

## **Питання європейської та євроатлантичної інтеграції Республіки Болгарія в програмах болгарських парламентських партій**

Дана стаття присвячена питанням європейської та євроатлантичної інтеграції Республіки Болгарія на початку 2000-х років в програмах парламентських політичних партій. Здійснено аналіз діяльності урядів І. Костова та С. Сакськобурготські і доведено, що саме за їх каденції Республіці Болгарія вдалося значно просунути на шляху до вступу в ЄС та НАТО. Вказано на особливості передвиборчої парламентської кампанії 2005 р. через призму оцінки передвиборчих програм у питаннях європейської та євроатлантичної інтеграції. Визначено основних симпатиків та відвертих противників вступу Болгарії в НАТО напередодні парламентських виборів 2005 р. Охарактеризовано особливе місце ультранационалістичної коаліції “Атака”, яка в своїй передвиборчій кампанії оголосила такі пріоритети як негайний вивід болгарських військ з Іраку, вихід країни з НАТО, припинення продажу сільськогосподарських земель іноземцям, перегляд уже закритих розділів переговорів з ЄС і нове обговорення невідгідних для РБ умов тощо. Це дозволило їй завоювати голоси 400 тисяч виборців Болгарії і зайняти 4 місце за підсумками парламентських перегонів 2005 р.

*Ключові слова:* Республіка Болгарія, політична партія, коаліція, уряд, програма партії, європейська та євроатлантична інтеграція.

Ivan Osadtsa

## **The issue of European and Euro-Atlantic integration of the Republic of Bulgaria in program of болгарian parliamentary parties**

This article examines the views of Bulgarian political parties on Bulgaria's European and Euro-Atlantic integration in the early 2000s. The analysis of actions of I. Kostov's and S. Sakskoburgotski's governments proves that Bulgaria has taken a significant step forward to entering the EU and NATO during their terms of office. The features of 2005 parliamentary election

campaigns described regarding the views of political parties on European and Euro-Atlantic integration. The main proponents and opponents of Bulgaria's admission to NATO are defined. The article also describes the particular role of the ultranationalist "Ataka" coalition, which declared such priorities as withdrawal from Iraq, secession from NATO, prohibition of selling the agricultural lands to foreigners, reconsideration of conditions disadvantageous for Bulgaria etc. These allowed the coalition to gain 400 000 votes, which granted it the 4<sup>th</sup> place in the parliamentary election.

*Keywords: Republic of Bulgaria, political party, coalition, government, party's program, European and Euro-Atlantic integration.*

In the context of the possible accession of Ukraine into NATO and the European Union (EU) becomes relevant study of the experience of some European countries in the way of their membership in these organizations. During the last years of the XX century – beginning of the XXI centuries, Republic of Bulgaria (RB) made a lot in this direction. Almost the same conditions after the collapse of the totalitarian communist regimes in RB and Ukraine, but different positions of countries in the European integration aspirations at the present stage make even more urgent the question of studying the path of European integration of RB.

The aim of this study is the research of European integration SB after the overthrow of the totalitarian regime T. Zhivkov in 1989, as well as the characteristics of the programs of the main political parties of the country at that period through the prism of European integration and Euro-Atlantic aspirations of the country.

Great attention to the issues of European integration has paid Bulgarian scholars such as, G. Karasimeonov<sup>1</sup>, I. Baeva<sup>2</sup>, J. Zhelev<sup>3</sup>, B. Kalinova<sup>4</sup>. They all agree that RB should take its appropriate place on the map of Europe, because it is both geographically and historically always has been, is and will be a part of Europe.

At the end of 1990, the Great National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria has announced a life-changing decision, and it adopted a resolution, which was proclaimed the desire of the country to participate in the life of the European community. October 1, 1991, the EU took the decision to start negotiations on signing with the RB of the Association Agreement<sup>5</sup>.

Different government, different political parties have gradually paved the way for the country's Euro-Atlantic structure. In the 90s of the twentieth century to power in turn came

<sup>1</sup> Карасимеонов Г. Новата партийна система в България. – София: ГорексПрес, 2003. – 224 с.

<sup>2</sup> Баева И. България и Източна Европа. – София: Парадигма, 2001. – 272 с.

<sup>3</sup> Желев Ж. Интелигенция и политика: Статии, есета, речи, интервюта. – София: Лит. форум, 1995. – 277 с.

