratic elements (Citizens initiatives).**

- A way to restore trust and legitimacy in democracy and to generate the democratic power you need to constitute transnational European (EU) Democracy.
- A way to integrate by particip.
- A way to learn by particip.

## **8. Crucial importance of the constitutional and legal design of the DD-elements (Where, what, how, who ?)**

The design determines the quality of DD, if power(s) is (are) really shared, citizens empowered and the representative institutions enriched

## 9. The need to defend and develop democratic fundamentals against “the trend”

- The notion of time
- The condition of a wise decision is a good debate; quality needs inclusiveness
- In many citizens you have big citizen potentials
- In a qualified participative process you have huge learning and integrative effects, our societies need so urgently.

**10. Democracy is also a concrete promise for a fair distribution of the life chances and opportunities.**

In order to be able to realise today this promise, the democratic polity has to be constituted on the same level as the main market forces:  
Transnationally

# **11. The enormous power of the EU needs a direct democratic legitimation.**

This is only possible by a real EU-Constitution which has to be accepted by the double majorities of all Europeans and all EU-member states. Revolutionary difference to treaties !

**12. If you leave Democracy to the nation state you offer nationalists the biggest trump card.**

If you constitute national and transnational Direct Democracies you generate legitimacy, public spheres, integration, identification and collective learning processes.

# **13. By halfway restoring national Democracies by integrating Direct Democratic elements....**

... you create the condition, that Democracy can really be restored and the constitution of a real European, transnational Democracy is getting possible as the fruit of a European people' movement.