

Transforming DiEM25 into a Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

1. Abstract

The proposal is to transform DiEM25 into a **trans-national, democratic, progressive, political party** (abridged into: TNDPPP). I will refer hereafter to this proposed mode of operation as "the TNDPPP".

Why a political party? To have a **concrete capacity to transform** our economy, our society, the European Union and the world at large for the better of humankind, by leveraging existing democratic institutions and policy tools (regulation, tax, public spending) – while bearing **responsibility** for our action.

How does it work?

The TNDPPP operates in full **democracy**, fully **on-line**.

What I mean by "full democracy" is: (1) all members participate in decision-making; and (2) once democratically adopted, decisions are implemented by all.

The "fully on-line" operation of the TNDPPP means: all strategic decisions are taken on-line, in non real-time; i.e. no strategic decision is taken in physical meetings or in real-time interactions. Thereby, nobody is penalised by his/her geographic or schedule constraints, based on his/her social or economic condition.

The only **internal decision-making bodies** in the TNDPPP are: (1) the **Bureau**, which has the legal capacity to commit the TNDPPP financially and legally; and (2) the **Arbitration Council**, whose duty is to solve internal conflicts. The Bureau is elected as a **team**, so as to enhance its political cohesiveness; the Arbitration Council gathers people that are elected individually.

The Bureau takes **operational decisions** such as: negotiating and concluding contracts with third parties; recruiting and managing permanent technical staff; managing cash, assets and liabilities; engaging in legal action; ensuring the public presence of the TNDPPP in the press and social media; negotiating electoral alliances and coalition contracts with third political parties.

The TNDPPP uses a free, open-source, deliberative democracy platform, called KuneAgi (<http://www.kuneagi.org>) to **take strategic decisions**, including the definition of its **political programme** (see list below); it uses a free, open-source, transitive delegation software, called LiquidFeedback (<https://www.liquidfeedback.org>) to **control** elected representatives, in the Bureau and in official legislative or executive positions (see procedure below).

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

List of strategic decisions, taken using the KuneAgi software:

- 1.1 – the definition of the **political programme**, i.e. of the justified and ideologically coherent list of **public policies** (regulation, taxation, public spending), to be implemented once the TNDPPP is in government, ranked in priority order;
- 1.2 – the selection of the **Bureau**, i.e. of the physical persons bearing the legal capacity to commit the TNDPPP financially and legally;
- 1.3 – the selection of the internal **Arbitration Council**;
- 1.4 – the selection of the **official elections** in which to participate, and thus commit the resources of the TNDPPP;
- 1.5 – the selection of the **communication campaigns and actions** in which to commit the resources of the TNDPPP;
- 1.6 – the selection, among members of the TNDPPP, of **candidates** in the selected official elections;
- 1.7 – the **support** of elected officials in their **legislative** work on amendments to legal texts;
- 1.8 – the definition of **rules** governing **pre-electoral alliances** and **coalition contracts of government** with third political parties;
- 1.9 – the definition of the **internal budget**, i.e. of the list of expenses to be performed by the TNDPPP, ranked in priority order, and of the financial contribution by members;
- 1.10 – the definition of **changes** in the **statutes**
- 1.11 – the definition of **changes** in the underlying **software platform** itself (KuneAgi).

In the KuneAgi on-line democracy software, **all members** of the TNDPPP participate in the decision-making, in the three phases (1) of the **initiative** of proposals, (2) of their **amendment** and (3) of their **ranking** in hierarchical order of importance, priority or quality.

Mode of control of members of the Bureau and of elected officials, using the LiquidFeedback software

All **operational decisions** of the **Bureau** above a threshold bearing on the financial or legal commitment are subject to **a priori approval by all members** of the TNDPPP. All **votes of elected officials** are preceded by a **consultative vote** of all members of the TNDPPP.

In order to avoid cognitive overload of the members, each member can delegate his/her vote reversibly to any other member. This delegation can be cancelled at any time, and can be specified as relating to one nature of operational decisions or of votes only. The delegation is transitive: it can be further delegated to another member.

How do members communicate with one another, in a horizontal, decentralised manner? Most horizontal communication between members is performed using the purpose-oriented tools listed

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

above. All other general-purpose horizontal communication among members is performed using a generic tool such as Mattermost (<https://about.mattermost.com/features/>).

What is the role of the current DiEM25 movement? The current DiEM25 movement is maintained, as the public communication channel and the grass-roots recruiting and mobilising component of the TNDPPP. The functions of the Coordinating Collective (CC) are included in those the Bureau; those of the Validating Council (VC) are performed by the LiquidFeedback transitive delegation software. DSC's become the most frequent groups (but not the only ones) proposing communication campaigns or actions (function 1.5).

