

BULGARIA FOR ALL

ELECTION PLATFORM 1994

OF

THE MOVEMENT OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS /MRF/

DVISHENIE ZA PRAVA I SVOBODY /DPS/

FOR STABILITY AND FREE INITIATIVE

PRAGMATISM AND PERSONAL ENGAGEMENT

Four years have gone by since the beginning of the economic
000 and political changes in Bulgaria. The expectations for a quick
2050 and painless transition to a market economy and democratic
2050 social organization have not come true.
000 MRF presents its election platform driven by its desire to
assume its share of responsibility for the successful
2050 implementation of the reform. The continued social and
economic destabilization of society requires a new philosophy
2050 of the reform, one which only a pragmatic internal and
305 foreign policy can provide. It is only under these conditions
that we can assume a dignified place in European and global
107 structures.
MRF is a political guarantor of the maintenance of social
606 peace and internal stability in the country during the
606 difficult and painful transition to a civil society and
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408 market economy. Finding a peaceful, balanced and stable
 606 solution of the economic crisis is the only guarantee for the
 601 future of Bulgaria.

MRF offers such a solution to the concrete economic,
 305 political and social problems which Bulgaria faces at
 606 present.

305 THE PRIORITY AIMS OF MRF ARE :

606 SOCIAL PEACE

1041 NATIONAL SECURITY AND INTERNAL STABILITY

201 GUARANTEES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND MINORITY RIGHTS 802

7052 GUARANTEES OF THE LIFE AND PROPERTY OF CITIZENS

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408 STABILIZATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

410 SOCIAL PROTECTION OF EVERY CITIZEN

The transition to democracy and free civil society in the
 2050 country will be successful only with the complete observation
 of individual and collective rights of man and human
 201 communities. Ever since its creation the MRF has maintained

1033 that the guaranties of national sovereignty and national

1041 security by definition require the provision of real
 201 protection, political and legislative guarantee of basic

201 rights and liberties of man and of the ethnic minorities in 802

7052 the country. Driven by the national interests / i.e.

1033 sovereignty and security / we tied this problem to the 802
 STABILIZING ROLE OF THE ETHNIC MINORITIES in the

7052 democratizing countries from the viewpoint of their physical 8011

7052 and ethno-cultural survival.

000 MRF IS FOR POLITICAL REALISM, WHICH DEFINES ITS STRATEGY IN
 601 ACCORDANCE WITH HISTORICAL REALITIES, AND ACTUAL POLITICAL
 101 REALITIES ON THE BALKANS. We oppose political extremism. In
 305 Bulgaria there can hardly exist extreme leftist and extreme
 305 rightist political programmes, from the viewpoint of
 601 historical realities, and contemporary social structure. An
 606 extreme leftist policy will be an anacronism and a relic of
 606 the past, while an extreme rightist policy will widen to a
 606 maximum the gap between the very poor and the very rich, and
 606 will turn the country into a banana republic. FROM THIS
 305 VIEWPOINT THE NATURAL PLACE OF THE MRL IS IN THE POLITICAL
 305 CENTRE. Centrism will establish and realize itself in our
 305 political life, as it will offer original alternatives for the
 2050 implementation and completion of the reform in the country.

202 FOR THE MRF DEMOCRACY IS ORDER, BASED ON LEGALITY. THE MRF has
 202 chosen its path - the path of foresighted political dialogue,
 305 of foresighted legislative guarantees, of national sovereignty,
 605 and territorial integrity of the country.
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THE MRF HAS PUT IN PRACTICE THE BULGARIAN MODEL OF SOLUTION
 7052 OF ETHNIC PROBLEMS. This model has already acquired 802
 000 popularity in the world, and has strengthened the position of
 305 the MRF as a political subject of the democratic process,
 000 while creating a precedent in the history of the XX century.

