



DEMOCRACY IN MOTION



12 countries, 8.000 km, 1 goal

- a journey through South-Eastern Europe



This fall, the OMNIBUS will embark on a ten-week journey spanning twelve countries in south-eastern Europe, at the invitation of the Goethe Institute in Athens as well as the Goethe Institutes and local partners in Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Skopje, Sofia, Thessaloniki, Athens, Istanbul, Bucharest, Belgrade, Budapest, Bratislava, Vienna and Munich.

The OMNIBUS will travel through areas rich in history and cultural diversity. Stopping at each capital, OMNIBUS will establish forums for unbiased discussions exploring the issue of the relationship between politics and art. Together, we would like to find answers on how to envision Europe, and what tools we will need to shape it.

As a key inspirational component of this journey, OMNIBUS will host two conferences, one in Athens and the other one in Istanbul, accommodating participants from all over the world. All other stops on the tour

will also include a lively programme. In Zagreb for example, the OMNIBUS will meet with a student movement, in Sarajevo we will visit a school, we will be part of the German Cultural Week in Skopje and the Biennales in Thessaloniki, Athens and Istanbul. Many other interesting activities are in progress, currently being planned, and realised with the help of local partners and the Goethe Institutes.

OMNIBUS

For the past twenty-two years, the OMNIBUS has been working to bring Direct Democracy to the people. Based on the work of the German artist Joseph Beuys, the OMNIBUS speaks to the common citizen and empowers them to effect political change. Essentially, it is a double-decker mobile school of popular sovereignty. The OMNIBUS travels to more than one hundred German towns a year. Working in market-places, pedestrian zones, schools and universities, its staff opens forums for free discussion on issues that shape society. The OMNIBUS gives a voice to the people.

OMNIBUS = (lat.) for all, by all, with all

www.omnibus.org

Mehr Demokratie

is the driving force for referendums and better electoral law. Making every vote count equally and ensuring that everybody has the right to participate is what we stand for.

www.mehr-demokratie.de

Democracy & the Concept of Extended Art

Beuys defines his visionary idea of a peoples' co-action on a foundation of freedom and self-determination as a "social sculpture". Every person becomes a responsible designer of the entire form, a shaper of a future social order.

In 1971, he founded the "Organization for Direct Democracy through Referendum". During the hundred days of "Documenta 5", he discussed his vision of Extended Art and the necessity for direct democracy as a basis for a successful implementation of "social sculpture". Following in the footsteps of his work and legacy, we are undertaking the journey through south-eastern Europe for "Extended Democracy".

CLAUDINE NIERTH



Member, "Mehr Demokratie" Directors' Board and Initiator of the white OMNIBUS.

BRIGITTE KRENKERS



Initiator of the first Omnibus in 1987. Shareholder and Tour Manager.

MAXIE ZURMÜHLEN



Member of OMNIBUS, Tour Manager

ROMAN HUBER



Executive Manager, "Mehr Demokratie" Association.

JOHANNES STÜTTGEN



Artist, master student of Joseph Beuys, spin doctor & shareholder in OMNIBUS.

SUSANNE SOCHER



Citizens' counsellor, Mehr Demokratie e.V.

GERALD HÄFNER



Co-founder of "Mehr Demokratie", Member of European Parliament

WERNER KÜPPERS



Artist, vehicle operator guiding the white OMNIBUS for over eight years already.

KOSTA TOUBEKIS



Filmproducer, member of OMNIBUS and "Mehr Demokratie"

KATRIN TOBER



Member of OMNIBUS and "Mehr Demokratie", Tour guide

MICHAEL VON DER LOHE



Executive Director of OMNIBUS GmbH (limited company operating as a public utility)

RHEA THÖNGES-STRINGARIS



Art historian, associate of Joseph Beuys, member of Mehr Demokratie e.V. and OMNIBUS

RALF-UWE BECK



Protestant minister, Press officer of the State Protestant Church of Thuringia and Saxony-Anhalt, Initiator of two referendums

KARL-HEINZ TRITSCHLER



Artist, member of OMNIBUS, tour guide

WOLFGER PÖHLMANN



Goethe Institute, Manager of the Athens Programme, with regional responsibility for SE Europe

Why DEMOCRACY?

