ANNOUNCING "RPV": THE *"REASSIGNABLE PROXY VOTE"*!

(Benefits that no other voting system can provide!)

- **RPV empowers Citizens to make Governments more accountable** (truly a *'game changer'*) **!!!**
  - Governments sometimes break important promises or lose the trust of Voters.
  - **RPV enables Citizens to *reassign* (i.e. switch) their vote to a different party—*between elections!!!***
    (n.b.: This wouldn't change the MPs—but would simply change the Parliamentary voting power of the Parties involved.)
  - This powerful new capability—only possible through *"Proxy Voting"*—is an historic advancement in Democracy!
  - Citizens have always wanted Democracy to truly serve the Peoples' interests. An election every 4 years just isn't good enough—Voters need a way to make Governments more accountable. *No party could reasonably oppose this.*

- **RPV makes absolutely *every* vote count—*always*—and *equally*!**
  - Regardless where one lives, how one votes, and how other People vote in that riding—even in so-called 'safe seats'.
  - Regardless of the population and voter turnout in each riding.
  - Every Citizen wants their vote to count. *No party could reasonably oppose this*.

- **RPV empowers Citizens to always vote for their *true* preference!**
  - Eliminates *'wasted votes'*—which cause the common practice of *'strategic voting'* (i.e. for the *'lesser of evils'*).
  - Citizens want to vote for their *true* preference. *No party could reasonably oppose this.*

- **RPV automatically ensures *"Perfect Proportional Representation"*!**
  - The Parliamentary voting power of each party is derived directly from—and is thereby precisely equal to—their total number of Citizens' votes (i.e. perfect proportionality with ZERO distortion)!
  - Based on the principle of *"the primacy of the Citizen's vote"*, and the well-established practice of *"Proxy Voting"* (the basis of corporate shareholder democracy) whereby *every* Citizen's vote is entrusted to—and cast in Parliament by—an elected representative of their chosen party.
  - Citizens would see RPV as the only voting system that's simple and absolutely fair to all voters and all parties. *No party could reasonably oppose "Perfect Proportional Representation".*

- **RPV option: add regional representatives—to provide more Balanced Representation!**
  - Ensures that the Government and Official Opposition are represented in all regions.
  - Can be flexibly used to improve the balance of representation—by Party, region, gender and demographics.
  - Most Citizens want more balanced representation. *No party could reasonably oppose this.*

- **RPV option: let Citizens choose *how* their representative is elected—in each riding!**
  - *"Voters' Choice"* would enable the majority in each riding to choose between AV and FPTP.
    - **AV**: ensures that every member is elected by a majority [true *'democratic legitimacy'*].
    - **FPTP**: causes widespread *'strategic voting'*; the majority of members are elected by a *minority* of voters.
  - Citizens want choice—not a referendum on Electoral Reform. *No party could reasonably oppose "Voters' Choice".*

- **RPV provides all these benefits with remarkable simplicity and unprecedented flexibility!**
  - Voting is as simple as "1-2-3" (or marking an "X" in a box).
  - Enables redistricting to more natural boundaries—without concerns about population size.
  - Enables redistricting to squeeze out superfluous urban seats—to facilitate regional representatives and more balanced representation, and reduce the sizes of rural ridings.
  - Eliminates any political advantage arising from the location of riding boundaries (e.g. *'gerrymandering'*).
  - Eliminates future need for redistricting—regardless of population changes.

THE RATIONALE FOR RPV: THE *"REASSIGNABLE PROXY VOTE"*!

Does our *Democracy* really need a new voting system? Yes—if '*We the People*' want one that is actually *democratic*. And the only one that is 100% democratic by design is **RPV**: the *"Reassignable Proxy Vote"*!

RPV is based on two simple yet exceptionally powerful concepts—both of which are unique to the RPV voting system:

1. **Proxy voting**—which makes absolutely every Citizen's vote count—always, equally, and everywhere—*even in Parliament!*
2. **Reassignable votes**—which empowers Citizens to make Governments more accountable—by enabling Voters to reassign or *switch* their vote to a different party—*between elections!*

Democracy today remains an unfulfilled promise—due to its deliberately anti-democratic implementation—which is why electoral reform is so urgently needed.

The *ideal* of *Democracy* was well expressed by Lincoln as '*Government of the People, by the People, and for the People*'. Alas, the *pseudo-democracy* of today is a devious device, more accurately described as '*Government over the People, by elected political partisans under the domination of a Prime Minister and the Prime Minister's Office, for the powerful patrons of the ruling party and corporate/financial interests*'.

The reality is that modern *Democracy* has always been *owned* and indirectly *controlled* by a ruling class of elites—the Establishment and those who control the big corporations and high finance—through their political dance partners who control the major parties. Moreover, our British imperial electoral system FPTP ('*First-Past-The-Post*', which was never democratically chosen by the People anywhere, and has since been replaced by Australia, New Zealand, S. Africa, N. Ireland, Scotland, Wales, London, etc.) is designed to preserve the ruling order—shielded from public view beneath the facade of Democracy—which gives vent to the frustrations of the People through the political theatre of elections, that periodically produce '*regime change*' from one *duopoly-party* dictatorship to another, then the faces are changed and the cycle is repeated, over and over again.