The MRF will do all that is necessary for the PRESERVATION
 1041 AND STABILIZATION OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY.
 The active presence of THE MOVEMENT in the political life of

305 the country has changed in a fundamental way politics on the
 101 Balkans while creating in Bulgaria conditions and premises
 106 for peaceful resolution of the ethnic problems Peace on the
 106 Balkans is the main condition for integration of the country
 108 in the European and global structures We will actively
 106 contribute to the implementation of a balanced foreign policy which
 1033 defends national interests .

THE STRENGTHENING OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE
 305 NEW DEMOCRATIC STATE is an important condition for the
 2050 speeding of the reform process in the country The active
 role and participation of the MRF in the central state
 305 institutions is a guarantee of the radical implementation of
 2050 political reform .

305 THE MRF IS A POLITICAL AND PARLIAMENTARIAN GUARANTOR of the
 606 preservation and continuation of social peace and internal
 606 stability in the country during the difficult transition to a
 2050 civil society and market economy .

605 RISING CRIME AND CORRUPTION MUST BE BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL AND
 304 DONE AWAY WITH The MRF will require strict observance of the
 605 law from the institutions of the law and order system from
 605 the courts and the prosecution and from the organs of
 605 financial control We are for the provision of guarantees of
 201 complete protection of the LIFE AND PROPERTY of every
 201 household and family, of every man .

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1041 OUR AIM IS A FREE CIVIL SOCIETY OF ORDER, LEGALITY AND
SECURITY OF THE POPULATION.

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PROTECTION OF RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF MAN AND OF HUMAN
COMMUNITIES

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7052 The political and legislative provision of guarantees of the
rights and liberties of man and of minorities in the Republic
of Bulgaria is an important priority in the activities of the
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202 MRL. We are an open political organization which defends the
rights and liberties of all Bulgarian citizens, regardless of
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202 their ethnic and religious affiliation. The MRF whole-
heartedly supports the European convention for the protection
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201 of basic rights and liberties, of which Bulgarian is a
signatory and which is ratified by our country. The central
201 principle for us is that of FREE CHOICE OF IDENTIFICATION -
607 national, ethnic, lingual, cultural and religious. 8011
The MRF views THE ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY OF THE CIVIL
607 SOCIETY OF OUR COUNTRY AS A PREMISE OF THE WEALTH OF ITS 8011
607 CULTURE. We are for the creation of favourable conditions for
502 the development of national Bulgarian culture, but also for
the development of the cultures, traditions and customs of 8011
607 all ethnic, lingual and religious minorities. It is beyond
doubt that we have gained numerous victories in the
201 restoration of basic rights and liberties of man and of the 802
7052 ethnic minorities in the country such as :
201 - the right of free choice of name; 802
607 - the right of learning the mother tongue; 8011

201 - access to mass media; 802
 607 - freedom of religion; 802
 202 - direct participation in the legislature and in the
 202 executive. 8012 8012
 000 These successes must not put us at rest. We realize that the
 201 restoration of the fundamental rights and liberties of man
 7052 and of ethnic minorities is a long and complex process. The 802
 605 MRF will initiate the legislative regulation and recognition
 201 of the rights and liberties of man and of human communities
 201 in Bulgaria.

STABILIZATION AND ECONOMIC ADVANCE

305 The centrist position of the MRF defines our strategy for the
 408 implementation of economic reform from the viewpoint of the
 202 interests and orientation of our electorate :

408 STABILIZATION OF THE REAL ECONOMY
 410 ECONOMIC ADVANCE
 401 FREE ECONOMIC INITIATIVE

408 The successful realization of the MARKET REFORMS IS A
 FUNCTION OF A POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MODEL OF
 606 STABILITY. The advantages of economic development and
 408 stability of social relations come together in this model.
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 408 The implementation of the social and economic changes and the
 acceleration of the pace of reform define the following
 408 priorities of the MRF :

408 A NATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR STABILIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT, WHICH
 408 IS BASED ON CLEAR ECONOMIC PRIORITIES. We call for a
 411 structural reform, which takes into account the development of
 411 strategically important sectors of the economy, and of
 410 particular productions, which have high potential, proven
 410 qualities, and shares of the international markets,
 408 capabilities to compete, and long tradition.

