

## **CURVES MIRRORS OF BULGARIAN DEMOCRACY**

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**ABSTRACT:** AFTER NOVEMBER 10, 1989 BULGARIAN STATE WENT THROUGH SERIOUS SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS AND HAS GONE FROM A TOTALITARIAN STATE TO ANOTHER NEW TYPE OF STATE - DEMOCRATIC. SINCE THEN, BULGARIA OBSERVED DEGENERATION OF THE ELECTORAL ENVIRONMENT AS DEGENERATIONS OF DEMOCRACY ITSELF. THERE HAVE BEEN CORRUPTION, WHICH CAN BE INTERPRETED AS A KEY ELEMENT IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE STRATEGIES AND THE PURSUIT OF PRIVATE GROUP, CORPORATE, POLITICAL GOALS AND INTERESTS. THEY NORMALLY ARE PROCESSES OF ACCUMULATION OF RESOURCES BELONGING TO THE WHOLE SOCIETY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONTROL BY PERSONS WHO CLAIM TO HAVE DELEGATED THEIR RIGHTS TO DISPOSE OF THESE RESOURCES. THE EXPANSION OF THIS PROCESS ACTUALLY THREATENING TO BLOCK THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRATIC REFORMS IN BULGARIA. AMONG THE MOST AMONG ALL CURVES CURVES MIRRORS THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, MANIFESTED IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS ARE BULGARIAN "INVENTIONS": BUY A VOTE, ELECTORAL TOURISM, MIGRATION AND CONTROLLED ELECTORAL VOTE. THEIR SPECIFIC MANIFESTATIONS ARE SUMMARIZED AND ANALYZED IN THIS ARTICLE.

**KEY WORDS:** DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION, PLURALISM, CORRUPTION, CROOKED MIRROR OF DEMOCRACY, BOUGHT VOTES, ELECTORAL TOURISM, ELECTORAL MIGRATION, CONTROLLED VOTE

After November 10, 1989 Bulgarian state went through serious social transformations and has gone from a totalitarian state to another new type of state - democratic. It was an end to one-party rule of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which revive the pluralist democracy in Bulgaria. One of its main features is the law that it gives every adult citizen (which is not under guardianship) to participate in elections to local and state authorities.

Free choice is key to the functioning and stability of the democratic system as such. Unfortunately, in the last 25 years we continue to witness the replacement of the vote of the citizens to exert pressure (and sometimes physical) on voters to vote (or not vote) for a particular party or candidate. Although the latter method is efficient, much more effectively proved the manipulation of the voice of the voter. This is contrary to the fundamental principles of democracy for which George wrote Karasimeonov [3]: "... Because unlike all political parties and state bodies liberal democracy aims to reach an agreement for voluntary compliance with the principles and rules of coexistence based on natural and inalienable rights and freedoms of the individual. So the main challenge for liberal politics has always been and will be to create and build such institutions and procedures that ensure the expression of individual freedom in the natural competition and clash of interests between individuals and groups composing modern society in the name of Community otseiyavante and Progress .

In contrast to what is observed in Bulgaria degeneratsya the electoral environment as degenerations of democracy itself. There have been corruption, which can be interpreted as a key element in the implementation of these strategies and the pursuit of private group, corporate, political goals and interests.

Antony Todorov believes [7], democratization of the last twenty years both enhances but changes become traditional for Bulgarian society varieties of political behavior. According to him, political participation is a complex category. In the most superficial meaning it means involvement of the individual in the political process. But participation in the political process can be directly and indirectly, because the definition of political participation is not an easy task. We can do this by expressing the content of the term - by listing its various forms: conventional and unconventional.

In the opinion of the author of this article in unconventional forms of political participation are corrupt practices in the political sphere, in particular - in the electoral process in this sphere.

Corrupt practices in the political sphere as a rule are processes of accumulation of resources belonging to the whole society and the establishment of control by persons who claim to have delegated their rights to dispose of these resources. In Bulgaria the development of political corruption was stimulated by a broader scope and impact process. At the heart of its social structure and exchanges that take place in it are dictated by clan, family friendly, or any other informal public relations associations that enter in competition with his fellows social formations.

