

**Democratic Solution, instead of Bureaucratic  
Remedy**

**A glance at bureaucracy and Democracy**

**By  
Bahman Azadfar**

**Democratic Solution, instead of Bureaucratic Remedy**

**A glance at bureaucracy and Democracy**

**By: Bahman Azadfar**

**First publish 2013**

© 2013, Author

Self publishing

azadfar.bahman@gmail.com

**ISBN978-91-981311-0-9**

**To:**  
**Governmental clerks, our fellow democrat citizens**

# Contents

<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>I. Definitions and differences</b> .....	<b>2</b>
1- Definitions .....	2
2- Differences .....	4
A- Clerks and law/ B-Bureaucrats and law/ C- Clerks and examination / D- Bureaucrats and examination	
<b>II. Bureaucrats and power</b> .....	<b>7</b>
1- Power and control .....	7
2-Dilemma of Democracy .....	8
3- Giving power to bureaucrats with good will .....	9
4- The little dictators .....	9
5- Sergei Magnitsky, an example of fire accusation back .....	10
6- Schemes for surviving in crisis .....	12
7- How Bureaucrats undermine Democracy .....	14
<b>III. Wrong medicine</b> .....	<b>16</b>
1- Bureaucratic Remedy .....	16
2- Breivik affair, a perfect sample of bureaucrat's danger for society .....	20
<b>IV. Solution</b> .....	<b>24</b>
1- Democratic Solution .....	24
2- Effectiveness of bureaucracy .....	25
3- Democratic control .....	26
<b>Notes</b> .....	<b>29</b>

## **Inoduction**

Neither bureaucracy and its diverted product, bureaucrats are new phenomenon, nor its undemocratic behavior is new threaten for democracy but since the beginning of 21 century dimensions of threaten of bureaucracy, year after year grown up. Two things forced democracies to let bureaucracy become stronger and stronger:

1- The new threaten of terrorism that started with September 11, 2001.

2- The organized crimes that with fall of Soviet Union and its satellite states recruited with new members.

With no doubt terrorism and Mafia are enemies of Democracy but for stopping them and protect our open societies we should not empowered bureaucrats who are another enemy of democracy.

In this book I glance at bureaucracy and bureaucrats, with the hope of that all democrats consider them again, because democracy isn't a finished project. It is an endless process that in the way of its progress confronts with different problems and enemies. The vigilance of democrats makes democracy's development easier and with fewer casualties.

Boras, Sweden

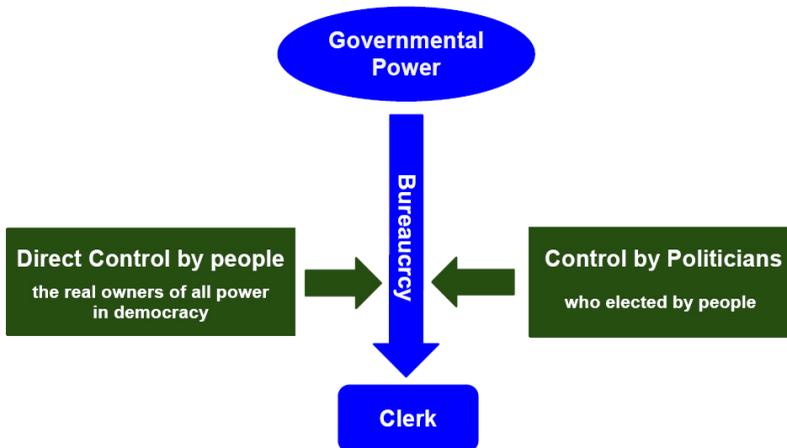
Bahman Azadfar

# Chapter one

## Definitions and differences

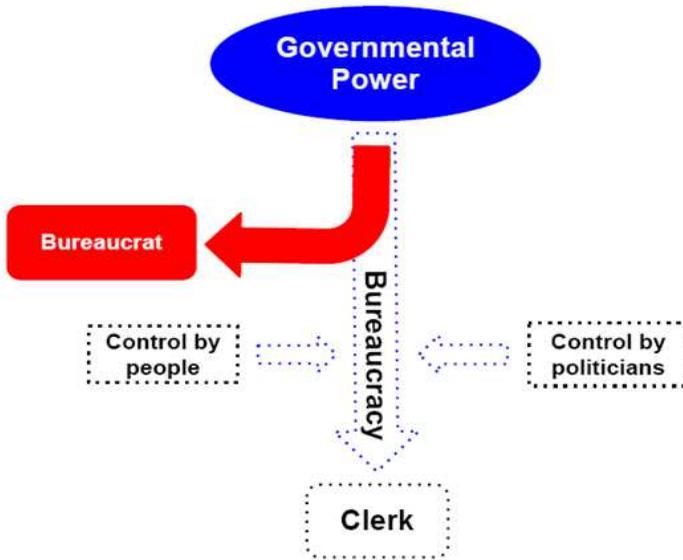
### 1- Definitions

Bureaucracy is unelected part of government in a democracy. In theory bureaucracy should be under surveillance of elected politicians who have governmental power. If in practice such surveillance exerts and employees (who are hired for bureaucracy) work in the frame of law, they are clerks.



When for any reason, a democratic society loses its control over bureaucracy, employees who work in bureaucracy become bureaucrats.

Bureaucrats are unbridled governmental employees.



A bureaucrat is an astray governmental employee who is out of all democratic controls.

## **2- Differences**

### **A- Clerks and law**

The clerk understands the philosophy of law and purpose of law makers for legislation of law.

