

Referendums in Central and Eastern Europe

It has been a tradition since a decade and a half, that in the annual conferences of ACEEEO the professionals from the member states exchange their opinion in one or two issues, and work out recommendations together.

The subject of this jubilee conference, arranged in this beautiful place, is the institutional form of direct exercise of power: the referendum. This presentation only concerns with the institute of nation-wide referendum, it does not affect the issues of local referendum, the nation-wide and local popular initiatives and the popular veto.

In my presentation after a short description of the institute of referendum, and I will introduce the Hungarian regulations, and I will also talk about the practice of regulations of some member state of ACEEEO.

Historically two standard forms evolved of the public power: the representative and the direct democracy. The point of direct democracy is that citizens participate in the exercise of power in person. We can put it another way, that in place of Parliament – in a determinate issue – people decide. An other form of direct public decision can be the enactment.

The *direct democracy* is the archetype of the democracy, it was the typical societal form of the ancient Greek states. Its outcrop is well known during the civil revolutions and its adoption as a model of wielding power into the French revolutionary ideology system in the 18th century.

The ideology of the direct democracy accomplishes itself in *Rousseau's* life-work, moreover it becomes exclusive in his ideology. His famous phrases concerning the *Social contract* cited many times pass savage judgements on the representative system, and reject it as legislation agency.

While the conception of the direct democracy based on the people's sovereignty has become inseparable from Rousseau's name, the importance of the institutions of the *representative democracy*, the creation of the institutional guarantees has been connected to *Montesquieu's* life-work.

Examining the constitutional development of the civil states it is evident that *the main form of exercising the people's sovereignty is the institutional system of the representative democracy*. In general there is no division in the jurisdiction between the Parliament and the referendum. The people's constitutional power, in other words the adoption of the constitution through referendum compulsively restricts the sphere of authority of the legislative body in several countries. Moreover, the restriction of powers can have additional cases based on law, when it is obligatory to put them to referendum.

The example of the western democracies – except for Switzerland – proves that *the referendum is still a unique institution*. There hardly any states where – in the recent decades – the incidence rate of the national referendums exceeded one occasion per decade. As for the subject of the referendums, there are two groups that prevail: on the one hand the essential constitutional questions (constitutional form, acceptance of the constitution), on the other hand the laws that directly concern the citizens' everyday life and living conditions (establishment of power plants, prohibition of the sale of spirits, divorce...)

In the modern states, the of the most wide-spread forms of predominance of the direct democracy in the legislation are the referendum (the plebiscite) and the people's initiative.

In certain countries the regulation of the referendum takes different forms, which can be characterized based on the criterias as follows:

- **based on its subject** the referendum can be constitutional, legislative or related to decrees of local municipalities
- **based on its date** it can be preventive (having a nature of program), that precedes the state action, determines principles for the future regulation from which no deviation is allowed; or it can be successive, when the referendum succeeds the state action in chronological order so that it could annul or confirm its validity
- **based on its effect** it can be constituent referendum, that puts in force or invalidate a norm or it can be abrogative, which exclusively purports to annul a norm without replacing it
- **based on its legal base** there is obligatory referendum, if the constitution renders it obligatory to organise the referendum for the creation of a norm, or it can be optional, when a petition can be lodged for a referendum by a certain part of the voters, a determinate number of member states or independent region, a group of determined number of parliamentary representatives, or rather the head of state, generally upon strict conditions
- **based on its effect of conclusion** it can be consultative, when the voting citizens' preliminary expression of opinion is not obligatory for the representative institution or it can be determinant, that obligates the representative institution

According to the Constitution of the Hungarian Republic the owner of the power is the people, who wields power through elected representatives, however it can participate directly in the decision of the most important issues affecting the country's fate through the institution of referendum.

The national referendum is regulated on several levels in the Hungarian laws in force. The basic regulations, concerning the referendum and the popular initiative, became part of the Constitution by two constitution amendments. (Law LIX.of 1997, law XCVIII.of 1997). The further part of the substantial norms is included in the law III. of 1998 on the referendum and popular initiative. The procedural norms are included in the law C. of 1997 on the procedure of election.

In the studied countries, the referendum and the popular initiative are also included in the country's constitution and in a specific law.