In Bulgarian social fabric traditionally dominated officially unregulated network of social exchange. This network is wider than the formal, ie normatively legitimate existing network of social relations. Moreover - the informal network and its established customary or traditional regulation duplicate legitimate forms of social participation and gradually replace them. Often unauthorized overcome official social network and its rules have become the norm, which, although not legitimate, began to be considered as accepted.

This type of relationships that can be defined as "crooked mirror of democracy" in Bulgaria form electoral system in the country since 1989. It refused a priori susceptible to such influences to overcome official social network. Patriarchal and class solidarity and clientelism enter the election procedures, becoming structurally their component. This created the premise of practice targets levels of management to be controlled by political figures whose professionalism and willingness to carry out the government's program was backed primarily by role and their place in the party hierarchy. The expansion of this process actually threatening to block the implementation of democratic reforms in Bulgaria.

Among the most among all curves curves mirrors the political system, manifested in the electoral process are Bulgarian "inventions": buy a vote, electoral tourism, migration and controlled electoral vote. Their specific manifestations are summarized and analyzed later in this article.

### Pools VOTE

In practice, the purchase of electoral votes constitute a payment in currency or otherwise electoral vote. Similar events during the election process are not new world political history, but in Bulgaria they acquire huge find, so they can be named as "Bulgarian business."

In legal terms, this act qualifies as a bribe under the criminal law of the country. In other words, the act itself can be qualified as a crime. Socially legal perspective, the actions on vote buying constitute a violation of basic human rights, the right of choice. Ultimately, political science standpoint vote buying is associated with the distortion of the desire of the electorate in terms of who to occupy government positions in the country and in parallel - who decide on the future of the country and society.

Georgi Manolov [5] describes the structure of the term "trade Voices" by four essential elements: 1) "vendor money" votes against (for parties), which benefit everyone - himself "vendor" as a commission, a political party - the election, and generalized electorate bought votes against Phoenician signs; 2) consumer or user of the service are the voters (the electorate), ie many thousand electoral mass, which is susceptible to this kind of "wicked" commercial transactions; 3) "buying" a member of the Election Commission or personally handing out money to individuals who are part of the relevant committees; 4) "marketing" of electoral commissions (in the state), where in a very refined way to bribe or whole electoral commissions, or some of their members (sectional, regional, municipal, etc.). And these elements, according to Habor, revealing political corruption related to:

1) "Market Voices" ("purchase of votes") - the mass attempts to "buy" and "purchase" of electoral votes during the election campaigns of political parties;

2) "Market of minority groups" - a highly developed market where almost all minorities in the country are under "Sales" in the election campaign;

3) "Market" electoral segments "- carefully targeted at specific target groups of voters (in age, professional, educational, ethnic, etc. Sign), and especially the poor and ethnic backgrounds who are most susceptible to "monetary invasion" of parties, organizations and movements during the elections;

4) "Market of political parties" - specific and seemingly absurd "market," but it actually exists in two key forms - such as "understudy" of a leading party to take votes (as of 2001 election with NMS 2), and as previously bought a small party (from the big "sharks" with money) to make a coalition after the elections to the parliament (with those paid);

5) "market impact" - investing trust in leaders, guides and parties by solid business companies to "buy" pre-impact (usually during campaigns);

6) "Market of election commissions" - disguised bribery of members of the sectional electoral commissions aims to provide one or other parliamentary representation of interested political parties;

7) "Market of seats" - tacit tariffs announced by the political parties for the price of one parliamentary seat selectively;

8) "Market of senior government posts" - redeeming exorbitant prices visokoyerarhichni posts in the public administration (executive directors of agencies, departments, offices, etc.);

9) "Market of state positions" - a secret trade in important government positions (experts in departments, directors of agencies, etc.), Where "prices" previously agreed upon by the political parties (at any time, but especially around elections) ;

10) "Market positions in local government" - secretive illegitimate trade with municipal officials at the local level (based on paid hidden agreement).