Elections ought to elicit and reflect a *true* expression of '*will of the People*'. FPTP elections serve two purposes: (1) the People elect their local representatives; (2) the body of elected representatives determines the Government, based on the balance of power between the political parties. FPTP grossly distorts both: (1) the expression of the '*will of the People*' (many voters are coerced into '*strategic voting*' for the '*lesser of evils*'), and (2) its (mis)translation of the People's expressed will into election results—always highly undemocratic at both the local and national/provincial levels.

The basic principle of Democracy is '*majority rule*'. But under FPTP, a majority of Canada's MPs are elected by a minority of voters—hence without true '*democratic legitimacy*'—due to *vote-splitting* amongst multiple parties. (This defect of FPTP can easily be remedied by using a preferential ballot, which Australia has had for almost a century.)

However, it is in Parliament that FPTP's distortions of the '*will of the People*' become a much more serious violation of democratic principles. The party that forms Government is always the beneficiary of substantial over-representation (about 50 seats in Canada's last two elections)—while the losing parties are correspondingly under-represented by that amount. Under FPTP, because it *wastes* (i.e. effectively '*throws away*') all votes for losing candidates (about 9 Million votes or 51.7% in the 2015 election), a party may actually win the most seats (and hence form Government) with fewer votes than a losing party.

But the most common and most anti-democratic defects of FPTP are: (1) FPTP essentially creates a political *duopoly* (i.e. the so-called '*two-party system*'—by which Voters are coerced into voting against their true will for the '*lesser of evils*' (i.e. for the less offensive duopoly party, as their best strategy to save themselves from being ruled by the more evil party); (2) it usually results in a *quasi-dictatorship of the PM/PMO*, frequently with a '*false-majority*' Government (i.e. only a minority of votes—but 100% of the power) due to FPTP's systemic distortions which greatly over-represent the winner and under-represent the losers.

The regularity of FPTP's grossly undemocratic results has inspired many clever methods of electoral reform to produce some kind of PR ('*Proportional Representation*')—whereby the number of seats of each party is approximately proportional to their share of all votes. The goal of course is correct—to produce a Parliament in which the voting power of each Party is commensurate with the expressed '*will of the People*'—which indeed is exactly what RPV achieves, *directly* and precisely!

The contention here is that the PR methods of *indirect* pursuit of the goal of true Democracy are inherently wrong, because they remain obliviously in denial of the only *true* source—and intrinsic unit—of democratic power: *the Citizen's vote*. Instead, PR slavishly accepts *the MP's seat* as the Parliamentary unit of democratic power. The various forms of PR all contrive to fill Parliament's seats in approximate proportionality to each party's vote-share. But PR can only produce imperfect results—with added complexity and tradeoffs. With RPV, the goals and vision of PR and *true* Democracy can finally be perfectly fulfilled!

PR REDUX: A CRITIQUE OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

***Excerpt from transcript of ERRE Committee on Electoral Reform, Meeting #32** [2016/09/28, Vancouver]:*

Mr. Nathan Cullen *(ranking NDP member of the ERRE Committee)*:

"Mr. Kam, just looking through your notes, I don't know if you land on a preferred type of voting system, if you go between the proportional or the current system at all. Do you express a preference?"

Mr. Christopher Kam *(Assoc. Prof. UBC, Political Science)*:

"No."

Mr. Nathan Cullen:

"You don't have one?"

Mr. Christopher Kam:

"No, I'm choosing among flawed alternatives. I think the trade-offs between them is almost perfect. So what I get from one I lose from another and ..."

Mr. Nathan Cullen:

"Okay. So the mandate of this Committee is to come up with something among these imperfections."

While any form of PR is certainly more democratic than FPTP, it's time for advocates of electoral reform to look more critically at the defects of PR and seek a better alternative—one that would deliver better results, be easy to use and give voters more power—inspiring more Citizens to become actively involved in demanding electoral reform. Fortunately, a new and better alternative has now been found: RPV *("Reassignable Proxy Voting")!*

All forms of PR suffer from imperfections and undesirable consequences. As a leading example, MMP *("Mixed Member Proportional")* leaves FPTP in place (with all its defects) to elect about two-thirds of the members, and adds about one-third of the members as so-called *'compensatory seats'* elected (or selected) from party lists; this would require an increase of about 50% in the total number of seats, or a 50% increase in riding sizes, or some corresponding tradeoff.

Another alternative is STV *("Single Transferrable Vote")*. While it's arguably superior to MMP, STV is much more complex and substantially reduces the threshold for election. Overall, it compromises the criterion of democratic legitimacy, is quite opaque, and rather too confusing for most people to comprehend. Despite its defects, STV is a highly-regarded form of PR.