For example the basic regulations of the Albanian referendum and popular initiative, are regulated by the Constitution of the Republic of *Albania*, (accepted by a referendum in 22. Nov. '98) and also by the Electoral Code of the Republic of Albania of 2003 (amended in 2004 and 2005).

Or another example; three laws includes the *Latvian* referendum and popular initiative; the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia (adopted in 15.Feb. 1922), the Saeima Election Law, and the Law on National Referendums and Legislative Initiative (adopted by the Saeima on March '94).

In *Lithuania* the referendum and popular initiative are regulated the same way, primarily the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania contains regulations, and the Republic of Lithuania's Law on Referendum (adopted in June 2002) contains the significant substantial and procedural norms.

In another examined country, in *Poland* the following acts includes regulations on the referendum and the popular initiative; The Act of 14th of March 2003 on nation-wide referendum and the Constitutional Act of the Republic of Poland.

Similarly, in the other examined countries, in *Moldavia, Croatia, Ukraine*, also the constitution contains regulations on the referendum and popular initiative. In Croatia besides the constitution, there is another law which regulates the referendums and this is the Act on Referendum and Other Forms of Personal Participation in Running State Affairs and Local Governments, enacted by the house of representatives of the Croatian Parliament, 19 April, '96.

In Moldova the Election Law adopted in '97, includes regulations on the referendums. In Ukraine the Law on Ukraine on All-Ukrainian and Local Referendums (adopted in '91) includes such regulations.

Based on the Hungarian Constitution the subject of the national referendum falls within the competence of the Parliament. There are certain institutions of public interest and regulations that have to predominate definitely, even if a part of the citizens object it or find it opposing the interests of the country. In these issues a referendum may cause such an insecurity, that offends the interests of the country and the citizens.

The Constitution provides us with the full particulars of the issues that cannot be decided through referendum. The list is more detailed as usual, and compared with the European standard it contains several subjects that do not occur anywhere else, and is based on Hungarian experiences (for example the dissolution of the Parliament). These issues belong typically to *the prohibited subjects*:

- A nation-wide referendum may not be ordered:
- a) on the contents of the acts on the budget, on the execution of the budget, on central tax types and stamp duties, on customs, and on central conditions of local taxes,
 - b) on obligations arising out of international agreements in force, nor on the contents of the acts containing these obligations,
 - c) on the statutes of the Constitution regarding referendum and popular initiative,
 - d) on personnel and organisational modification (transformation, dissolution) issues falling under the authority of Parliament,
 - e) on the dissolution of Parliament,
 - f) on the Government programme
 - g) on the declaration of a state of war, on the declaration of a state of emergency,
 - h) on the utilisation of armed forces abroad or in the country,
 - i) on the dissolution of the delegates' assembly of the local government,
 - j) on the execution of amnesty.

In *Latvia* the following matters shall not be submitted to a referendum:

the budget, laws concerning loans, taxes, custom's duties, railway tariffs, military service, the declaration and commencement of war, the settlement of peace, the declaration of a state of emergency and its termination, mobilization, demobilization, international agreements.

Referendum cannot be held in *Moldova*: in the issues related to the state budget, taxes; issues regarding amnesty or pardon; extraordinary or emergency measures for establishing public order, health or security; electing, appointing or dismissing persons for/on/from positions which is the competence of Parliament, Government or President of the Republic of Moldova; issues which are the competence of judicial and prosecution bodies may not be proposed for referendum either.

In the Republic of *Armenia*: the following issues cannot be submitted to referendum: the issues of prolonging or reducing the powers of incumbent President and incumbent National Assembly as well as incumbent state and local government bodies, the issues related to human and citizens' rights, freedoms and obligations, the elimination or restriction of constitutional guarantees providing their implementation, as well as issues directly bestowed to the exclusive competence of state and local government bodies

The Constitution makes difference between the types of the referendum according to its legal ground and its effect of conclusion. On the basis of its legal ground it distinguishes a referendum decreed compulsorily or optionally, and on the basis of its effect of conclusion it distinguishes determinant and consultative referendum – organised for the expression of the public opinion.

The Constitution of our country determines only one form of referendum, that is ***based on compulsorily decree***, that is to say that in each cases if the initiative of at least 200.000 citizens meets the legitimate demands, the Parliament has to decree the referendum within 15 days and the president of the republic has to call the referendum within another 15 days.

The regulations of the ***optional referendum*** are less strict. The Parliament can decree a referendum based on consideration on the initiative of the president of the republic, the Government, one-third of the parliamentary representatives or 100.000 voting citizens.