There is a harmony between clerks and elected politicians who write the law. This harmony permits the clerks to justify needed decisions by law. The clerks try to enforce the law in practice as well as possible.

The clerks are a creative medium between people and elected politicians. They find weakness of law or difficulty of its enforcement. The clerks collect people's suggestions to enhance the law, its enforcement's methods, and help the law-makers to do more objective and effective laws.

### **B- Bureaucrats and law**

It seems bureaucrats should be the persons who worship the law but it is not so. They emphasize only on the part of laws they like or prefer. The Bureaucrats cannot understand philosophy of law. They easily lose purpose of law and fall into a maze of articles and points. They fasten on some points and cut down these points live relationship by all law and its philosophy.

For example, European parliament legislated in 2005 a law against money laundering and financing terrorism. The keystone of that law was "License". The law-makers correctly thought allowing only competent individuals or companies shall be licensed or registered, thereafter having access to member-states bank system. In this way the countries could protect their financial system against money laundering and terrorism financing.

EU law for making clear the subject to member-states persisted on equality of license and registering (1).

The bureaucrats in Sweden did not understand the philosophy of law, also its emphasis on equality of license and registering. They made two different systems.

One complicated for license by one office, and another easy for registering by another office. Both of licensed and registered group have access to bank system with a big difference between them. The honest one should be licensed and follow a lot of rules those of course cost money, and dishonest ones pay only 900 Swedish kronor (140\$) one time, for registering.

Financial Supervisory Authority of Sweden (Finansinspektionen) that handles the

licensing process didn't want to think about the idleness of the complicated process that was imposed on honest people by them, when the Swedish Companies Registration Office (Bolagsverket) registered same activities for everybody without considering their competences.

The strangest thing in this example was that Finansinspektionen didn't accept criticism about their meaningless license process.

### **C- Clerks and examination**

The clerks understand the law's philosophy and its capacity for enforcement.

They knew imposing law on honest people who want to comply with the law, without finding and stopping people who infringe the law, is injustice.

Examination is a tool for exert control and finding wrongs. For clerks revenge has no place in their examination. They don't examine people for their attitudes, behavior, gender, race or religion. They examine people for sake of justice and law.

### **D- Bureaucrats and examination**

Bureaucrats cannot understand why they were employed and why society gave them power and facilities. The most of the bureaucrats feel their offices are private area and nobody, not even elected politicians, have the right to order them. Because of this feeling, they ignore the orders of politicians when they don't like them, or in practice make sabotage in process of orders enforcement.

They think they are the best. People who are out of their bureaucrat-society are intruders and trouble makers. Then bureaucrats have the right to defend themselves by all possibilities. Examination is a weapon in the hands of bureaucrats, making trouble for their "opponents".

These opponents could be everybody for any reasons but the most dangerous opponents are critics. They must be eliminated because critics are ungrateful insolent persons who dare to question them.

People, who in their professional role need to be in touch with bureaucrats, have accepted the bureaucrats' sensitivity to criticism. This group of people avoids provoke bureaucrats' indignation with criticism, otherwise they should expect for examination by bureaucrats who rushing to the critic's place to find some wrongs or neglects. Thus the word "examination" creates fear in most of people, so critics prefer to ignore the failures in bureaucrats work, rather than express them and

waiting for revenge in form of examination.

## Chapter Two

### Bureaucrats and power

#### 1- Power and Control

Human being's long historical experiences prove that concentrated power in the hands of one or few rulers without control by society ends with dictatorship that enslaves people and damages human dignity. To avoid dictatorship and prevent abuse of governmental power, modern democracy divided power between three branches: Legislative, Executive and Judiciary.

Limited time in office for elected politicians in most democracies, besides of transparency and surveillance power-takers by Mass Media are other schemes exerted by democratic societies for prevention of misusing governmental power against people.

All these schemes are new in human history. For thousands of years, concentrated power in the hands of a king or emperor was natural, and out of question.

If for a modern society in retrospect, it's difficult to understand why people in past time accepted such rulers, it would be probably the same for future democratic societies to ask themselves: why democratic people at the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century were so sensitive about their elected government and so indifference against their unelected one.

One important principle for our democracy is monitoring of power-takers behaviors, not only the elected politicians, but also the bureaucrats, that sometimes have even more power than the elected people of the state apparatus.

It seems we have forgotten bureaucrats as real power owners and we let them to reign in their realms (offices) like the middle age feudalists.

We are very sensitive about rendering power to our elected politicians, without control. The elected power-takers misusing of power is our main anxiety in

democratic societies.

We are so focused on our elected government that we forget the most of governmental power transfers to a group of people who are not only unelected but also, out of control of the persons who we have elected (politicians) or we ourselves as ordinary citizens.

It seems we suppose our elected power-takers are Demons and our unelected power-takers are Angels. We do everything for depriving the first group from misusing power and do nothing to second group.

If our elected politicians could be corrupted by power in the absence of democratic controls, our bureaucrats would be corrupted too, because power without control has the same effect on humans everywhere, without considering the race, gender, language or religion. We cannot separate society in Angels and Demons. When we render governmental power we should exercise control on power-takers.

## **2- Dilemma of Democracy**

Having strict control on elected power-takers and absence of control on unelected power-takers is a big dilemma in a democratic society. We have found enough mechanisms to exert control on our elected power-takers but failed to find sufficient mechanisms to control bureaucrats and put them in the frame of the law and making them clerks. Controlling bureaucrats and convert them to clerks is democratizing democracy.

Now bureaucrats are not only out of control, but they also have immunity to ignore the laws or enforce them according to their will. They can silence the critics or punish them, often without serious consequences for their power-abusing.

