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BULGARIA: New Political Parties and Organization

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[Special Report of BTA and COURIER PRESS SERVICE: "New Political and Social Forces"]

[Text]

To the Readers:

With this special publication, the COURIER PRESS SERVICE and the periodical PARALELI of the BTA would like to help you to gain an idea of the variety of parties, political organizations, unions, social, trade union, and creative associations and clubs which are being continually created in the country. In no case should this be considered a comprehensive reference work for all the groups which are either resuming activities or have been newly created. This edition includes the basic sociopolitical associations and parties with which constant contacts are maintained, and whose policy statements, declarations, and communications have been included in the Bulletin of the COURIER PRESS SERVICE.

Work on the materials included in this publication was completed by the editors on 21 February 1990. This stipulation is necessary, for changes are constantly taking place within the different organizations, which inevitably would result in certain inaccuracies. The aspiration of the compilers was to include data consistent with the current actual situation. Should the readers be interested, after a while we could prepare a second edition, which would be supplemented and expanded, and would reflect the changes which were made.

The descriptions of the individual parties, organizations, and associations were prepared on the basis of textual excerpts and quotations from materials made available to the COURIER PRESS SERVICE and already published. They do not include any comments at all, and strictly reflect the positions and views of the sociopolitical groups which submitted them.

It was the editorial group's decision to begin this special edition with notes on the Union of Democratic Forces, for the only reason that this opposition bloc became the first interlocutor of the ruling parties at the roundtable meeting. In no case does this mean that we are underestimating the other opposition forces in Bulgaria, the more so since there will be elections in the future along with other important changes scheduled to take place in political life which will be a truly objective test of the prestige and significance of each organization.

All other organizations included in the various sections have been listed alphabetically.

We trust that, to a certain extent, we have been able to acquaint you with the variegated picture which has been taking shape on the Bulgarian political scene after 10 November 1990 [as published].

Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]

On 7 December 1989 the following independent organizations resolved to join forces within a Union of Democratic Forces: Club for Glasnost and Democracy; Ecoglasnost; Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights; Podkrepa NFT [Independent Labor Federation]; Committee for the Defense of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience, and Spiritual Values; Club of the Repressed Since 1945; Independent Student Association; Civic Initiative Movement; Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party (United); and Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]. The Radical Democratic Party was accepted in December 1989 and, later, the Green Party and the Democratic Party. The SDS is governed by a Coordination Council, chaired by Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev. The SDS daily DEMOKRATSIYA began publication on 12 February 1990.

Address: 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia; telephones: 88-19-32, 87-07-26, and 87-51-18V.

The SDS charter states that the new political situation in Bulgaria imperatively calls for unifying the efforts and aiding the prospects of independent associations with a view to the further development of the democratic process. Based entirely on the coordination of the activities of these associations in the common struggle for democracy, the SDS defends their full independence, specific character, their activities, and their just reputation and position in the country's social life; in that sense, the SDS combines the efforts of the founding associations and not the associations themselves.

In addition to the basic statements concerning a civil society, political pluralism, a multiparty system, a state based on the rule of law, and a market economy, the platform also includes more specific objectives, such as: equality among, and equal status for, all forms of ownership in the eyes of the law; new labor and social legislation which would stipulate the right of the working people to form independent trade unions and to strike; the drafting of a new democratic Constitution; making Bulgarian legislation consistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the other documents related to the Helsinki process; depolitization of the Armed Forces and the militia; democratic elections for the National Assembly; rehabilitation of all people illegally repressed by the totalitarian system; full freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association; legal and financial independence of mass information media and publishing houses.

The SDS will also demand the resolution of problems such as a constitutional guarantee of equality of atheists and believers, a democratic law on religious faiths, legal regulation of free religious activities, closing down the Committee on Religious Faiths of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The SDS supports the view that the development of the economy must be subordinated to the protection of the environment.

The alliance favors a new approach to ethnic and religious minorities, consistent with the Human Rights Charter.

The SDS is open to all independent associations and political groups which are ready to work for the implementation of its platforms exclusively through peaceful and legal means. It does not accept fascists, Stalinists, racists, chauvinists, and revanchists.

Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union (United) [BZNS]

The union was disbanded after parliamentary democracy was grossly violated after 1 January 1946 saw the passing of the unconstitutional law. The Nikola Petkov BZNS resumed its activities with the National Conference which was held on 9 December 1989 in Sofia. In its 15 January 1990 13th session, the National Assembly revoked the Law on Banning and Disbanding the Union and All Its Branches and Sections. The party is one of the founding members of the SDS. Milan Drenchev is secretary of the Provisional Nikola Petkov BZNS Leadership.

Address: 7 Slaveykov Square, Sofia, Nikola Petkov BZNS Club, telephone 87-99-39.

In terms of its political platform, the restored Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union is categorically different from the official BZNS, and was therefore named after its 1945-1947 leader, Nikola Petkov, who was subjected to repressive measures and sentenced to death as the leader of the opposition in 1947. At the beginning of January 1990 the National Assembly posthumously rehabilitated Nikola Petkov.

As a whole, the views of the Nikola Petkov BZNS concerning the structure of the society and the state, economic activities, resolution of social problems, and development of the spiritual area rest on the ideas of agrarian policy bequeathed by Aleksandur Stamboliyski, the agricultural tribune. The United Bulgarian Agrarian Union has always been a systematic and inflexible defender of the rights of its people, the freedom of its land, and the Bulgarian spirit.

The Nikola Petkov BZNS has included the following guiding principles in its political program: peace—the main prerequisite for comprehensive progress and the survival of the planet and our civilization; bread—there can be no rich and prosperous society consisting of poor citizens; freedom—strict observance of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, as well as the Final Acts of Helsinki and Vienna and other international fora; rule by the people—the Bulgarian synonym of democracy, in which the one and only law governing the state is the will of the people.

Until free elections are held and a new Constitution drafted, the Nikola Petkov BZNS firmly demands the following:

- That the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] acknowledge as a political error its one-party dictatorship and the liquidation of the Nikola Petkov United Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and that this guilt be shared by the leadership of the official BZNS;
- The legal and civil rehabilitation of all political prisoners, exiles, and repressed people. A new status must be drafted for the legal-judicial institutions, and the organs of the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the Ministry of National Defense must be depoliticized;
- That a new law on the press and mass information media be drafted, which would guarantee unrestricted access to them by all political and social forces;
- That full freedom and adequate time be allocated for electoral campaign preparations by all democratic forces;
- That the right to and freedom to hold demonstrations, meetings, and assemblies be guaranteed;
- That any attempt at applying pressure on the part of the official authorities or political parties be prosecuted.

In the socioeconomic area, the Nikola Petkov BZNS opposes all centralism. The party ascribes a priority status to problems related to the revival of the Bulgarian villages, insisting that the land be returned to those who cultivate it, with the right to inheritance. It calls for the restoration of the Bulgarian Agricultural Cooperative Bank, which would grant long-term interest-free loans for purchasing of farm machinery, equipment, seeds, and livestock.

The party believes that the social structure cannot be developed and problems cannot be resolved in an atmosphere of fear. This requires putting an end to the artificial and deliberate promotion of antagonism among social strata, which leads to alienation and mistrust and the division of the nation. The building of a democratic parliamentary state presumes, above all, providing equal rights and opportunities for the social, labor, and creative realization of every person with no violation of national interest. Democracy is impossible without people having their own minds; this presumes a key role for the intelligentsia as the spiritual leader of the free people's masses.

The Nikola Petkov BZNS favors pluralism and a constructive dialogue and respect of basic human rights and freedoms. The party is firmly convinced that in a civilized society political objectives must be achieved exclusively through humane means. The Nikola Petkov BZNS has always rejected, rejects, and will continue to reject coercion in all its forms.

Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP)

The party's activities were stopped by force in 1948, and its leaders Kr. Pastukhov, Tsv. Ivanov, and others were subjected to repressive measures. On 26 November 1989 the party officially informed the State Council that it is resuming its activities under the name of Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party (United). On 5 January 1990 it took the name of Bulgarian Social Democratic Party. The party has retained its membership in the Socialist International. It is a founding member of the SDS. The newspaper SVOBODEN NAROD is the party organ. Its first issue appeared on 1 February 1990. The Executive Council is its leading authority. Dr. Atanas Moskov is its honorary chairman; Dr. Petur Dertliev is chairman.

Address for establishing contact: 51 Tsar Asen Street, Sofia, First Floor, Panchev, telephone 89-85-72; SDS information: telephone 87-07-26.

The BSDP has always asserted its invariable support of the three basic principles of social democracy: freedom, justice, and solidarity. The party considers as its immediate task the total elimination of totalitarianism and the dismantling of the command-bureaucratic system.

To achieve this objective, the party will work systematically and actively in channeling the widespread people's discontent toward a true social and democratic restructuring of Bulgaria.

The Social Democratic Party firmly supports the view that the only absolute sovereign is the Bulgarian people. No one has the right to usurp this right; no individual, and no social, cultural or political formation can identify itself with it. The institution which embodies democracy is the freely elected and independent National Assembly, to which all authorities are answerable. The people's representatives who make decisions within it must be exclusively guided by their conscience and the will of the electorate.

The BSDP emphasizes in its policy statement that it favors a multiparty political system. The opposition is an alternative to government and a source of new ideas as well as an "organ" for constant moral control over rulers. The party favors free elections but after the other political parties have been legalized and organized. Elections carried out without well-organized political formations would resemble those of the past and will contribute nothing to the democratization of social life. The term "power organs" must be abolished once and for all. This applies above all to the Armed Forces and the militia, which must become agencies of legality and security of the nation.

The BSDP, whose leading cadres and thousands of rank-and-file members suffered all possible forms and degrees of physical and moral violence, asks for the following: never again violence, today or in the future! The party is profoundly convinced that no administrative act or any coercion whatsoever can establish the

nationality of citizens. Membership in a nationality is an individual matter and a right of choice of all Bulgarian citizens. That is why the BSDP will work tirelessly for achieving national accord and for the consolidation of all patriotic and democratic forces in the country.

In the economic area, the BSDP supports the view that the scientific and technical revolution demands new means of production and new relations, for which reason the world is entering a new age—the age of post-capitalism. Under these circumstances, we must guarantee total equality for the free development of both private, public, and collective property. The land must be given to those who farm it. Economic profitability must be the main yardstick of the condition and development of the national economy.

The BSDP social program calls for the full elimination of all privileges and for a merciless uprooting of corruption, regardless of the position and rank of those affected.

Under the conditions of the present international detente, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party supports and will support all steps taken for the establishment of a lasting peace among nations, disarmament, and a rechanneling of military expenditures into the solution of basic social problems. It will support all initiatives aimed at expanding cooperation with the European countries and the building of a European home in the new spirit of thinking. Bulgaria's commitments as an ally must be based on reciprocal respect of political, economic, and cultural interests. The education of the young generation and of all Bulgarian citizens in the spirit of antiwar and peace-loving ideas will be the constant concern of the Social Democratic Party.

Civic Initiative Movement

A Civic Initiative Regional Group, pursuing purely political objectives, was founded in Ruse on 25 December 1988. On 25 November 1989, at a mass meeting held at the Yuzhniya Park, the group became the Civic Initiative National Movement. It is headed by a Provisional Coordination Council, chaired by Lyubomir Sobadzhiev.

Addresses for contacts: 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia, Third Floor, telephone 88-19-32, and telephones 88-25-01 (ext. 34) and 87-07-26.

In its policy statement the Civic Initiative Movement categorically states that command-administrative socialism no longer meets the requirements of our time. It has been rejected by life and sentenced by history. Having caused incalculable difficulties for our people, it is departing as a political system alienated from the people and opposed by the people. The so-called rule in the name of the people actually proved to be rule over the people and their means of production. It proved to be rule over its economy and culture, its mind, conscience, and will.

The Civic Initiative Movement calls upon its supporters to join a broad popular movement for the consolidation of democratic forces against the forces of stagnation, bureaucracy, and totalitarianism. Civic Initiative represents a popular political movement, which arose spontaneously from below, and the purpose of which is the all-round restructuring of socialist society on the principles of democracy and humanism; the implementation of the will of the people through its own elected authorities and representatives and through public control of state authorities. The movement will aspire to play the role of a social guarantor and representative in building a rule-of-law state in our country. Its activities should lead to the existence of real opportunities for the public to act as a political factor. This will make the manipulation of the people on behalf of the people impossible.

The main objective of the movement is to enhance political standards and civic activity, to create the mechanisms of popular rule, and thus to make possible the building of a society in our country based on a functioning democracy and an economy consistent with the good of man, a society in which all civil rights and freedoms will be guaranteed. The movement is open to all citizens who cherish the principles of freedom and democracy and support the ideas of glasnost, regardless of their social, ethnic, religious or party affiliation.

The principles on which the activities of the movement are based are the following: respect and struggle for the observance of basic human and civil rights; observance of international agreements, democracy, and pluralism of opinion and forms of social structure; social justice and equality in the eyes of the law, comradeship, mutual aid, and compassion.

The ultimate goal of the movement is the elimination of the absurd command-administrative system; the establishment of just social relations; the building of a free civil society and a rule-of-law state in which state power will be subordinated to society.

Democratic Party

The party was founded in 1895. Its first leader was Petko Karavelov and after his death the party's leader was Aleksandur Malinov. After 1947 it was disbanded and its newspaper, ZNAME, was closed down. On 19 December 1989 a group of members of the Democratic Party proclaimed its restoration with a declaration. The party is a member of the SDS. Boris Kyurkchiev is the chairman of the party's Central Operative Bureau.

Addresses for contacts: 5 Lyuben Karavelov Street, Sofia 1000, Stefan Stoyanov, telephone 87-15-38; 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia, SDS information—87-07-26.

The basic values of democracy, which the party will aspire to assert, are individual freedom as an intrinsic value, equality, and solidarity. The Democratic Party's immediate task is the legal change of the totalitarian regime in Bulgaria.

The specific dimensions of democracy, as understood by the Democratic Party, are expressed in the following: priority of the rights of man over the so-called interests of the state, objectivized in positive legislation; truly broad freedom of speech, the press, association, and demonstrations, backed by corresponding legal guarantees.

On the economic level, the democrats demand that firm priority be given to private initiative in public life. Efficient mechanisms for social protection and guaranteed social equality must be formulated and applied. State and cooperative ownership must be supported to the extent that they do not violate the freedom of the individual or production and to the extent that they demonstrate definite profitability and are economically justified.