RPV provides a far simpler solution that automatically produces perfect proportionality without complexity or undesirable consequences. Unlike the various complicated methods of PR that attempt to match each party's number of seats to their vote-share, RPV takes the direct approach of giving each party the Parliamentary voting power that's precisely equal to their total number of votes! With RPV, each MP would retain all their votes (1ˢᵗ-choice only); all 1ˢᵗ-choice votes for defeated candidates would be retained by the party, and reassigned (according to established rules) amongst their MPs. Some representation would be provided to avoid wasting votes for independent candidates or small parties that met some defined threshold of votes but failed to elect an MP. RPV ensures perfect proportionality, and makes absolutely every Citizen's vote count—always and everywhere—including so-called *'safe seat'* ridings, and even for defeated candidates!

RPV is based on the recognition that **the Citizen's vote is the intrinsic source of democratic power** (the principle of *"the Primacy of the Citizen's Vote"*)—hence should be inherently accepted as the fundamental unit of Parliamentary voting power (rather than the MP's seat). **Voting in Parliament would then become *'proxy voting'*—whereby every Citizen's vote would be held in trust and cast by an MP of their chosen party, with every vote in Parliament!

In Parliament, the single vote of each MP would be recorded, and automatically converted by computer into their assigned number of proxy votes. The total proxy votes cast by the MPs of each party would equal their total number of Citizens' votes—unless reduced by any abstentions of absentees (proxy votes held by absentees might be made reassignable amongst other MPs). Also, the proxy votes cast by each MP could be converted by computer into their equivalent fractional number of seats (which would be a number greater than 1.000 for MPs of under-represented parties, and less than 1.000 for an over-represented party—perfectly offsetting any distortions in representation).

RPV ensures that every Citizen's vote counts (i.e. no *'wasted votes'*), no need for *'strategic voting'* (for the *'lesser of evils'*), and perfect proportionality is achieved with no need to change the ridings or add members (although each of these types of adjustments would probably be quite desirable and easily accommodated under RPV).

RPV: The conceptual evolution of a powerful new Electoral Reform alternative!

" **PPR123** " : As described above, the original version of RPV, known as " **PPR123** " *(Perfect Proportional Representation)* was presented to the ERRE Committee (on 2016/09/28 in Vancouver).

Proxy voting is the essential feature of **PPR123** that enables its exceptional power and flexibility:

- It makes absolutely every vote count—equally, everywhere and always! No other voting system accomplishes this, and it doesn't require any complicated electoral procedures or tradeoffs.
- It elicits the free expression of the true *'will of the People'*, by eliminating *'strategic voting'* and *'wasted votes'* (i.e. in so-called *'safe seats'*, as well as all votes for defeated candidates).
- It outperforms PR by delivering truly Perfect Proportional Representation—with zero distortion.
- It also eliminates *'vote splitting'* between parties—thereby being scrupulously fair to all voters, parties and candidates.
- For Voters, PPR123 is literally as simple as '1-2-3'—the top three choices are ranked and counted according to AV procedures (i.e. *Alternative Vote*—also known as *Instant Runoff Voting*).
- AV ensures *'democratic legitimacy'* by electing each winner with *majority* support. AV has been used in Australia for a century, and its iterative process of elimination is the same way all parties elect their leaders.
- Proxy voting has long been the universal standard practice of corporate shareholder democracy.

" **PPR123+** ": ERRE feedback led to a much improved version, " PPR123 + Balanced Representation ".
Concerns expressed by MPs (Elizabeth May and Nathan Cullen) made it clear that electoral reform needed to include some number of additional MPs—to provide more *balanced representation* by party, region, gender and demographics—which is easily and flexibly accommodated under **PPR123+**, with no adverse side-effects or tradeoffs.

- PPR123+ is uniquely flexible with the capability to add any number of extra seats, with zero distortion, to fulfill any objective of Balanced Representation—due to the large number of votes for defeated candidates (around 9 million—typically over 50%), which are retained by the parties and subsequently reassigned among its MPs.
- The number of additional seats (suggested in the range 12 to 56—which could be decided after an election) would be equitably distributed between the parties according to their degree of under-representation. They should also be distributed on a regional basis, and filled by the most eligible candidates (with demographic consideration) of each party (e.g. the losing female candidate with the most votes).
- The additional seats required to produce the desired level of Balanced Representation could probably be obtained by redistricting to squeeze out surplus urban seats (i.e. given that Proxy voting removes the constraint that ridings should have approximately equal population).

" **Voter's Choice** ": ERRE squabbling over the Conservatives demand for a referendum on electoral reform led to this revision—intended to avoid the need for a referendum—by giving the voters within each riding the power to choose by majority whether their MP would be elected under FPTP or AV.

- PPR provides the amazing flexibility that MPs could be elected under any voting system—and Proxy voting, based on the votes of all Citizens, would still ensure Perfect Proportion Representation—which would be fair to all Voters in all ridings, and fair to all parties!
- Empowering each riding to independently choose between FPTP and AV would provide more Voters' choice and better Democracy than a nation-wide and binding referendum on some other form of Electoral Reform (without Proxy voting).