If our politicians do a little part of what bureaucrats do every day, they would be confronted with scandals and society would force them to resign.

We correctly are rigid against our elected power-takers abusing of power and wrongly ignorant about bureaucrats' misuse of governmental power. This is an unsolved dilemma in our democracies.

We don't even notice this fact that we or our elected politicians don't hire bureaucrats. We only pay them. The dean bureaucrats choose new ones.

### **3- Giving power to bureaucrats with good will**

In a democratic society we don't give governmental power with good-will to someone. We give it by democratic control and demand responsibility from power-takers, but bureaucracy is the exception in this rule, because we generously give bureaucrats the most of our power and budget only by good-will.

Generally, when control is absent, responsibility is out of question and Governmental power is in access, tyranny with all its brood: corruption, ignorance, suppress etc. appears.

Giving governmental power with good-will to one, or few persons, in any circumstance anywhere, has a permanent result: dictatorship!

Such event often happens in revolutions. Therefor after revolutions worldwide, we see leaders who became dictators, of course with one exception: American Revolution and George Washington as its leader. This exception turns to character of Gorge Washington.

There are exceptions between governmental employees too. Even when control is loose or absent and responsibility is out of question, a group of governmental employees do their jobs properly with full responsibility to society and law. But human instincts in relation with power have a tendency to tyranny. Some exceptions cannot change the rule of "power and control".

When we are talking about giving power, automatically we must impose control on power-takers. Governmental power without democratic control means: corruption, suppression and tyranny.

When we ignore this golden rule, our bureaucrats can receive sufficient salary without working properly. Or, they can refuse to carry out decisions made by the parliament, claiming that the politicians don't have the same high level of experience that bureaucrats have. Lastly, they can suppress critics and deprive citizens of their legal rights.

### **4- The little dictators**

When governmental power is in hands, and democratic control is absent, bureaucrats can use the power as dictators. The power without control is only one

of the similarities between bureaucrats as little dictators, with big dictators like Stalin or Hitler. Their feelings about human and his rights is the other similarity between them. For these similarities between bureaucrats and dictators, the best place for bureaucrats is the countries that are ruled by great dictators because there they can eliminate the opponents or critics forever by killing them.

In dictatorship bureaucrats can take life of serious critics but in democracy they can only make trouble for critics. The exertion of fear upon critics is the main preventive weapon for dictators and bureaucrats. The fear obliges people to obey them and punishment of some critics is a good lesson to others to learn about destiny of who challenged their power.

## **5- Sergei Magnitsky, an example of fire accusation back (2)**

The bureaucrats have no tolerance for criticism and they are very sensitive about their working method. They like great dictators suffering from Narcissistic personality disorder. They cannot understand why some people are so ungrateful who ignore their perfect job and dare to criticize them. When someone dares to criticize them, bureaucrats immediately fire criticism back. They try to find flaws in the critic and scare him to take back his critique. They flaunt their power to the critic and mention how vulnerable he is.

Bureaucrats, like great dictators, remind us of the juvenile manner from childhood.  
You criticize me, I criticize you!  
You accuse me, I accuse you!  
You want make trouble for me, I make trouble for you!

Eye for eye, tooth for tooth. Examination for examination is a primitive logic of bureaucrats.

Sergei Magnitsky was an auditor at a Moscow law firm when he discovered what he said was a massive fraud by tax officials and police officers.

He is said to have uncovered the alleged theft of \$230m (£150m). After reporting it to the authorities, he was himself detained in 2008 on suspicion of aiding tax evasion, and died in custody on 16 November 2009 at the age of 37.

His colleagues at the firm, London-based Hermitage Capital Management (HCM),

insist the case against him was fabricated to make him halt his investigations.

Discovering massive tax fraud by Magnitsky and accusation of bureaucrats for fraud caused a fire accusation back to Magnitsky himself. Russian's bureaucrat accusation was: "aiding tax evasion".

Rather than opening a case against the police and the tax officials, who were accused for fraud by Magnitsky, the Russian authorities opened a criminal case against Magnitsky.

The game of "You accuse us, we accuse you!" Cost Sergei Magnitsky's life in Russia where bureaucrats, KGB, and Mafia together reign.

Magnitsky was arrested for his dare of accusation but he died because bureaucrats couldn't subdue him. They wanted Magnitsky to blame his colleagues, especially Bill Browder who was expelled from Russia before arresting Magnitsky.

Hermitage's company co-founder Bill Browder was expelled from Russia as a national threat.

*Bill Browder himself has indicated that he represented only a threat "to corrupt politicians and bureaucrats" in Russia."*

According to leader of **Moscow Helsinki Group** Ludmila Alekseeva, Magnitsky had died from being beaten and tortured by several officers of the Russian Ministry of Interior.

According to Browder Magnitsky's knowledge in law made him: "*the 'go-to guy' in Moscow on courts, taxes, fines, anything to do with civil law*".

When bureaucrats in Russia could kill a man who knew everything about law, they can kill anybody else who dares to criticize them or expose their corruption.

Of course the bureaucrats in democratic countries, often cannot sentence people to imprison or beat them to death. They cannot do so often, because independent Judicial stopping them.

However bureaucrats cannot imprison every serious critic in democratic societies, but they have sufficient tools to make trouble for them.

Not only in undemocratic countries like Russia the whistle-blowers are under pressure, but also in democratic countries they should pay a lot for their challenges against bureaucrats.