THE ACCELERATION OF THE PACE OF AGRICULTURAL REFORM is a
 703 central priority for the MRF. The main principles of our
 703 agrarian policy are :
 4015 - accelerated restitution of land in real boundaries;
 504 - provision of land for people with no or little land;
 - preferences in the purchase of new pieces of land for those
 703 landless people employed actively in villages.

The MRF is for protection and assistance to highly productive
 703 agriculture, through creation of economic, financial and other
 402 premises :
 605 - Law of protection and development of agriculture;
 402 - systems of credit preferences;
 412 - minimum buying prices, which guarantee profitable
 703 production.
 We are for the preservation of the position of local
 703 agricultural products on the home market, while at the same
 703 time enhancing the qualities of our products, in order for
 408 them to compete on international markets.

703 The MRF is for the creation of modern and effective
 403 production structures in agriculture, which work in market
 703 conditions. Their operation requires the development and
 703 application of profit-yielding projects for modernization of
 402 agriculture. We are for the establishment of a National Fund
 of Agriculture, which will provide preferential financial
 assistance to the best projects.

703 PROTECTION OF TOBACCO PRODUCTION, - a traditional culture, and
 703 main occupation of a big part of the population in the
 606 country. The Law of Tobacco and Tobacco Products is already a
 605 fact, due to the incredible efforts made by the Parliamentary
 305 group of the MRF. The resolution of the problems in the
 703 production of tobacco require :
 412 - provision of state guarantees for the buying of tobacco;
 412 - guaranteeing of minimum buying prices;
 703 - creation of a Fund of " Tobacco " which supports and
 703 stabilizes the production of tobacco;
 - stabilization and widening of the markets of tobacco and
 703 tobacco products;
 - creation of joint enterprises for the production of
 408 cigarettes.

301 The MRF is for A NEW REGIONAL POLICY, which is rooted in
 603 cultural and historical traditions, in the values of the
 603 people, and in their readiness in participate in certain
 606 economic activities. It is necessary to develop concrete
 301 PROGRAMMES FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT, which will allow us to
 overcome the current disproportions among the various
 301 regions. The MRF is for the introduction of limited budget

301 subsidies, which stimulate economic activities in the
 301 endangered regions, and provide long-term gainful employment
 504 for the population. We insist on the passage of a Law of
 Development of Mountaneous and Semi-mountaneous Regions in
 605 the country, which guarantees normal life conditions, and
 201 economic development.
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406 THE PROTECTION OF HOME PRODUCTION - a basis for stabilization
 408 and economic advance in Bulgaria. The MRF is for balanced
 406 protectionism of Bulgarian producers, and for an increase of
 408 the supply of goods and services. This is the road to job
 504 creation, and to provision of gainful employment. The main
 504 emphasis in this regard is on :

- 605 - passage of a Law of Protection of Home Production;
- 411 - introduction of new technologies and innovations, which
 411 ensure competitiveness, and efficiency of Bulgarian goods;
- 411 - encouragement of the development of extraction of local raw
 410 materials, and of the processing industries and services.

413 EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF STATE PROPERTY. The main parameters
 413 of our economy are defined by the state sector in the
 economy. The financial stabilization of state enterprises
 requires :

- 413 - immediate end to the decapitalization of the state sector;
- 413 - profitable work of state companies, and bringing them in
 403 line with market requirements;
- 408 - restructuring of losing productions which are of national
 408 importance, and gradual decrease of the subsidies for them;
- 408 - objectivity and transparency of managerial competitions;

408 - immediate decisions on the future of companies, including
 4011 those up for privatization;
 414 - tightening of financial discipline and tax control of
 414 companies.

406 PROTECTION OF BULGARIAN EXPORTERS. The increase of production
 410 and export of Bulgarian goods is a guarantee for economic
 408 advance in the country. The MRF offers a new policy aimed at
 408 the Bulgarian exporter :

- balanced protectionism of state and private producers of
 406 export goods;
 406 - protection from unfair import - which includes the raising
 406 of import taxes and tariffs;
 - application of a scheme of short-term credit provision for
 406 exporters at eased interest conditions.