The Democratic Party insists on guaranteeing the right of national minorities and religious self-determination; full freedom of religious beliefs and religious propaganda, education, and upbringing.

The party favors the multiparty parliamentary system; the right to freely form professional organizations; efficient separation of powers with constitutional guarantees in the hands of the judiciary. Rejection of a one-sided ideological trend in overall governmental and social policy is vital. The prerequisites for and ways leading to the creation of a democratic society, according to the party members, are the following: drafting and adopting a new constitution, based on the Turnovo Constitution and the draft "Constitution of the Bulgarian Republic," as submitted by the Democratic Party in October 1946. The human rights stipulated in the 1948 International Charter and developed in the 1989 Vienna agreements must be considered a structure-determining element and the preamble to the future constitution.

There must be total revocation of all legislative rules and acts which unilaterally restrict the freedom of the press, association, meetings, and demonstrations; elimination of all restrictions on residence in the country; rejection of nationalistic chauvinism; freedom and respect for the identity of ethnic and religious minorities; and elimination of legislative acts which deny or unilaterally restrict private initiative.

A radical reduction in the size of the Armed Forces and military expenditures is necessary. The resultant funds are to be used for social programs, depoliticizing Armed Forces, reducing the length of and providing an alternative to military service in the civilian sector. State security must be converted into a nonpolitical, nonparty department for the struggle against terrorism and efforts at the violent overthrow of the constitutional regime.

A foreign policy which protects the national interests and inflexibly respects the general rules of international law, with a trend toward joining the future European community of free nations must be strictly observed.

The members of the Democratic Party unconditionally reject violence as a method of political struggle. They do not share the idea of Marxism as a political and ideological doctrine which was by necessity planned as one of the foundations of a totalitarian regime.

Green Party in Bulgaria

The first Green Party in Bulgarian history was founded on 28 December 1989 in Sofia; it was officially registered in court on 15 February 1990. It is a political organization which is not an extension of a previously existing party and has nothing in common with the Ecoglasnost Independent Association. Its founders number some 270 people who are mostly scientists, physicians, ecologists, mathematicians, physicists, chemists, philosophers, etc. It is guided by a 30-member National Council. Aleksandur Karakachanov is party chairman. The Green Party is a member of the SDS.

Addresses and telephones for contacts: 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia; SDS reception-information, telephone 87-07-26 as well as telephones 62-561 (extension 289), 47-91-19, and 47-090-22.

The party's main documents—adopted by the Founding Assembly—are its political declaration, bylaws, and its program. In these documents the party offers a social model, decentralized as much as possible, both politically and socioeconomically, as a counterweight to the centralism which is characteristic of the present administration of the country. The main position of the party, as expressed in its political declaration, has as the center of its interest the individual and the quality of life. Political democracy, a sensibly structured economy, and viability of the environment are inseparably related elements within the overall complex which makes it possible for the individual to lead a satisfactory life.

According to the party, the results of the last 45 years in Bulgaria are the following: a wrecked economy as a result of the absurd economic concepts of the ruling BCP; democratic institutions either destroyed or void of content, not accidentally but systematically, in accordance with the party's political doctrine which concealed, behind its pro-Bulgarian rhetoric, the goal of absolute and indivisible power; a nationality problem artificially created through chauvinistic propaganda, fabricated accusations, and raving agitation such as in misleading and pitting Bulgarians against Bulgarian Turks; and a totally destroyed international reputation. All this took place amidst poisoned air, land, rivers, and the sea as a result of the coercive attitude toward nature and the irresponsible torturing of nature and the grand maniacal fantasies of shifting riverbeds and natural features. In the final account, the country is faced with national catastrophe. This requires an overall change in the administrative system, for which reason the party seeks representation in the government and deems as its allies all independent organizations united within the SDS. Radical change and not restructuring is needed!

In defining its policy, the party proceeds on the basis of the indivisible unity between economic and ecological problems. It unites the efforts of the broad popular strata by organizing their civic activities in the implementation of an overall program based on democracy and political, economic, and spiritual pluralism, social justice, respect for the individual, and priority for the rights and interests of the individual. The Green Party rejects coercion as a means of political struggle; it favors the open nature of activities, collective decisionmaking, collective leadership, cooperation with the other political parties and democratic organizations for the sake of the public interest, and the consolidation of society. Essentially, the general political part of the program is not different from the demands for a radical democratic reform which, in terms of views and suggestions, has already been made available to the public.

In the area of social policy, the party will try to establish a just system of social security and economic and social policy consistent with the interests of consumers and a new health care system which would guarantee high quality free medical aid. It will act in defending the interests of the family and family values and single individuals, the handicapped, and other socially wronged citizens.

According to the Green Party, the development of the spiritual sphere in society calls for the restoration of the spiritual values of people, which were destroyed or replaced in the course of the general ideologization. The schools must be places of education and science and not of ideological fronts.

Scientific and innovative activities must be legislatively and financially protected. Culture must develop as a self-organizing and self-administering system.

In foreign policy, the Green Party favors maintaining diplomatic relations and mutually profitable ties with all countries in the world; Bulgaria must contribute, as far as possible, to the solution of the global problems of mankind. It condemns all totalitarian and antihumane regimes. It supports cooperation with the USSR and other Eastern European countries on a bilateral basis and within the framework of the existing economic and political alliances as well as the broadening of cooperation with the European Community.

Club for Glasnost and Democracy (Federation of Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy)

The Club for the Support of Glasnost and Perestroyka in Bulgaria was founded on 3 November 1988 in Sofia; as of 2 December 1989 it renamed itself the Club for Glasnost and Democracy. The Sofia example proved contagious and similar independent democratic associations began to appear throughout the country. On 20 January 1990, on the initiative of the Sofia club, the Federation of Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy was founded. Petko Simeonov is chairman of the Provisional Operative Bureau.

Addresses for contacts: 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia, telephones 87-07-26 and 87-51-18; 39 Vitosha Boulevard, Sofia, telephone 88-13-91.

The clubs are nonpartisan intellectual-professional yet political associations of essentially members of the intelligentsia. As centers for discussion, dialogue, and meeting, they focus their attention on the solution of urgent national socioeconomic, political, and cultural problems and the exchange of ideas and approaches to surmounting the crisis in which the country finds itself.

The members of the Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy categorically insist on taking energetic steps to destroy the totalitarian system and its repressive apparatus. At the same time, they hold the view that the establishment of a civil society and a democratic political multiparty system should take place exclusively by peaceful means. They favor Bulgarian scientific and cultural life free from any political and ideological supervision.

Club of the Repressed After 1945

The club was founded for the purpose of condemning the criminal legislation which was drafted during the period of authoritarian power. It was established in Plovdiv. It is a founding member of the SDS. Dimitur Batalov is its chairman.

Addresses for contacts: 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia, telephone 87-07-26, and 1 Khan Asparukh Street, Plovdiv, telephone 032-22-70-71.

The members of the club demand the following: full and unconditional legal rehabilitation of all individuals repressed for political reasons after 1945—agrarians, social democrats, independent intellectuals, and non-party people; the restoration of the true meaning of words in the Bulgarian language; information not to be dictated by departments; political pluralism must be a guarantee of democracy.

The club insists on making political, economic, and legal reforms and amendments to the Constitution. It supports the omnipotence of public opinion, exercised through true parliamentary elections and parliamentary control of the government; it favors a society of producers so that we may have a society of creators; it is in favor of popular rule and not of arbitrary bureaucratic rule "in the name of the people."

In the economic area the Club of the Repressed calls for freedom of industrial enterprises—both state and voluntarily established cooperatives—so that they could truly develop into autonomous, self-supporting commodity producers; it favors freedom of the market and commodity-monetary relations; the land must be returned to the peasants and their rights to its free use must be guaranteed.

The club firmly opposes the irresponsible increase of tension in the country and insists on taking steps imbued by the spirit of order, wisdom, and political peace.

Committee for the Defense of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience, and Spiritual Values

The Committee for the Defense of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience, and Spiritual Values was founded on 19 October 1988 in Veliko Turnovo. It is one of the founding members of the SDS. Monk Khristofor Subev is chairman and founder of the committee.

Address for contacts: 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia. SDS reception and information, telephones 87-07-26; 87-51-18; 39-00-16.

The main requirements of the committee members include full democratization of spiritual life; granting the church independence and eliminating state monopoly of spiritual education; amending some articles of the Law on Religious Faiths of 1947 and in the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, thus ensuring broader religious rights.

The committee insists on granting to religious education equal status with secular education, including scientific degrees earned in the respective higher educational institutions. One of the main requirements of the monks and nuns is the right to a pension and for the individual religious communities to be able to open hospitals and orphanages. It is suggested that optional subjects be introduced in the educational institutions in the country on the fundamentals of religion and that the Sofia Spiritual Seminary be restored to its old place, now the Pioneer Palace. It also insists that religious marriages be legitimized along with secular.

On 19 December 1989 the committee submitted a petition to the National Assembly in which, along with other demands, it insists that Christmas and Easter be proclaimed official holidays and that air time on radio and television be provided for the broadcasting of religious services by representative churches.

Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Bulgaria

The association was founded in 1988 and is the first autonomous and civilian active independent group which has tried to defend human rights in Bulgaria. It is a free association of democratically-minded Bulgarian citizens, whose activities are aimed at making Bulgaria a democratic rule-of-law state. The association is headed by a national leadership, chaired by Rumén Vodéncharov.

Contacts may be established at the following address: 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia; SDS reception: telephones 87-51-48 and 75-81-80 as well as 77-23-55 (extension 268).

In its policy statement, the association defines as its main task the defense of the violated rights of citizens in Bulgaria. Its ultimate objective is gradually to make national legislation consistent with the International Charter of Human Rights and, in particular, two of its

pacts: the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights and the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, which were ratified by Bulgaria in 1970.

Any Bulgarian citizen who shares the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and rejects the propaganda of violence, nationalism, and totalitarianism, may be a member of the association.

The members of the association include intellectuals, workers, peasants, pensioners, working people dismissed from their jobs, and political prisoners who were unfairly sentenced and persecuted in the past and are now engaged in legal defense and legal education activities.

The Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Bulgaria is a corresponding agent of Amnesty International, which is an international nongovernmental organization, the International Organization for the Defense of Human Rights (Paris), and the International Organization for the Defense of Civil and Political Rights (Frankfurt am Main).

As the first independent and civically active autonomous unit, the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Bulgaria was accepted as corresponding member of the World Federation of Legal Protection Organizations, whose headquarters are in Paris.

The association is a founding member of the SDS.

In its official declaration, the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights welcomes the 10 November 1989 action and the changes which were made in the leadership of the BCP and the state. The association considers this an important yet no more than initial step leading to the dismantling of the command-bureaucratic structures of the totalitarian system.

Nonetheless, concern is shown for displays of nationalism and chauvinism and the unjustified, illogical, and provocative actions of a handful of apparatchiks in some okrugs with a mixed population.

The association supports the principled view that Bulgaria is the fatherland of all of its citizens and that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be the only guide in the approach to the ethnic problem.

Ecoglasnost Independent Association

This association is the heir of the Committee for Ecological Salvation of Ruse City, which was founded on 8 March 1988 and expanded in February 1989. The association was founded on 11 April 1989. The 23 June 1989 petition to register the society as a juridical person was denied by the prosecutor's office. On 12 December 1989 Ecoglasnost became the first registered association. It is headed by a 31-member Administrative Council, chaired by Petur Slabakov.

Address for contacts: 28 Marin Drinov Street, Sofia 1504, and 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia, telephones 87-07-26 and 87-51-18; 39 Dondukov Boulevard, Sofia, telephone 88-15-32.

As an independent association pursuing an ideal, Ecoglasnost is an open nationwide organization to which anyone has access and can learn absolutely everything taking place within it. It is nonpolitical. The purpose of the association is to seek and gather all types of ecological information, to make it public, and to assist the competent authorities and organizations in solving a variety of ecological problems. The aspiration of Ecoglasnost is for the projects which could harm the environment to be submitted to preliminary ecological expert evaluation independent of departments and the state and for the society to supervise their execution.

Ecoglasnost is a broad social movement which combines on a voluntary and noninstitutional basis, the efforts of individuals who are concerned with the ecological situation. The rights to ecological safety and a healthy environment are among the fundamental human rights. In this sense the activities of the organization are an aspect of a broader movement for peace, human rights, and social justice. Realizing that modern progress has not only technical but also moral dimensions, which presume a feeling of responsibility, the members of Ecoglasnost will struggle for changing the direction and purposes of scientific and technical progress. The self-destructive trend of indiscriminate growth must be replaced by strictly economic steps which will never make human life hostage to the advancement of technology. Glasnost is the weapon used by Ecoglasnost in attaining such goals. In its activities the association is a nonpolitical but not apolitical organization, as confirmed by its participation in the SDS.

Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation [NFT]

The federation appeared as an alternative to the Bulgarian Trade Unions, which were until recently closely tied to the party-state structure. Initially the Podkrepa Independent Trade Union was founded in Plovdiv on 8 February 1989; on 28 October 1989 it became the Independent Labor Federation, retaining its old name. The federation is a founding member of the SDS. The managing body of the Podkrepa NFT is the National Federative Council; its chairman is Dr. Konstantin Trenchev.

Contacts may be established at the following address: 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia, and telephones 88-25-01 (extension 37), 89-48-59, and 89-98-59.

The purpose of the federation is to restore the independent trade union movement in Bulgaria as one of the most important structures of a civil society, without which pluralism and democracy are impossible. The Podkrepa NFT supports the view that the existence of truly democratic trade unions is impossible without guaranteeing the right of the working people to organize

their associations freely and to join them as they choose. Their rights can be defended only by trade unions controlled by their members.

As part of the state apparatus, the Bulgarian Trade Unions are unable to offer an alternative program.

The policy statement of the Podkrepa NFT stipulates the following: "freedom of speech, press, and assembly, meetings, and demonstrations; freedom for citizens to found organizations pursuing political, professional, cultural, artistic, scientific, religious, and other ideal objectives, as stipulated by the Bulgarian Constitution, which can be guaranteed exclusively by democratic organizations and movements which are independent of the state. By accepting such rights and freedoms as being of prime significance and considering its specific nature as a trade union organization, the Podkrepa NFT will steadfastly struggle for achieving economic security and social justice, freedom, and justice and dignity for all."