2. Detailed description of the proposal

Table of contents

1. Abstract.....	1
2. Detailed description of the proposal.....	3
2.1. The proposal: a Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party (the TNDPPP). .3	
2.2. The functions to be performed in the Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive, Political Party (TNDPPP).....	4
2.2.1. Strategic decisions.....	4
2.2.2. Control of elected bodies.....	5
2.2.3. Additional functions to be performed by the infrastructure.....	5
2.3. Conditions for the operations of the Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive, Political Party (TNDPPP) to be democratic.....	6
2.4. The level of development of each component of the software and legal infrastructure of the Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive, Political Party (TNDPPP).....	6
2.5. Detailed description of the most developed components of the software & legal infrastructure of the Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive, Political Party (TNDPPP).....	7
2.5.1 The KuneAgi software for the definition of the political programme of the TNDPPP.	7
2.5.2 The LiquidFeedback software for the control of the Bureau and of elected officials.	10
2.5.3 Evolutions of the KuneAgi software to perform the other strategic decisions of the TNDPPP.....	12
2.5.4 Decision by the median vote on numeric variables.....	14
2.5.5 Options taken for the legal statutes of the TNDPPP.....	14
2.5.6 Automated implementation of formal procedures.....	16
2.5.7 Evaluation performed by randomly selected human members.....	16
2.6. Elements to be further developed in the design.....	16

2.1. The proposal: a Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party (the TNDPPP)

The proposal is to set up a Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party (hereafter: the TNDPPP), active at the scale of the European Union, and in European countries outside of the EU.

The TNDPPP is created from inception at trans-national scale, with no legal bodies representing local, regional or national interests. The members of the TNDPPP are directly members of the trans-

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

national organisation, with no intermediary institution in between. Thereby, the TNDPPP is not a weak federation of national political parties, as many "Internationals" are. In these "Internationals", the ultimate source of legitimacy lies in the national parties, and the global position is the awkward compromise between decisions taken independently by these national parties. In the TNDPPP, there is only one source of democratic legitimacy, the single, Europe-wide organisation representing all members.

2.2. The functions to be performed in the Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive, Political Party (TNDPPP)

The software and legal infrastructure of the TNDPPP must perform the following functions:

- take strategic decisions (§2.2.1),
- control elected bodies (§2.2.2),
- additional functions, beyond governance (2.2.3).

2.2.1. Strategic decisions

1.1 – the definition of the **political programme**, i.e. of the justified and ideologically coherent list of **public policies** to be implemented once the TNDPPP is in government, ranked in priority order;

1.2 – the selection of the **Bureau**, i.e. of the physical persons bearing the legal capacity to commit the TNDPPP financially and legally;

1.3 – the selection of the internal **Arbitration Council**;

1.4 – the selection of the **official elections** in which to participate, and thus commit the resources of the TNDPPP;

1.5 – the selection of the **communication campaigns** in which to commit the resources of the TNDPPP;

1.6 – the selection, among members of the TNDPPP, of **candidates** in the selected official elections;

1.7 – the **support** of elected officials in their **legislative** work on amendments to legal texts;

1.8 – the definition of **rules** governing **pre-electoral alliances** and **coalition contracts of government** with third political parties;

1.9 – the definition of the **internal budget**, i.e. of the list of expenses to be performed by the TNDPPP (including the expenses related to the participation in the selected elections), ranked in priority order, and of the financial contribution by members;

1.10 – the definition of **changes in the statutes**

1.11 – the definition of **changes** in the **underlying software platform** itself (KuneAgi).

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

2.2.2. Control of elected bodies

2.1 – the **Bureau**, in its operational decisions listed below;

2.2 – the **elected officials**, in their legislative and executive functions.

The **operational decisions** of the Bureau, to be submitted to the control of the members of the TNDPPP, include:

- negotiating and concluding contracts with third parties (e.g. banks, lawyers, accountants, communication & advertising agencies, printers, graphic designers, translators, software developers);
- recruiting and management of permanent technical staff (e.g. website administrators, librarians);
- managing cash, assets and liabilities, paying expenses;
- engaging in legal actions against third parties;
- ensuring the public presence of the TNDPPP, specifically in the press, issuing press releases;
- filing the official lists of candidates to the official registration bodies;
- negotiating electoral alliances and coalition contracts with third political parties.