4011 ACCELERATION OF PRIVATIZATION, through the application of
 4011 pragmatic methods and schemes, which include market
 4011 privatization and mass privatization. The MRF offers :

4011 - short-term plan for the transformation of municipal
 4011 property;
 - creation of conditions for active participation of national
 4011 capital potential in the process of market privatization;
 605 - establishment of legislative framework and complete
 4011 transparency of information in the sphere of mass
 4011 privatization;
 - wide campaign for the clarification of all conditions and
 4011 rights of citizens in the process of mass privatization.

503 The MRF is for AN ECONOMY FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL. We cannot
 503 support the distribution of our national wealth among a small
 503 group of rich people. It is our aim that EVERY BULGARIAN
 503 CITIZEN who has created national capital can participate in
 503 its distribution.

408 The MRF is for the attraction of FOREIGN INVESTMENT in the
 4011 process of privatization. In order to provoke interest for
 408 direct investment in the country we need :
 - to offer attractive companies for privatization in tourism,
 4011 communications, transport, etc.
 303 - to reduce bureaucratic obstacles to the registration and
 303 participation of foreign investors in this process;
 605 - legislative guarantees and tax preferences for foreign
 402 investments;
 - creation of effective procedures of the swaps of foreign
 408 debt for company property.

FINANCIAL STABILIZATION AND CONTROL. Stagnation in the
 408 economy has not been overcome after four years of structural
 414 reforms. The money - credit and financial systems of the
 414 country are unstable. The decision of the state to assume
 414 most uncollectible credits has led to a disbalanced condition
 414 of the commercial banks. The application of immediate,
 414 radical measures for stabilization of the financial sector
 414 require :
 - creation of a legislative and administrative mechanism for
 414 the implementation of banking reform;

- 414 - bringing under control the budget deficit] and strict
 414 financial control which increases tax collection;]
 414 - financial stabilization of commercial banks] and
 414 strengthened and effective bank supervision;]
 414 - strict control of the process of giving credits] and of the
 choice of projects in which to invest the financial resources
 414 of the banks;]
 - regulation of the terms of internal convertability of the
 414 lev] and control over the export of currency;]
 414 - strict rules and control in the licensing of new banks] and
 414 provision of evidence of the origin of own money;]
 605 - passage of a Law of Stock Exchanges and Stocks;]
 - inclusion of the banking sector in the process of
 4011 privatization.]

401 PROTECTION OF PRIVATE BUSINESS. The MRF is for the
 401 implementation of an active state policy] in support of
 private business and entrepreneurship.]

401 THE FREE PRIVATE ECONOMIC INITIATIVE] is the basis for the
 704 creation and development of a middle class in Bulgaria.] We
 support the provision of clear and precise rules and laws for
 605 private business which include :]
 605 - a Law of Private Business] which stimulates the opening of
 401 small and middle private companies] which in turn provide new
 504 jobs;]
 - tax exemptions for private business in manufacturing for a
 402 three-year period;]

- 402 - preferential access to credits for private entrepreneurs,
 401 which would allow accumulation of start-up capital;
 - tariff-free import of new technologies and manufacturing
 402 machinery;
 402 - creation of regional consulting units, which provide
 402 information and assistance to entrepreneurs and others.

- ACTIVE FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY. The road to the global and
 108 European economic structures requires a restoration of the
 408 authority of Bulgaria as a producer and trading partner. The
 408 MRF offers :
- further development of foreign economic and trading
 408 relations of the country;
 - restoration of the old, traditional markets of Bulgarian
 408 goods in the countries of the Union of Independent States and
 1017 in Central Europe;
 - development of the economic and trading partnership with
 1015 the Balkan countries and further improvement of co-operation
 408 within the Black Sea Economic Zone;
 - active participation in international investment projects
 408 of mutual interest in the fields of ecology, transport,
 501 infrastructure, etc.;
 - long-term strategy for gaining access to and establishing a
 411 presence in new markets.