Democracy is in Motion is the leitmotif for an unconventional two-month art project launched at the initiative of the Goethe Institute in Athens, and involving twelve Goethe Institutes from south-eastern Europe, which are now participating in various ways.

The point of departure for the planning launched about two years ago was the fact that two important German anniversaries were upcoming at that time, and were to be commemorated in 2009: 1949 was the founding year of both post-war German states, the Federal Republic of Germany in the west and the German Democratic Republic in the east. Moreover, we are celebrating sixty years of the German Constitution and, on November 9th, the twentieth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. With this historic event, a peaceful popular uprising rang in the end of the Cold War, which not only made the reunification of Germany possible and changed the map of Europe, but also had global ramifications.

In addition, the current worldwide political situation, the European debate around the Lisbon Treaty, the world economic crisis, many wars, trouble spots, corruption scandals and the general disenchantment with politics, all demonstrate the unchanging significance of Democracy as an issue.

It may seem paradoxical in this context that democracy, as the overarching lead concept of our culture, is left largely to the political parties and the functionaries, and that only a few independent initiatives and interest groups have committed themselves to the mission of strengthening democracy.

Democracy as a Work of Art

There were only few, in the latter part of the twentieth century, who transformed and placed their stamp upon the world of art as strongly as did Joseph Beuys, an artist who saw humankind as the measure of all things. His point of departure was that creativity is an essential human characteristic; hence, he practised an expanded concept of art, which addressed questions of culture, nature and social structures, reaching far beyond the aesthetic dimension. With the foundation of the Organisation for Direct Democracy by Referendum, Beuys found an equivalent for his

utopian draft of a society as a “social sculpture”. For his first grass-roots democratic campaign, Beuys used an old bus as a demonstrative symbol of democracy, and as a symbol of the free and self-determined participation of all in the design of community.

In 1987, shortly after Beuys’ death, a number of people came together to carry on his mission under the name “BUS for Direct Democracy”; they called for an “itinerant school of sovereignty”. The co-founders and partners included Brigitte Krenker and Johannes Stüttgen, a former pupil of Joseph Beuys and one of his closest companions.

From Documenta 8, the bus drove primarily through Germany and the organisers, in the tradition of Beuys, sought to engage in discussions with people everywhere, so as to be able to actively participate in the design of the social sculpture. For over twenty years, it has been a forum for meeting and discussion, an engine for many successful petitions for referendums, and a means for the expansion of civil rights and the participation of citizens in political decision-making processes.

With this mission of connecting politics and art, the BUS for Direct Democracy is now to take a tour which will include stops at all Goethe Institutes in south-eastern Europe, and, in accordance

with its concept, provide a venue and a platform for conversations, discussions and various cultural activities. With the support of the European Union, the entire tour is to be recorded by a film team; the journey can be followed virtually on the Internet.

The bus is to be integrated into the programmes of several biennial art festivals; moreover, parliaments, museums, embassies, schools, academies and public squares are to be turned into places for reflection on democracy.

And amongst the most deeply symbolic highlights of this journey will be the activities in Athens, the place of origin of the idea of direct democracy.

I would like here to express our gratitude to all the many partners and supporters of this campaign, most especially however to the representatives and members of the two sponsoring Organisations, the OMNIBUS gGmbH, a charitable company, and the citizens’ initiative “Mehr Demokratie e.V.”, who, with great enthusiasm and great commitment, followed our call.

Wolfger Pöhlmann
Head of the Programme Department
Goethe Institute, Athens

Renewal of the Concept of Democracy from the Spirit of Art

Greece, especially Athens, is the birthplace of democracy from art, as embodied in the Dionysus Theater at the foot of the Acropolis, the birthplace, too, of philosophy, i.e., of free thought, and thus the birthplace of Europe. Today, 2500 years later, Europe sees the question as to its future form – which means the question of its identity – on its agenda: the renewal of the idea of democracy from the spirit of art. We want to confirm this solemnly at the Pnyx, the historic voting place of Athens.

Johannes Stüttgen

The work of the OMNIBUS is grounded in the Extended Definition of Art, which, oriented toward the essence of freedom, enables people to throw off the structures of outside domination.

The OMNIBUS, always together with MORE DEMOCRACY, is conceived as the instrument of a new foundation of the idea of democracy within each person – hence the idea that every person acts, with equal rights, as a responsible and capable co-shaper of society. Joseph Beuys' statement that "every person is an artist" is also in reference to that.