The referendum can be held for the purpose of decision making or expression of opinion. In case of *referendum held for the purpose of decision making* the successful referendum result lays an obligation on the Parliament. The criteria of the successful referendum are that equivalent answers should be given to the questions by more than half of the validly voting citizens, but at least more than one-fourth of all the citizens. The referendum held on purpose of expression of opinion does not lay obligation on the Parliament, but its purport of decision is influenced by the the citizens' pro or contra opinion.

Subsequent upon the above mentioned the compulsory referendum can be exclusively determinant, the optional referendum can be brought to effect in both forms: depending on the decision of the Parliament it can be determinant or opinion-expressing. The referendum decreed for the confirmation of a law already adopted by the Parliament, but not yet signed by the president of republic makes the only exception, which is subsequently determinant.

Analysis of the ratification proceedings of the Europea Union's Constitution:

When studying the ratification proceedings of different countries, we can see very ambivalent processes. Ratification can be formed in the following four categories:

The ratification requires: Parliamentary approval; Parliamentary approval and decision making referendum; determinant referendum and Parliamentary approval; determinant referendums.

I.

Country	Mode of Ratification	Comments
Austria	Parliamentary Approval	House of Commons 2005. May 11, and the Upper House 2005. May 25 ratified the constitution
Belgium	Parliamentary Approval	Federal Upper House 2005. April 28, House of Commons May 19, approved the constitution

Cyprus	Parliamentary Approval	Parliament ratified the constitution on 30 June 2005.
Estonia	Parliamentary Approval	Parliament has not decided yet
Finland	Parliamentary Approval	Parliament has not decided yet
Greece	Parliamentary Approval	Parliament ratified the constitution on the 19th April 2005
Latvia	Parliamentary Approval	Parliament ratified the constitution on the 2nd June 2005
Lithuania	Parliamentary Approval	Parliament ratified the constitution on the 11th Nov. 2005
Malta	Parliamentary Approval	Parliament accepted on 6. June 2005
Hungary	Parliamentary Approval	Parliament ratified the constitution on 20 Dec. 2004
Germany	Parliamentary Approval	House of Commons 12 May 2005, Upper House 27. May ratified the constitution
Italy	Parliamentary Approval	House of Commons 25 Jan. 2005, and the Senat in 6 April, ratified the constitution
Sweden	Parliamentary Approval	Parliament has not decided yet
Slovakia	Parliamentary Approval	Parliament has accepted the constitution on 11 May, 2005
Slovenia	Parliamentary Approval	Parliament ratified the constitution on 1st of Feb., 2005

Country	Mode of Ratification	Comments
United Kingdom	Parliamentary approval and consultative referendum	Parliamentary ratification is suspended after the french and dutch voting
Netherlands	Parliamentary approval and consultative referendum	On the referendum the constitution was dismissed, on 1st of June 2005
Luxemburg	Parliamentary approval and consultative referendum	Parliament 28 June 2005. approved it, referendum on 10 July 2005. confirmed the constitution
Spain	Parliamentary approval and consultative referendum	On 20th of Feb.2005. the referendum said yes to the constitution, the House of Commons on 28 április, the Upper House on 18 May, ratified the constittion.

III.

Country	Mode of Ratification	Comments
Ireland	Conclusive referendum and Parliamentary approval	There is no concrete date at the moment.
	IV.	
Country	Mode of Ratification	Comments
Czeh Republic	Conclusive referendum	Referendum postponed
Denmark	Conclusive referendum	Referendum postponed
France	Conclusive referendum	On 29 May 2005 on the referendum th econstitution was dismissed.
Poland	Conclusive referendum	Referendum postponed
Portugal	Conclusive referendum	Referendum postponed

Considering the above data, we can find that out of 25 member states of the European Union only 14 ratified, 2 member states dismissed the constitution, and 9 member states postponed the ratification until a not definite date.

So we can see that the direct and representative exercise of power equally appears in the ratification process of the European Union's constitution.

In Hungary in the case of citizen's initiative intended to national referendum four months are available for the collection of signatures. There is an important surety disposition – as a measure of authentication - that the exemplar of the signature collection sheets must be presented to the National Electoral Committee (OVB) right before *the collection of signatures*. First of all the issues proposed for the referendum must be set up on the signature collection sheets. The signatory's legible name and address also should be stated, as well as the personal identification number, signature, and the signature collecting citizen's signature.