The Arbitration Council has the duty to:

- solve conflicts which were not settled by the standard operation of rules and procedures of the statutes;
- engage in disciplinary actions *ex officio* against individual Members.

2.2.3. Additional functions to be performed by the infrastructure

The legal and software infrastructure of the TNDPPP performs the following functions, in addition to the decisions and control functions outlined above:

- generic, horizontal communication among members;
- documentation centre;
- publication of blog posts by members;
- education & training of members.

2.3. Conditions for the operations of the Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive, Political Party (TNDPPP) to be democratic

Internal democracy in the TNDPPP is understood as the following: (1) all members participate in the governance functions (strategic decisions and control); and (2) the decisions, once democratically adopted, are implemented by all members.

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

This means that the following **conditions** must be respected in the legal and software infrastructure of the TNDPPP:

- in all **strategic decisions**, all members can participate in the three key stages of the process: (1) **initiative** of new actions, (2) **amendment** of these actions, and (3) **ranking** of actions in **priority order**;
- in the **selection** of one (or a few) winner(s) among many contenders (teams for the Bureau, members of the Arbitration Council, candidates for official elections), the **vote** must be **sincere**, and not subject to interference regarding (often self-fulfilling) anticipations of the winner ("tactical voting", frequent in "winner takes all" votes);
- **equality** between members must be ensured regarding: native language, geographic place of residence, financial means, digital bandwidth, time availability;
- a strong internal **discipline** ensures the implementation of decisions, once democratically taken;
- the **accounts**, and the **documents** supporting the operational decisions of the Bureau, are made **transparently available** to all members.

2.4. The level of development of each component of the software and legal infrastructure of the Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive, Political Party (TNDPPP)

The operations of the TNDPPP rely upon **software** and **legal** tools, the list of which is provided hereunder. The TNDPPP uses a combination of software and legal tools because its operations imply to perform a range of **procedures**. In the current development stage of digital technologies, a vast range of procedures can be implemented in software.

In order for these operations performed by software to be **democratically legitimate**, all members must have the possibility to check by themselves that the software actually performs what it promises: this implies that all software used by the TNDPPP must be **open-source**. In order for the software to be flexibly adaptable to the evolving requirements of the TNDPP, it should be modifiable with no Intellectual Property Rights issue: the software must thus be available under a **free** licence (<https://www.gnu.org/philosophy/free-sw.en.html>).

For other TNDPPPs to be easily created, **templates of statutes** of the TNDPPP must be available under a free licence, such as those provided by the **Creative Commons** project (<https://creativecommons.org/>), so that the text of the template be easy to adapt to the specific political objectives and philosophy of any other TNDPPP, with no Intellectual Property Rights issue.

A more detailed description of the most developed among these tools will be provided below (§2.8).

All **strategic decisions** of the TNDPPP (outlined in §2.2.1) are supported by the free, open-source software called **KuneAgi** (<http://www.kuneagi.org>).

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

As of September 2017, the KuneAgi software is **fully operational** to define the **political programme** of the TNDPPP (see an example on-line at <https://programme.cosmopoliticalparty.eu/>). The adaptations to perform the selection, among members of the TNDPPP, of candidates in the selected official elections are specified (cf. the functional specification of the KuneAgi software http://www.kuneagi.org/Telechargements/Spec_KuneAgi_LastVersion.pdf, §4.6) but not implemented. The adaptations to perform the other strategic decisions remain to be specified and implemented.

All functions of the TNDPPP of **control of elected officials** (outlined in §2.2.2) are supported by the free, open-source software called LiquidFeedback (<http://liquidfeedback.org/>).

As of September 2017, the LiquidFeedback software is fully operational in its essential feature of "delegated voting". It requires specific developments to be adapted to the context of the TNDPPP.

The **generic horizontal communication** function can be performed by various free, open-source software tools, among which the fully operational instant group messaging software Mattermost (<https://about.mattermost.com/features/>). Free, open-source, fully operational solutions for the **documentation centre** function include OpenKM (<https://www.openkm.com/>) and OpenDocMan (<http://www.opendocman.com/>); and Drupal (<https://www.drupal.org/>) is a reference for the **publication** of blog posts by members.

As of September 2017, no template of **legal statutes** for the TNDPPP has yet been written. However some guidelines and options have already been developed.