However leak of information about law infringement by bureaucrats to mass media, render a sort of immunity and protection to whistle-blowers but they should wait for huge press from bureaucrats and pay a lot, for their bold action.

Thomas Drake and Edward Snowden are good examples in USA, where people are

proud of their brilliant constitution and Freedom of speech.

Thomas A. Drake (born 1957) was a senior executive at the National Security Agency (NSA) for seven years. **When his efforts to alert his superiors and Congress to what he saw as illegal activities, waste and mismanagement at the NSA led nowhere, he decided to take his allegations to the press.** Although he was cautious—using encrypted e-mail to communicate with a reporter—his leak was discovered. In 2010 the government indicted Drake under the Espionage Act. If convicted, he would have faced up to 35 years in prison.

The Drake case loomed as the biggest leak prosecution since the trial of Daniel Ellsberg four decades ago.

The indictment against him included not only five counts of violating the Espionage Act, but also one charge of obstruction of justice and four counts of making false statements to the FBI while he was under investigation.

Drake, who resigned from the NSA under pressure in 2008, worked at an Apple computer store outside Washington, D.C., answering questions from customers about iPhones and iPads.

On June 9, 2011, all 10 original charges against him were dropped. Drake rejected several deals because he refused to "plea bargain with the truth".

Bureaucrats tried to imprison him, but justice exerted by independent Judiciary. The process of accusation and trial put lot pressure on Drake and changed his life forever.

Thomas Drake in an interview with BBC said: "Edward Snowden knew about what they did with me. With considering my case, he went out of USA and leaked out his information." (3)

The most important tool in hands of bureaucrats is to take a critic's freedom of speech by imposing "fear" on him.

It is not a secret between citizens who need to be in touch with bureaucrats for their jobs: ***"if you pass the red line and complain about bureaucrats to their higher authorities, they would come and examine you and find something to cause trouble for you. Be careful, think for yourself and put beside your lawful rights. Don't care about society. You cannot do anything about it."***

## **6- Schemes for surviving in crisis**

You can find in every democracy fear of bureaucrats and avoidance of making them indignant. Beside of imposing fear on citizens, the bureaucrats have other

tools for other situations: Silence and excuses are other important schemes for bureaucrats.

With long experience in office, bureaucrats know that people often blame politicians for failures and neglects of bureaucrats, because politicians should have control over bureaucrats and lead them to enforce their tasks.

Bureaucrats know what they should do or should not do in crisis. When a windstorm of mass criticism blows, they bend themselves like the willow trees and wait for the storm to pass, because criticism is often like a wave and has soon passed by.

When something happens or some bad statistic comes out, mass media begins to talk about it. In this period bureaucrats are under a skin-deep surveillance that should pass after a while. They try to be silent and don't answer to all criticism in these critical periods.

When they are forced to say something they have excuses for their neglects and failures: "Lack in law", "lack of personnel" and "lack of budget", coming in first place. If critics persist on the subject and name failures, bureaucrats in second place begin to accompany critics and accept the criticism by saying: "***we know, we are working on it, it takes time.***" Usually this manner disarms the critics and when they hear bureaucrats say the same thing and that they are trying to do their task, critics consent themselves by saying: "Of course it takes time!"

***"It takes time!"*** Without mention the definition of time and giving a specific time that phrase is worthless. Such promise has no practical worth.

*"We know we are working on it, it takes time"* only makes critics calm, and buy unlimited time for bureaucrats.

In digital era when in a few seconds a message goes from one side of the world to the other side, bureaucrats want unlimited time to move themselves.

When on 22 July 2011, Anders Behring Breivik was occupied killing young people on Utoeya Island near Oslo; it took Norwegian "bureaucrat-police" 35 minutes to cross the 600 meters from the lake shore to the island. Such speed in such a critical situation is, as Norwegian independent inquiry commission said, "unacceptable"(4).

The bureaucrat's last excuse for disarming the questioners is: ***We cannot render more information out about our measures, because it could damage our investigation's process.***

Nobody could know, how much of this claim would be truth or it is only an excuse for buying time.

## **7- How Bureaucrats undermine Democracy**

The Universal Human Rights Declaration (U.H.R.D) is Navigator for our democracies. It is a good measure for estimating which country is more or less democratic.

In the preamble of U.H.R.D emphasis is on ***“freedom of speech”*** and ***“freedom from fear”***. In democratic countries none of them is threatened by politicians who take governmental power by people votes, but bureaucrats by exerting their power, making critics scared. The alone citizen in front of powerful bureaucrats feels helpless and vulnerable. His private life depends on decisions made by bureaucrats. He must choose between his or his society's interests. Obeying bureaucrats and ignore the failures means avoiding criticism, insuring his business or job.

Persist on democratic values and human rights like ***“freedom of speech”*** and ***“freedom from fear”***, those in a democratic society are self-evident, while dealing with bureaucrats, means waiting for their revenge in form of examination, accusation or punishment.

We cannot expect a citizen choose public's interests when there is only a little chance to win a battle against bureaucrats while his head is under the bureaucrats guillotine.

Putting citizens' legitimate interest against what's best for society, when those two really aren't contradicting each other, can lead to serious damage on a democracy that otherwise encourages people's social interaction with one another. Pushing people to egoism and to think only about themselves is against the philosophy of democracy.

Most of the times people prefer to avoid the risk to come face to face with bureaucrats and seldom somebody takes that risk and puts his private life at stake.

Every defeat of a decent citizen, who persisted on his rights, makes the other persuaded the fighting against bureaucrats is vain.