The Podkrepa NFT is a social, independent nonparty organization which unites on a voluntary basis members of the intelligentsia, industrial and agricultural workers, employees, and university students who consider the intellectualization and democratization of the labor process instruments for improving their situation.

In its activities the federation will be guided by the following fundamental principles adopted by the independent trade unions around the world:

They must be free, for their activities are independent of the government and political organizations. They are free to either support or criticize policies directly or indirectly related to the interests of the working people.

They must be representative, for they represent and defend the interests of their members in dealing with governmental, economic, and other authorities in charge of administration of the production process, daily life, culture, education, health care, recreation, and social security. They themselves establish contacts with trade unions outside the country and resolve problems of membership in international trade union organizations.

They must be democratic, for they are founded on pluralism and trade union democracy and are not tied to political and other organizations which may be guided by principles differing from those proclaimed in the International Charter of Human Rights. They categorically reject any model of development of society based on totalitarianism and neglect of human dignity.

In the spirit of the early Bulgarian trade union movement, the Podkrepa NFT will engage not only in protecting but also, through extensive cultural-educational activities, in developing a trade union awareness, and will contribute to the creation of independent associations, the enhancement of their reputation, and their organizational strengthening.

Bulgarian Radical Democratic Party (BRDP)

The BRDP, which resumed its activities by the end of 1989, is the continuation of the Bulgarian Radical Democratic Party, which was founded in 1902. The founders of the party include Naycho Tsanov, Todor G. Vlaykov, Pencho Slaveykov, Yosif Fadenkhekht, Dr. Krustev, Georgi Konstantinov, and many other noted Bulgarian intellectuals. The Radical Democratic Party is a member of the SDS. The BRDP is headed by an Initiative Committee chaired by Professor Dr. Elka Konstantinova.

Contacts may be established at the following addresses: 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia, telephone 87-07-26; 39 Dondukov Boulevard, Sofia, Fourth Floor, Room 42, telephone 39-00-98, as well as telephones 65-14-28, 89-60-18, 66-20-91, and 20-10-68.

The platform of the Radical Democratic Party emphasizes that its intellectual aspect does not exclude in the least the participation of members of all population strata. The BRDP considers as its main task in the political area the struggle for total democracy and for a constitutional state with clear constitutional guarantees. In this sense it will work with dedication for the good of Bulgaria and for the well being of all Bulgarian citizens. The party does not seek to become a mass organization but aspires to have a selected membership of highly conscientious members and mature and honest individuals holding firm radical views. The BRDP will systematically struggle for the assertion of political pluralism and parliamentary democracy and the total elimination of the totalitarian system.

In the economic part of its platform, the party stresses encouragement of private initiative and accelerated conversion to a market economy. It calls for agrarian reform which will give the land to those who farm it and will guarantee their rights to inheritance. At the same time, the BRDP considers economic development a decisive prerequisite for upgrading the well being of all population strata.

In the international area, the Bulgarian Radical Democratic Party invariably supports the principles of peaceful coexistence, particularly among Balkan countries and peoples.

The radical democrats intend to play a balancing role on the Bulgarian political scene in the interest of the radical renovation of the society and the state. They will support any effort aimed at reaching national accord.

Federation of Independent Student Associations (FNISD)

The federation was founded on 6 January 1990 in Sofia, on the initiative of the Independent Student Association. It includes some 35 student associations. It is headed by an expanded Coordination Committee which includes one representative of each member society. Emil Koshlukov is committee chairman. A resolution has

been passed to establish an operative headquarters with standing commissions. The federation is a member of the SDS.

Address for contacts: 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia; SDS reception-information, telephones 87-07-26 and 87-51-18.

The federation's political platform includes demands for the achievement of a multiparty parliamentary democracy; immediate consistency between domestic legislation and international pacts signed by the Bulgarian People's Republic; true supremacy of the law and stable and non-conflicting legislation. The FNSD considers national consensus through political compromise the only way leading to the resolution of national, political, and ethnic conflicts. It insists on the liberation of religious institutions from state supervision, equality of believers and atheists, constitutional strengthening of all forms of ownership, and the development of a market economy on the basis of free economic initiative.

The FNSD considers particularly important the elimination of all forms of arbitrary command-administrative pressure in society and the closing down of institutions engaged in exercising ideological control; guaranteeing a living minimum for socially handicapped; the development of the economy to observe the standards of environmental protection.

The main objective of the federation is to struggle for the implementation of the principles of a free civil society and a rule-of-law state in the fields of education and student rights. In that sense the FNSD proclaims its wish to struggle for the freedom of association of academic youth; the ideological decontamination of science and the training process; autonomy of higher educational institutions; free elections of teachers; real freedom of the student press, and real participation in university administration.

The federation will pursue a total ban on all forms of persecution of students for their convictions, political views or religious beliefs.

In the February 1990 special declaration of the FNSD, the Coordination Committee called for shortening the term of universal military service in Bulgaria to 18 months; all young people who have been registered as students or have completed their higher education and are currently in the Armed Forces to be discharged by 31 March 1990; abolishing the practice of keeping military personnel in the Armed Services for a period of three months after they have completed their legitimate length of service; introduction of an alternative civil service for young people who cannot bear arms on moral or religious grounds.

Parties

Bulgarian Democratic Constitutional Party (BDKP)—Plovdiv

This party was founded on 3 January 1990 in Plovdiv as the Bulgarian Democratic Monarchist Party (BDMP)

with the specific claim that it has a real opportunity to make a substantial contribution to the development of the general democratic process initiated in Bulgaria. On 5 February 1990, at the meeting of the National Operative Center, it was unanimously resolved to rename the party Bulgarian Democratic Constitutional Party (BDKP). The party is headed by a National Operative Center, chaired by Ivan Ambarev.

Contacts may be established at the following address: 6 Chataldzha Street, Plovdiv 4002; in Sofia: telephone 57-36-84, Minkov.

The political program of the BDKP stresses that its immediate objective is for Bulgaria to earn an international political reputation within a short time and to accelerate as much as possible the resolution of the country's tremendous economic problems.

The means by which the party intends to achieve its objectives and tasks are the following:

The BDKP will struggle for the establishment and assertion of lasting democratic traditions in the entire society, a society without class, ethnic, and religious contradictions.

The party will support all democratic forces in the country while, at the same time, retaining its right to enter into coalitions with specific political forces pursuing national and social interests.

The Democratic Constitutional Party considers as one of its most important tasks the question of restoring the civil rights of the former monarch Simeon II Turnovski as an equal citizen of Bulgaria, as well as the rights of his family.

The party will try to recruit all patriotic Bulgarians living outside the country, regardless of their location, to come to the aid of our fatherland in order to save it from economic crisis and ruin.

The BDKP will struggle for the restoration of the civil rights of all Bulgarian citizens who left the country either of their own free will or were forced to do so.

As a democratic party, the Bulgarian Democratic Constitutional Party fully supports the views held by the SDS and would like to join it.

Bulgarian People's Party

The Bulgarian People's Party was founded on 3 February 1990 in Sofia. Dimitur Brankov was elected its chairman. The party is represented by groups in the United States, Canada, the FRG, Austria, and Spain and is authorized to represent them in Bulgaria.

Addresses for contacts: Lyulin zh.k., Block 214, Apartment 138, Sofia 1343; telephones: 62-441 (extension 457), 59-76-17, and 25-57-54; in Vienna: 033-38-22-16.

The Bulgarian People's Party states in its policy statement that a fully democratic society can be built only after the awareness of responsibility toward the human community and, above all, the socially deprived becomes our basic thought and action. The Bulgarian People's Party represents the interests of its members and supporters as well as of Bulgarians who have been forced to live abroad but who are members of the party or its supporters.

In its policy statement, the Bulgarian People's Party proclaims that it favors the overall guarantee of the right to work with all the requirements based on this fact; the elimination of class privileges and freedom, which means rejection of all forms of dictatorship and varieties of elections; social security, humaneness in everything and everywhere; equality, truth, and solidarity; social responsibility in the self-definition of the individual in terms of national origin, religion, name, and affiliation.

The Bulgarian People's Party rejects coercion and the dictatorship exerted by society toward minorities, ethnic groups, religious sects, etc., and vice versa. It favors a European federation.

In its appeal, the Bulgarian People's Party insists on the following: ending national nihilism and exposing the historical truth based on the people's memory of the period after 9 September 1944; seeking personal, direct, unlimited, cohesive, and retroactive responsibility from all those who administered the country since 9 September 1944.

Bulgarian National Democratic Workers Party (BNDRP)

The Bulgarian National Democratic Workers Party (BNDRP) was founded at the beginning of 1990 in Sofia. Ventsislav Katsarski is BNDRP chairman.

Contact telephones: 21-47-08, 21-75-11, and 26-11-01.

The BNDRP appeal stipulates that it is a mass alternative organizational force which unites within its ranks workers, peasants, and the labor intelligentsia and directly expresses their role and aspirations. The BNDRP opposes proletarian dictatorship. It rejects Marx and Lenin as well as fascism in all its colors and hues and will struggle with all legitimate means against it.

The BNDRP, the appeal reads, is in favor of a society of democratic capitalism, such as exists in the five most advanced capitalist countries in the world.

The banner of the BNDRP is a "Pure and Holy Republic," of the Apostle [Bulgarian revolutionary leader Vasil Levski]; its slogan is "Equality, Fraternity, and Humanity!"

The BNDRP supports the rights and freedoms of Bulgarians who involuntarily live outside the country. It

deems necessary and pressing the creation of a supragovernmental commission of experts which will ensure that laws passed by the National Assembly do not violate national interests.

In its appeal, the BNDRP insists that the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs not be known as "militia" or "police" but as "forces for order and tranquility" (SRS) and "state security" (DB), directly answerable to the National Assembly, which will appoint or dismiss their leading cadres.

The BNDRP calls for private property to be guaranteed by the Constitution as sacred and inviolable. The party will demand that the worker collectives themselves choose directors and members of administrative councils of state enterprises and for everyone engaged in production work to be secured temporary work abroad; minimum pensions should not be below minimum wages with the differential between the lowest and highest pension to be 1:2.5.

The BNDRP does not wish to have contacts with parties, organizations, and groups with clearly expressed anti-Bulgarian and antistate leanings, calling for violence, hatred, and extremism.

Bulgarian National Radical Party (BNRP)

The Bulgarian National Radical Party was restored through its founding assembly, on 15 November 1989. It is the continuation of the Bulgarian National Revolutionary Party, which was founded on 1 September 1955 in Sofia and was later disbanded. The party is headed by a Central Management chaired by Dr. Ivan Georgiev.

Contacts: telephones 88-46-52; 77-37-11; and 20-11-14.

The Bulgarian National Radical Party is a free and open all-Bulgarian organization which will accept all patriotic Bulgarians who care for and struggle for a free, united, and independent Bulgarian state, for a profound and full (radical) restructuring of our society, for preserving our national traditions in all areas of our national life, and who care for the cultural and economic enhancement of the Bulgarian nation in its noble competition with other peoples throughout the world.

The BNRP believes that no nation can be respected by other nations unless it respects itself and unless it shows clearly expressed national sentiment and pride in facing the world public. Yet many of our national traditions were forgotten and denigrated over the past 45 years, giving way to nihilism, veneration of things alien, and loss of faith. National division weakened the resisting forces of the nation, and the heroism of the Bulgarian soldiers who lost their lives in defending the Bulgarian spirit was forgotten. As a result of the 45-year leadership of the BCP, our national economy was totally wrecked; our people were brought to a level of poverty and, in national terms, morally devastated. That is precisely what made necessary the founding of the BNRP,

inspired by the program for a free and independent Bulgarian state with a united Bulgarian nation.

The Bulgarian National Radical Party accepts Levski's guiding principle of a pure and holy republic in which all Bulgarians will decide their destinies through consensus, which means that the BNRP supports a multiparty system in which a variety of opinions and ideas will be expressed and the people will choose the path of development which they deem to be the best at a given time.

The BNRP believes that the rebuilding of agriculture can be accomplished by returning the land to its legitimate owners, along with the necessary tools for its cultivation, which can be inherited along with the land. The BNRP favors protectionism in all areas of industry and the economy. Market prices must be set, regulated by consumption within stipulated admissible limits in order not to harm the lower economic social strata. The BNRP has drafted a program for the development of all economic and industrial sectors. Not least, the Bulgarian National Radical Party believes that a special scientific statewide program for ecological protection and rational utilization of natural resources must be formulated.

Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)

The party was founded on 31 December 1989 in Sofia. It is headed by a Bureau of the Initiative Group, whose official spokesman is Yordan Velkov.

Contacts: telephones 51-74-87; 87-20-59; 74-71-95; 54-81-30; 66-22-84.

The party platform of political demands, appeals, and forthcoming tasks of the BSP gives priority to abolishing the existing Zhivkov Constitution, the passing of a new democratic electoral law, and confirming the multiparty system. The party makes the following demands: a law passed on political parties; resignation of the National Assembly and the government; formation of a provisional caretaker government and the holding of free parliamentary elections by the end of 1990 with the participation of observers from Warsaw Pact countries. Urgent measures must be taken for the destabilizing of the BCP which is actually a subversive-conspiratorial political organization. The BSP insists on acknowledging and condemning the historical fact that an isolationist Stalinist political system was coercively imposed on Bulgaria while the BCP pursued a policy of national sovereignty that was in fact limited; abolishing the political, ideological, and economic monopoly of the party nomenclature by separating party from state functions, abolishing party organizations at places of work, removing members of the nomenclature from economic management positions, taking inventory and transferring the party property to the state; free access to political files and elimination of political privileges.

The steps aimed at the democratization of society, included in the BSP party platform, stipulate the following: introducing a multiparty system; drafting a new

Constitution and adopting it through a national referendum; free parliamentary elections for a Grand National Assembly; a presidential system of government with direct elections; depoliticizing and ideological decontamination of the Armed Forces, the security organs, and the militia. Gradual development of professional-militia Armed Forces.

The fundamental principles supported by the BSP are the following: giving priority to universal human values, rejecting the class approach and dictatorship; membership in the Socialist International; freedom of opinion, ideological trends, and factions; developing a free and democratic society and an independent rule-of-law state based on humanism and pluralism; freedom of the individual, conscience, and assembly, speech and the press, emigration and residence; restoring the age-old Bulgarian family values and protection of motherhood and childhood.