Constitutional interest is attached to the unanimity of the question proposed for the referendum and that it also should be easily decidable, therefore the questions should be composed in such a manner that each citizen could be able to give a definite answer to it, furthermore the parliament could be able to decide what would be their responsibilities if the referendum comes to a successful end. Signatures are allowed to be collected exclusively on sheets conformable to the authenticated exemplar. In favour of this everyone – in public place as well – is entitled to collect signatures, or performing organizational work on this purpose.

Collection of signatures is not possible during the preceding and following 41 days of the election day of the representatives of parliament and those of the local municipalities and mayors. It is prohibited to collect signatures in the place of employment or during the performance of working obligations due to employment, furthermore from persons in military service and of law enforcement bodies in the place of the service or during service hours; on public vehicles, or in the offices of the state organs and local municipalities. The initiative can be presented to the president of OVB once in a four months time. Signatures complementing the initiative that are presented additionally are stated invalid.

OVB is playing a key-role in the provision of the legality of the referendum and the people's initiative, the inspection of the juridical terms, the stipulation of their existence or failure. The National Electoral Committee rejects the authentication of the signature collecting sheets, if the issue goes beyond the Parliament's cognizance or it's not possible to call for a national referendum concerning that question, or the composition of the issues are not conform to the requirements stated in the legal measures, furthermore if the signature collecting sheet does not suit the formal requirements. The OVB authenticates the issues purported to the obligatory and to the optional referendum as well. The plebiscitary signature collection sheets signed by the voters should be submitted to the National Electoral Committee. The verification of the signatures is performed by the National Election Office. The verification of the signatures means the estimation of the number of the signatures that can be considered valid with mathematical and statistical methods, taking into consideration the data of the citizens signing the referendum initiative from the personal data and postal address registrations and from the registrations of the major citizens not disposing of suffrage. If the applied statistical and mathematical methods don't make probable the obtainment of the proper number of valid signatures, the verification of the signatures should be performed by items until the validity or the invalidity of the initiative can be incontestably stated. The verification of the signatures has to be accomplished within 45 days with effect from the presentation of the initiative. The president of the OVB is obligated to report the result of the verification of the signatures to the speaker of the Parliament without delay.

In the Republic of *Moldova* from the registration day, members of the initiative group are entitled to freely collect signatures for holding the referendum (hereinafter referred to as petitions). Signatures are collected only in support of an independent candidate or for initiating a referendum. In local election signatures are collected only in the districts where independent candidates are running in elections.

In *Latvia* the Central Election Commission shall set a term of 30 days during which the petition lists for voters to sign shall be available at the places designated by city, or county. The term should include successive days, excluding days when the elections of the Saeima, European Parliament, district councils, city councils, county councils or national referendums take place and when the collection of signatures for petitioning a national referendum is not permitted.

When the deadline for collecting signatures has expired, the Central Election Commission shall count the signatures, record the results, notify the President of Latvia about the results and publish them in the newspaper *Latvijas Vēstnesis*. If not less than one-tenth of the citizens of Latvia eligible to vote in the previous Saeima elections have signed the petition lists, the Central Election Commission shall announce within three days a national referendum.

The decree of the Hungarian national referendum falls within the Parliament's cognizance. In case of obligatory referendum the Parliament is required to do it within 15 days, while in case of optional referendum it has to make the decision within 30 days whether it conforms to the initiative or not. In the Parliament's deliverance decreeing the referendum the nature of it should be stated, whether it is decision-maker or opinion-expressing, furthermore the factual issues, in addition it has to dispose the budget of the referendum.

The date of the referendum is settled by the president of the republic. If the period of legal redress concerning the Parliament's deliverance decreeing the referendum expires without any legal event, it's settled within 15 days after the expiration, in case of legal redress 15 days after its judgement.

After the disclosure of the parliamentary deliverance decreeing the referendum, in case of legal redress, the referendum should be settled within 90 days after its judgement in such a manner that there should be at least 43 days between the settled day and the day of the referendum.

In *Croatia* a national referendum may be called by the House of Representatives of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia and the President of the Republic of Croatia.