" **RPV: Reassignable Proxy Voting** " is a veritable *'game changer'*! Never before has there been a voting system that enabled Citizens to make a Government more accountable—by giving Voters the power to reassign their vote—hence to switch their vote to another party—between elections!
Canada's PM, Justin Trudeau, deserves credit for inspiring this historic *'made-in-Canada'* advancement in Democracy—a direct result of his shocking betrayal of his seemingly sincere promise to change Canada's voting system.

- With RPV, the expectation is that the Citizens' power to make a Government more accountable—by being able to *revote* (i.e. switch their vote) between elections—should provide strong motivation for Governments to actually become more accountable, behave more honestly, and work much harder to keep their promises and earn the People's trust.

APPENDIX 1: RPV VOTING PROCEDURES *(i.e. Who does what/where/when?)*:

RPV *(Reassignable Proxy Vote)* is a uniquely flexible electoral system, with various options and alternative implementations.
To explain how it works, the following points present an overview of the steps involved in RPV implementation.

- **Prior to Election:**
  - Parliament adopts RPV electoral system with chosen options.
  - Elections Canada (if so directed by Parliament) produces plan with alternative scenarios to add different numbers of regional representatives to provide different levels of Balanced Representation.
  - Elections Canada (if so directed by Parliament) undertakes redistricting, possibly to squeeze out surplus urban seats to reduce the number of additional seats required to provide Balanced Representation.

- **At an Election:**
  - Voter ranks top three choices as "1-2-3", or alternatively simply marks "X" for preferred choice.
  - Voter retains "*Revote-ticket"* as their entitlement to *revote* before the next election (as per *Revote-Instructions* provided).

- **Vote Counting and Retention of the Votes of ALL Citizens:**
  - If Parliament adopted the *"Voters' Choice"* option, then the majority in each riding determines whether their MP is elected by AV or FPTP vote counting procedures (otherwise AV procedures apply).
  - Each MP retains all *1st-choice votes* they received.
  - Each Party retains all *1st-choice votes* for their defeated candidates.

- **After an Election:**
  - Parliament determines the number of regional seats (e.g. 12 to 56) to be added for ***Balanced Representation***.
  - Under the rules ensuring *Balanced Representation*, some accommodation is required to avoid wasting the votes for independent candidates and small parties without an elected MP (e.g. threshold of 3%?).
  - Added regional seats are equitably allocated to Parties—according to their degree of under-representation and the established rules to provide more *Balanced Representation* by Party, region, gender and demographics
  - Added regional seats are equitably filled by the most appropriate losing candidates of each Party, according to established rules to provide more *Balanced Representation* by Party, region, gender and demographics
  - Each Party to equitably reassign their retained Citizens' votes amongst all their MPs according to established rules (this would permit each Party to implement gender-parity voting power within Parliament)

- **Parliamentary Voting:**
  - The total *Proxy votes* of each Party is precisely equal to their total number of Citizen's votes.
  - Each MP's single vote is recorded as present, and automatically converted by computer (under control of the Speaker, and replicated on the computers of each Party or MP) into the total number of Citizens' votes entrusted in each MP.
  - Every vote in Parliament is decided by the number of Citizens' votes—cast as Proxy votes by their MPs.
  - For convenience, the Proxy votes of each MP could be converted into an equivalent *seat* value—which would be a decimal number either greater or less than 1.000 corresponding to the degree to which that Party was proportionally either under-represented or over-represented relative to their share of the popular vote.
  - Consideration should be given to a temporary (and equitable) reassignment of Proxy votes held by absent MPs (replacing the practice of *'vote pairing'*).

- **Revoting (i.e. Citizens empowered to switch their vote—between elections—to make Governments accountable):**
  - The frustrated Citizen registers their *Revote-request* with Elections Canada (providing their Name and Address).
  - Elections Canada verifies the eligibility of the request and sends a *Revote-package* to the Citizen.
  - The Citizen revotes on the *Revote-ballot* provided—placing this plus their original *Revote-ticket* in a *Revote-envelope*.
  - The *Revote-envelope* is sealed and placed in an outer envelope, which is returned to Elections Canada.
  - Elections Canada places unopened *Revote-envelope* into *Revote-ballot-box* (preserving *Secret Ballot* confidentiality).
  - Elections Canada periodically (e.g. weekly or monthly) counts the *Revote-ballots*—verifying the *Revote-ticket* and implementing the vote switching—deducting one vote from the original party and MP holding that Proxy vote, and reassigning that vote to the new party and MP.