The most important socioeconomic demands formulated in the BSP policy statement are the following: denationalization of governmental, administrative, and, essentially, property belonging to the bureaucracy or nomenclature; creation of a multisectorial, freely oriented market economy based on individual, group, cooperative, state, mixed, and private ownership, under the conditions of competition and enterprise; giving the land to the peasants, first on a leasing basis and, subsequently, as private labor property, while providing necessary assistance; free efficient labor—labor exchanges, labor protection, independent trade unions, and the right to strike; socially equitable differentiation of wages and income with a progressive taxation; democratic and universally accessible education; and free and independent higher educational institutions, academic associations, and student trade unions.

The united Bulgarian fatherland must guarantee equal human rights to all citizens regardless of ethnic and religious affiliation. The entire objective truth of the fate of Bulgarian ethnic groups in neighboring countries is to be established, without territorial claims; full cultural and economic contacts with Bulgarian communities abroad is to be promoted.

Democratic Party—Plovdiv

The party was founded on 7 January 1990 in Plovdiv. It took the name Democratic Party of Bulgaria. Iliya Kozhukharov is party chairman.

Contact addresses: POB 352, Plovdiv 4000; Trakiya ZhK, Plovdiv 4023, POB 58; party club: 17A Akad. Derzhavin Street, telephone 23-25-63.

The main objective of the Democratic Party of Bulgaria is the creation of a humane democratic civil society with social justice for all of its members and social groups. It must be based on universal human values and not on any specific ideology or religion. The basic principle of that society will be respect for the dignity and rights of

everyone, regardless of religious faith or ethnic or party affiliation. This will be a society with firm laws passed by a freely elected National Assembly, a society of social and economic equality in the eyes of the law for all of its citizens and groups. Individual initiative, unfettered by dogmas and restrictions will be the only constructive force.

The party's short-term program for the next few months stipulates participation in roundtable discussions, disbanding the present government, and forming a temporary cabinet consisting of independent and competent citizens; organizing free elections within deadlines acceptable to all political forces; earmarking urgent steps to stop the decline in the living standard of the people; gradual but quickly closing down the unproductive and inefficient management structures in industry and agriculture that are unnecessary and are aggravating the poor economic situation of the country; participating in future free elections.

In the economic area, the party's main objectives are the following: development of the economy and agriculture exclusively in accordance with scientific achievements; legal equality of all forms of ownership; establishing a market economy and introducing the shareholding form of participation in industry and agriculture.

In the intellectual and cultural area, the party opposes the ideologizing of scientific life and education. It favors freedom of speech and the press, freedom to establish social and political organizations which do not violate humane rights and universal human values, and the abolition of all obstacles blocking full contact between Bulgarian citizens and the rest of the world.

The country's fundamental foreign policy principle will be peace and the peaceful solution of international problems, honoring all international agreements and treaties, solidarity with all democratic forces throughout the world, and good neighborly relations and cooperation with the Balkan states.

Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)

The Bulgarian Liberal Democratic Party is heir to the Liberal and Democratic Parties, which were originally headed by Stefan Stambolov, Petko Karavelov, and others. It was founded on 10 December 1989 in Sofia. A Provisional Central Management was elected, chaired by Zdravko Daskalov. The party is allied in an opposition bloc with the Christian Republican Party, the Party of Free Democrats, and the Christian Democratic Party.

Contact addresses: LDP Club, telephone 89-54-93 and 17 Benkovski Street, Sofia 1000, Daskalov.

The party's draft program stipulates that the Liberal Democratic Party unites all categories of Bulgarian citizens: intellectuals, workers, craftsmen, peasants, and young people. The LDP is not a class or stratum party but a nationwide party which harmoniously combines

the interests of the broad population strata. The objective of the LDP is to make Bulgaria a contemporary democratic parliamentary republic with a presidential government system, part of the common European home, strictly observing the United Nations Human Rights Charter and the Helsinki and Vienna Accords. The Bulgarian Republic must develop a modern and efficient agroindustrial economy on the basis of private, cooperative, and state ownership of means of production, with a stable ecological, social, and cultural policy.

The immediate tasks which the LDP sets itself are the following: immediate passing of a law on political parties and their legalization; adoption of a democratic electoral law; full deletion of Article 1 of the Constitution; changing the national symbols in the spirit of Bulgarian traditions (seal, flag, anthem, national holidays, etc.); adopting a new Constitution by the Grand National Assembly; organizing political parties which will carry out their activities on a territorial basis. The LDP demands that those responsible for the national, political, and economic catastrophe be brought to justice; the elimination of any sort of privileges—political, moral, and material—and all titles. The LDP will actively cooperate with democratic organizations, parties, associations, and groups but will be independent of the official organizations—Bulgarian Trade Unions, Fatherland Front, Komsomol, and others.

The basic political objectives of the LDP stipulate that it rejects Marxism as an ideology. The party is in favor of holding free elections for the National Assembly every four years; the president to be elected through direct vote for no more than two terms; the National Assembly to be a permanent and exclusive legislative authority in the country; the government to exercise executive powers only, regularly reporting its activities to the National Assembly; the judiciary must be independent, based on a three-step system, which would include courts of appeal.

The command-administrative personnel and the personnel in ordinary establishments and companies must be immediately reduced. The cost of the state apparatus must be significantly reduced. The Ministries of Justice, Internal Affairs, and National Defense and the national mass information media must be depoliticized. Their independence from all political parties and associations must be guaranteed.

The essential economic objectives included in the draft program of the LDP are the following: economic policy must be based on the type of production which would be determined by the primary development of the private ownership of the means of production; the land must belong to those who farm it, with the right to inheritance. The LDP opposes so-called market socialism and categorically demands the full application of cost accounting.

In the social area, the objectives supported in the draft program stipulate the abrogation of regulatory acts and laws which restrict the right to work in terms of type and place of work. A new democratic labor code must be

adopted and all the acts of the Council of Ministers, ministries, and departments which conflict with the labor code must be immediately annulled. The right to strike must be guaranteed and in cases of unemployment substantial funds must be allocated for redirecting and retraining the workforce.

The following demands are formulated in the section dealing with the intellectual and cultural area: asserting Christian standards and values as the foundation for the development of society; guaranteed freedom of speech and the press; independent radio and television, with guaranteed possibility of equal participation of all political forces in their programs. Introduction of a depoliticized educational system with an emphatically humanistic trend.

In foreign policy, the LDP supports the following principles: The Bulgarian Republic must observe its contractual obligations to the Warsaw Pact until it is disbanded, on a parallel basis with NATO. The Bulgarian Republic must conduct an independent foreign policy and make its contribution to the building of a European home. The LDP categorically opposes the use of military force in resolving conflicts; it favors peaceful coexistence and intergovernmental relations on a basis of equality.

Stefan Stambolov People's Liberal Party—Veliko Turnovo

The Stefan Stambolov People's Liberal Party, which was founded in 1887, was restored in Veliko Turnovo on 21 January 1990. Since 1887 the party has represented the Stambolov faction in the old Liberal Party.

The restored party is headed by a Provisional Coordination Committee. Contact address: 4 Teodosiy Turnovski Street, Veliko Turnovo 5000, Block 2, Provisional Coordination Committee of the Stefan Stambolov NLP.

The restored Stefan Stambolov People's Liberal Party is based on the ideas of this noted Bulgarian political and state personality and participant in the national revolutionary movement for Bulgarian independence.

The party favors a policy of national independence and placing national interests above all other in politics, a free market economy with social guarantees, protectionism and technological development, the building of a modern infrastructure, and stabilizing finances through a strict and stimulating taxation and credit policy. In agriculture, the party insists on agrarian reform and distribution of the land to the farmers, freeing them from taxes during the initial period.

The Stefan Stambolov People's Liberal Party systematically struggles for full democratization and for observing all human rights and freedoms.

The People's Liberal Party calls upon all Stambolovists throughout the country to join local organizations, formulate specific ideas, and appoint representatives to the first party congress.

In its struggle for democracy and people's freedom, the party joins the SDS.

Independent Democratic Party (NDP)

The Independent Democratic Party (NDP) was founded on 12 November 1989 in Sofia. It appeared on the basis of the legally and democratically acting "Committee of the Repressed" in Sofia, which was founded in December 1985. The committee was reorganized and, after 21 November 1989, remained within the Independent Democratic Party. The party is headed by a Political Team, chaired by Petur Gogov.

Contacts may be established at the following addresses: Khipodruma District, Block 20, Gogov, Sofia 1612, and Druzha zhk, Block 51, Entrance A, Apartment 18, Banchev, Sofia 1592, and telephones 52-69-42 and 79-49-52.

The general program of the Independent Democratic Party has been drafted for a period of 30 years. The draft for the first decade is more detailed while for the other two the basic objectives, tasks, and directions are only outlined.

The program of the Independent Democratic Party is supported and followed by its members and sympathizers despite political intrigues, disinformation, or repressive measures which old or new parties try or may try to use through individuals who have penetrated such parties as a result of glasnost and perestroika in Bulgaria, people with specific political tasks or dirty personal political intentions. The political debate—rather than conflict—which the Independent Democratic Party conducts for the voice of the people through legal and democratic means, is consistent with the democratic traditions of the Western European nations, from which the Bulgarian people and Bulgaria were forcefully separated 45 years ago. Bulgaria and its people rightly belong to the community of European peoples by virtue of their age-old achievements and contribution to the building of a European civilization. The Independent Democratic Party will assert this inalienable right through its domestic and foreign political activities.

The general program stipulates that following its registration, the Independent Democratic Party will accept as members and supporters honest communists—those who were persecuted and denigrated and the idealists—as well as honest agrarians, who had been lied to, scorned, and jailed, providing that they understand and accept with a pure heart the ideological principles of the NDP and, through their energy and capabilities, wish to join the Independent Democratic Party—the latest party in Bulgarian political life, the party of the center and of progress, the party of the technocrats!

The Independent Democratic Party will argue in favor of political change but through legal means and democratic ways. It favors the establishment of a multiparty Bulgarian governing system. The Independent Democratic

Party says to the Bulgarian and European peoples that it has not used and will not use extremism or terrorism in the implementation of political objectives. The NDP knows that after 1989 Europe will never support or forgive anyone who would resort to the use of violence in imposing his political ambitions and objectives.

The general program stipulates that the independent democrats will implement their ideas through legal and democratic means. They have adequate and sufficient political experience to defend the ideological principles of an independent democracy in Bulgaria with bare hands, without weapons, but solely with their minds and hearts. These principles are indestructible for they are the ideas of independence, democracy, and Europeanism for the Bulgarian people and our Bulgarian fatherland.

The cause of the Independent Democratic Party is not an accomplishment of its political team, the general program stipulates. Although minor, it is the cause of the Bulgarian spirit which prevailed in the minds and hearts of Rakovski, Levski, and Stambolov.

New Social Democratic Party (NSDP)

The ninth meeting of the Independent Social Democratic Club, which took place on 9 January 1990 in Sofia, resolved to become the founding assembly of the New Social Democratic Party (NSDP). Petur Markov was elected chairman of the NSDP Coordination Council.

Contact addresses: 7-a P. Volov Street, Sofia; 9-B V1. Zaimov Boulevard, Entrance A; 2 Gulubets Street, Entrance A; telephones 44-0091, 44-28-55, 44-53-65, and 44-99-47.

The NSDP charter states that ideologically and organizationally it is the heir and conservator of the activities of the Independent Social Democratic Club. The New Social Democratic Party accepts the principles, ideals, and values of contemporary social democracy: freedom and justice, solidarity, and democracy. It will disseminate them and will work for their implementation under the conditions of contemporary Bulgarian society. In accordance with these basic values, the main political category of the NSDP is reform. The NSDP is not related to other past or present party structures.

The NSDP policy statement stipulates that it will struggle for the type of society in which every individual will be able to make his own decisions and bear responsibility for his decisions. The NSDP is in favor of a multiparty pluralist democracy as a basic social democratic principle. The party believes that the multiparty political system, which must be legislatively codified, is today the basic guarantee for the success of real democracy in our country. In building a multiparty system within a single civilized, democratic, and humane society, the existence of any constitutionally codified privileges granted to any social group whatsoever becomes inadmissible. The prime task in the democratization of our society is the real separation of legislative,

executive, and judicial powers. This presumes the elimination of the institution of the State Council, which is in profound contradiction with the basic principle of any rule-of-law state concerning the separation of powers. Based on the strong republican and democratic traditions of our people and the present circumstances, the NSDP suggests that the new Bulgarian Constitution provide for the election of a one term president for four years with strong representative functions, constitutionally codifying a strong prime ministerial institution under constant parliamentary scrutiny.

The basic economic concepts of the NSDP, as supported in the policy statement, are the following: pluralism of forms of ownership and equal value of all forms in the eyes of the law; a market economy, freedom of initiative for all economic subjects, free agreements between producers and consumers; a social policy which would neutralize adverse social consequences of a market economy; and protection of the socially destitute.

Guided by these principles, the NSDP believes that the solution to the difficult economic crisis in which the country finds itself can be found if the socioeconomic system is reorganized along the following main lines: elimination of the nomenclature system and its organs; providing full and prompt information on the condition of the national economy, making it available to the entire public; elimination of any mandatory administrative merger among basic economic units (enterprises, cooperative farms, etc.) within associations, "companies," etc. Any association must be based on voluntary participation and mutual benefit. The area of action of mandatory planning and the authorities implementing it must be decisively narrowed.

The NSDP suggests the following in solving the problems which have accumulated in the intellectual and educational area, in accordance with social democratic concepts: complete demonopolizing of the mass information media and ensuring the existence of a free and independent press; granting full autonomy to higher educational institutions; creating conditions for the free exchange of scientific ideas and guaranteed access to scientific information; removing education and upbringing from the area of ideological monopoly; equality of state, private, and cooperative educational and training institutions; pluralism of training curriculums; legislative guarantees of the independence of cultural institutions.

The essence of social democratic policy toward ecology is manifested in the elimination of existing, and the prevention of new, ecologically dirty production facilities which cause pollution. It is only on this basis that a healthy living environment can be achieved as one of the basic human rights.

Republican Party

The founding conference of the Republican Party of Bulgaria was held in Sofia on 3 February 1990. The party

organizers intend to apply the experience of parliamentary practices in the United States and Italy. The Bulgarian Republican Party has adopted Levski's behest "For a Pure and Holy Republic" as its slogan. The party is headed by an Organizational Committee, chaired by Professor Dr. Aleksandur Popov.