The citizens see the real power in their democratic country is in the hands of an unelected apparatus that can manipulate the laws according their will. Also inability of elected politicians to bridle bureaucrats, together frustrate the citizens and push them to indifference.

Inability of politicians and their parties to control bureaucrats, independent of their partial Ideologies, put all of them in the same basket. The indifference make citizens pessimistic to all democratic processes and persuade them that participation in an election is in vain or prod them despite of the old party sympathies, to vote for right or left extremist politicians who don't care about human rights and democratic values. The extremist politicians want to take power via election and democratic process then overthrow it, as Hitler did in Germany in the 30's.

# Chapter Three

## Wrong medicine

### 1-Bureaucratic Remedy

Incompetent elected power-takers who cannot exercise control over bureaucrats, to soothe people, they try to promise more toxic medicine to solve problems.

Elected politicians try to fulfill their promise to electors and make them satisfied for the next election by hiring more staff for the country's bureaucracy.

When incompetent elected power-takers see that large investments in bureaucracy, is ineffective, they become dazzled, not understanding why.

During campaign for Swedish general election 2006, The Swedish Moderate Party (Moderaterna) promised a better and more effective police for Sweden. That Party and its allied parties won that election. **Fredrik Reinfeldt**, leader of Moderate Party, took office and fulfilled his election promise and poured money and staff into police organization.

A glance on statistics shows how Sweden's government invested powerfully on the police organization for achieving good results.

Year	Staff	Budget (SEK)
2005	23 940	14,960,000,000
2006	24 631	15,674,000,000
2007	25 838	16,729,000,000
2008	26 122	17,287,000,000
2009	26 891	17,493,000,000
2010	28 017	19,147,000,000
2011	28 382	19,688,000,000

During this time Sweden's police receive 4,442 more police officer and 4,728,000,000 kronor (716,363,000 \$) more money. But after huge investment on police organization for making it effective, a new statistic that came out 2012 showed Sweden's police's work, gave its worst result in 80 years. Sweden's society, surprised by these numbers, questioned prime minster **Fredrik Reinfeldt**.

In interview with media Reinfeldt tried to justify the statistic. He claimed that the police used most of its resources on organized crime, and because that investment the police couldn't do its best in other cases.

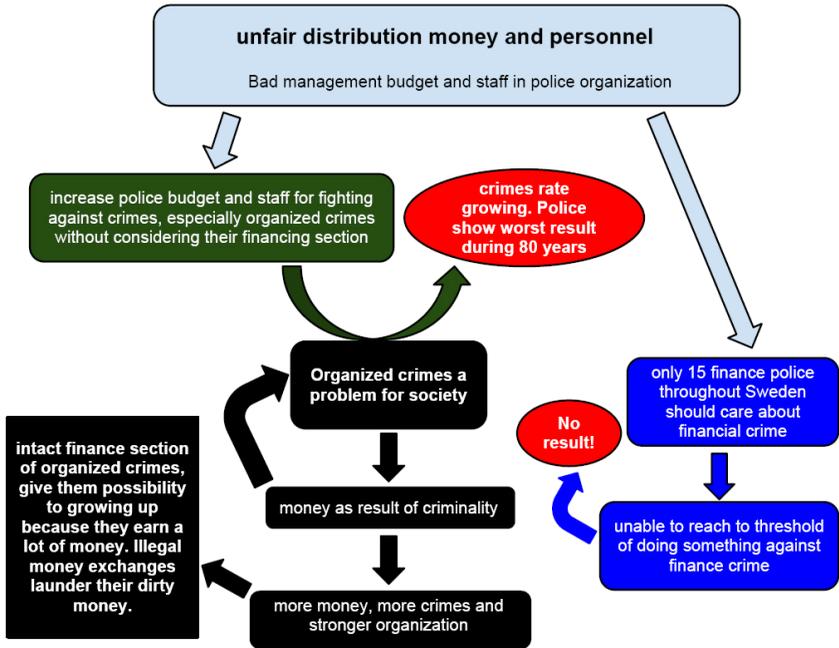
Fact shows Fredrik Reinfeldt's claim about fighting against organized crime (Mafia) is not correct.

The organized criminals' aim is to improve their criminal activities in order to make more money. Until they can easily earn money and launder them, they can recruit new members or buy people to do crime.

Attacking Mafia's businesses and depriving them from incomes is a rudimentary principle of seriously fighting them. Arresting a few criminals and convicting them

to jail is not effective, because Mafia as an organization with huge income, recruits promptly new criminals to replace the arrested ones. Sweden's police claimed that because of fighting against Mafia couldn't protect people from small crimes. However fighting against Mafia should be important, giving service to ordinary citizens against individual criminals and small crimes is also important. An effective police organization must care for both subject parallel.