APPENDIX 2: RPV REVOTING PROCEDURES:

*The challenges of the **RPV Revoting Procedure** are to ensure that a vote can only be switched by the person who cast the original vote, while maintaining Secret Ballot confidentiality. The following is one possible implementation:*

1. **Voter retains *"Revote-ticket"* from original ballot**
   - Each **Ballot** must contain a unique **Ballot#** (a random number not identified with the Riding or the Voter—to preserve *Secret Ballot* confidentiality) printed on both the *Ballot* and its *tear-off stub* (i.e. **Revote-ticket**).
   - As the *Ballot* is deposited in the ballot box, the Voting Officer removes the *Revote-ticket* and presents it to the Voter, with instructions *"This ticket entitles you to claim your right to switch your vote to another party before the next election."*
   - Elections Canada must maintain a database (offline) containing the scanned image of every *Ballot*, indexed by *Ballot#*

2. **Voter contacts Elections Canada to register their *"Revote-request"***
   - Voter sends their **Revote-request** (with Name and Address) to Elections Canada by mail (maybe by phone or Internet?)
   - Elections Canada determines the Riding, and ensures that the voter is on the Voters' List for that Riding
   - If Voter is eligible (i.e. has not already revoted anywhere), Elections Canada issues **Revote-authorization#**
   - Elections Canada generates **Revote-ballot** which includes the Names and Parties of all candidates in that Riding, plus a box for the Voter to indicate the Party to which their vote should be reassigned
   - Elections Canada mails the **Revote-package** to Voter's Address, containing:
     - *Revote-Instructions*
     - *Revote-authorization#*
     - *Revote-ballot* for that Riding
     - A *"Double-envelope"*, with Elections Canada return address printed on the outer envelope

3. **Voter receives *"Revote-package"* and follows *"Revote-instructions"***
   - Voter indicates on the *Revote-ballot* which Party they originally voted for *[this authenticates that the Voter is changing their own vote]*, and the Party to which they want their vote reassigned
   - The *Revote-ballot* plus the original *Revote-ticket* must be inserted into the *Revote-envelope* and sealed by the Voter
   - The sealed *Revote-envelope* plus the *Revote-authorization#* must be inserted into the <u>outer</u> envelope, sealed by the Voter, and this **Revote-return-package** is returned to Elections Canada.

4. **Elections Canada receives and validates a Voter's *"Revote-return-package"***
   - The *Revote-authorization#* is validated against the Voter's *Revote-request* [request disallowed if invalid]
   - The unopened *Revote-envelopes* (equivalent to secret ballots) are accumulated in a secure **Revote-Ballot-Box** and processed once a week (or whatever frequency is established).

5. **Elections Canada verifies and counts the *Revote-ballots* accumulated in the *Revote-ballot-box***
   - Each *Revote-envelope* is opened and scrutinized; the *Revote-ballot* is verified against the original ballot (stored in the offline database) through the *Revote-ticket* [revote is rejected if the stated 1st-choice vote does not match].
   - Each valid *Revote-ballot* generates a pair of **Revote-change-transactions:**
     (1) the original vote is subtracted from that Party and its MP holding that Citizen's proxy vote;
     (2) the reassigned proxy vote is added to the newly chosen Party and reassigned to its appropriate MP.
   - The *Revote-change-transactions* are accumulated and processed once a week (or whatever frequency is established); a **Party-Vote-Update** report is produced and forwarded to Parliament.

6. **Parliament receives and processes the *"Revote-change-transactions"* from Elections Canada**
   - The Speaker and all Parties scrutinize the *Party-Vote-Update* report.
   - The Speaker authorizes the updating of the official database for Parliamentary **Proxy Vote Assignment** to reflect all *Revote-change-transactions*.

APPENDIX 3: PROXY VOTING IN PARLIAMENT:

RPV, the **Reassignable Proxy Vote**, is based upon the principle of *'the Primacy of the Citizen's Vote'*—which recognizes the Citizen's vote as the inherently *'rightful'* unit of Democratic voting power—both in elections and in Parliament!

RPV ensures that no Citizen's vote is ever wasted, and every Citizen's vote always counts equally—even for losing candidates, and even in Parliament. RPV fulfills this commitment by each Party retaining all votes received from all Citizens, and equitably assigning them amongst their MPs, who hold them in trust and cast them as Proxy votes—with every vote in Parliament.

(Proxy voting *is defined as the process whereby those who hold the entitlement to vote (e.g. Citizens) delegate the power to vote on their behalf to an entrusted representative (e.g. an MP of their chosen Party), who thereupon casts such votes as 'Proxy votes'.)*

Proxy voting in Parliament—counting the votes of *all* Citizens—would be unthinkable without computers (which partly explains why it was overlooked by the designers of democracy in the *Age of Enlightenment*). But now that digital technology has become pervasive—and transformed what's possible and how almost everything is done— computers now enable us to upgrade our modern Democracy to the standard of ancient Athens—where the Citizen' vote (i.e. native born adult males only) was the unit of Democracy, and all Citizens' votes were cast (directly by them—not by Proxy) and counted on every issue.

- In Parliament, the vote of each MP would be recorded on computers [the Speaker would keep the official record, but each Party Whip would also have a computer, and there's no reason why each MP could not also receive them on their tablet or cell phone] and would be immediately converted into the number of Proxy votes entrusted to each MP, the sum of which would equal the total number of Citizens' Votes [reduced by any absentees or abstentions].