<sup>4</sup> Калинова Б., Баева И. Българските преходи 1939-2002. – София: Панорама, 2002. – 208 с.

<sup>5</sup> Карасимеонов Г. Новата партийна система в България. – София: ГорексПрес, 2003. – с. 87.

from the Bulgarian socialist party (BSP), the former Communist party of Bulgaria<sup>6</sup>, and its main political rival – the Union of democratic forces (UDF), which was part of a coalition of the Alliance of democratic forces (ADF)<sup>7</sup>.

After an unsuccessful attempt to control the country BSP, come to power by ADF headed by I. Kostov. With taking the responsibility for the leadership of the UDF government headed by the new Prime Minister, the leader of the ADF I. Kostov political process in the country moved into a new phase. The government consisted mainly of representatives of the ADF and its allies – the National Alliance (NA)<sup>8</sup>. ADF and its partners NA received a good starting point for the implementation of its management program. The main objectives of the government were outlined in the party's election program in 1997 and in the government programme. A priority was the reform in the social sphere, social insurance, health care, pension reform, and foreign policy – the country's integration into the EU and NATO.

One of the most successful areas of government activity I. Kostov was foreign policy. The country has moved significantly closer to NATO membership, and in 1998 the government approved the National strategy of the RB to join the EU. In 2001, the Parliament adopted a National strategy for accelerated accession of RB to the EU<sup>9</sup>.

In the first years of democratic changes BSP did not support the country's accession to NATO, but modernization BSP resulted in its rejection of the negative attitude to NATO. In the adopted party resolution was noted that the membership of the RB in NATO is part of the inner orientation. In may 2000 were 44 Congress, BSP, which approved the new party line<sup>10</sup>.

In the next parliamentary elections the vast majority gets newmade political power of the National movement Simeon the Second (NMSS), which was formed around the personality of the former king of the country Simeon Sakskoburgotski (Simeon the Second). Quickly prepared the pre-election platform<sup>11</sup> based on the software of the speeches of the leader of Simeon the Second outlined the single solid versatile combination of proposals that combined elements of liberal and populist socio-economic offers rapid economic development, social justice, morality in politics, the fight against corruption and the integration into the EU and NATO.

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<sup>6</sup> Баева И. България и Източна Европа. – София: Парадигма, 2001. – с. 123; Калинова Б., Баева И. Българските преходи 1939-2002. – София: Панорама, 2002. – с. 185-187.

<sup>7</sup> Желев Ж. Интелигенция и политика: Статии, есета, речи, интервюта. – София: Лит. форум, 1995. – с. 94.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. – с. 103.

<sup>9</sup> Кирилик В. Євроінтеграційний шлях Республіки Болгарія: досвід для України // Політика і час. – 2005. – № 11. – с. 44.

<sup>10</sup> Баева И. България и Източна Европа. – София: Парадигма, 2001. – с. 261.

<sup>11</sup> Тошков Н. Бъдещето на България: Цар Симеон II и предимствата на конституционната монархия. – София: Унив. изд. Св. Климент Охридски, 2001. – с. 44-47.

The government of Simeon the Second has supported the initiatives of the previous government in foreign policy<sup>12</sup>, and the accession of the RB in NATO in 2004 confirmed the irreversibility of these processes. In General, according to foreign experts, and the Bulgarians, 2004 was for RB European year<sup>13</sup>. Continued this year with positive reviews of the EU on accession of the RB in NATO in 2007, though the EU has made some serious comments and requirements before the Bulgarian society. The government and the President had to make major concessions to the EU<sup>14</sup>. Another drawback was the lack of Bulgarian society about the pros and cons of European integration of the country, but the country's leaders were able to quickly resolve this issue<sup>15</sup>.

The parliamentary elections of 2005 by reformatted Bulgarian Parliament, which consisted of 7 political formations – the “Coalition for Bulgaria”, created around BSP, NMSS, Democrats for a strong Bulgaria (DSB), the coalition of the Bulgarian people's Union” (Union of free Democrats, VMRO-Bulgarian national movement (VMRO-BNM) and others), the Movement for rights and freedoms (MRF), the coalition of “Attack” and the UDF, which was again ADF.