2.5. Detailed description of the most developed components of the software & legal infrastructure of the Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive, Political Party (TNDPPP)

2.5.1 The KuneAgi software for the definition of the political programme of the TNDPPP

Introduction

The KuneAgi software networks spontaneous, temporary working groups that operate with highly **structured** and yet **democratic** procedures. It generates **high quality proposals**, able to have an **impact** on the **political landscape and agenda**. KuneAgi combines the **openness** of a Social Network with the **structure** of Electronic Document Management software. It organises collaborative work and consultation, while supporting unprecedented levels of **internal democracy**, and therefore of **confidence** in the procedures and of **legitimacy** of the outcomes.

KuneAgi is the only available on-line democracy software that includes **deliberative** procedures between its members (see here <http://www.kuneagi.org/english/faqen/51-faqpropositionspolitiquesen> for a more complete comparison between KuneAgi and other on-line democracy software, and there <http://www.kuneagi.org/english/faqen> for a comparison with conventional tools such as wikis, forums, social media, etc.).

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

In the international language Esperanto (http://en.lernu.net/enkonduko/pri_esperanto/index.php), "Kune Agi" (pronounce: "kooneh ahgui") means "to do things together". The **KuneAgi** software aims at answering the needs of human collectives, when they are in this situation of deciding "what should we do together?", "what should we dedicate our common resources to?". It generates **political programmes**, that is, **Public Policy Proposals** ranked in hierarchical **priority order**. The procedure mobilised in KuneAgi is to elicit the emergence of these Public Policy Proposals, to discuss them, to justify them and to rank them hierarchically in priority order, in a democratic process mobilising the intelligence and the experience of all. KuneAgi generates high-quality, innovative, technically valid, democratically legitimate and intellectually coherent action agendas. These action agendas have all the features necessary to build credible, game-changing alternatives in public policies, such as those required to prevent global risks and issues. KuneAgi is a **free, libre** and **open source** software (FLOSS), following the GNU Affero -GPL v.3 licence <http://www.gnu.org/licenses/agpl-3.0.en.html>. Its source code is freely available to download here: <https://github.com/ecreall/nova-ideo/>.

To do something means to transform one's environment, society, humans, matter or information, at a specific moment in History, with the intention of improving or of repairing something.

For the action to be legitimate, the collective that engages in it must have mobilised all its resources to make sure that this action effectively contributes to reaching the claimed goal (**technical validity** of action) and that the interests, moral points of view and values of all relevant human and non-human (from plants and animals to the climate) stakeholders, current and future, were respected (**moral and political legitimacy** of action). By engaging in an action, by setting it in History, a collective is confronted to questions that find no answer in moral or scientific authority or in any form of universal truth, and that can only be solved through a thorough, democratic and well-argued **discussion** between the people involved:

- * what are the priority objectives to reach, the most important problems and issues to solve?
- * is the information available sufficient to act, or is it preferable to take time to gather more, or to let the situation evolve spontaneously, with the risk of letting the appropriate moment for action slip away?
- * what will be the predictable consequences of the action, in the current state of knowledge, and what judgement should be held on them, knowing that these consequences bear upon different and heterogeneous areas, time scales and categories of stakeholders, which may not be boiled down to a single "optimisation" scale?

Together means that:

- * **all members** of the TNDPPP participate in this discussion, in the three phases (1) of the **initiative** of proposals, (2) of their **amendment** and (3) of their **ranking** in hierarchical order of importance, priority or quality. This broad participation means in particular that work is done **remotely**, in **non-real time**, so that nobody be penalised by his/her geographic or schedule constraints

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

* the discussion mobilises the capabilities and the knowledge of all, in the construction of a network-based **collective intelligence**

* the discussion is set in the rigorous framework of **fair** and **efficient procedures** that allow everyone to speak out, but also reach decisions after a finite time

* the resulting **decisions** are **legitimate**, both technically and morally, because the technical advice, the moral points of view and the opinions of all will have been listened to and taken into account. Even if all do not agree with the result of the discussion, all admit that the decision-making process was fair and just (in the same manner that, in a healthy democratic regime, everyone accepts the poll results, even the supporters of the losing party).

Concrete operations of the KuneAgi software

Concretely, the KuneAgi software operates in the following way (see also figure 1 below):

* **any member** of the TNDPPP has the right to **propose** a **Public Policy Proposal**, around a **written, structured** and **indexed** document. The indexing meta-data specifies the issue and its scope of the Public Policy Proposal. By doing so, s/he attempts to gather a Working Group around his/her Public Policy Proposal. The Public Policy Proposal may very well be redundant with one already being worked upon, under the principle that "nobody owns a subject"

* each new Public Policy Proposal is subject to the **distributed moderation** performed by a group of **randomly selected** Members of the TNDPPP. This procedure prevents the moderation from being concentrated in the hands of a small number of people controlling this essential function.