This new foundation of democracy can only occur directly; hence, direct democracy. "Direct" means that it can only sprout within the human self, and that it can also only be implemented directly by him or her, in the form of direct votes on all essential questions which concern everyone. The principle of "election" must be supplemented at all levels by the principle of "referendums." The suitable form for that is a three-stage structure: the popular initiative, the petition for a referendum, and the referendum vote.

Without this complementary element, merely parliamentary –

i.e. indirect – democracy steadily degenerates into party rule, which is increasingly experienced by people as outside rule – as non-democracy. We have also long-since known that it has provided a maneuverable force to be used in the interests of capitalist profit and of its power monopolies. The view that people are incapable of self-determination and self-government is the fundamental error which, combined with a capitalism unfettered by democratic controls, results in the devastating damage which we are familiar with as the ecological crisis, the social crisis, the financial crisis, etc. These are all global catastrophes, not least among their causes being abbreviated concepts which together yield an abbreviated concept of humankind, which is in turn expressed in the dominant power structures. But people are destined for liberty – not in its abbreviated form, but as creators of a higher form. To fail to recognize this means to face demise, not only one's own, but that of the earth and all creatures living on it.

The question of democracy, posed thus directly, is an identity question. A very current example of that is

the question of a European identity transcending national boundaries.

The OMNIBUS journey out of Germany to the southeastern countries of Europe, sponsored by the Goethe Institute in Athens, is a coherent picture. Wherever it goes, it is not only a voice, but also an ear. How can the various languages transmit their messages? Listening thoroughly to the voice of the other means starting anew in a strange land, the origin of the idea of "democracy" – direct. And at the same time, a recalled sense of the origin of this idea, 2500 years ago in Greece.

This is the path which the OMNIBUS FOR DIRECT DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY is following, together with MORE DEMOCRACY.

Johannes Stüttgen, Easter 2009

The Artistic Concept and a Cleansing (Revolution) of Terms

1.

In the most sublime conceptual image of humankind,

LIBERTY

EQUALITY

FRATERNITY

the principle of the DEMOCRACY is represented by its central element, EQUALITY. DEMOCRACY is derived from the EQUALITY of all people BEFORE THE LAW. The idea of EQUALITY, the central element, does not mean that all people are the same, but only that all have EQUAL RIGHTS.

Thus, EQUALITY refers to the LEGAL STRUCTURE of society. The societal legal structure based on EQUALITY is called DEMOCRACY.

2.

Whence, then, is LAW derived? DEMOCRACY means that “all power stems from the people.” In a DEMOCRACY, the people are the sovereign of the law. But all of us, each one of us, are the people! Each with his or her own voice, and every voice weighs the same. However, this EQUAL WEIGHT of every voice is only ensured if each voice is also free, i.e. not preempted, not dictated. Here, the first element of the three, LIBERTY, appears. LIBERTY is thus based on the human being as an individual, as a SELF. It refers to the individual’s special features, uniqueness, productivity, and creativity, to what he or she thinks, feels and wants, to the spirit.

“Every person is an artist,” Joseph Beuys said. He meant the ESSENCE OF LIBERTY as the potential of every human being. That is the basis for everything.

Thus, the production and the design of LAW, and at a higher level, the production and the design of DEMOCRACY, in which law is based on the principle of the EQUALITY of all before the law, is an INDIVIDUAL ACT OF CREATION BY A FREE PERSON. Rights cannot be created from above, but only from below, i.e. out of the LIBERTY and SELF-DETERMINATION of every single human SELF.

Hence, EQUALITY does not abolish the LIBERTY of the individual, but rather lifts up that LIBERTY to a HIGHER FORM – the form of the STRUCTURE OF LIBERTY OF SOCIETY.

3.

However, the highest form of the LIBERTY appears in the third element, FRATERNITY.

FRATERNITY (LOVE) refers to the COOPERATION of all BASED ON A DIVISION OF LABOUR in production, circulation, fulfillment of needs and loving, hence careful management of nature and resources. FRATERNITY (LOVE) is the principle of ECONOMY implemented by people. It refers to, and brings forth, the FUTURE FORM of a free world with an ecological economy.