Buying votes is among the shady sides of the political market. Identifying this problem consciously avoids political parties and hushed them because directly affects the operation of the political elites, as well as, of course, and numerous corporate and private interests. With the expansion of the practice of buying votes, the interests of individuals or business groups are placed over the public.

As the first factor for buying votes may be given a lower activity during elections. As a result of the ongoing transition over 25 years, the vast majority of the nation is widely distrusted, sated by corrupt political practices and is not intrigued by the very choice of control. Therefore, the activity during elections is small. This explains the increased action in buying. At low vote and the presence of many candidates likely to win the elections a candidate is less, which requires the practice of buying votes.

As a second factor must be pointed out poverty in the country. Buying votes is done mostly on the basis of available funds. In Bulgaria there is definitely a trend towards impoverishment and macroeconomic and microeconomic level, therefore, the acquisition of certain funds by the electorate are the reason for the expansion of the phenomenon of vote buying.

Next factor is the low level of education in our country. Only six percent of Bulgarians with higher education. Over 60% of Bulgarian citizens have no secondary education, and the statistics for 2004 indicate the presence in the country to over 200,000 illiterate young people over 15 years old 2.5% of 8 million. Bulgarians. The problem is particularly acute in view of the low level of education among minorities where the problem of vote buying is the most acute. Low-educated individuals hardly realize that obtaining certain / small / funds to mortgage the future, therefore, that fact is used very widely on buying votes.

Therefore, the first three factors that predispose vote buying are: the availability of low-quality control system, at this for quite a long period of time, the existence of poverty in the country and expanding crisis in social capital.

Beyond that, as an important factor for buying votes is the lack of civil society. Civil society is certainly not a panacea to social problems, but it is a guarantee that the public has the resources to compensate for gaps in the social sphere.

The very practice of vote-buying is difficult to prove, much less punishable.

During all elections held in Bulgaria since 1989 - presidential, parliamentary, elections for European Parliament and local government systematically blowers in the electoral process of this type, but they remained "unproven". This suggests that one of the important ways to reduce the problem is maximally simplify the procedure for proving the existence of a crime and will of law enforcement to disclose this type of crime

#### ELECTION TOURISM

This is one of the most unpleasant electoral practices leading to extremely serious consequences for the electoral vote nationally and locally. It could be argued that it was the invention of an ethnic party - Movement for Rights and Freedoms, whose existence is questionable from a constitutional perspective. This party systematically organized Bulgarian Turks with dual citizenship - Bulgarian and Turkish living in Turkey, arriving during elections in the border regions of Bulgaria, where systematically izkriviyava local elections.

According to the news agency BGNES [8], on the eve of local elections in 2007, 16,700 people passed the border just a few days. These are citizens who crossed the border mainly from Turkey, although such a process, but in a smaller monitor and Macedonia.

According to information presented by Mediapool [9], in 2009, during the parliamentary elections, the situation is identical - in the three border crossings with Macedonia 2832 people have entered Bulgaria, for which there are reasonable grounds to believe that come with the intention to vote. At the same time the inflow of Turkey's citizens with special buses is about 8,000 people.

A snap parliamentary election in 2014, according to the ВЕСТИ.БГ [11] there were imports of voters from Turkey comprising over 150 000 people.

The data show very strong growth in tourism election as koruptsishonna electoral practice that distorts the total results of a series of electoral votes, and hence the representation of individual parties natsionalnia and local parliaments. Although "partisan invention", this technique quickly evolved into an effective tool for penetration of private economic interests in public, especially in local government are talking about centers of

economic power (as a relatively legitimate and criminal) focusing increasingly large financial resources. Namely they introduced and spent perfected various mechanisms of vote buying and other types of control over the votes of increasing populations, located according to them.

What does today's scale of the phenomenon of "electoral tourism"? Only the strength of this dependence, respectively coercion has increased to the extent that can "move" the necessary electoral resource virtually every ballot box in the country and beyond (if judging by the results of a number of sections abroad).