* the members that are interested by the issue and the scope described in the Public Policy Proposal gather in an *ad hoc*, temporary **Working Group**, that aims at improving, amending and validating the initial Public Policy Proposal. The legitimacy of this Working Group is assured by the fact that the number of its really Active Participants is sufficient. Only those Public Policy Proposal who were validated by a large enough Working Group are allowed to be published

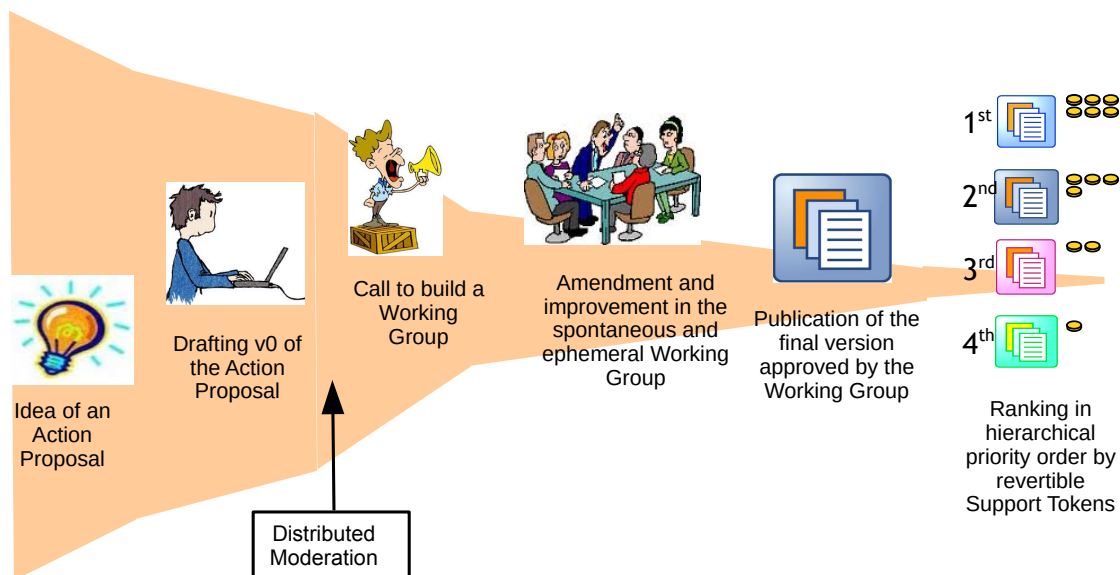
* Once the Working Group considers that its work is finished, it **publishes** the resulting Public Policy Proposal, in order to **collect the Support Tokens** by other members of the TNDPPP, and dissolves (its Active Members may then freely dedicate themselves to another Public Policy Proposal, together or separately).

* each Member of the TNDPPP has a **finite** number (typically: 7) of **reversible Support Tokens**. S/he can allocate his/her Support Tokens to the Public Policy Proposals that s/he considers of highest priority. S/he can change his/her mind and allocate his/her Support Token to different Public Policy Proposals at any time, as new Public Policy Proposals are published, or as new priorities emerge – within the quantitative limits of his/her stock of Support Tokens. In allocating his/her Support Tokens, s/he verifies the **compliance** of the Public Policy Proposal with the **political principles of the TNDPPP**. The number of Support Tokens by Members of the TNDPPP granted to the Public Policy Proposals **ranks** them into a coherent hierarchical order, which can be sorted by

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

themes (e.g. political fields of action), by using the indexing meta-data, to build a thematically structured **political programme**.

* **Identity control** and **indelible reputation** prevent multiple voting by the same natural person and trolling behaviours.



The whole system works **autonomously**, with no need for an administrator or of self-appointed moderators, and therefore with no risk of having speech or power being confiscated by this administrator (or by those commanding him/her).

2.5.2 The LiquidFeedback software for the control of the Bureau and of elected officials

Control of the Bureau (function 2.1):

For each type of operational decisions of the Bureau, a threshold of financial or legal commitment is defined.

For all operational decisions under this threshold, the Bureau has no other duty than to disclose the decision taken to all members of the TNDPPP.

All operational decisions above this threshold are subject to *a priori* approval by all members of the TNDPPP, with a notice period depending on the amount of the commitment. In order however to avoid cognitive overload of the members, each member can delegate his/her vote reversibly to any

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

other member. This delegation can be cancelled at any time, and can be specified as relating to one nature of operational decisions only (e.g. only for decisions regarding pre-electoral alliances). The delegation is transitive: it can be further delegated to another member.