Contact address: POB 53, for the Republican Party, Sofia 1606; telephone 89-05-20 (after 6:00 pm).

The party's main objective is the development of Bulgaria as a democratic, parliamentary, and rule-of-law republic and the establishment of a morally and materially advanced society which will guarantee the free development and expression of all citizens as equal individuals.

The party will strive to participate in the country's social and political life on the basis of total openness of activities and the possibility of cooperation with other social forces sharing similar objectives and tasks.

In the Republican Party platform parliamentary government is accepted as being the best for a democratic and humane society in a constitutional state. The Republican Party firmly supports a multiparty system. It accepts the existence of an opposition as an alternative in governing and as a constant control over those who govern.

The view held by the Republican Party on the domestic situation stipulates the following: social and legislative protection of intellectual property in accordance with international standards and agreements; democratic organization of press and book publishing and equal access to printing facilities; respect for traditions in honoring universally acknowledged holidays such as Christmas, Easter, etc.; self-management and autonomy of educational institutions.

Politically, the Republican Party strives for systematic protection of the national independence of the Bulgarian people. It opposes the use of the nationality problem in achieving strictly party objectives. The party insists on the strict application of the Human Rights Charter for all Bulgarian citizens.

The view of the Republican Party in the international area calls for the systematic defense of Bulgaria's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national interests; equal and mutually profitable political and economic cooperation with all countries; honoring all international agreements. Acting against war and in support of peace as the most important aspect of relations among countries and nations.

The Republican Party opposes the totalitarian system; it favors understanding and cooperation among all classes and strata within society, internal social and civil peace, a new Constitution, and antimonopoly legislation, defense of human rights, and harmonious development and full expression of the individual.

In its economic platform the Republican Party demands the following: privatization of some means of production, including land; granting some means of production for unlimited use to groups, collectives, and individuals; reassessing some assets on the basis of residual value and selling them as shares on stock markets; closing down losing and unprofitable companies and enterprises.

The Republican Party favors an open market economy, strategic forecasting, extensive development of the shareholding principle, and autonomous commercial banks. The party considers as a major reserve the development of customs-free zones, attraction of foreign capital, and creation of modern companies with mixed ownership.

The social platform of the Republican Party gives priority to the interests of the population at their place of residence, granting social funds for administration and management by the population through the municipalities. The party favors the decentralizing of functions and activities from cities to smaller settlements and reversing the urbanization flow from town to country.

Party of Free Democrats

The Party of the Union of Free Democrats held its founding congress in Stara Zagora on 16 December 1989. At the second party congress, which was held on 3 February 1990, it was resolved that the party would be known as the Party of Free Democrats (PSD). The party is headed by the National Executive Council, chaired by Khristo Santulov. The party is a member of the opposition bloc together with the Christian Republican, Liberal Democratic, and Christian Democratic Parties.

Contact address: 26A Stefan Karadzha Street, Apartment 45, Stara Zagora, telephones 042-4-00-48 and 2-70-42.

The bylaws of the Party of Free Democrats stipulates that it is a voluntary political association of all people in Bulgaria who accept its political program and bylaws. It expresses the age-old aspirations of our people for the creation of a more equitable world in which man with his needs and aspirations, dignity, and pure morality will be the true booster of social progress. The PSD rejects all social privileges other than the one of selflessly serving nation and fatherland. That is why it is not a spokesman for political, economic, social, or spiritual interests of class or stratum but of human aspirations for freedom and democracy. The free democrats reject the constitutional regulation of the leading role of any given political party. They equally reject that claim for themselves and will struggle using all parliamentary means for the uprooting of totalitarianism in our country and throughout the world.

The party is structured on the basis of the federative principle and all its activities will be carried out on a voluntary basis.

The basic principles in the political area and the state structure, as presented in the party's platform, are the following: opposing any party from becoming a constitutionally designed leading party in society; political pluralism in Bulgaria to be conceived as an objective need, blocking the path to totalitarianism in the future; the state must serve the people and not suppress them.

The supreme authority of the state is the National Assembly, in which the freely elected deputies will have the right and opportunity to stand up for the demands of their constituents. The state must be headed by a president elected by the people through direct free elections for no more than two four-year terms. Every citizen of the country must have the right to elect and to be elected to this most prestigious position. The Armed Forces, militia, and judiciary must be depoliticized; the referendum system must be used as a democratic form in resolving all most important problems pertaining to Bulgaria's development.

The party positions in the economic area, as formulated in the program, are the following: guaranteed equality in the eyes of the law for all contemporary forms of ownership—state, cooperative, and private—as well as their modifications; the development of a decentralized economy, socially oriented toward a free market, in which cost accounting would play a decisive role; except for industry related to the country's security, the satisfaction of society's material and moral needs as the result of the free initiative of the citizens.

In the social sphere, the Party of the Free Democrats supports the following principles: pluralism of ownership, leading to the development of a heterogeneous social structure and considered a natural condition of a civil society; counteracting all efforts to pit intellectuals against the other social strata in our society, aiming at the ultimate objective, which is the unity of the nation; legality, based on moral values, as the only regulator of social relations. The trade unions must become totally self-organizing, self-managing, and self-supporting organizations.

The spiritual and moral principles included in the program are the following: to prevent the ideology of any party whatsoever from claiming possession of the spiritual culture; freedom of conscience, speech, press, and assembly as an inalienable part of democracy; providing legislative guarantees for religious faiths in Bulgaria; eliminating the pitting of religion against atheism in our society; freeing the educational system from political and ideological pressure; converting to pluralism in the content, organization, and administration of educational institutions within the general educational system; the autonomy of higher educational institutions to be considered their natural right; promotion of the family, children, and the health of the nation for the sake of the revival of the Bulgarian people; active opposition to moral degradation, and the pollution of nature and the social environment.

The basic principles of the Party of Free Democrats, which it will support in the foreign policy area, stipulate as a guiding principle the acceptance of the aspiration for nonalignment with military blocs, the final strategic objective being full neutrality; cooperation with all democratic forces struggling for lasting peace and security on our planet.

Christian Democratic Party [KhDP]

On 9 January 1990 the Coordination Committee of the Democratic Christian Movement decided to reorganize into the Christian Democratic Party (KhDP). The following resolutions were passed at the session of the Provisional Leadership of the KhDP on 22 January 1990: At his request, interim party chairman priest Stoil Gerginov was released from his position; the Provisional Leadership of the KhDP resolved to abolish the position of "chairman;" henceforth the functions of this position will be assumed by the party secretary; Aleksandur Omarchevski was unanimously elected party secretary. The party is a member of the opposition bloc together with the Christian Republican Party, the Party of Free Democrats, and the Liberal Democratic Party.

Contact with the KhDP can be established by phoning 88-55-39 and 54-76-00.

The following objectives are included in the program of the Christian Democratic Party: making the Bulgarian Constitution consistent with the International Human Rights Charter and the other international agreements to which Bulgaria is a signatory; granting the churches the right regularly to participate in Bulgarian radio and television programs; events must be objectively and exhaustively reflected by the mass information media in the presentation of the social activities of Christian and other independent movements; the Christian movements have the right to assembly and to their printed publications, have publishing houses and printing presses; the KhDP insists on free elections and prior to the holding of the first free elections, the independent democratic organizations must be given the opportunity to participate in the government; the following church holidays to be made official—Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Transfiguration, Day of the Cross, and All Souls' Day; termination of the Committee on Religious Faiths (editorial note: Committee on Problems of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and Religious Cults).

The party's platform calls for the elimination of any interference on the part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other state authorities in church affairs. This change would enable the churches to elect their new leaders, replacing those who were previously appointed by the Committee on Religious Faiths. The Christian churches in Bulgaria are to be given the possibility of opening schools and philanthropic institutions.

The system of Sunday schools attached to the churches should be restored, as well as the optional study of theological subjects in higher educational institutions.

The KhDP insists on the restoration of illegally confiscated Church and monastery property, buildings, parts of forests, and other real estate. The buildings illegally erected on such property should be transferred to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the other Christian churches which will commit themselves to using them for philanthropic purposes.

The Christian Democratic Party will develop its social activities on the principles of Christian virtues and compassion.

Christian Republican Party (KhRP)

The party was founded on 2 November 1989 in Plovdiv. It is the first independent party in Bulgaria in the postwar period and the only Christian party in the Balkans. The KhRP is of the Anglo-Saxon model, without bylaws and membership dues. Any adult citizen who shares the Christian virtues and republican principles of government may be a party member. A Provisional Leadership, chaired by Konstantin Adzharov, was elected at the party's founding meeting.

The KhRP is a member of the Political Opposition Bloc, together with the Party of Free Democrats, the Liberal Democratic Party, and the Christian Democratic Party.

Contact may be made through the following address: 25 Maksim Gorki Street, Plovdiv, telephones 032-23-83-11 and 43-64-10.

In its charter and appeal to all progressive forces in Bulgaria, the Christian Republican Party defines as its basic task preparations for early parliamentary elections.

The party is in favor of setting up a united opposition which would clear the way and lead to the formation of a coalition government.

In the political section of its general platform, the KhRP demands the following: elimination of the nomenclature BCP system; a multiparty governmental system; a republic with a presidential system, in which the head of state will be elected directly by the entire people and not by the National Assembly; and a strict separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers, with the legislative power being restricted additionally by a second chamber in parliament—a senate. The Christian Republican Party categorically demands the depoliticizing of the people's Army and militia and the elimination of the centralized ideological indoctrination of society.

The views of the Christian Republican Party in the legal area are the following: drafting a new Constitution based on the principles mentioned in the political section; making legislation consistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent documents related to the European process. The ultimate goal in the

legal area is to build an advanced civil society in which the capabilities of the individual will determine his development.

The economic platform of the KhRP calls for equalizing the three types of ownership: state, cooperative, and private; a fair tax reform, which will give priority to free initiative; making the market the main regulator of the economy; the land to belong to those who farm it; a three-year moratorium on taxes for agricultural producers, so that the stores may be replenished with foodstuffs.

The KhRP deems necessary the lifting of bureaucratic barriers blocking foreign capital and the consistent implementation of an "open door" policy. Initially this should be achieved by increasing the number of duty-free zones and their more efficient use. The party also favors the adoption of a set of measures which would make the Bulgarian lev a convertible currency, regardless of price. No free exchange of goods is possible without free exchange of money. This also demands the creation of a national commodity-monetary exchange.

In general, the Christian Republican Party states that it is not a clerical but a political party. From its very founding the party has supported the guiding principle of turning not to the authorities but to the voters and of struggling to earn the people's trust and support.

Lately the Christian Republican Party has paid particular attention to work on the unification of opposition forces to resolve problems, such as the drafting of a new electoral law and a law on parties and setting an optimal deadline for the elections (parliamentary and municipal). This is dictated by the KhRP evaluation of the present difficult political situation in Bulgaria.

Unions

Bulgarian Medical Union [BLS]

The Bulgarian Medical Union is the ideological heir of the professional organization bearing the same name, which was founded in 1901 and was illegally disbanded in 1948. The union held its founding meeting on 13 January 1990 in Sofia. Docent Atanas Shterev was elected union spokesman.

Contact addresses: Dr. Boris Boyadzhiev, 42 V. Kolarov Street, Sofia 1000; Center for Hygiene, 15 Dimitur Nestorov Street, Sofia 1431, telephone 59-50-29.

According to its platform, the union is an independent, voluntary, professional organization of physicians and dentists of equal rights, with clearly regulated relations with state institutions and public and professional organizations. The main objectives of the Bulgarian Medical Union are the following: to enhance the reputation and dignity of the physicians; to defend their professional interests on all levels; to represent and support the views and civic positions of the medical community

on all matters pertaining to preservation and improvement of the health of the Bulgarian people.

The BLS will guard the ethical standards and morality in the medical profession and monitor their observance. It will settle professional disputes which may break out among its members and provide legal assistance if needed and act as a public defender of the truth.

Specifically, the activities of the union are focused on partnership with and opposition to the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare in implementing the country's health, social, and ecological policies. It will issue opinions and participate in formulating the legal standards related to all problems dealing with the medical profession and the assessment of the value and payment for the labor of physicians. The BLS will demand that the physicians be given the right freely to exercise their profession during their free time. Directly or through its members which are people's representatives, the BLS will submit to the National Assembly demands pertaining to the health of the people.

The BLS accepts the basic principles of the World Health Organization and is ready actively to cooperate with its specialized units.

Bulgarian National Democratic Union (BNDS)

The BNDS was founded on 8 December 1989 in Sofia. The Founders Society is the union's supreme ruling body, which holds monthly meetings to discuss and resolve union matters. The practical work is headed by a Coordination Council. Corresponding member Professor Nikolay Genchev is BNDS chairman.

Contacts may be established by telephoning 71-41-618, 71-41-539, and 43-431 (extensions 618 and 539), Zhdgorski.

In their policy statements, the founders of the BNDS adopt Vasil Levski's ideal of a 'pure and holy republic.' The BNDS emphasizes that it will work for the good of the fatherland in accordance with the needs of the time and in accordance with democratic principles.

The main task of the BNDS is to defend the rights and dignity of the Bulgarian national community in Bulgaria and throughout the world. The BNDS will oppose anyone who threatens the national honor and dignity of the Bulgarian people. Furthermore, the union is a firm opponent of nationalism. It will respect the rights of all countries and nations and will contribute to the development of worthy relations with them to enhance international respect for Bulgaria.

The main task included in the union's program is the moral renovation of Bulgarian society, including the struggle against moral degradation and for a healthy popular morality; charity and help to orphans and homeless minors and morally and socially degraded individuals; public and state supervision aimed at the maximal restriction of drug addiction. The BNDS will provide

total support to all educational, philanthropic, and religious organizations and establishments concerned with the moral health and unity of the people.

The Bulgarian National Democratic Union favors an ecologically clean land and nature.

The union's program emphasizes that it will struggle for peace and disarmament and for relations on a basis of equality with neighboring countries and all other states and for secure borders.

The main objective of the Bulgarian National Democratic Union is a guaranteed Bulgarian national independence, state sovereignty, and territorial integrity. Furthermore, it calls for tolerance and respect for the history and culture of all countries and nations.

The union's national platform emphasizes that it will struggle against any distortions of national history. It will insist on the drafting of new textbooks on Bulgarian history for the schools.