- Joseph Beuys: “The SOCIAL SCULPTURE”

For this FUTURE FORM, which is to overcome the present NOT YET FREE, NOT YET DEMOCRATIC, NOT YET FRATERNAL (but rather egotistical) form, the formation of the central element is the decisive threshold step for the realization of REAL DEMOCRACY at the END OF THE 20TH CENTURY. For new economic laws, new capital laws, new financial laws derived from the LIBERTY of the human self and its creativity, can be realized only through LEGAL AGREEMENTS which are DEMOCRATIC, which means based on EQUAL RIGHTS.

Thus, the realization of EQUALITY (democracy) from LIBERTY (the creative power of the human self) is the condition for the realization of a FRATERNITY (the Gesamtkunstwerk "Social Sculpture,") in which LIBERTY can fully emerge for the first time.

4.

For the recognition and strengthening of this intellectual, artistic constellation of

- LIBERTY EQUALITY FRATERNITY -

that it may finally descend from the heavens, where it appeared for the first time over Paris 200 years ago, to the earth, the OMNIBUS FOR DIRECT DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY has for seven years been traveling through Germany as a vehicle of the "Extended Definition of Art." Exactly seven years after its first stop, in September 1987 at Documenta 8 in Kassel, it is to arrive in Paris on the occasion of the Joseph Beuys Exhibition at the Centre Pompidou in September 1994.

Johannes Stüttgen, 1994

on the occasion of the journey of the BUS to Paris in 1994, at the invitation of the Pompidou Museum Center

The Fulfilment of Democracy by Referendum (Volksabstimmung)

Everybody knows it: many European countries are in crisis. Manifestations of that crisis include national debt, corruption, unemployment, child poverty, a financial crisis of the health insurance and pension systems, unjust and inefficient tax systems, and quality deficiencies at schools and universities. To strengthen one's country to meet the challenges of the present, it is necessary to change one's policies and laws, which have long since failed to meet today's needs. Law and politics always involve the danger of freezing the past instead of making the future possible. But why is it so hard to change things?

Behind these problems is the more basic issue: that of democracy. For whether and how decisions are made depends on the condition of our democracy. Democracy assumes that all citizens have equal rights. And that everyone must be involved when it comes to agreeing upon the law.

What then is to be done? What we need is to have representative democracy supplemented by direct democracy, by Volksabstimmung. The goal must be to involve the citizens in the decision-making process over issues that concern them, and to make factual discussions central. At issue are neither personalities, parties nor power, but rather certain concrete issues – such as suggestions for checking corruption.

The decisive factor for the quality of direct democracy is the design of the necessary procedures. The question as to how popular initiatives, petitions for referendums, and Volksabstimmung are to be handled is just as important as the fundamental discussion on their introduction. Direct democratic methods should empower the citizens and serve the purpose of the division of power, which means that they not be initiated and monitored “from above”, but rather “from below”. That means that a part of the electorate has the right to submit an initiative, which, after a successful demanding process, will lead to a binding Volksabstimmung. The implementation of the procedure is transparent throughout, and can be monitored by the citizens.

This must be distinguished from a plebiscite “from above”. Here, the “powers that be”, generally the president or the head of the government, determine when the people are to be consulted on which issues. Plebiscites are often instruments of power politics, by means of which rulers try to solidify their power with the help of “the people”.

Unfortunately, plebiscites and direct democratic Volksabstimmung procedures are often not distinguished from one another; often, the term “referendum” is used to describe both fundamentally different procedures. And too often, procedures of direct democracy are discredited by association with the plebiscites carried out by various dictators and authoritarian regimes.

Roman Huber

Executive Manager, “Mehr Demokratie“ Association

When designing initiative and Volksabstimmung procedures, a number of factors should be observed.

The quality of the procedures of direct democracy directly determines the quality of the results. Good voting procedures serve the citizens, not the politicians. They enable citizens to become the shapers of the societal whole in which they live.

Number of Signatures

How many signatures of eligible voters are required so that a referendum must be held?

Recommendation: It depends on the level, but the initial threshold should be no higher than 5% of all eligible voters.

Canvassing period

How much time should be allowed to canvass for signatures?

Recommendation: Communication – information, discussion, learning – is the heart of direct democracy, and that takes time. Launching a national initiative requires at least twelve months; eighteen months are recommended.