The House of Representatives may call a referendum on the proposal for the amendment to the Constitution, on the proposed bill or any other issue within its jurisdiction. The President of the Republic may, upon the Government's proposal co-signed by the Prime Minister, call a referendum on the proposal for the amendment to the Constitution or on any other issue which he/she holds relevant for the independence and viability of the Republic of Croatia. A national referendum must be called for the purpose of deciding on the accession of the Republic of Croatia to a union with other countries.

In *Lithuania* the right of initiative of calling a referendum shall belong to the citizens and the Seimas.

The citizens' right of calling a referendum shall be conducted through the petition of 300 thousand citizens who are eligible. A group comprising at least one-fourth of the Seimas Members may submit to the Seimas a proposal to call a referendum. A decision on this proposal shall be adopted in accordance with the procedure set forth by the Seimas Statute

The date of the referendum in Hungary:

- can't be settled on red-letter day, public holiday, or the days preceding or following them
- can't be settled on the day of the general election of the representatives of the parliament or local municipality representatives and mayors, or on the 41 days preceding or following them

Inasmuch as the referendum cannot be set within 90 days with effect from the parliament's deliverance due to the general parliamentary elections or those of the local municipalities, the referendum should be settled within 131 days after the election.

In *Poland* the day of referendum shall be a day, which is not a working day.

The voting in a referendum is held in one or two days.

If voting in a referendum is held during two days then the day of voting shall be a day, which is not a working day, and the day preceding it.

If voting in a referendum is held within one day only then it is conducted without a break between 6:00 a.m. and 10:00 p.m.

If voting in a referendum is held within two days then it is held without a break between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m. and the break starts at 8 p.m. the first day of voting till 6 a.m. the following day.

Any objection against The National Election Committee's decision concerning the authentication of the signature collection sheet can be raised within 15 days of the disclosure of the decree - entitled to the Constitutional Court – for the National Election Committee.

Any objection against Parliament's deliverance decreeing a referendum or rejecting the decree of a compulsory referendum can be raised within 8 days after the disclosure of the decree – entitled to the Constitutional Court - to the National Election Committee.

The Constitutional Court considers the objection out of turn. As a result of its proceedings it approbates the deliverance of the National Election Committee and the Parliament, or annuls it, and gives the order to the National Election Committee and the Parliament to commence new proceedings.

During the national referendum each major Hungarian citizen having residence in Hungary have the right for voting, except for:

- he is under the charge of a guardian restricting or excluding disposing capacity (for example he is mentally retarded)
- falls within the law of a sentence and is interdicted from public affairs
- is passing his imprisonment
- falls under compulsive medicinal treatment due to a legally valid judgement in the course of criminal proceedings

The citizens out of country on the day of the election can vote at the Embassy of the Hungarian Republic if they are listed in the foreign representation's roll.

The citizen can apply for the entry to the foreign representation roll from the head officer of the local election office according to his place of residence (the notary of the station), personally or represented by a proxy stated in a private contract of probative value. The application should be presented personally, sent by proxy or by registered mail.

The citizen's name is simultaneously cancelled from the roll according to his place of residence when it is entered in the foreign representation roll. Within 16 days preceding the election no name can be entered or cancelled from the foreign representation roll. So the major citizen can cast his ballot only at the embassy if he has a place of abode in the territory of the Hungarian Republic and is out of the country on the day of the election, furthermore if he is in the foreign representation roll and can identify himself with proper documents.

The election roll is based on the registration of the personal data and address registration of the citizens and the registrations of the citizens not having voting right. The major citizens of Hungarian nationality of having a residence and suffrage should be entered in the election roll *ex officio*.

The notary of the habitation throws the roll open to the public between 29 and 22 days (8 day period) before the day of the referendum, where it can be seen by anyone. The population is informed in advance about the date of the exhibition to the public.

During the period of the exhibition of the roll any objection concerning the omission of the roll or the entry in the roll can be raised at the notary's office of the habitation.

In the subject of the objection the notary of the habitation handling the roll makes a decision at last on the following day of the arrival of the objection. If he agrees with the statements in the objection, he can amend the roll, if he rejects the objection, he transmits it to the local court at last on the following day after its arrival. If the court finds it convincing, decrees the amendment of the roll, otherwise rejects the objection.

In Hungary the precincts are designated in such a manner that there should be 600, but at last 1200 citizens for one precinct, but by habitations the establishment of at least one precinct is obligatory.