The union will submit ideas for the resolution of delicate ethnic and faith problems but will act for their resolution exclusively through national referendums. The Bulgarian National Democratic Union denies the right to any segment of the people, parties, unions, and organizations to speculate with national interests. It will struggle against any interference from foreign forces in the realm of domestic ethnic relations.

Union of Bulgarian Television Workers (SBTR)

On 26 December 1989 the general assembly of the Free Union of Television Workers in Sofia resolved to reorganize itself into the Union of Bulgarian Television Workers. It proclaims itself independent of political and social organizations of governmental or any other administrative structures. The union is guided by an Administrative Council chaired by Engineer Todor Strashimirov.

Contact may be established by telephoning 89-50-07.

The founding resolution emphasizes that the union will struggle for a legitimately guaranteed freedom of opinion, speech, and image, as well as the right of the individual freely to seek, obtain, and disseminate all types of information and ideas, in accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international legal documents signed by Bulgaria.

The main function of the union will be to defend the social and professional rights of its members and their wishes and creative interests. The general assembly believes that the establishment of the SBTR as a trade union is a very important part of the process of democratization and restructuring of the work of Bulgarian Television.

The SBTR demands that the Committee for Television and Radio become a nonpartisan institution and be directly answerable to a new and democratically elected National Assembly.

The SBTR insists that the future chairman of the Committee for Television and Radio and his team must not be bound by holding leadership positions in superior party agencies.

Union of Reserve Officers, Master Sergeants, and Sergeants

The founding congress of the Union of Reserve Officers, Master Sergeants, and Sergeants was held on 23 January 1990 in Sofia. A total of 562 delegates and guests from the entire country participated. Reserve Lieutenant General Petur Stoyanov was elected union chairman.

The declaration adopted by the founding congress of the union condemns the totalitarian regime which led the country to a grave economic, political, and spiritual crisis and to serious deformations of the socialist system. It calls upon the leading authorities in Bulgaria, at all levels, to take more daring, speedy, and radical measures aimed at a renovation in all areas of our society and insists, as a mass patriotic and independent organization, to be represented at the roundtable. It declares that it will work for the consolidation of all progressive and democratic forces which are making efforts to reorganize our homeland and to convert it into a modern rule-of-law, socialist, and democratic state. It condemns manifestations of extremism from the right and the left. The union favors the supremacy of the law and equality of all citizens in its eyes, political and economic pluralism, democracy, and glasnost but also responsibility.

It is in favor of strengthening the national unity of the people and will struggle for the safeguard of the constitutional rights of Bulgarian citizens.

In their declaration, the members of the union expressed their readiness to help the Armed Forces strengthen their combat capability, and to enhance the dignity and self-confidence of all personnel. They approved the principles of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact members concerning a sensible defense sufficiency and the efforts to improve military cooperation with Warsaw Pact members to achieve a substantial disarmament of NATO and Warsaw Pact countries and strengthen peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The members of the union favor a profound reorganization of the Bulgarian Army, high combat capability, conscious discipline, and elimination of distortions in disciplinary practices. They will work to strengthen the patriotic feelings of Bulgarian citizens and will participate in the initiatives of patriotic social organizations in the country.

National Democratic Union (NDS)

The National Democratic Union was founded on 25 November 1989 in Varna. It is headed by a Consultative Council chaired by Aleksi Aleksiev.

Contact addresses: NDS Club, 4 Praga Street, Varna 9000 (each Friday after 1800 hours); NDS representative: 29 San Stefano Street, Varna, telephone 23-69-02.

The program of the National Democratic Union stipulates that it is a political organization which was founded to meet the need for an alternative in ideas and in the administration of the Bulgarian Republic. It exists on the basis of Article 52, paragraph 1, of the present Constitution, and its program is consistent with the international agreements to which Bulgaria is a signatory. The union categorically rejects coercion and terrorism in all its forms and will strive, through its activities, to build an independent, rule-of-law, and socially just republic, in which everyone can freely develop his talents and capabilities with no restrictions whatsoever on the part of the state authorities.

The NDS is in favor of a totally free choice of a government system and states that until the present parliament has been dissolved and elections for a new parliament have been held it will not obstruct the government in its conduct of state affairs. The union bases its activities on the ideals of the greatest Bulgarian national revolutionary, Vasil Levski, and is inspired by the democratic traditions and principles of our nation. The NDS proclaims its support of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948. The union will do everything possible to block by all legitimate means any attempt, from the left or the right, to promote a one man rule; to this effect it is in constant contact with other parties and organizations whose programs categorically exclude dictatorship as a form of government. By expressing its firm resolve to observe the stipulations of a new, truly democratic Constitution, the NDS supports the view that political pluralism is a guarantee of prosperity for our state and a barrier to any kind of totalitarianism.

In the area of domestic policy, the National Democratic Union favors the creation of a two-chamber parliament, consisting of a lower chamber—National Assembly—and an upper chamber—a Senate; it favors the institution of the presidency; the president of the Republic should be elected by direct vote and there must be a separation of the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers.

In foreign policy, the National Democratic Union is convinced that the Bulgarian Republic must become a nonaligned state, which will give it the opportunity to act independently in formulating foreign policy initiatives. The establishment of lasting neighborly relations with all countries in the area is a guarantee against the likelihood of local conflicts, while supporting normal and mutually profitable political and economic ties with the other

countries on the continent (regardless of their political and economic systems and affiliations) is a step toward proper participation by Bulgaria in a common European home in the future.

In the economic area, the union is firmly opposed to monopolizing economic activities and trade, believing that the only right way is the creation of mixed capital—state and private.

In the social area, the NDS deems necessary and urgent changes in legislation which would protect peasants and workers from inflationary processes by proportionally increasing wages and establishing a state and public insurance fund, which will protect the working people from eventual layoffs.

The National Democratic Union favors absolute respect for the traditions of the different ethnic communities in the republic and respect for and tolerance of religions.

Independent Patriotic Alliance "Defense" (NPSZ)

The founding conference of the Independent Patriotic Alliance "Defense" took place on 11 January 1990 in Sofia. A Founding Council was elected, chaired by Geo Donev.

Contacts may be established at the following address: 2 Ovcha Kupel zh.k. Block 6, Entrance E, Third Floor, Apartment 61, Sofia, and telephones 86-81 (extension 481) and 51 (extension 239).

The charter of the organization stipulates that the Independent Patriotic Alliance "Defense" (NPSZ) was created with a view to uniting all true patriots of the homeland as well as its friends throughout the world, regardless of social and political affiliation, race or religion. Its fundamental principles are the territorial integrity and indivisibility of the state, and the effective protection of the individual rights and freedoms of all Bulgarian citizens in our country as outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and international legal accords, consistent with the Bulgarian Constitution, on the basis of full equality in the eyes of the law, respect, reciprocal aid, and religious tolerance.

Unlike the majority of established political parties, unions, and associations in Bulgaria, whose objective is the direct struggle for power, which determines the eclectic nature of their programs, the objectives of the NPSZ are not based on political vicissitudes resulting from the temporary historical situation or short term benefits or egotistical aspirations. Free from the fetters which would be imposed upon it by any interparty competition for electoral votes, the NPSZ proclaims through its activities that it will be loyal to the democratic traditions of the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian nation.

The NPSZ declares to all its supporters and future members and the entire Bulgarian nation, that it will wage a decisive struggle by all legitimate means against

attempts to distort national patriotic sentiments, whatever their origin—government, parties, associations, political leaders, or old and new nomenclatures. Furthermore, in its overall activities, the NPSZ will do everything within its power to see that the patriotism of the Bulgarian citizen not continue to be the only mainstay of his national self-esteem based on the policies of the totalitarian system in our country after 9 September 1944. This is a policy which led the homeland economically and socially to the brink of the precipice, triggering our international isolation, debasement of ideals, dehumanization in our society, crisis within the family, and loss of traditional values among a high percentage of the population. The union will mercilessly expose political and sociopsychological manipulations of history.

Proclaiming that the right to name, religious faith, and preservation of traditional customs and ceremonies is the sovereign right of every Bulgarian citizen and ethnographic community, the NPSZ will assist and help in the process of national consolidation, seeking and popularizing objective scientific proof of our historical past and the ethnosocial structure and characteristics of the Bulgarian nation, so that the personal choice made by every citizen may be backed by authentic and accurate proof of his origins.

The NPSZ suggests that Bulgarian Unification Day—6 September—be proclaimed an official national holiday under the patronage of Plovdiv City.

Independent Trade Union of Library Workers (NPCHR)

This trade union was founded on 17 January 1990 in Sofia. It is headed by a Provisional Initiative Committee, chaired by Nikolay Doynov.

Contact address: Vasil Levski Public Library, 50 Botevgradsko Shose Boulevard, Sofia; telephones: 45-10-67, 22-16-18, and 44-10-68.

The declaration of the general assembly of the Independent Trade Union of Library Workers in Bulgaria demands the following: immediate discussion of a draft law on public libraries, consistent with the democratic principles of the country, as well as the passing of a law on public libraries by March 1990; holding a public discussion on the bylaws of public libraries, which would regulate the management, internal organization, and all other problems of Bulgarian public libraries; creating a public commission which would consider the activities of compromised administrative councils and individuals and the rehabilitation of repressed public library personnel; making public the budgets of the public libraries in the country and the right to handle such budgets exclusively by the public libraries.

The NPCHR supports the idea of the establishment of a Union of Public Libraries. However, it believes that such a union must be a creative group with consultative and method functions.

The Independent Trade Union condemns the command-administrative methods of the municipal councils for intellectual development and politicization of cultural institutions in general. It insists on the independent status of the Union of Public Libraries and expresses its disagreement with the supervision exercised by various political and public organizations. The NPCHR favors free elections of patrons of individual public libraries and the restoration of the old names which were changed during the cult period of the totalitarian regime.

Union of Generations-Participants in the Youth Brigade Movement in Bulgaria

The Initiative Committee of veteran brigade members decided at the beginning of February 1990 to found the Union of Generations-Participants in the Youth Brigade Movement in Bulgaria. The union is a democratic, patriotic, and creative mass organization, which unites the forces of its members for a profound restructuring of our country. Grigor Tsvetanov is the chairman of the Initiative Committee.

Contact address: Coordination Information and Reference Center, 30 Ivan Vazov Street, Sofia; telephones 83-37-14 and 87-63-94.

The policy statement stipulates that the union will develop mass cultural activities, maintaining priority relations with various cultural institutions and organizations, museums in Sofia and throughout the country, the State Archives, and others; it will look for materials for the Museum of the Brigade Movement and publish its own periodicals.

The brigade veterans will try to keep alive the traditions of the great brigade movement through the organization of brigades on a voluntary basis for construction and agriculture, the harvest campaign, and others. In the case of disasters, brigades will be organized in the country or elsewhere to provide specific assistance. Brigades will be organized in other countries as well, based on the principles of exchange and contractual conditions.

Any participant in the youth brigade movement, including those of the international youth brigades organized in other countries, regardless of linguistic, religious or ethnic background, may be granted union membership.

As a public organization, the union will firmly support the new course of renovation and restructuring and the creation of a rule-of-law, democratic, humane, and civilized European state.

Ekran Free Trade Union (Ekran Independent Trade Union) [SSSE]

The Ekran Free Trade Union unites on a federated basis workers, employees, and specialists employed in film, television, and video production, who participate through their labor in the advertising, distribution, and criticism of visual products. The union was founded on

26 January 1990 in Sofia. Emil Kapudaliev is chairman of the Provisional Trade Union Council.

Contact may be established by dialing 89-50-07.

The program of the Ekran Free Trade Union includes the following: acknowledging the right of every individual to work in accordance with his qualifications; the right to work must secure for everyone a minimum just salary and equal wages for equal labor without discrimination; the right to safe and healthy working conditions for every individual; the working environment must be consistent with the standards formulated by the World Health Organization; providing equal opportunities for everyone to upgrade his professional skills and grow on the job with no restrictions whatsoever based on national, racial, religious or party affiliation; competence should be the only consideration.

The SSSE demands that everyone be able to create freely, without administrative or party interference whatsoever or serving any particular group; the conscience of the author must be the only consideration.

The members of the SSSE retain their full freedom in the implementation of these basic principles, including the right to strike, assuming only that their actions will not conflict with the Bulgarian Constitution and the country's legislation.

The obligation assumed by the members of the SSSE does not deprive them of the right to submit legislative initiatives to the National Assembly, aimed at improving national legislation.

Fora

"Unity" Civil Democratic Forum (GDF)

This forum was organized on 26 December 1989 as a movement of citizens unaffiliated with the various existing or new political organizations, structures, and communities in the country. The aspiration of the "Unity" GDF is to be a uniting link for all democratic and healthy forces in society. Its slogan is the following: "There Is Strength in Unity and Unity Makes Contemporary Bulgaria." Tsvetan Tsvetanov is GDF chairman.

The forum stipulates in its policy statement that its main objective is achieving unity, consolidation, and national accord among all democratic and patriotic forces in the country, aimed at building a society based on the principles of humanism, law, democratic values, and social consensus.

Its immediate task is the acceleration of democratization and restructuring of society and the state and a radical reform of the national economy, meeting the requirements of a socialist market economy. Furthermore, it insists on reform in the legal-political superstructure and radical reduction in the bureaucratic state apparatus in order to ensure full democracy. The GDF is in favor of

respecting the independence of political parties and other informal communities in the country.

In terms of the suggestion formulated by the leading political parties on holding a national roundtable meeting on the problems of Bulgarian society, the "Unity" GDF states that it welcomes the possibility of a constructive dialogue in which the most important problems of the development of the country would be discussed; nonetheless, it disagrees with the undemocratic view that no parties other than those which have so far participated in the preliminary discussions for such a meeting be allowed to participate.

The "Unity" GDF wishes and insists on having its representatives at the national roundtable meeting. It calls upon all independent social forces, structures, and communities to join in the discussion of the problems of vital importance to Bulgaria's future.

Public Forum for the Restructuring and Defense of Socialism

The Public Forum for the Restructuring and Defense of Socialism was created by an Initiative Committee in the first days following 10 November 1989. It unites active fighters against fascism and capitalism who were unfairly repressed by Todor Zhivkov's rule, members of the intelligentsia, the military, and youth, communists, and nonpartisans. The Public Forum is headed by a seven-member Operative Bureau. Retired General Stoyan Kutsarov (who spent 13 years in prison and was interned in remote villages) is chairman. The Initiative Committee operates entirely on a voluntary basis.