The most unexpected result of the parliamentary elections of 2005 in the RB became the 4th place of the ultra-nationalist coalition “Attack”. In the election program “Attack” declared such priorities as immediate withdrawal of the Bulgarian troops from Iraq, the country's withdrawal from NATO, stopping the sale of agricultural land to foreigners, the viewer is already closed sections of the negotiations with the EU and a new discussion disadvantageous for RB conditions, etc.<sup>16</sup>, than won a vote of approximately 400 thousand voters, and at the same time shocked the other part of the Bulgarian political class and society in General. On membership of the RB in the EU, the coalition “Attack” requires that the Bulgarian interests defended.

Other participants 40 public meetings (NC) in their policy documents also drew attention to the issues of European integration of the RB. The program BSP separately address the question of the possible accession to the EU, the results of the country's entry into NATO and the prospects of improving trading opportunities of the country in the context of European integration processes.

<sup>12</sup> Манова Д. Внешняя политика Болгарии и новые реальности в мире. – Режим доступа: [http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission\\_Russian/Theme\\_Monitor/Material/14.12.vunbna\\_politika.htm](http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission_Russian/Theme_Monitor/Material/14.12.vunbna_politika.htm)

<sup>13</sup> Мартинов К. 2004 – Европейский год Болгарии. – Режим доступа: [http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission\\_Russian/Theme\\_Monitor/Material/2712\\_europan\\_year.htm](http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission_Russian/Theme_Monitor/Material/2712_europan_year.htm)

<sup>14</sup> БСП: Да продаваме земя само на граждани на ЕС. – Режим доступа: <http://www.mediapool.bg/site/bulgaria/bulgaria.shtml>

<sup>15</sup> Симеон Сакскобургготски: Обществото се нуждае от пояснителна кампания за ЕС. – Режим доступа: [http://www.dnevnik.bg/cvropa/show/Default.asp?storyid=5009&rubrid=101#Scene\\_1](http://www.dnevnik.bg/cvropa/show/Default.asp?storyid=5009&rubrid=101#Scene_1)

<sup>16</sup> Програмна схема. – Режим доступа: [http://www.ataka.bg/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=29](http://www.ataka.bg/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=29)

Signed trade agreements with the EU and the European free trade Association reflected the priorities of the Bulgarian foreign policy and opened up great opportunities reorientation of trade exports to countries with developed market economies<sup>17</sup>.

BSP advocated close cooperation with the Council of Europe, EU, Euro-Atlantic cooperation, including cooperation with NATO. Activity in the main European intergovernmental organizations increased economic opportunities for solving problems of transition to a market economy and a modern civil society, obtaining political guarantees to the external security of the country. From the point of view of the European and national security it would be appropriate cooperation of RB and NATO, which would be accompanied with the transformation of the organization into a universal system of pro-European or global security that would have given the opportunity to participate in all European States, including Russia. For BSP has gained fundamental importance is the question of accession of RB in political and military alliances through the holding of national referendums.

Another participant NC NMSS was an ardent supporter of Euro-Atlantic integration of the RB. The party saw in NATO and EU security guarantees for the country. After the tragic events of 11 September that shook the world, the active participation of RB in the global security system was the only guarantee of its national security<sup>18</sup>.

In the election platform of the UDF stated that the country should obespechit its citizens from internal and external factors. «Today, the external security of the country is associated with membership in NATO, because the state is clearly unable to cope with internal security itself»<sup>19</sup>.

The absence of RB relevant legislation has raised concerns that created a huge problem not only by citizens, but also for EU accession. The low level of equity paralyzed the energies of the citizens, stimulated pessimism, hampered the development of the country. However, SAT on the time already possessed upgraded, technically equipped and well-trained army of more than 40 thousand people. Such a force was able to effectively implement the national defense and to represent the country in the operations of the UN and NATO.

The membership of the RB in the EU and NATO was the purpose of the UDF since the establishment of the Association. «A common European foreign policy we have two pillars that define a valuable place RB, namely, the Eastern expansion and the establishment of peace, stability, security and democracy in the new neighbours of the EU and cooperation with Mediterranean countries not members of the EU. We see a special role for RB in regional cooperation in the Balkans and in the black sea region. An important question of stability and

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<sup>17</sup> Програма на Българската Социалистическа Партия. – Режим доступу: <http://www.bsp.bg/cgi-bin/e-cms/vis/vis.pl?s=001&tp=0323&n=000002&g=18>

<sup>18</sup> Декларация на ценностите. – Режим доступу: <http://www.ndsv.bg/?magic=0.1.4.10.0.1.0>

<sup>19</sup> Предизборна платформа на ОДС. – Режим доступу: <http://www.ods.bg/documents.php?id=6>

democracy in neighboring countries to create a security zone. This is a major national priority of our foreign policy»<sup>20</sup>.