- The Official votes would be recorded as the total number of Citizens' Votes, but they could also be expressed as *"Equivalent Seats"* (by simply dividing the number of Proxy votes assigned to each MP by the average number of votes per MP—which, for each MP, would be a decimal number greater or less than 1.000 depending on the degree to which the Party was respectively under-represented or over-represented).

  o With appropriate framing of legislation to adopt the RPV voting system, there should be no Constitutional issues. Canada's *'Fathers of Confederation'* explicitly adopted the principle of *'representation by population'* (which RPV perfectly reflects), whereby the number of seats allocated to each province is based on their share of total population. Numerous changes have been made as provinces have been added and population has grown and shifted. The *Representation Act of 1985*, currently in effect, contains several clauses that guarantee certain minimum numbers of seats. RPV can readily accommodate any numbers and distribution of seats, while also automatically guaranteeing *'representation by population'*.

- With full attention to computer security (i.e. the "Official Vote" Computer must not be online, and the digital voting procedures must be *'End-to-end auditable'* and *'End-to-end voter verifiable'*) and replication of the voting record on computers controlled by all Parties, MPs should be able to cast their vote using their tablet computer (or cell phone) with the existing manual voting procedures maintained to provide backup of the Official Vote.

- Parliament would adopt appropriate procedures to retain the votes for small parties and independents:

  o small parties with no elected MP that reach a threshold (e.g. 3%) should be provided a seat for either their Leader or leading candidate, as part of the top-up under *'Balanced Representation'*;
  votes for small parties that don't reach the threshold would be considered as Independents

  o one or more *'Ombudsperson' (non-partisan)* seats could be provided to represent Independents.

- All top-up seats (for *'Balanced Representation'*) would be considered as Regional, and the number of them would be decided by Parliament (probably after the election) depending on their desired degree of *'Balanced Representation'*.

  o balancing would be rules-based—allocated by party and region, according to level of under-representation
  o filling the top-up seats would also be rules-based—filled by the most appropriate losing candidate based on party, region, gender and demographics

<u>APPENDIX 4</u>: The Malaise of Modern *'Pseudo-Democracy'*:

RPV, the **Reassignable Proxy Vote**, arrives at a time when the so-called democratic countries of the World are facing a host of intractable problems—while their so-called democratic Parties and so-called leaders have consistently shown themselves to be part of the problem—offering no realistic hope of leading us to solutions.

The major problems of our time, rapidly approaching crisis level, include:

- o   An increasing loss of faith and confidence by Citizens in their so-called leaders and the so-called democratic system. The system and its leaders are just not truly serving or listening to the People.

- o   An increasing abandonment of the working-class People (and devastation of the de-industrialized communities of the *'rust belt'*) by the ruling political parties, political leaders, corporations and corporate leaders.
  The system and its leaders have just not been honest about what they are doing—and dishonest about the impact on the lives of working-class People.

- o   An enormous and increasing gap between the rich and poor countries—and the rich and poor classes within every country. The economic and political system and the leaders have served their own interests extremely well—to the detriment of almost everyone else.

- o   Increasing environmental exploitation and degradation—despite the warnings of looming crises, especially *'global warming'* and *'climate change'.* Only in response to growing public pressure stimulated by the dedicated work of environmental scientists and activists, the leaders are now reluctantly talking about such problems—pretending to be providing leadership—but more often permitting corporate profit interests to prevail.

- o   Increasing threats of terrorism—especially from *'radical Islamic terrorists'* and suicide bombers.

- o   Increasing expenditures and use of weapons—mostly against defenseless countries—leading to increasing instability and radicalization.

- o   Rising nationalism and intolerance against refugees.

- o   Increasing credibility gap—with increasing dishonesty by political leaders and major media.

Donald Trump's presidency has become an assault on Truth—leading his followers and many other disaffected people to the widespread belief that the mainstream media is a purveyor of so-called *'Fake News'*. Sadly, there is more than a little truth in that belief—although the Trump presidency itself has clearly become by far the leading purveyor of *'Fake News'*.

This in short is the present condition of the malaise of modern *'Pseudo-Democracy'*. Indeed, a contributing factor underlying each of the above problems is that modern *'Pseudo-Democracy'* has itself degenerated into *'Fake Democracy'*—where the political leadership *pretends* to be serving the People's interests—while their priority always seems to be serving their own interests and those of their wealthy patrons, and the special interests of the corporate and financial sectors.

In general, the World's most serious problems are largely due to <u>a crisis of leadership</u>—political, financial and corporate. And this is largely because the political leadership has been complicit in the corruption of the *pseudo-democratic System* of governance by the financial and corporate leadership. The result has been that the *System* (i.e. the *political-economy*) is no longer working for most People—because <u>the political leadership has been untrue</u>—*<u>untrue and unaccountable to the People</u>*.

Hence the rising public frustration, cynicism, disillusionment and disgust with so-called democratic politics and politicians is hardly surprising—being well-grounded in the grinding reality of the People's lives.

We-the-People of the World urgently need *true—and truly accountable—* leadership. Modern *'Pseudo-Democracy'* has failed to provide it.

RPV can't pretend to solve all such serious problems. But **RPV**, the ***Reassignable Proxy Vote*** (i.e. *vote-switching* by the Voters—between elections) does give Citizens unprecedented power to ***'Make Governments more Accountable'***— which is a small but significant step in the right direction.