Contacts may be established by dialing 87-34-82, Krupchanski, and 75-86-07 and 39-46-08.

Area groups have been set up within the public forum: two organizational groups for Sofia and the country; a group for scientists who develop and substantiate the type of restructuring which is promoted; a group for work among young people; a group for work among art and culture workers; a group of lecturers; a legal group (whose main assignment is to gather data on repressions); a group for discussions with the leaderships of political and social organizations, including some of the newly founded ones.

The public forum sets itself two main tasks: to struggle for a profound revolutionary restructuring of socialist society and to complete the renovation of socialism. Toward this end, it supports and will continue to support the new party course of glasnost and democracy. It is not a second or a parallel Communist Party, nor does it intend to replace the Fatherland Front or other social organizations. Nor is it a party branch. Along with its work in support of the new course, the public forum retains the right to criticize any wrong decisions or steps taken by the party or state leadership, from the positions of restructuring; and to criticize any lagging, indecisiveness, and nonimplementation of tasks.

Its second basic task is the defense of socialism, of a restructured and renovated socialism.

The public forum is developing as a broad popular movement of all progressive and democratic forces struggling for social restructuring or sympathizing with such a development. To implement its objectives the organization uses all available legitimate methods; it is mainly oriented toward public meetings, gatherings, and discussions.

The public forum encourages joining the renovated and purified Bulgarian Communist Party on the basis of its new course, for the sake of building true people's socialism, ensuring the full rule by the working people, real social justice, extensive development of democracy, glasnost, and pluralism, and enhancing the responsibility of everyone and the defense of the rights of individuals. Trust in party and popular rule must be restored; the renovation of the party and state leadership must fully be carried out to the end, discarding individuals who have compromised themselves or become discredited, while attracting and promoting new competent and honest people.

Public Forum for Physical Culture and Sports

The Forum was established on 13 December 1989 in Sofia. It is an association of citizens regardless of political, social or religious affiliation, interested in the radical restructuring of physical culture and sports in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Contact may be established by dialing 87-34-31.

The objective of the forum is to study and work on problems pertaining to physical education and sports as an inseparable part of the health, education, cultural, and economic policy of the country, ensuring the real satisfaction of the needs of the individual and society in the spirit of UNESCO's International Charter on Physical Education and Sports; physical education and sports must become the real right of every citizen. The forum supports the healthy advancement of young people through sports, while respecting the dignity and values of the individual within the limits of man's natural possibilities; sports must contribute to a rapprochement among nations and individuals, in accordance with noble Olympic principles.

The forum's principles are the following: humaneness in physical culture and sports, whatever their variety, and ensuring equal access to sports and physical education as elements of social progress and improvements in living conditions; activities in sports and physical education must be based on the Law on Physical Culture and Sports and on parliamentary control; recognition of the autonomous nature of voluntary sports organizations and clubs, the Bulgarian sports federations, and the Bulgarian Olympic Committee. The forum is not a political organization.

To ensure the implementation of its objectives in accordance with the stipulated principles and bylaws, the Public Forum for Physical Culture and Sports formulates the following problems to be resolved:

Organization of physical education and sports in the Bulgarian People's Republic—submission of a proposal to the competent National Assembly commissions on passing a Law on Physical Culture and Sports; creation of a parliamentary public commission which would study the reasons which led to deficiencies in physical education and sports.

Development of elite sports—reduction of the administrative apparatus in sports; legal regulation and organization on a professional basis of elite sports and support of trade union associations; criminal liability and strict and efficient drug control; formulation of steps in accordance with the International Olympic Charter on struggle against drug use and their inclusion in the Law on Physical Culture and Sports; demilitarization of sports in the interest of developing skills and marketing; introducing a humane lower age limit for sports specialization and high pressure.

Development of mass sports—support of mass participation in sports, independently and autonomously from elite sports, by allocating on a priority basis funds by state and public agencies for the development of sports and recreation; encouraging individual and cooperative initiative in the production of goods and services for sports and physical education; training public instructors and mass-oriented sports managers.

Physical education—updating the physical education system in educational institutions; encouraging overall scientific studies in the area of physical education and sports, aimed at the development of the humanitarian aspects in this area.

Sixth of September Forum—Plovdiv

A regional and totally independent organization, the Sixth of September Forum, was founded in Plovdiv on 25 December 1989. It was founded by nine independent democratic organizations functioning on southern Bulgarian territory, united under the slogan of "Unity Makes Strength." The trend is for the Forum to develop from a Southern Bulgarian into a united nationwide opposition. The forum is headed by a Coordination Council consisting of three representatives of each association, one of whom must be either chairman or secretary of his organization.

The charter of the forum stipulates strong support of the principles of 'freedom, equality, and fraternity.' It is emphasized that the forum will struggle for a civil society and state based on the rule-of-law, and a market economy, political pluralism, and a multiparty system. It is the position of the forum that guarantees must be given for the equality and equal status of all forms of ownership and the need for new legislation which would

guarantee the right to strike and the protection of the socially underprivileged. A draft new democratic Constitution for the country is needed and the national legislation must be made consistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the documents of the Helsinki process.

The forum will struggle for free democratic elections for the National Assembly, rehabilitation of all people illegally repressed during the period of totalitarian rule, total autonomy of educational institutions, and the participation of university and secondary school students in their own administrations, and the legal and financial autonomy of mass information media and publishing houses.

The Sixth of September Forum urges the type of development of the economy which would be consistent with international environmental protection standards.

Clubs

Asen Zlatarov Ideological-Political Club—Sofia

The Club was founded in December 1989 as an ideological-political debate club, open to anyone prepared to participate in the renovation processes for the revival of the country. The Club held its founding meeting on 18 January 1990. It is headed by a 21-member Initiative Committee.

Contacts may be established at the following address: Dr. Svetozar Zlatarov, 2 ("Vurbitsa") Dimitur Popov Street, Sofia 1504; telephones: 54-31-77 and 72-03-25.

The Club's policy statements proclaim the goal to humanize our society on the basis of universal human values, in the name of freedom, democracy, patriotism, and social justice. The initiators have named the club after Asen Zlatarov, our noted public figure, scientist-humanist, democrat, antifascist, and socialist, who is a symbol of free thinking and uncompromising honesty. The club's supporters are guided by the ideas of his last work "Dictatorship or Democracy," and by his belief that "that which the young wish will be the truth of tomorrow." The Asen Zlatarov Debate Club firmly rejects the authoritarian system and proclaims itself in favor of making immediate radical democratic reforms in all areas of social life.

The club sets itself the following basic tasks: to be a forum for the discussion of ideas and actions and vital problems of our sociopolitical development; to participate in the dialogue of democratic and progressive forces in the country; to take a position and submit its views on essential problems of social life.

People's Front of Nonparty People

The club was founded in Sofia. It is headed by an Initiative Committee.

Address for contacts: 1 Kiril Pchelinski Street, Block 58, Apartment 15, Sofia 1345; telephones: 20-05-49, 88-39-21 (extension 205), and 77-62-45.

The club's appeal to the millions of Bulgarian citizens reads as follows: "For decades our civil rights were appropriated and abused by the rulers. Our silence was proclaimed by the rulers as national unanimity of thought. For years on end, without complaining we wrote in the box on party affiliation 'member of the Fatherland Front.' We participated in parodies of electoral victories of the Fatherland Front. It is high time for the Fatherland Front to come out of hiding! It is not a nationwide movement but a promoter of the rulers. It cannot be a spokesman for the interests of nonparty people! Let the Fatherland Front follow the example of the Union of Democratic Forces, which openly unites the opposition parties, movements, and initiatives."

The club has no aspiration to power. It favors the unification of nonparty members within a single People's Front.

During such crucial times, the appeal stresses, we must shake off the inertia which has accumulated over the years. Otherwise we would be unable to assume our major share of responsibility to our children, to the unborn, to future Bulgaria! The majority of nonparty people are not joining either the ruling parties, which have opened their gates, or the opposition parties and movements, fearing factional struggles. This is not to say that nonparty people cannot honestly say: We accept and support renovation processes in our society; we welcome the desire for radical change in the BCP; we do not wish to question the constructive forces of the BZNS which has started on the path to unification; we support the SDS platform.

Club of the Adherents of the Turnovo Constitution

The Club was founded on 16 December 1989 in Sofia by seven founding members who also perform the function of Administrative Council of the Club until convening of the first general meeting. According to the bylaws, the meeting should be held no later than 18 months from the date of its founding. The temporary chairman has only legal representative functions, for the club's leadership is based on the full equality of the members of the administrative council. All ideological and political evaluations and organizational decisions are made by consensus. The temporary chairmanship rotates monthly. For the month of February, this function is performed by Dr. Nikola Bozhilov Vasilev, candidate of medical sciences.

Contact address: 1 Sava Ognyanov Street, Sofia 1431, telephone 65-78-60.

The club's founders are guided by the idea that, in view of the present comprehensive crisis experienced by our country and its government, and the faultiness of its structure it is of essential significance to direct the attention of our society to unquestionable and long

lasting political, legal, moral, and economic values and institutions which were established after Bulgaria's liberation. It is precisely the Turnovo Constitution of 1879 that represents such an unquestionable national value, synthesizing within itself the best and most liberal ideas of the state structure of our country. It is the view of the club that the Constitution should be a model and foundation in the drafting of a new Constitution as well as in the democratic reorganization of our government structures. Logically, therefore, the club draws attention to the need to reassess the reasonable, useful, and expedient nature of the parliamentary-monarchist form of government, based precisely on the Turnovo Constitution, whose authority today is accepted by the entire Bulgarian public.

Movements

Era-3 Alternative Civic Parliament Movement

The first organizational meeting of the movement was held on 6 January 1990, in Hall No. 41 of Kliment Okhridski Sofia University. Some 50 people attended, including university teachers. The Era-3 Movement is headed by a General Staff chaired by Slavomir Tsankov. There are five national sectors attached to the staff: political, economic, social, legal, and foreign relations.

Contacts address: 193 Rakovski Street, Sofia, Entrance B, Third Floor, Apartment No. 8, telephone 66-27-96; 19 Serdika Street, Sofia, telephone 83-41-42.

The initial stipulations and the other policy documents of the Era-3 Alternative Civic Parliament Movement stipulate the following: The Era-3 Movement is a political organization of the people, aimed at promoting overall changes in the country's social life and total dismantling of the command-administrative structure of the government. It is developed through temporary forms, some of which are alternative state agencies without the tight centralism of the state. As such, its purpose is to bring about a social change in government and the solution of major problems of the country from below; the movement is legal and was established on the basis of Article 52 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The main objectives of the Era-3 Movement are the following: transferring power to the citizens and their representatives from all population strata, democratically elected; creation of an opposition parliament by members of independent movements and citizens, with active participation in the country's democratic processes. All citizens who have expressed the wish to participate in the elections may do so; the creation of a new governmental mechanism with a structure consistent with that of the European democratic societies; the objective of Era-3 is to establish civil forms of control, pressure, and observation of all state institutions in the executive, legislative, and judicial areas. Through them

the movement would eliminate centralization and the tremendous pressure which the current state exerts on the individual citizen.

The policy statements of the movement stress that, taking into consideration political realities in the country, Era-3 suggests the following: the holding of parliamentary elections in the country in November 1990 with the possibility of partial elections only in May of this year, based on a democratic electoral law. By this Era-3 understands a proportional electoral system, which would include an electoral threshold of 0.25 percent for participation in the 400-seat parliament. One seat will be allocated per 0.25 percent; the remaining unoccupied seats, after this distribution, will be distributed by giving priority to the smaller parties; political inviolability of the individual must be guaranteed by a special law; any party or movement established on a legitimate basis and registered in accordance with the proper legal procedure must be allowed to participate in the elections; every party, movement and group must have the right to publish its own newspaper and have guaranteed access to the radio and television; the international relations of each party, movement and group must be its exclusive internal affair.

Independent Citizens Movement

The movement was founded on 25 December 1989 in Sofia. It is headed by an Initiative Committee whose spokesman is Aleksey Alekseev.

Addresses: 39 Dondukov Boulevard and 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia; telephones: 87-07-26, 88-32-98, and 87-81-44.

The basic position assumed by the members of the Independent Citizens Movement, as stipulated in its policy statement, is that the concentration of the entire power of the state in the hands of a social force or a single party leads to the absolute, unlimited, and uncontrolled power over the state. It is the prime reason for the development of the various forms of totalitarianism and dictatorships. The basic principle governing the principle of restructuring and democracy is to free the government of the state from a one-party dictatorship.

As far as the situation in Bulgaria is concerned, the members of the movement note that totalitarianism and dictatorship remain. The difference now is that their new variant is taking shape: an oligarchic (group) dictatorship has replaced dictatorship by a single person. This is the latest attempt at speculating and modeling in advance and from above, restructuring and retuning the existing totalitarian system. The proclaimed dismantling of the command-administrative system has not been undertaken. Only personal changes have been made in the top leadership of the system. The command-administrative system remains in power, for which reason the members of the movement insist on the immediate freeing of the state structures from their

vassal dependence and supervision by the party command-administrative apparatus. It is inadmissible for members of the Zhivkov regime to be promoted to high leadership positions within the party and the state. Neither the State Council nor the Council of Ministers should exist as they are, for they implement all decisions made by the supreme party leadership. The movement asks for an immediate reorganization of the state authorities. It proposes that the function of head of state be assumed by the National Assembly chairman until the elections have taken place. The provisional head of state must disband the Council of Ministers and appoint the current chairman of the State Council the new provisional prime minister. A provisional coalition government must be formed through consultation with all social forces and their factions. The press, radio, and television must be placed under the administration and control of a National Assembly commission, appointed by the temporary head of state. Elections for new state authorities must be set for the end of 1990.

The members of the movement believe that the deletion of paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution will abolish the leading role of the BCP and, therefore, the reason for the existence of party organizations at places of work, which is a means of implementing the BCP's leading role. The further existence of party organizations at places of work is illegal and, in general, cannot be decided through a vote by the organizations themselves or the BCP Congress, which is not a legislative authority. In the matter of people's pensions, the members of the movement believe that they have been granted for service to the party and have been illegally paid out of the state treasury.

On the problem of democratic socialism, the policy statements of the movement stipulate that there neither is nor could there be any democratic or undemocratic socialism. The very concept of socialism includes freedom, democracy, rule by the people, and social justice.