CPF, despite the clearly expressed liberal values, held the position of parliamentary consensus on foreign policy priorities of the country, which was reflected in the following software principles<sup>21</sup>:

- the membership in NATO;
- the qualitative progress in the negotiations on the accession to the EU;
- the clear definition of the role of RB as a stabilization factor in the Balkans on the basis of equality and good neighbourly relations with the countries of the region;
- the progress in relations with countries with which RB lost the traditionally good relations.

For this purpose CPF developed cooperation with other political forces regarding the Europeanization of norms and ideals of civil society. CPF stood on the principles of the fastest harmonization of national legislation with the developed European countries. They also played for stable economic growth, competitiveness and access of goods and services to the markets of the EU and NATO and at the same time for the freedom of movement of people and capital<sup>22</sup>.

After the unexpected scale for mankind terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, before a modernized civil society task is to defend their own values, to protect them from the attacks of international terrorism.

In the field of Balkan policy CPF adhered to the following principles:

- the installation of the unifying principles between all countries of the region and a reconsideration of the principles that separate them;
- the creation and successful use of economic mechanisms of cooperation, which would influence the development of the Balkan region;
- the effective use of the instruments of EU regional policy for the development of the Balkan region;
- the formation of the multicultural environment in the relationship;
- the crisis of tolerance in interethnic relations;
- the Europeanization of the Balkans and cultivation of the Euro-Atlantic value systems.

The country's accession to the Euro-Atlantic community in the activities of the Movement for a Free Bulgaria (MFB) was characterized as a crucial historical moment. «Today our

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Програмна декларация. – Режим доступу: <http://www.dps.bg/files/documents/programnadeklaraciadps.doc>

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

task is a strong RB in the United Europe. The power of the country lies in its safety, dignity and well-being of Bulgarian citizens»<sup>23</sup>.

One of the members of the coalition of the “Bulgarian people’s Union» – supported the determined efforts of the Bulgarian government on the path to full membership in NATO and the EU. «In our opinion the Euro-Atlantic integration decides to a great extent a question of national security, creates the opportunity for new development of the Bulgarian economy in a strong competitive environment with clear rules of the game for all participants. Within such a large and leading in the world democratic community as the EU, the RB will become a defender and spiritual leader for millions of Bulgarians living outside the country. The purpose of VMRO-BNR is RB, which takes its equal place in the European community»<sup>24</sup>.

Another member of the coalition of the Bulgarian people’s Union” is a Union of free Democrats (UFD) believed that RB is among the countries-founders of European and world civilization. Today they stand for:

- the foreign policy of the country, which is based on a national consensus on joining NATO and the EU should focus on matters of national security, trade development and activation of the external activity of RB;
- the full membership in NATO as the only way of ensuring security of the country and the revival of the defense industry, should lead to the attraction of investment and sustained revival economic environment in the country;
- the accession to the EU should stimulate economic development of the Republic of Belarus and to provide the possibility of integrating the country into the European trading, technology and infrastructure policy;
- the priority remains the development of relations with the US and other NATO partners;
- the revival of relations with the Russian Federation and other CIS countries;
- the cooperation and continuity in relations with regional partners for approval of the RB as one of the main factors of stability in see<sup>25</sup>.

Bulgarians, half of whom considered themselves Europeans<sup>26</sup>, given the issue of European integration is fully in the hands of politicians in the country<sup>27</sup>. Foreign policy priority for the new Parliament of the RB became the membership in the EU<sup>28</sup>. Most laws adopted 40-mi NT

<sup>23</sup> Програмни насоки на ДСБ. – Режим доступу: <http://www.dsb.bg/display.php?page=7>

<sup>24</sup> Калинова Б., Баева И. Българските преходи 1939-2002. – София: Панорама, 2002. – 208 с.