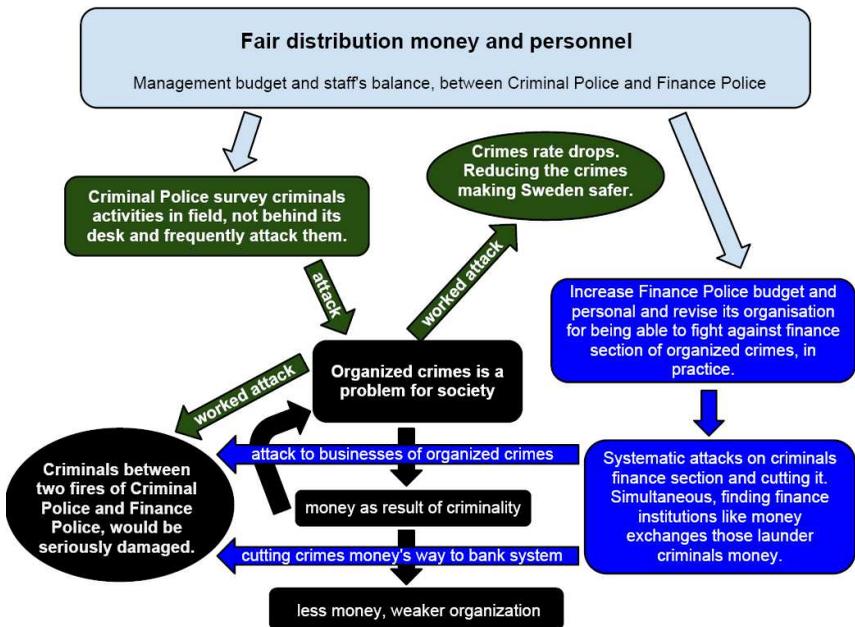
Sweden suffered from bad management of budget and staff in police organization according follow picture.



Sweden police organization that justify its ineffectiveness by excuse of fighting against Mafia, appropriated only 15 finance police officers for the whole country to attack money laundering. It means financial crimes in Sweden despite Prime Minister claim is not a serious matter.

How can 15 finance police cut down money supply's way to Mafia?

A serious and effective police organization should distribute its budget and personnel in a fair way on “ordinary police job” and “organized crime units”.



The bureaucrats' especial mentality and arrogance don't allow them thinking properly. In otherwise which brilliant genius could distribute budget and personnel in this way, except the bureaucrats?

With such generals in a war against Mafia, war is lost before even starting!

Mafia's organizers have a motive. They think properly and do their best to exert discipline among organization's members.

Mafia, not only in Sweden but also in all European countries, grows because the bureaucrats' disability and their incompetence.

Simplistic politicians instead of solving problem of Mafia's activities expansion and finding its reason, take away money from people's welfare and pouring them vainly on bureaucracy.

When the ineffectiveness of bureaucrats leads to a national catastrophe like Anders Breivik's terrorist attacks, it is politicians who shall appear and beg for pardon.

## **2- Breivik affair, a perfect sample of bureaucrat's danger for society (5)**

Seldom a sole event like Breivik terrorist attacks, gives so much material for a multilateral analysis about bureaucrats' dangers for a democratic society.

Anders Behring Breivik, born 13 February 1979, with his extreme right on 22 July 2011 killed 77 people and wounded 240 others in two separate attacks on two locations in Oslo, Norway.

### **A- Place one: Downtown**

The center of Oslo, Grubbegata, the street outside the prime minister's office and the government complex is first scene of terrorist attacks. Seven years before, it was recommended that this street should be closed to traffic.

**At 15:26** a car bomb contained an estimated 950kg (2,090lbs) of explosives made of fertilizer, blasted. It shattered buildings killing eight people and injuring 209 more.

## **B- Place Two: Utøya/Utoeya**

The island of Utoeya, located in a lake about 35km (20 miles) north-west of Oslo where a youth organization of the ruling Labor Party had camp.

**At 16:57** Breivik in police uniform asked a ferryman to transport him to island. The distance from the lake shore to the island is only 600m (2,000ft).

The uniformed man was said to have been armed with a pistol and an automatic rifle. He had described how he was there to "do research in connection with the bomb blasts".

As early as **17:25** local time, shootings were reported on Utoeya. It lasted until **at 18:27** Breivik surrendered to first police squad to arrive on the island without resistance.

Breivik, during an hour shooting on the island killed 69 people and wounded 33 others, most of them teenagers.

**From 15:26** when the car bomb blasted, to **18:27** when Breivik surrendered himself, for 3 hours, he was free to kill people. Nobody disturbed him or tried to stop him. However a phone-call made by a pedestrian 10 minutes after the Oslo bomb went off, gave the police a good description of a man carrying a pistol and wearing protective clothing.

The operator passed the message on, but the tip-off was not followed up for some two hours, the report of "Norwegian Independent Inquiry Commission" says.

Although it was clear that a terrorist attack had been carried out, no immediate nationwide alert was given, no roadblocks or observation posts were set up, no attempt was made to mobilize helicopters, nor did the operation center take up offers from neighboring police districts.

As early as **17:25** local time, shootings were reported on Utoeya. Within five minutes, police were contacted by a private boat captain offering his vessel but the message was not acted on.

As you see Norway's people did their tasks and offered their help, but bureaucrats ignored them.

However Breivik was alone and officially hadn't co-workers but in practice bureaucrats helped him more than few co-workers could do.

Norway's bureaucrats denied to close the street to traffic outside the prime minister's office and the government complex, that was recommended seven years

before Brevik's attack. Indeed, this gave him the possibility to drive a bomb car there and explode it, killing eight people and injuring 209 more.

Only 10 minutes after first attack a citizen called police and described Brevik with detail but that information was ignored by police and they didn't try to block the roads and set up observation posts.

At **17:30**, only 5 minutes after the shooting started on the Island a private boat captain offering his vessel but the message was not acted on.

The first local police patrol arrived at **17:55**, but the two officers did not try to find a boat despite guidelines recommending an immediate response to gun attacks. They stayed there and heard gun shooting and screams of teenagers who were killed by Breivik in cold blood.

At last 11-strong elite Delta force team from Oslo arrived but they were forced to abandon their own overloaded dinghy for two civilian boats that took more time. Finally they landed on Utoeya at **18:27**.

Even if Breivik had many co-workers, they couldn't render him so much possibility, or buy time for him to kill so many people.