APPENDIX 5: RPV   ANALYSIS OF DIFFERENT LEVELS OF *'BALANCED REPRESENTATION'*:

RPV*'s flexible options to achieve any appropriate level of **Balanced Representation** is derived from its antecedent* **"PPR123+"**. *The following is excerpted from the [analysis submitted to ERRE](#) as an addendum on 2016/11/17.*

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PPR123+ is a major extension of the basic principles of **PPR**123—enhanced by much greater use of its flexible capacity to create *'At-Large'* / *Regional* (i.e. 'top-up') seats—to provide more **Balanced Representation**: by party, by province/region, by gender and demographic diversity.

From a broader perspective gained through other testimonies to the ERRE Committee and further reflection on concerns regarding representation as expressed by ERRE members (Ms May and Mr Cullen in particular—see excerpts from the transcript of my testimony (Sept.28) at the end of this document), it became clear that the ideal voting system should provide more than simply *Perfect Proportional Representation*, as **PPR**123 alone could achieve. **PPR**123+ was needed—to more effectively and directly address the need for more **Balanced Representation** of all kinds.

PPR123+ was outlined in the document "Announcing '**PPR**123+' … **Perfect Proportional Representation—plus!**" Briefly, through its commitment to truly *'Make Every Vote Count'*, all votes for losing candidates (51.7% or more than 9 million in Canada's 2015 election) are retained by each party and reassigned amongst their MPs. This enormous reservoir of votes—rather than simply being wasted (as under other voting systems)—provides **PPR**123+ with unparalleled flexibility that can be quite effectively *(and entirely democratically)* used to provide the Parliamentary voting power for the creation of as many 'At-large' / Regional 'top-up' seats as deemed appropriate. **PPR**123+ thereby fulfills the two essential characteristics of an ideal electoral system—**Perfect Proportional Representation** + demographically **Balanced Representation!**

This is *not* to suggest excessive use of this flexible capacity. The table on the following page illustrates the impact from the creation of between **3** 'At-large' / Regional representatives (i.e. the minimum number, to provide representation for the votes for Independent candidates and small parties without elected representation), up to **129** 'top-up' representatives [note that the latter would be about 20% less than the number needed under MMP; also, for both voting systems, the appropriate additional number of members could be lessened by reducing the number of ridings].

As previously explained for **PPR**123 (also applicable to **PPR**123+), the Parliamentary voting power of each party is directly derived from and exactly equal to their total of all 1st-choice votes (i.e. for their elected *and* defeated candidates)—which is equitably allocated amongst all of their MPs (i.e. both those elected *and* any 'top-up' or 'At-Large' / Regional MPs). [In the following table, these are expressed as the "Avg. (Citizens') Votes per Seat", or converted into the " '**Equivalent Seats' per MP's vote**".]

The table on the following page is a **revised analysis** showing how **MP voting power can be equalized** via 'top-up' seats **under PPR**123+:

       FPTP: the actual results under FPTP, show that the winning Liberals needed far fewer votes per seat than any other party.

(1) **PPR**123+ with **12** 'top-up' seats—for the *'minimum'* level of *balanced* representation of small parties and independents.
(2) **PPR**123+ with **37** 'top-up' seats—for a *'basic'* levels of *balanced* representation (i.e. **vote equality for all Opposition parties**).
(3) **PPR**123+ with **56** 'top-up' seats—for a *'moderately balanced'* representation of all parties.
(4) **PPR**123+ with **75** 'top-up' seats—for *'well' balanced'* representation of all parties.
(4) **PPR**123+ with **93** 'top-up' seats—for '*highly' balanced* representation of all parties.
(6) **PPR**123+ with **129** 'top-up' seats—for *'fully' balanced* representation, with **vote equality for MPs of all parties**.

NB:
1. With **PPR**123+, the addition of 'top-up' seats **would NOT change the total voting power of any Party in Parliament !!!**
2. Each party would allocate its 'top-up' seats so as to achieve the most demographically **balanced** and **inclusive** representation, by awarding them to the most fitting **defeated candidates** as per pre-defined prioritized and objective **criteria**, e.g.: (1) by province/region; (2) by gender; (3) demographic diversity.
3. Official Parliamentary voting records would likely remain expressed as numbers of MP seats—hence the total Citizens' votes entrusted in each MP would be converted into the corresponding fractional number of '**Equivalent Seats' per MP's vote**"—for equitability with any province that is constitutionally guaranteed a specified number of seats.

While it would be for Parliament to decide on the appropriate level of 'top-up' to achieve the desired forms and degrees of demographically balanced representation (based on **gender parity** and **diversity** objectives), the mid-range alternatives [see table on following page] appear to achieve excellent levels of MP-vote proportionality (noting again that **PPR**123 always ensures *perfect* Party-vote proportionality), along with substantially enhanced **representational balance**, with a much smaller number of additional MPs than required under MMP.