<sup>25</sup> Програма на “Съюза на свободните демократи”. – Режим доступу: <http://ssd.bg/page.php?24>

<sup>26</sup> Цветкова Р. Половина български граждани считат себя европейцами. – Режим доступу: <http://www.bnr.bg/NR/exeres/6CD73E3B-C78F-4671-95C6-45EEB5BFC46A.htm>

<sup>27</sup> Димитрова М. Българи оставили евроинтеграция в руках политиков. – Режим доступу: [http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission\\_Russian/Theme\\_Monitor/Material/2103\\_cvrointegracia.htm](http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission_Russian/Theme_Monitor/Material/2103_cvrointegracia.htm)

<sup>28</sup> Дымова Е. Внешнеполитические приоритеты нового болгарского правительства. – Режим доступу: [http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission\\_Russian/Theme\\_Monitor/Material/061005\\_vneshnepol\\_prior.htm](http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission_Russian/Theme_Monitor/Material/061005_vneshnepol_prior.htm)

is associated with the development of the Bulgarian legislation in connection with the membership of RB in the EU from 1 January 2007<sup>29</sup>. At the first session of the NT 40s convocation deputies adopted the law on European integration<sup>30</sup>. In the state budget of the RBs for 2006 were allocated almost € 250 million on the country's membership in the EU<sup>31</sup>.

A big supporter of the European integration of the RB was then President of the country, H. Pырванов, President from the BSP. Not the last place in the European integration aspirations of RB was occupied by questions of cooperation with other countries within South-Eastern Europe. In South-Eastern Europe in recent years has established specific region precedent – all countries have joined forces for a joint future, and they have established a full trust. Depending on the stage and pace of their development, all see countries have directed their efforts to join the EU and NATO. Visit of the President of the RB in the course of 2005, the countries of the Balkan Peninsula confirms the policy of the RB towards Euro-Atlantic integration of the see countries. H. Pырванов suggested development strategy, which is to unite all countries in the region, despite the fact whether they are members of NATO and the EU at the moment, or not<sup>32</sup>. Countries-members of NATO and the EU has recognized the role of RB in the processes of European integration of South-Eastern Europe. In particular, the German foreign Minister Joschka Fischer during a meeting with the President of the RB, Pырванов confirmed attempt RB become “the chief lobbyist of the process of Euro-Atlantic integration of those countries that have not yet joined NATO and the EU<sup>33</sup>”.

Thus, RB in the early 2000-ies became a full member of NATO and the EU. An important factor in this process was the support of virtually all political parties in the country who understand the positive consequences of this process for Bulgaria. Distinguished position at that time only one parliamentary party, namely the ultra-nationalist coalition “Attack”, which was proposed to revise the existing agreement between the RB and NATO, the RB and the EU.

<sup>29</sup> Обретеннова Т. Приоритетом в работе парламента Болгарии является членство в ЕС. – Режим доступа: [http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission\\_Russian/Theme\\_Monitor/Material/221205\\_parliament\\_EU.htm](http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission_Russian/Theme_Monitor/Material/221205_parliament_EU.htm)

<sup>30</sup> Обретеннова Т. Завершилась первая сессия Народного собрания 40-го созыва. – Режим доступа: [http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission\\_Russian/Theme\\_Monitor/Material/231205\\_parliament\\_1st\\_session\\_over.htm](http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission_Russian/Theme_Monitor/Material/231205_parliament_1st_session_over.htm)

<sup>31</sup> Обретеннова Т. Приоритеты госбюджета Болгарии на 2006 год связаны с социальной ответственностью и европейской ориентацией. – Режим доступа: [http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission\\_Russian/Theme\\_Monitor/Material/271205\\_BUDGET\\_2006.htm](http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission_Russian/Theme_Monitor/Material/271205_BUDGET_2006.htm)

<sup>32</sup> Ценова А. Послания президента Георги Пырванова. – Режим доступа: [http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission\\_Russian/Theme\\_Monitor/Material/1103\\_parvanov\\_sammit.htm](http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission_Russian/Theme_Monitor/Material/1103_parvanov_sammit.htm)

<sup>33</sup> Филипов К. Посадка президента Болгарии по странам Балканского полу острова. – Режим доступа: [http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission\\_Russian/Theme\\_Monitor/Material/0405\\_Parvanov\\_Balkani.htm](http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission_Russian/Theme_Monitor/Material/0405_Parvanov_Balkani.htm)