If Breivik really had co-workers, they would be arrested and trialed with him, but bureaucrats who with their indifferences and neglects helped Breivik, have immunity. They are governmental employees and can't be sued for negligence.

When in a critical situation like the Breivik terrorist attacks, bureaucrats ignore people's reports or showing indifferences to their agonies, it is not difficult to guess their reactions in an ordinary situation.

Forgetting the laws, ignoring people's reports about failures no matter how important they are, avoiding fulfilling their tasks, showing indifference about criminals activities, all are very usual events that happen every day by bureaucrats.

Only in an extraordinary event like the Breivik's case the society can get the advantage of an Independent Inquiry Commission, headed by a judge, to investigate what went wrong and write a 482-page report that reveals the neglects.

Those failures were in Norway's system. Maybe a group of citizens mentioned them to authorities before Breivik's attacks. We don't know about people's criticism or warnings before the attacks but we can be sure that failures existed, and Breivik's attacks proved them to us.

Brevik is an enemy of open society and democracy but he and other right extremists are not the only enemies of democracy. There are other sorts of extremists who hate and target democratic values. Besides ideological enemies,

Mafia is another enemy but these two groups are outsiders. They have an insider ally in a Democracy: The bureaucrats.

In fighting against outside enemies, employing more bureaucrats only makes problems worse as Sweden's police organization is a clear example of.

Ignorance and indifference are procedures among bureaucrats. They don't have the will to change these procedures. 77 people died on the 22 July attacks just because bureaucrats didn't will to do their jobs and ignored the decisions in form of law those made in a democratic process by the people of Norway.

It would be very strange if a democratic society, seeing bureaucrats' fingerprints all over this terrible event, would choose to increase the number of bureaucrats to avoid similar tragedies in the future.

Hiring more bureaucrats for solving the problems is like using more toxic medicine that instead of a cure, worsen the illness.

## Chapter four

### Solution

#### 1- Democratic Solution

Democracy has colorful enemies but they could be sorted in two major groups: “**Financial-social**” enemies and “**Ideological-Political**” enemies.

Organized crime in form of Mafia aims at democracy’s finance system and makes society insecure for citizens. They also create corruption by buying politicians and bureaucrats.

Ideological-Political enemies of democracy by different ideological opinion from right-extremists to left-extremists, from no religion to religious one, believe democracy shall be overturned by them and their ideology run the country.

For confrontation with those enemies of democracy that they hate democratic values, we should put emphasis on democratic values, because only by help and expanding democratic values, we can overcome the enemies of democracy.

Leaving or reducing democratic values means to fall into the enemies’ trap. Enemies of democracy want us to leave, or reduce our democratic values. If we do so it means we approach to their opinion, or “will”.

By the way, democracy isn’t a finished project. It as live healthy foundation grows up and enhances itself by self-criticism and revising. A look at modern democracies’ history prove how during three centuries democracy by reviewing and revising itself accepted its wrong decisions and corrected them.

When people of U.S.A. declared their independence from England and wrote their brilliant constitution in 1787, slavery was legal and women didn’t have the right to vote. American democracy overcame those failures by constitution’s amendments for abolition of slavery and women’s suffrage.

The enhanced democracy of U.S.A, permitted movement of civil rights for African-Americans, overcoming harsh discrimination and only a few decades later, they sent an African-American to White House as president.

Our democracy must overcome on bureaucrats as unelected power-takers. Our democratic principles don't allow us to let some persons or institutes stay above the law, ignore or manipulate the laws in their favor, and suppress critics.

We need bureaucracy but we should impose strict democratic control on it to stay in frame of law and its staff should be clerks.

The bureaucrats' ignorance for the law "rolls out" a red carpet for terrorists and other criminals. We should dismiss bureaucrats if they don't want comply with law and take responsibility for their work as clerks.

Bureaucracy also is expensive and a lot of government's budget is spent on it. Smaller but more effective bureaucracy means less cost and better control. Whereas bureaucracy is an undemocratic institute, if much bigger, then its control would be more difficult and expensive.

## **2- Effectiveness of bureaucracy**

Bureaucracy was for long time a suitable institute for lazy people who needed only a job and a salary.

Bureaucracy also has been a good start for young job seekers who have not enough experience for going to private companies or starting their own businesses.

Besides these two groups a part of bureaucracy's employees are people who loved their job before seeking it. Often this group becomes clerks that a democratic society needs.

We should change character of bureaucracy from a club of lazy people, to an effective democratic institute. By paying a good salary we can hold the creative staff of bureaucracy who had decided stay in bureaucracy for a while then leaving it for a better job out of it.

We need people who can think deeply. The lazy directors who cannot or will not think deeply only make trouble for people and waste time and society's money. They cannot manage their tasks effectively.

Sweden's police highest rank directors who should decide about distribution of police budget and personnel, if they could do the thinking, it would not be difficult for them to understand that 15 finance police officers cannot even reach the threshold in fighting against financial crimes caused by well organized criminals.

During 6 years they received 4.7 billion kronor more money and 4,442 more police officers but because police managers cannot think well, all money burned up.

Some offices in bureaucracy are so infected by laziness and indifferences that honest, energetic new employees who have possibility to be good clerks, cannot

stay there for a long time and leave bureaucracy as soon as possible for better milieu.

Cleaning bureaucracy from infection and making it an attractive place for clever employees, lead us to an effective bureaucracy with effective clerks.

Offices swollen by bureaucrats should be replaced by a smaller group of clerks, and among them real directors with salaries comparable to the private section. By help of high technology they can do their tasks well.