Election Analysis under 'PPR123+' with different levels of 'top-up' for more Balanced Representation

2015 Election Results by Party	BQ	Cons.	Green	Liberal	NDP	Indep.	Total
Total Votes	818,652	5,600,496	605,864	6,930,136	3,461,262	142,943	17,559,353
Votes for Elected representatives	190,764	2,748,271	37,070	4,616,449	891,978		8,484,532
Votes for Defeated candidates	627,888	2,852,225	568,794	2,313,687	2,569,284	142,943	9,074,821
Seats won	**10**	**99**	**1**	**184**	**44**		**338**
Proportional seats (i.e. under PR)	15.8	107.8	11.7	133.4	66.6	2.8	338
Over (Under) representation	**(5.8)**	**(8.8)**	**(10.7)**	**50.6**	**(22.6)**	**(2.8)**	**0.0**

FPTP actual results	BQ	Cons.	Green	Liberal	NDP	Indep.	Total
Seats won	**10**	**99**	**1**	**184**	**44**	**0**	**338**
Top-up seats (none)							
Total seats	**10**	**99**	**1**	**184**	**44**		**338**
Avg. Citizens' Votes per Seat	81,865	56,571	605,864	37,664	78,665		51,951

(1) 'PPR123+' plus 12 top-up seats	BQ	Cons.	Green	Liberal	NDP	Indep.	Total
Seats won	**10**	**99**	**1**	**184**	**44**	**0**	**338**
'Minimum' top-up	**1**		**7**		**2**	**2**	**12**
Total seats	**11**	**99**	**8**	**184**	**46**	**2**	**350**
Avg. Citizens' Votes per Seat	74,423	56,571	75,733	37,664	75,245	71,472	50,170
'Equivalent Seats' per MP's vote	**1.48**	**1.13**	**1.51**	**0.75**	**1.50**	**1.42**	**1.00**

(2) 'PPR123+' plus 37 top-up seats	BQ	Cons.	Green	Liberal	NDP	Indep.	Total
Seats won	**10**	**99**	**1**	**184**	**44**	**0**	**338**
'Basic' balanced representation top-up	**5**	**2**	**10**		**18**	**2**	**37**
Total seats	**15**	**101**	**11**	**184**	**62**	**2**	**375**
Avg. Citizens' Votes per Seat	54,577	55,450	55,079	37,664	55,827	71,472	46,825
'Equivalent Seats' per MP's vote	**1.17**	**1.18**	**1.18**	**0.80**	**1.19**	**1.53**	**1.00**

(3) 'PPR123+' plus 56 top-up seats	BQ	Cons.	Green	Liberal	NDP	Indep.	Total
Seats won	**10**	**99**	**1**	**184**	**44**	**0**	**338**
'Moderately' balanced top-up	**6**	**12**	**11**		**25**	**2**	**56**
Total seats	**16**	**111**	**12**	**184**	**69**	**2**	**394**
Avg. Citizens' Votes per Seat	51,166	50,455	50,489	37,664	50,163	71,472	44,567
'Equivalent Seats' per MP's vote	**1.15**	**1.13**	**1.13**	**0.85**	**1.13**	**1.60**	**1.00**

(4) 'PPR123+' plus 75 top-up seats	BQ	Cons.	Green	Liberal	NDP	Indep.	Total
Seats won	**10**	**99**	**1**	**184**	**44**	**0**	**338**
'Well' balanced top-up	**8**	**21**	**12**		**31**	**3**	**75**
Total seats	**18**	**120**	**13**	**184**	**75**	**3**	**413**
Avg. Citizens' Votes per Seat	45,481	46,671	46,605	37,664	46,150	47,648	42,517
'Equivalent Seats' per MP's vote	**1.07**	**1.09**	**1.10**	**0.89**	**1.09**	**1.12**	**1.00**

(5) 'PPR123+' plus 93 top-up seats	BQ	Cons.	Green	Liberal	NDP	Indep.	Total
Seats won	**10**	**99**	**1**	**184**	**44**	**0**	**338**
'Highly' balanced top-up	**9**	**31**	**13**		**37**	**3**	**93**
Total seats	**19**	**130**	**14**	**184**	**81**	**3**	**431**
Avg. Citizens' Votes per Seat	43,087	43,081	43,276	37,664	42,732	47,648	40,741
'Equivalent Seats' per MP's vote	**1.06**	**1.05**	**1.06**	**0.92**	**1.05**	**1.17**	**1.00**

(6) 'PPR123+' plus 128 top-up seats	BQ	Cons.	Green	Liberal	NDP	Indep.	Total
Seats won	**10**	**99**	**1**	**184**	**44**	**0**	**338**
'Fully' balanced representation top-up	**12**	**49**	**15**		**48**	**4**	**128**
Total seats	**22**	**148**	**16**	**184**	**92**	**4**	**466**
Avg. Citizens' Votes per Seat	37,211	37,841	37,867	37,664	37,622	35,736	37,681
'Equivalent Seats' per MP's vote	**0.99**	**1.00**	**1.00**	**1.00**	**1.00**	**0.95**	**1.00**