Each time a member having a delegation votes on an operational decision, the content of his/her vote is transmitted to the member at the origin of the delegation, so as to enable direct control by the delegating member over the actions performed by the delegated member.

Control of elected officials in their legislative or executive functions (function 2.2):

For each vote in which the elected official, member of the TNDPPP, is requested to participate (e.g. on amendments or for final adoption of a legislative proposal), the elected official announces his/her intentions for the vote (approval / rejection / abstention), and the justification for this choice.

All members of the TNDPPP have the right to participate in a **consultative** ballot to provide the elected official with the TNDPPP members' recommendation for this vote.

For each vote, the recommendations by the TNDPPP members, and the actual vote of the elected official, are recorded, so as to create a base for dialogue between members of the TNDPPP, the voters in the general public, and elected officials – and to provide a concrete basis for potential disciplinary actions in case of repeated breaches by the elected official of the TNDPPP's political programme or political objectives.

Each member of the TNDPPP can decide to delegate this control vote to another member. This delegation bears the same features as above of being revertible at any time, and transitive.

"Fluid" delegation as an intermediate between representative and direct democracy

For both functions, a form of fluid, or "liquid" intermediate is established between representative and direct democracy. A non-permanent, fluid set of "super-voters" emerge, which concentrate a large number of delegations, on those operational decisions or legislative acts where they have the greatest interest and level of expertise or knowledge (e.g. in the selection of graphics designers or in environmental policy). However, these "super-voters" are permanently vulnerable to having their delegations withdrawn, so that they are motivated to act according to the interests of their delegating members, and not according to their own. Since the delegation is specific to each nature of operational decision or of legislative acts, it enables a division of labour among members wishing to control the actions of the Bureau or those of elected officials in their legislative actions.

2.5.3 Evolutions of the KuneAgi software to perform the other strategic decisions of the TNDPPP

The general structure of the KuneAgi software is re-used to perform the following strategic decisions:

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

- 1.2 – the selection of the **Bureau**, i.e. of the physical persons bearing the legal capacity to commit the TNDPPP financially and legally;
- 1.3 – the selection of the internal **Arbitration Council**;
- 1.4 – the selection of the **official elections** in which to participate, and thus commit the resources of the TNDPPP;
- 1.5 – the selection of the **communication campaigns** in which to commit the resources of the TNDPPP;
- 1.6 – the selection, among members of the TNDPPP, of **candidates** in the selected official elections;
- 1.7 – the **support** of elected officials in their **legislative** work on amendments to legal texts;
- 1.8 – the definition of **rules** governing **pre-electoral alliances** and **coalition contracts of government** with third political parties;
- 1.9 – the definition of the **internal budget**, i.e. of the list of expenses to be performed by the TNDPPP (including the expenses related to the participation in the selected elections), ranked in priority order, and of the financial contribution by members;
- 1.10 – the definition of **changes in the statutes**
- 1.11 – the definition of **changes** in the **underlying software platform** itself (KuneAgi).

For each of the strategic decisions above, the structure of the process is inherited from that already operational in KuneAgi for political programmes:

1. any member of the CNDPP can take the **initiative** to make a **proposal**, respectively of: (1.2) a team and a strategy for the Bureau; (1.3) a candidacy in the Arbitration Council; (1.4) an official election in which to participate, with (a list of) candidate(s) committing to participating in the campaign; (1.5) a communication campaign or action, with a spontaneous group of members committing to supporting this campaign; (1.6) a (list of) alternative candidate(s) for a selected official election; (1.7) an amendment to a legislative text being worked upon in an official Parliament; (1.8) a rule on pre-electoral alliances or on coalition contracts of government; (1.9) an expenses item for the internal budget; (1.10) the text of changes in the statutes; (1.11) the specification of changes in the KuneAgi software. Each proposal contains, where appropriate, a text of justification.
2. any member of the CNDPP can participate in the **amendment** to the proposal and to the text of justification, in a dedicated, *ad hoc* Working Group.
3. any member of the CNDPP can participate in the **ranking** of the proposals in priority order (functions 1.7 to 1.11 inclusive); to the **selection** of the **only winner** where several candidates compete for the same position (functions 1.2, 1.3 and 1.6); and to the **selection** of the **elections** in

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

which to participate (function 1.4) or of the communications campaign or action to engage in (function 1.5).

The ranking of proposals in priority order (functions 1.7 to 1.11 inclusive) is defined by the number of Support Tokens received by each proposal.