In the course of the national referendum there operate returning boards (in case of habitations having one precinct, the local election committee is functioning instead of the returning board), regional election committee having the territorial cognizance the counties (in Hungary the biggest territorial organisational unit), and the National Election Committee. At the embassies no returning board operate, the votes passed there are counted by the National Election Committee. The work of the election committees is helped by the election offices.

Concerning the election campaign the regulation has some deficiency, because in Hungary the question raised whether the government would have taken part in the referendum campaign or not on the occasion of the last referendum. We have looked into the laws thoroughly and found that they do not regulate the participation of the government in the referendum campaign. The foreign experts' unique point of view is that the government shouldn't take part in the referendum campaign. With setting the referendum the people has taken over the right of decision, therefore the government is not entitled to take a stand on the question of yes or no, the political parties, the civil organisations and the population are entitled to do so.

The poll lasts from 6 a.m. till 7 p.m. At the embassies of the Hungarian Republic the polls are held on the day of the referendum as well, the only exception to the rule is the United States, where they are held 1 day before the referendum.

The citizen who is short of sight or illiterat, or who is tied due to his deficiency or for other reasons, can ask for the help of an other citizen within the precinct or that of two members of the committee within the precinct

In favour of the tranquility of the citizens and the undisturbed voting on the day of the referendum the public opinion poll can be only anonym and based on spontaneity, furthermore the pollster is not allowed to enter the polling-station and the building where the polling-station is. The pollsters must not bother the voters, must not oblige them to respond, and are allowed to ask only those coming out from the building. The results of the public opinion polls carried out on the day of the referendum and during the preceding week can be thrown to public only after closing the precincts, so after 7 p.m.

Any objections against the activity and the decision of the returning boards can be presented to the local election committee. If an objection is raised against the decision of the territorial election committee, it's the law-court of the capital or of the county who decides.

Objections against the decision of the returning board stating the result in the precinct can be accepted exclusively together with the objection against the decision of the National Election Committee stating the electoral result. It is the Supreme Court who decides about the objections raised against the decision of the National Election Committee.

Referring to the violation of the electoral laws a complaint can be laid to the competent election committee. The complaint has to be laid within 3 days after the occurrence of the action that is surmised injurious. Objections can be raised against the judgement of the complaint or any other decision at the election committee who has made the injurious decision. The objection should arrive within 3 days after making the surmised injurious decision.

The head officer of the local election office is obliged to warrant that the minute-books containing the result of the referendum in the precinct could be visited in the election office during 3 days after the day of the referendum. The national result of the referendum can be seen on the Internet, or in the national weekly prints.

In the states of modern democratic society it is more and more conspicuous that citizens are losing confidence in the democratic values and institutions. One of the most evident signs of it is the decreasing participation in the polls. The institution of the referendum with the help of the modern XXI century information technology appliances (SMS, Internet, electronic voting solutions) can be suitable for the citizens to express their opinion in different topics at a low price.

Proposals:

1. The referendum is an exceptional event, that does not curtail the Parliament's decision right, moreover it completes it.
2. In our days the decreasing number of the referendums is typical.
3. Concerning the referendums, those initiated by the government constitutes the majority, nevertheless the number of local referendums is also increasing.
4. The institution of the referendum should be provided in all of the states declaring democratic values, its annulment is inconceivable. Though the circle of the prohibited subjects can be decreased.
5. Based on the experiences till date what kind of constitutional regulations determine what issues are brought to the referendum (referring to the EU constitution, there are cases where there is a subject for the referendum and where there is not any)?
6. In connection with the former question, what guarantees can ensure that the decree (or the annulment of the decree) of the referendum should not be a subject to a political manipulation?
7. In the case of citizens' initiative, is the determined number of citizens sufficient or insufficient? (Is it too easy to decree a referendum?)
8. In what measure does the circle of the 'prohibited subjects' make the direct power-wielding possible? (Is it possible in substantive issues?)
9. Does the result of the referendum make itself useful at all? In what measure is the institution of the compulsory referendum wide-spread?
10. Pro and contra: separate referendum laws (procedure regulations) or uniform code?
11. By what procedure methods can it be ensured that the referendum could be transacted in a simple, fast and cost-saving way? (So that they could be indeed the means of the direct power-wielding?)

Sources:

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- 4, Venice Commission: Referendums in Europe (2005)
- 5, International IDEA, ACE project