In the matter of anticommunism, the movement stresses that there is no article in the Constitution prohibiting or making illegal the professing of noncommunist ideas. To hold or not to hold an anticommunist position is a matter of personal views and conscience. The right to share or not to share a given ideology cannot be imposed by law or by force.

Movement of Nonpartisan People for Democracy

The first association (club) of independent nonpartisan people was founded in Sofia on 25 November 1989. The Movement of Nonpartisan People for Democracy was founded on 13 January 1990 at a meeting held in the Yuzhniya Park in Sofia, with the voluntary and spontaneous participation of citizens from many cities throughout the country. It is headed by an Administrative Council chaired by Kuzman Kuzmanov.

Contacts address: 4 Mladost Street, Block 407, Entrance V, Apartment 65, Kuzman Kuzmanov, Sofia 1712.

The movement has no ties to any political organization or to the newly created People's Front Club, with which substantial ideological and structural differences exist. The Movement of Nonpartisan People for Democracy opposes membership in closed and limited bureaucratic structures or Fatherland Front halls. Its clubs are circles of acquaintances, friends, neighbors, and colleagues who communicate among each other freely. Connections among the clubs are provided through legitimate representatives (coordinators). The movement favors immediate and peaceful transition to democracy through free, direct, and honest elections, with the equal participation of all citizens—both party and nonparty members.

The movement's policy statement reads as follows: "We, nonparty citizens of Bulgaria, until recently considered an amorphous mass which must be led, guided, instructed, and commanded, declare that we are not and have never been a human herd. We have always had our civic views but were able to defend them in the only possible way for that time through scornful silence and nonparticipation in the activities of the shameful repressive regime."

The most important common objectives and aspirations of the movement, as stated in the policy statement, are the following: respect for innate human rights; turning Bulgaria into a multiparty democratic state; ecological protection of nature and man as part of nature; introduction of a market economy with equality among private, cooperative, and state ownership in the eyes of the law; protection of the social underclass and parliamentary control of the authorities; ideological decontamination of the Armed Forces, the militia, the courts, education, science, and culture; drafting a new democratic electoral law and a second Turnovo Constitution, consistent with the international agreements to which Bulgaria is a party; priority resolution of the housing crisis and problems in agriculture, health care, and education.

According to the Nonpartisan People for Democracy Movement, such objectives can be attained through the voluntary unification of people in clubs; participation in a dialogue with other political forces with full democracy in the course of decisionmaking; supporting in the forthcoming elections only candidates who will defend the interests of nonparty people; nominating the movement's own candidates for the future free elections.

Committees

Civil Committee for the Full Rehabilitation of Bulgarian Citizens Repressed in the USSR in the 1930's and 1940's and in Bulgaria from 1949-1956 and 1956-1989

The committee was established in Sofia on 5 February 1990. Its noble and humane task is actively to contribute

to exposing the full truth about the thousands of Bulgarian citizens repressed by Stalinism in the USSR and the authoritarian regime in our country. Boris Khristov is committee chairman. He was one of the main defendants in the trial of Traycho Kostov.

Contacts may be established at the following address: 25 Dondukov Boulevard, Entrance B, Sofia; telephone 87-48-62.

The committee's program emphasizes that during the period of the Stalin's personality cult, between 1936 and 1952, and that of Vulko Chervenkov and Todor Zhivkov in the Bulgarian People's Republic, in the 1949-1956 period and, subsequently, until 1989, thousands of Bulgarian citizens were subjected to repressive measures. A high percentage of them died while others spent many long years in detention cells, jails, and camps in the USSR and Bulgaria. This was a terrible tragedy for the Bulgarian people and the BCP, which took the lives, health, and strength of honest and loyal sons and daughters of the people. Most of the repressed people were Communists. However, there were also a significant number of agrarians, anarchists, and nonparty people.

During the period of the thaw in the USSR, when Nikita Khrushchev took over the leadership of the party of the state, a substantial number of repressed Bulgarians were rehabilitated.

Later, after 1985, when perestroika was initiated in the USSR, inspired and guided by Mikhail Gorbachev, another high percentage of Bulgarian political exiles, subjected to repressive measures in the USSR, was rehabilitated. However, there still remain Bulgarians about whom nothing is known as to where and under what circumstances they perished in the USSR.

A large number of Bulgarian citizens were subjected to repressive measures in Bulgaria, in the 1949-1956 period and subsequently, until 1989.

The long Todor Zhivkov dictatorship was overthrown on 10 November 1989. The November and December 1989 BCP Central Committee Plenums inaugurated a new era in the history of the BCP and of Bulgaria—an era of glasnost, renovation, democracy, freedom, and justice.

The purpose of the civil committee is to encourage the completion of the movement which has been initiated in the country for restructuring, renovation, glasnost, freedom, democracy, and justice and, on this basis, and in the course of the developing renovation processes, to achieve the full rehabilitation of Bulgarian citizens repressed in the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The committee's activities will be conducted within the framework of the Constitution and the laws, contributing to their renovation through the establishment of a truly democratic rule-of-law state.

The main demands which prompted establishment of the Committee for the Full Rehabilitation of Repressed Bulgarian Citizens During the Period of the Cult of Personality are the following: Within a short period of time there must be a public burial of Traycho Kostov, the loyal son of the Bulgarian people, who died a tragic death; 16 December, the day on which Traycho Kostov was hanged, should be proclaimed officially a national day of the victims and people repressed by Stalinism; a memorial should be built in commemoration of Bulgarian citizens who died or were repressed in the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic; there should be the institution of a National Memorial Fund, under the guidance and control of a national committee headed by individuals who are honest and loyal to the people; within the shortest possible time compensation should be paid, including property and intangible damages caused to those repressed during the time of the cult of personality.

The Bulgarian people must know the names of those who built the sinister towers and underground jails of the command-administrative system in Bulgaria, turned history backward, and pushed the country and the people on the path of illegality, terror, irresponsibility, and ruin, and took them to the brink of national catastrophe.

All-People's Committee for the Defense of National Interests

The committee was organized on 31 December 1989 in Kurdzhali by members of the BCP and BZNS, independent civil associations, and nonpartisans who expressed their disagreement with the new national policy of the party and state leadership of the country after the 29 December 1989 resolution of the BCP Central Committee and the State and Ministerial councils related to the voluntary choice of name and religious faith. Dimitur Arnaudov is chairman of the committee's Coordination Council. Since February 1990 the committee has been a cofounder of the Federation for the Defense of National Interests.

Contacts may be established at the following address: Slavianska Beseda Hotel, 3 Slavianska Street, Sofia; press center: telephones 65-83-10 and 65-84-10.

The policy statements of the All-People's Committee for the Defense of National Interests responsibly states that its task is not to instigate or fan nationalistic feelings or confront the population of the Eastern Rodopi area but, through dialogue and mutual agreement with interested forces, to contribute to achieving national conciliation and accord.

The proclaimed objective is for the nationality issue to be resolved in all its aspects through legal means and for the Bulgarian citizens to be protected against all outrages and excesses.

In their charter, the members of the committee, representing various cities and settlements, guided by the

desire to create a democratic and constitutional state in the spirit of the concluding document of the 1989 Vienna meeting, state the following:

The question of disseminating names of foreign origin among Bulgarians must be resolved exclusively through a dialogue among all Bulgarians, regardless of their religious faith and convictions;

A moratorium to be declared on the implementation of the 29 December 1989 resolution of the BCP Central Committee and Ministerial Councils Plenum until the National Assembly has discussed the matter in detail and passed a law on a uniform national names system;

Separate the problems of Bulgarian-speaking Moslems from those of Turkish-speaking Moslems.

To surmount the ethnic crisis, the committee proposes the following specific steps: In drafting a new Constitution, block the possibility of the founding of political parties and organizations which advocate separatism on a religious or linguistic basis; publicize cases of coercion applied in name changes and the related protests of the Turkish-speaking Moslems in 1984, as well as all violations of the Constitution and laws of the Bulgarian People's Republic committed by the Muslim population.

The All-People's Committee for the Defense of National Interests insists on the legal settling of the agrarian problem only after all aspects of the nationality problem have been resolved, because of the situation which has developed in the country. The state authorities should take all legitimate steps to guarantee the personal inviolability and safety of Bulgarian citizens in areas where there is tension. The committee believes that it is only a legitimately and freely elected National Assembly that can resolve the ethnic problem.

Committee for National Reconciliation

The Committee for National Reconciliation is an association which tries to make a contribution to the unification and cohesion of the Bulgarian people on the basis of the full and unconditional respect of the rights of all ethnocultural and religious-cultural communities in Bulgaria, with strict observance of the Constitution and the laws of the country, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the agreements reached in Helsinki, Vienna, and Madrid. The leading authorities of the committee are the Chairmanship and the Operative Bureau.

Spokesmen for the committee are: Antonina Zhelyazkova (telephone 52-29-69), Syuleman Gavazov (telephone 52-38-08), and Mikhail Ivanov (telephone 89-77-05).

The platform 'appeal' of the Committee for National Reconciliation emphasizes the need to immediately pass a resolution according to which every Bulgarian citizen, regardless of ethnic and religious affiliation, has the right freely to choose his name and the name of his children. It insists on the release of political prisoners who were

sentenced during the period of the ethnic crisis and for the return of the expatriates to their native areas and the rehiring of those who were illegally fired.

The committee is in favor of guaranteeing the right to language and unhindered observance of religious ceremonies. This requires full parliamentary and public investigation of the assimilation activities of the authoritarian regime and holding liable those who inspired and managed such a thoughtless policy.

The committee's declaration calls for the creation of conciliation committees in settlements and enterprises to supervise and assist in the immediate and accurate implementation of the 29 December 1989 resolutions; the local committees' assistance in the resolution of all cases of violation of the laws and rights of citizens; a sympathetic and compassionate approach to any person, whether Bulgarian or Turk, Christian or Muslim, Jew or Gypsy; taking uncompromising action against any manifestation of national arrogance or injustice, regardless of the perpetrator.

In its platform, the committee stresses that its main purpose is to resolve artificially exacerbated ethnic disputes and to struggle for equality among all ethnic groups in Bulgaria and for civil peace and accord.

Professional Creative and Literary Associations

"Conscience" Free Journalistic Society (SZhD)

The society was founded on 13 December 1989 in Sofia by a group of journalists guided by the desire immediately and actively to become involved in the overall process of democratization of social life and as a sign of protest against the passive attitude displayed by the leadership of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists.

Contact: telephone 87-20-84.

The declaration of the Free Journalistic Society states that its members are journalists who unreservedly stand in the people's ranks in the struggle for democracy, are aware of their professional duty to the fatherland and are ready to implement it.

The members of the "Conscience" SZhD favor not confrontation and division but dialogue with all professional creative and journalistic organizations which honestly aspire to promote reform and democracy and are prepared to reflect events and processes accurately and objectively.

The declaration calls for abolishing the nomenclature approach in the structure of the mass information media and the promotion of journalists in accordance with their professional skills. It expresses readiness to submit its own draft Law on Information and the Press, which would guarantee the right of Bulgarian citizens to information, freedom of speech, and democratic organization of the press. Through its declaration, the society states

that it will veto any ban on publishing of articles and the dissemination of motion pictures and radio and television works. In its activities it will not be guided by such prohibitions and will suitably make each such case public knowledge.

To implement such tasks, the members of the "Conscience" Free Journalistic Society unite in their common opposition to encroachments of censorship and arbitrary restrictions and proclaim themselves in favor of union activities.

Georgi Markov Literary Circle

This literary circle was founded on 16 November 1989 in Sofia. In a spirit of solidarity, its founders—seven Bulgarian literary workers—have set themselves the task of initiating an active struggle for the rehabilitation of Georgi Markov, the noted writer and playwright, who died tragically far from his native land.

Contact address: 35 Angel Kunchev Street, Sofia, telephone 88-08-79.

The objectives included in the program of the Georgi Markov Literary Circle are the following: to organize a nationwide subscription for the rehabilitation and publication of the collected works of this worthy Bulgarian; through regular club activities to acquaint the public and, above all, the young generation with the life and works of Georgi Markov as well as the works of all writers, ignored until now for political considerations; to struggle by legitimate means to facilitate access to state archives outside the area of national security and to eliminate the special sections in the libraries.

The literary circle will struggle through legal means for changes in publishing practices and the elimination of the protectionist system of book publishing; it will favor the publication of all books not yet published for nonliterary reasons.

The circle intends to publish a literary-journalistic periodical for avant-garde translated and Bulgarian poetry, fiction, and literary criticism, publishing in each issue authors banned before 10 November 1989. It will submit a proposal to the Administrative Council of the Bulgarian Writers Union on presenting an annual literary award named after Georgi Markov.

The policy statement stipulates that any literary worker who maintained his dignity as a writer and was not involved in the labyrinths of totalitarianism and spiritual coercion until 10 November 1989 may become member of the literary circle.

Independent Association of Bulgarian Men of Letters [NSBL]

On 15 November 1989 a 21-member founding committee created the Independent Association of Bulgarian Men of Letters, in Sofia. It has a membership of over 150 writers, journalists, theater and motion picture critics,

and translators, including Marko Ganchev, Georgi Mishev, Blaga Dimitrova, Nikolay Kunchev, Dimitur Korudzhiev, Ivaylo Dichev, Mikhail Nedelchev, Lyuben Petkov, Elka Konstantinova, Aleksandur K'osev, and others. Georgi Danailov was elected chairman.

Contacts address: Manolov, 4 Bulgariya Boulevard, Sofia; telephone 88-22-41.

According to the declaration of the founding committee, the Independent Association of Bulgarian Men of Letters is an autonomous public organization. It is guided in its activities by the requirements of the present Bulgarian legislation and the resolutions of its own democratically elected authorities. The objectives of the NSBL are the following: maximal development and application of pluralism, tolerance, and democracy in our cultural life. The

activities of the NSBL will be directed at asserting freedom of speech, the press, and publishing. The association will insist on the rehabilitation of all cultural workers repressed for political reasons. It rejects any manifestation of authoritarianism and national, regional, or ideological fanaticism. The NSBL is an organization of creative and scientific workers in the area of the written word and is not an alternative organization of existing creative unions. The NSBL will be a partner of the creative unions in defending the rights of its members.

The NSBL supports the efforts of the state in the development and intensification of cultural and social renovation processes and is for the strict observance of international agreements to which the Bulgarian People's Republic is a signatory.

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