The only winner in a competition with only one seat (or list) to be attributed (functions 1.2, 1.3 and 1.6) is selected using the Majority Judgement procedure (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Majority_judgment). This procedure enables simple voting among numerous options (because each option is evaluated in absolute terms on an explicit scale, independently from the other ones, thus reducing the cognitive burden, and the unpredictable effects, of artificially ranking options that are very close to one another), and prevents tactical voting (because the winner is the option having the best median score).

The decision on whether or not to participate in an election (function 1.4), or to engage or not a communication campaign or action (function 1.5) is performed as follows. The yearly budget of the TNDPPP defines a total sum P dedicated to the participation in political campaigns (respectively: a sum C for communication campaigns and actions). This sum P (respectively: C) is evenly distributed among all N members of the TNDPPP, so that each member administers a sum equal to P/N for political campaigns (resp. C/N for communication campaigns and actions).

When a (list of) candidate(s) in an official election proposes to participate in this election, this (list of) candidate(s) also proposes a budget for this participation. Each member of the TNDPPP allocates freely the sum (equal to P/N) that s/he administers for campaigns in official elections, between the proposals made by (lists of) candidate(s). At a given moment in time before the start of the official election being proposed for participation, the amounts dedicated by members of the TNDPPP are summed up, in a fashion analogous to crowd-funding.

If the proposed budget for participation in this electoral campaign is attained or overtaken at that date, the participation in the campaign is adopted, and the resources thus crowd-funded are allocated to this campaign from the TNDPPP campaigns budget. The (list of) candidate(s) which will actually manage these resources is either the one having proposed to participate, if no alternative (list of) candidate(s) showed up, or the one selected after competition between them (function 1.6).

When a spontaneous group of members proposes to engage in a communication campaign or action, this spontaneous group also proposes a budget for this campaign or action (which can be equal to zero, if no financial means of the TNDPPP are needed). Each member of the TNDPPP allocates freely the sum (equal to C/N) that s/he administers for communications campaigns and actions, between the proposals made by these spontaneous groups of members. At a given moment in time, the amounts dedicated by members of the TNDPPP to each proposed communication campaign or action are summed up, in a fashion analogous to crowd-funding.

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

If the proposed budget for the communication campaign or action is attained or overtaken at that date, the communication campaign or action is decided, and the resources thus crowd-funded are allocated to this campaign from the TNDPPP campaigns budget. The members which will actually manage these resources is the spontaneous group of members having proposed to participate.

2.5.4 Decision by the median vote on numeric variables

Several decisions in the TNDPPP relate to **numeric variables**. The most important of these numeric variables is the **yearly financial contribution** of members. For the sake of economic fairness, this contribution is defined as a fraction of the **median income** in each relevant economic area.

Other numeric variables refer to parameters in the KuneAgi software, such as the minimal and maximal size of a Working Group, the number of Support Tokens available to each member (see <https://programme.cosmopoliticalparty.eu/@@novaideoconfig>).

For all these numeric variables, each member is entitled to provide the value that s/he considers as the most appropriate. The value being selected for each numeric variable is the **median** among all values those provided by members of the TNDPPP, i.e. the value where exactly as many members have voted for a higher value as those who have voted for a lower value.

2.5.5 Options taken for the legal statutes of the TNDPPP

The following options are taken in the design of the statutes of the TNDPPP, in addition to all the dispositions that the usage of the software solutions mentioned above (KuneAgi and LiquidFeedback) implies.

Decisions are taken exclusively on-line, and strategic decisions in non-real time

By construction, members of the TNDPPP are geographically dispersed, so that physical gatherings are expensive, and thus socially, economically and geographically unfair.

As a consequence, **all decisions** are taken **remotely**, using on-line tools and telecommunication networks. Physical gatherings of members have no decision-making powers. Their sole purpose is to stimulate discussion and to enhance cohesiveness.

Time availability is the result of social and economic constraints. Taking strategic decisions in real-time *de facto* excludes all those who, because of their economic and social condition, cannot be available at the time of the real-time decision.

Consequently, **all strategic decisions** are taken in **non-real time**, using asynchronous messaging and voting systems.

The Bureau is elected as a team

The Bureau is expected to cooperate closely on a range of operational decisions, among which those listed in §2.2.2. They will additionally interact essentially on-line (see above), which makes cooperation more difficult than by daily face to face meetings. Therefore, an excellent level of

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

strategic alignment is needed between the Bureau members, in order for this cooperation to be efficient.

This is why the Bureau is elected as a **team**, and not as the aggregation of individual candidates.