DIGNIFIED LABOUR AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

408 The successful implementation of the economic reforms, is
 504 impossible without an adequate social policy. Our aim is A
 403 MARKET ECONOMY TURNED TOWARD MAN.

504 We are for a SOCIAL POLICY, in protection of the economic and
 503 social status of all social groups in society, which
 201 guarantees the dignity of man, and his right to labour, health
 201 care, and education.

201 EVERY CITIZEN HAS THE RIGHT OF LABOUR AND DIGNIFIED REWARD.

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504 The PROTECTION OF THE REAL INCOMES OF THE POPULATION, is an
 504 important emphasis of the social policy of the MRL. We offer
 504 :

- 701 - implementation of co-ordinated / among the social partners
 701 / policy in the sphere of income, which guarantees the real
 412 incomes of the population;
- 412 - implementation of an effective price policy, and tightening
 of control over the " watched " prices of goods of " first
 701 necessity ";
- 504 - provision of guarantees of the minimal working wage, and the
 504 related social security payments, unemployment compensations,
 701 social pensions for the handicapped, etc.
- 504 - placement of limits on the speculative increase of prices,
 412 and tough sanctions for all profiteers;
- 605 - improvement of the mechanism of automatic adjustment of
 504 pensions and other social payments, to the rate of inflation
 504 and raising cost of living.

408 Bringing down inflation, is a key to economic advance. Only in
 408 this way can we protect the savings and incomes of the
 701 population.

701 NEW JOBS. Unemployment can and must be brought under control.]
 504 THE OPENING OF NEW JOBS] IS A MAIN PRIORITY IN THE SOCIAL
 504 POLICY of the MRF.] We offer :]
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701 - development of regional programmes of employment for
 701 regions and municipalities] which have reached a critical
 701 level of unemployment;]

504 - creation of a special fund for regional development] to be
 504 financed by the state,] municipal budgets] and international
 504 organizations;]

402 - tax preferences for private and state firms investing in
 504 manufacturing] which creates new jobs;]

701 - development of programmes for alternative employment] and
 701 retraining for employees in companies due for closure.]

504 The esrablishment of an EFFECTIVE SOCIAL SECURITY NETWORK]
 504 which encompasses all sociall weak strata of the population.]

504 The MRF is for targeted compensation of income for socially
 503 weak strata of the population.] We will insist on the just
 503 distribution of the resources for social programmes.] The
 503 distribution of financial means for the municipal budgets]
 must take into account the specific conditions and existence
 minimum level of the various regions and municipalities of
 503 the country.]

504 The MRF will support the creation of STOCKHOLDERS' FUNDS OF
 7062 PENSION AND HEALTH INSURANCE.] Only in this way can we ensure
 605 a dignified existence for the elderly.] We will insist on the
 701 passage of a new Law of Retirement] which also deals with the
 question of a new categorization of labour.]

603 THE PROTECTION OF THE FAMILY AND CARE FOR THE CHILDREN are a
603 responsibility of every democratic society. We will insist on
reviewing and increasing family monthly allowances during
504 child-rearing in line with inflation and rising living costs.
504 The MRF is for ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE FOR EVERYONE. The
504 financing of health care must be done through a new
504 shareholders' system of health insurance. We are for
improvement of the mechanism of provision of free or low-cost
504 medicine which takes into consideration the health condition,
age, degree of disability and social situation of the
504 citizens.
504 The policy of the MRF in the field of EDUCATION AND CULTURE
506 is aimed at the provision of guarantees of the right of the
502 ethnic and cultural-religious communities to develop their
607 spiritual capabilities and values. As a unique organization
607 we consider cultural pluralism as one of the norms of a free
607 civil society.
The MRF is for THOUGHTFUL AND PRAGMATIC REFORM OF THE SYSTEM
506 OF EDUCATION.
506 We offer :
506 - that the state assumes an active interest in education and
502 culture;
506 - preservation of free secondary education and state quotas
506 in universities;
506 - achievement of higher standards in the process of learning
and legal recognition of diplomas from Bulgarian schools and
506 universities in Europe and in the whole world;

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- creation of a system which stimulates the participation of private business in the establishment of an educational network, and improvement of conditions in municipal schools.