Modern technology, by making a combination of software and hardware, can cover weaknesses in systems and reduce costs by less need of staff.

Now bureaucrat directors are unable to understand the importance of high-tech for enhancing the result of the job. We cannot expect bureaucrats who cannot distribute a fair budget and personnel, or like in the Breivik affair, ignore people's help in critical moments, in ordinary peaceful situation, considering a technical plan of a thinker who offers an invention for enhancing effectiveness of the system.

### **3- Democratic control**

With no doubt a democratic society should exert its control on bureaucracy. This control should be exercised by elected politicians and individual citizens.

Individual citizen's control is very important. It could be exerted when bureaucrats infringe law or ignore it, or abuse it against citizens. Individual citizens should "directly" and "easily" complain to Judiciary if he or she feels that has been deprived from some rights or oppressed by bureaucrats. Complaining and suing the bureaucrats to judiciary is the best control a democratic country can exercise for pushing governmental employees into the frame of the law and make them clerks.

Now in most democratic countries suing bureaucrats to judiciary branch directly is "almost" impossible, or, very "difficult" for individuals, because bureaucrats as a part of government have immunity. Instead of suing to judiciary, parliament or government have schemed especial offices there also a group of bureaucrats are waiting for hearing about injustice the other bureaucrats impose on citizens.

Complain from bureaucrats to bureaucrats is not only injustice but also ridiculous. Besides of similarity in mentality between bureaucrats and the brotherhood between them, the most important fact is that these bureaucrats or even law graduated or jurists are not judges and cannot work as independent, impartial judges. This is injustice to reduce citizen's basic right for a fair trial to a bureaucratic office that impartial of it, and its competence is under the sever

questions. Complaining from bureaucrats to bureaucrats for citizens when they feel that have been oppressed is like somebody complained from Heinrich Himmler to Hermann Göring or Joseph Goebbels in Nazi Germany and expected for justice.

It seems the main reasons to except bureaucrats from prosecution was giving a secure atmosphere to them and reducing costs of real judgment in judiciary. By giving immunity to bureaucrats, they felt themselves much more secure for ignoring the law, manipulating it, abusing it to suppress the critics without prosecution. Of course **the cost of judiciary is reduced but in the long run, these schemes for democratic society cost a lot more because:**

**a-** Depriving individual citizens from suing bureaucrats, in practice took away elected politicians' control over bureaucracy because every case that was won in the court by sentence against a guilty bureaucrat was a sign of entity of a wrongdoing or failure somewhere. A sentence against a bureaucrat could mark a bad employee and he could be dismissed or fired.

By eliminating individual citizen control in form of complaints or suing, the elected politicians for exerting control on bureaucracy need to employ more bureaucrats.

If society would hire a group of bureaucrats to control the other bureaucrats, soon we need other groups to control the controllers.

**b-** By leaving bureaucrats out of control because of their neglects and indifferences, effectiveness fell down, and society was forced to invest more money to compensate their ineffectiveness.

By depriving individual citizens the right to sue the bureaucrats, democratic society infringe article 8 and 10 of Universal Human Rights Declaration and moved against its democratic values (6).

We as democrats should stand to our democratic principles and avoiding pay blackmail to the undemocratic phenomena.

We shouldn't forget our history. Chamberlain and Daladier betrayed Czechoslovakia and submitted that country to Hitler's blackmail with hope to keep peace, but they helped Hitler to start the war easier (7). They forgot if you pay a finger to enemy of democracy today, tomorrow you would give all the hand to him.

They should have stood to their democratic principles and avoid Hitler's blackmail.

What did we gain when we gave immunity to bureaucrats by depriving individual citizens from their right for ***“independent and impartial tribunal”*** that is emphasised in article 10 of Universal Human Rights Declaration?

When we except bureaucrats from suing they didn't become more effective. Immunity gave them power to feel themselves higher than elected politicians and allow them to deny or sabotage their decision.

Rendering governmental power to bureaucrats, by democratic society, without exerting democratic control over them, it means, making them despots.

We should stand to our democratic principle and keeping loyalty to Universal Human Rights Declaration.

We tried bureaucratic remedy by employing more bureaucrats without sufficient result, Now is time to find a democratic solution for the problems those couldn't be solved by bureaucrats.

## Notes

(1) Article 36(1): Member States shall provide that currency exchange offices and trust and company service providers shall be licensed or registered.

(2) Source for Sergei Magnitsky affair:

A-Justice for Sergei: <http://www.justiceforsergei.com/>

B- Justice for Sergei Magnitsky Killed in Russia:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x6PQNfcog3s>

C- Q&A: The Magnitsky affair: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-20626960>

(3) Source for Thomas A. Drake:

A-Leaks and the Law: The Story of Thomas Drake:

<http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history-archaeology/Leaks-and-the-Law-The-Story-of-Thomas-Drake.html#ixzz2hsBNBR7Z>

B-

[http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/world/2013/09/130909\\_142\\_vid\\_tom\\_andrew.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/world/2013/09/130909_142_vid_tom_andrew.shtml)

C-The story of Whistleblower Thomas Drake:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=89oD-lx3ZFM>

(4)<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-19241327>

(5) All facts and figures in this part have taken from BBC web-site:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-19241327>

(6) Universal Human Rights Declaration says:

**Article 8.** Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

**Article 10.** Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

(7) In September 1938, Hitler and Mussolini met Chamberlain, Daladier at Munich. They signed the Munich Agreement. The Sudetenland a part of Czechoslovakia was to be handed over to Germany immediately. Hitler also signed the agreement with Britain which said that the two countries would not go to war again.