Manner of collecting signatures

Can signatures be collected freely, or must the signature process be carried out in government offices?

Recommendation: A well developed direct democracy would have no restrictions on the collection of signatures, other than to prevent unauthorised persons from signing unnoticed.

Validity of the referendum/majority requirements

Is a qualified majority of votes cast and/or a quorum necessary, or is a majority of votes sufficient?

Recommendation: Often, the validity of a referendum is subject to special participation stipulations. This may cause a referendum to be annulled. The same majority requirements should apply as in the case of parliamentary elections: the majority decides.

Issues subject to referendum

Which issues should or should not be subject to decision by direct democracy?

Recommendation: The citizens should be able to decide on the same issues as the representatives they have elected.

Glossary of Direct Democratic Procedures



This glossary explains the common terms for direct democratic procedures in Germany, which exist at the local and state levels. At the federal level, there are no provisions for nationwide initiatives or referendums, except in case of the reorganisation of states (Bundesländer). Direct democracy only refers to procedures where the electorate votes on issues, not on representatives. Thus, recalls and direct elections of representatives, such as mayors or heads of state, as in France or the USA, are not seen as direct democratic procedures.

Referendum (Volksabstimmung) / Popular Legislation (Volksgesetzgebung)

Popular legislation is included in the constitutions of all German states. Laws and constitutional amendments can be subject to this procedure. The popular legislation process consists of three stages: the popular initiative, the popular demand, and the popular referendum.

Popular Initiative (Volksinitiative)

or Application for a Popular Demand (Zulassungsantrag)

The provisions for the first stage vary among the German states. A (relatively) small number of signatures need to be collected for a valid initiative or application. The difference between those procedures is how they are to be handled after they have been filed. If a popular legislative process of a state requires a popular initiative, the state parliament has to debate the issue in a plenary session. An application for a popular demand will only be checked for admissibility by the state government.

Popular Demand (Volksbegehren)

After admissibility of a popular initiative or of an application has been determined, and if parliament has not then adopted the initiative, a popular demand will be scheduled. Provisions for this stage of the popular legislative procedure vary substantially. In Baden-Württemberg, for example, one sixth of the eligible voters, or approx. 1.25 million people, have to sign the popular demand in town halls within two weeks. In Thuringia by contrast, only one tenth of the eligible voters, or some 200,000 people, have to sign the demand within four months. The collection process for signatures is free, which means that one can sign the demand at any public place. Due to very strict provisions concerning popular demands in some states, none have ever been carried out – Baden-Württemberg being a prime example – or else no attempts have ever been successful.

Popular Vote/Popular Referendum (Volksentscheid)

In case of a successful popular demand, parliament must deal with it in plenary discussion. If parliament rejects the content of the demand, a popular vote must be held. The term “Volksabstimmung” (popular vote/referendum) is also used as a synonym for the whole popular legislative process.

Mandatory Referendums

In some states, including Hesse and Bavaria, constitutional amendments must be approved by the people, so that a referendum is mandatory. This kind of direct democratic procedure is common in the political system of Switzerland – not just in case of constitutional amendments, while in Germany, it is rather rare.

Citizens’ Initiatives and Citizens’ Referendums

There are also direct democratic procedures at the local level. Provisions differ substantially between the states in terms of requirements for numbers of signatures, issues not subject to referendum, and approval quotas.

Stops along the Road to Direct Democracy

The OMNIBUS FOR DIRECT DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY is a citizens' initiative dedicated to the introduction of popular referendums at all levels of government.

The most important inspiration for our work is the artist Joseph Beuys, who founded the "Organization for Direct Democracy through Referendum" in 1971 with an office in Düsseldorf. In 1972, he set up the office at "Documenta 5" in Kassel, and discussed his "expanded concept of art" and "direct democracy" with visitors for 100 days.

1987



One and a half years after the death of Joseph Beuys, the first OMNIBUS FOR DIRECT DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY begins at "documenta 8" (1987). It stays on the road for seven years (737 stops).

1988 - 1990



On 24 February 1988 we attempt to cross the border into East Berlin (Action West /East), but are stopped. Only after the fall of the regime in 1990 are we able to travel to East Germany and support the New Forum and the "Round Tables".