Constructive vote of no confidence

At any time in its mandate, the existing Bureau team can be replaced by an alternative Bureau team, if this alternative Bureau team can muster a majority of Members' votes in its favour, and against the existing Bureau team. This procedure is known as a "**Constructive vote of no confidence**" and is inspired by the Fundamental Law of the Federal Republic of Germany (under the name of "*konstruktives Misstrauensvotum*").

Financial contributions of members = fee to access the on-line platform

The periodic financial contribution of the members of the TNDPPP is collected on-line. This financial contribution is also the access fee to the on-line platform where all functions and decisions (outlined in §2.2) are performed. The fee is computed as a fraction (in the order of a few ‰) of the median income in a given economic area. This facilitates the fee collection, by making the participation in the TNDPPP impossible without payment of the financial contribution.

Written means of communication are privileged

Writing is an efficient, reliable, honest and egalitarian means of communication. It uses less digital bandwidth, facilitates reflection and the exchange of rational arguments, helps to overcome linguistic barriers, and its asynchronous nature makes it more respectful of all members' life styles and social / economic constraints. Writing is thus preferred to audio and video in the communication between members of the TNDPPP.

Only two international communication languages: English and Esperanto

English is the *de facto* dominant international communication language. It creates however very strong social and geographic inequalities, in favour of the rich and of those whose native language is Germanic. Relying exclusively on English as a communication language between members of the TNDPPP is thus un-democratic. Translation and simultaneous interpretation in several languages is immensely costly, as the example of the European Parliament demonstrates. The coexistence of language-specific communities re-creates the national and cultural fragmentation that the establishment of the TNDPPP is precisely meant to overcome.

Esperanto (<https://lernu.net/en/esperanto>) on the other hand has been designed from inception as an international communication language, and to be easy to learn (ca. 10 times faster than any natural language). Free, on-line courses to learn Esperanto exist (e.g. <https://lernu.net/en/>). Accessing to Esperanto is thus socially and geographically much more egalitarian than to English.

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

The TNDPPP uses **English** and **Esperanto** as its **only two official languages**, and mobilises automated translation tools (e.g. <https://gramtrans.com/languages>) to switch from one language to the other.

2.5.6 Automated implementation of formal procedures

The TNDPPP must operate at **minimal costs**, because its trans-national nature implies coordination and travel costs that other political parties (at national scale) do not bear. It must also ensure a very **rigorous application** of all **formal procedures**, so as to ensure fairness among members that are geographically very dispersed.

This is why all formal procedures of the TNDPPP are **automated**, with an **authentication** and **time-stamping** of all interactions and of the parties in the interaction – potentially using technologies such as Blockchain (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blockchain>) and "smart contracts" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Smart_contract). The KuneAgi and LiquidFeedback software solutions already automate their processes – albeit not yet with authentication, nor with the decentralised database management of Blockchain.

2.5.7 Evaluation performed by randomly selected human members

As soon as a procedure requires an evaluation, and cannot be decided by the application of formal, explicit rules, e.g. on moderation of content, or on the compliance of a communication campaign with the political programme and orientation of the TNDPPP, this evaluation is performed by a set of **randomly selected human members of the TNDPPP**. These members must justify their decision in writing. This procedure is already implemented in the KuneAgi software for the moderation of content, and for the identity control of new members.

This procedure makes sure that the essential functions of content control are not concentrated in the very few hands of professional Moderators, and also that a justification is provided for each decision taken. The necessity of a justification is the reason why no Artificial Intelligence algorithms based on neural networks are used.

2.6. Elements to be further developed in the design

The following (non-exhaustive) list describes the components that need to be further developed in the design of the software and legal infrastructure of the TNDPPP, in addition to the adaptation of the existing software described above (§2.5):

- * the full **legal statutes** of the TNDPPP, following the orientations and guidelines outlined above, and including all items included in Article 4 of the European Regulation N° 1141/2014 on "the statute and funding of European political parties and European political foundations";
- * a **single sign-on** for all the heterogeneous software components of the platform;

Proposal: A Trans-National, Democratic, Progressive Political Party

- * the **on-line payment system** of the access fee to the platform, and thus of the periodic financial contribution of members to the TNDPPP;
- * the **authentication** and **time-stamping** of interactions, including immutability features such as those provided by Blockchain technologies;
- * the **automated execution** of **formal procedures**, e.g. using "smart contracts", beyond those procedures already embedded in the KuneAgi and LiquidFeedback software modules;
- * the **automated translation** of texts between English and Esperanto.