### ELECTION MIGRATION

It is a phenomenon that can be attributed to the very high level of security at controlling and bought votes. Obtained a circulation of voters and increases the capacity of Realtors votes. So they control entire pools of voters.

"The election nomadism" - election Migration is another example of deliberate distortion of the principles and rules of democracy in the interests of certain political circles and economically empowered. And the sad thing is that this illegitimate power grab by the familiar formula "money - power - money prim - Power prim and so on," became indifferent to, but quite often and benevolent view of government institutions and specific officials charged with a very clear mandate. We can assume that this is damaging the public interest or passive accomplice behavior is not entirely selfless. Namely the plight of the Bulgarian state is the fundamental root cause and stimulating condition for more large-scale use of illegal and immoral means to obtain and maintain power for use in her private interest. The results are well known - widespread evidence of deterioration of local government in a greedy and arrogant neofeodalizam. Increasingly exported media facts about "feats" of the local rulers, insolent in their greed (and possibly pressured to return more quickly invested in them "investments"). These data reflect real and very dangerous process of degradation of public beginning and the idea of politics as a service to society. And in this regard the parties, although some of them today suffer from emitted from process control, primary responsibility.

The above data down in this article are for the period 2011-2015 It is apparent that several months before the elections - depending on the term in law, there is strengthening of newly registered citizens by current address, or called. Election tourists. Here are the figures that are available at the Directorate General "Civil Registration and Administrative Services" to July 2, 2015.

In October 2015 forthcoming local elections. According to НОВИНИ.БГ [13], restorative information presented by the Ministry of Regional Development and Public Works, as many new registrations in: Montana, Vidin, Lovech, Sliven, Sofia - district, region, region of Kardzhali, region of Kardzhali, Haskovo, Varna, Sliven , Burgas and others. Over 90 thousand. Bulgarians changed their address for three months. Almost double increased the number of people changed their current address from early February to 25 April compared to the same period last year. For comparison: for three months in 2014 this address changed 55 288 Bulgarians, while in this - in 2015 about the same time it made 91,199 people. In some areas, especially in some of the poorest municipalities, the increase is dozens of times. The sharp increase in most cases is probably the result of the election tourism. So, for example, Gramada, Vidin, from February to April this address have changed 681 people with only 15 for the same period in 2014. In Montana early last year they were 366, whereas now 1180 and others.



Election migrants can distort beyond recognition the local elections. For example, 8,000 are newly registered voters in the municipality of Nessebar in recent months. These votes will contribute to three elective seats in the municipal council of a municipality with a population of 22,000 people.

Change of address registrations just before the mayoral elections has increased by about 40% on average for the country. Data fields show that the highest growth of this address change compared to the last period there in the following areas: Vidin (from 578 to 2967); Vratsa (from 1139 to 4462); Kyustendil (from 612 to 1771); Lovech (from 827 to 1600); Pleven (from 1718 to 3578); Montana (from 1067 to 2926); Pernik (from 691 to 1959); Sofia district (from 1130 to 4574); Haskovo (from 1700 to 4680); Stara Zagora (from 2667 to 4260).

According to the Law on Local Government and Local Administration [1] in a locality can vote only people who have permanent or current address in the municipality at least six months before the vote. Therefore, the re-registration occurs much earlier before the elections. According to Art. 92, para 1 of this Act, the address registration is done by the mayor, or the area of the municipality, or any of them officials. By law, only people who have permanent or current address within a municipality are entitled aloud the local vote. However, registration must be made at least six months before the elections and on the change of address is made earlier.

It is not so hard to eliminate the vicious electoral process migration. On the one hand, to identify cases of obvious gross violations of existing legislation - for example, the requirement of Article 99a of the Civil Registration Act [2], according to which "the number of people who can register a current address ... may not exceed more than three times the number of persons who are able to live in appropriate accommodation." It can be argued that "three times the usual" six or nine, but obviously impossible in a small house to live scores. To ascertain violations committed by officials to be imposed appropriate sanctions and registrations to be canceled. It is also necessary to identify the owners and managers of commercial companies without the knowledge of their employees have them signed a new current address. There are many such examples, some of them "hang" in the public domain since the election in 2011.