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The MRF is for the PROVISION OF GUARANTEES FOR THE COMPLETE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION and the other massmedia. We are for equal access to the mass media. Their main criterion is objectivity of information, which should be sought at all times.

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The MRF is for AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY OF SOVEREIGN BULGARIA.

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The MRF will continue to support a balanced foreign policy based on the main principles of international law, laid down in statute book of the United Nations / Articles 1 and 2 / and in the Final Document of the Conference of Co-operation and Security in Europe from August, 1st, 1975. Among these

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principles are : equality in international relations, reciprocity and pragmatism, continuity and openness, non-application of force or threat by force as well as the main principles for the protection of the nations, peoples and man : equal rights, right of self-determination, protection of human rights and liberties.

The MRF has contributed to THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POSITIVE IMAGE OF BULGARIA as a serious and stable partner in international relations, which defends the national interests and foreign policy objectives of Bulgaria in all important geo-political areas.

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The MRF supports the policy of COMPLETE RECOGNITION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA, for the strengthening of her statehood and independence. We call for a cease-fire in Bosna and

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1019 Herzegovina, for finding a just and stable solution to the
 1019 conflict, which preserves the sovereignty and territorial
 1019 integrity of Bosna and Herzegovina. The MRF is for non-
 1019 participation in military activities on the territory of the
 1019 former Yugoslavia.

2050 THE RADICAL DEMOCRATIC CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE, and the
 107 breakdown of bloc divisions over the last years, provoke a
 104 complete re-evaluation of the role and functions of NATO, and
 104 the Western European Union, as european, euroatlantic,
 107 political and defense structures.

The MRF WELCOMES THE OFFER OF THE USA FOR PARTICIPATION IN "
 106 PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE " which will lead to greater co-
 107 operation among the states, in the process of handling of
 107 crises, maintenance of peace, and conduct of life-saving
 106 operations.
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The contribution of the MRF for the admission of the country
 as an equal member of the Conference of Co-operation and
 108 Security in Europe, and the Council of Europe is beyond
 108 question.

Bulgaria was able to make the transition from a totalitarian
 society to a democratic society with a market oriented
 2050 economy, without serious social shake-ups, and without ethnic
 606 conflicts. The creation of the MRF, its participation in the
 7052 Great Peoples' Assembly after the first multiparty free
 305 democratic elections in 1990, has enhanced the authority of
 305 Bulgaria, and has been one of the most serious guarantees for
 the admission of the country in a number of European
 108 political, economic and military structures. There began talk
of a " Bulgarian model " in the resolution of the immensely

705 thorny problem of provision of guarantees and protection of
 108 the rights of the minorities. The MRF has contributed to the
 108 strengthening of the authority of Bulgaria in the biggest
 7051 European political organization - the PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY
 7051 OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE. The MRL is for PROVISION OF
 7051 GUARANTEES AND PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF BULGARIANS who
 live in some neighbouring countries - the western regions of
 Serbia, Greece, etc. - a position which the MRF has defended
 in the Council of Europe and at other international forums.

000 THE ELECTION PROGRAMME OF THE MRF IS DRAFTED IN ACCORDANCE
 606 WITH THE REAL CAPABILITIES OF THE COUNTRY.
 408 BULGARIAN FOR ALL !
 401 STABILITY AND FREE INITIATIVE WILL ENSURE ECONOMIC ADVANCE IN
 408 BULGARIA AND DIGNIFIED LIFE FOR ITS CITIZENS.
 201 THE MRF IS FOR PRAGMATISM IN POLITICS AND PERSONAL ENGAGEMENT
 305 OF EVERY MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT TO DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF HIS
 202 CONSTITUENTS.

SOFIA, 1994