1987 - 1992



We promote the introduction of local and state referendums in seven German states. . Today, this is regulated by law in all states. Hundreds of local referendums take place every year. In this way, direct democracy is growing from the grassroots.

1987 - 1992



On 17 June 1992, the old West German national holiday, we fill a column outside the Bundestag in Bonn with 1,074,239 signatures in favour of referendums at the federal level. The occasion was the promise in the preamble of the West German constitution that after reunification, a constitution would be drafted by the entire people.

1993 - 1995



In 1993 we co-initiate the referendum "More Democracy in Bavaria". In just 14 days, 1,196,000 citizens sign to put it to a vote! The 1995 referendum is successful. The people themselves introduce a practicable mode for carrying out referendums in municipalities and cities.

1996 - 2000



We support the popular initiative "Freedom for Schools" (Schule in Freiheit) in Schleswig-Holstein and the referendum for independent judges in Bavaria. In Munich, we initiate the referendum on citizens' participation and transparency in municipal finances.

2001



In April 2001, the blue OMNIBUS parks at Freudenberg Castle, one stop on the tour "Field of Experience for the Senses and Mind" (Erfahrungsfeld der Sinne und des Denkens). The OMNIBUS serves as a depository for 1,074,239 signatures in favour of federal referendums. Seven bee colonies live in the bus and produce honey.

2000



In October 2000, the second OMNIBUS embarks on its journey, and helps the referendum "More Democracy in Thuringia" to victory. A total of 363,123 citizens (18.3 % of the electorate) demand the lowering of the barriers to state-wide referendums.

2001



On 3 May 2001, the white OMNIBUS is visible in the sky over Berlin! With this action, the OMNIBUS, together with the organization "More Democracy" (Mehr Demokratie e.V.) begins collecting signatures for a referendum to establish federal referendums (Referendum on the Referendum).

Since 2001



... the OMNIBUS has been on the road continuously from early March to late November throughout Germany. We visit more than 100 towns annually. Wherever the OMNIBUS stops it opens up a space to discuss the idea it embodies.

2002



In the summer of 2002, our experience with the 17-year-old Jana Li Frank leads us to the idea of offering internships for school pupils in the OMNIBUS. Since then, more than 20 pupils have taken advantage of this opportunity, greatly enriching our work in the process.

2003



On 13 March 2003, in a public action outside the Bundestag together with "Mehr Demokratie e.V.", we present the representatives of all political parties and the vice president of the Bundestag with 100,000 signatures (according to our parliamentary bill, this would be the referendum).

2002 - 2004



In June 2004, the citizens of the city-state of Hamburg vote by referendum to provide themselves with the most modern electoral law of all of Germany's federal states! For the first time, the voters decide how elections are to be conducted! The OMNIBUS is a co-initiator of this referendum and participates actively in Hamburg at all stages of the process.

2006



In October 2006, the federal city-state of Bremen is so successful with their popular initiative for electoral reform on the Hamburg model that the political parties adopt the initiative's proposed parliamentary bill without a referendum.

2009



In April 2006 we started the "Referendum Action", which gives everyone the opportunity to become active immediately on behalf of legislation providing for Volksabstimmung on the federal level. Some 170,000 action cards are already in circulation. Summit will be the election of the Bundestag in fall 2009.

...etc.



TOUR-PLAN, 04 September – 14 November 2009

4 -6 Sep.	Wiesbaden
7 Sep.	Bonn
8 Sep.	Munic
9 -10 Sep.	Ljubljana
10 -12 Sep.	Zagreb
13 -15 Sep.	Sarajevo
16 -20 Sep.	Sofia
21 -22 Sep.	Skopje
23 Sep.	Tetovo
24 -26 Sep.	Thessaloniki
27 -28 Sep.	Delphi
29 Sep. -10 Oct.	Athens
10 -11 Oct.	Leptokaria
15 -18 Oct.	Thessaloniki
20 Oct.	Alexandropoulis
21 -25 Oct.	Istanbul
28 -29 Oct.	Bucharest
30 -31 Oct.	Cluj
2 - 3 Nov.	Belgrade
5 -7 Nov.	Budapest
8 - 9 Nov.	Bratislava
10 -12 Nov.	Vienna
13 Nov.	Linz
14 Nov.	Munich

www.democracy-in-motion.eu