Electoral migration may be limited by the application of the Civil Registration Act, and the Interior Ministry to monitor the process and to impose fines of Mayors. At the same time stop the transfer of responsibility between state bodies and institutions - local authorities, Ministry of Interior, the Prosecutor's Office, the Central Election Commission. All en masse seek to blame it on the lowest level - mayors and deputy mayors who really sometimes are "in the game" but are themselves highly dependent on more powerful interests and the centers of power.

That does not dispute the need for legislative changes, but they should not be directed to a part of the consequences and the root causes of the phenomenon of migration election.

### CONTROLLED VOTE

The controlled vote is not only the result of direct buying aloud in the voice of the Bulgarians, but also influence by company bosses.

One way to influence before the election is controlled by private companies. They in turn are forcing their employees to vote for a particular political party. "The threat of refusal is directly dismissal." Such a scheme for controlling the votes of Bulgarians have in themselves temporary employment programs provided by the state. The pressure on them

comes from the municipal employees who promise that the contracts of these people will be extended if election day crossed through a certain number in the ballot.

Business people are also subject to pressure. The main instrument is exercised in business, is the threat of deprivation of opportunities for participation in future procurement raids by regulatory institutions, and delay or even denial of adequate administrative services. The incentive to consent in such agitation does is to provide a "green light" to public resources such as rents for retail space, competition and public procurement.

Controlled bought and vote now becomes a lasting trend, on account of political campaigns in the form in which the voter is persuaded to vote for a party because of the platform.

The electronic platform ИЗБОРИ.2014.АКТУАЛНО.КОМ. [14 ] reported massive vote-controlled mines Bobov Dol during the European elections in 2014. The miners were pressured to cast their votes for the BSP to their jobs and their income. That this is the massive organized influence and obedience to the voters to vote a certain way.

Criminal phenomenon of controlled vote represents an undeniable threat to national security because it provides sometimes "legitimize" the authority of the representatives of organized crime and unhindered access of these individuals to the money of Bulgarian taxpayers. For a considerable part of Bulgarian political elite controlled vote is much more acceptable practice than individual buying.

Not accidentally Jurgen Roth [6] exclaims in the preface to his book "Bulgarian Demons": "What actually went so far as proud of its history Bulgarian citizens leave today to humiliate corrupt politicians of all political hues? Once Bulgarians attacked the headquarters of the Communist Party and then podpaliha. A what happens now? The ordinary citizen fell into lethargy until the politico-criminal groups took a leading role. "

#### **In conclusion can be drawn the following conclusions and conclusions:**

It should be stressed that the purchase and redemption of the vote during elections entirely can be assigned to an extensive common shady sides of the entire political market. This is usually done in two ways: 1. civilized (legal, regulatory, honest), in which outstanding legal regulation legislation alone dictate the use of forms for redemption without violating legal norms; 2. uncivilized (illegal, non-statutory, dishonest) way using bribes, kickbacks and support for use of the vote.

Of course, both of which distort the election results are a prerequisite for the suspension of democratic processes. It should be pointed out that the main factors for the expansion of the problem in the country socio-economic and politico-legal. Such factor may indicate the lack of civic culture and society. Therefore, the guidelines for solving the problem must be sought in elimination (removal) of these factors.

With a stable legal framework and the simplification of procedures for proving the crime, the main other way to eliminate the problem is to increase the civil and / or political culture in the country. Civic culture reveals ways of relating parties in the political process. It can be understood as the ability to adequately inform, perception, understanding, assessment and ability to understand the election process, and that means exercise of every citizen of power and management principles and norms. This means, besides playback or to create new patterns of behavior and communication with other real and potential participants in the electoral process.

No democracy does not work for granted. For there to be people she should sacrifice her every day, to appreciate it and want it, like freedom, whose became synonymous with democracy in the country. Freedom and democracy are not some strange phenomena out of people to exist and they must be worn at all, to fight for them, because otherwise instances, there is no way to appreciate and preserve. At most it depends on the electoral process, when each person is sovereign power, which some are trying to distort in their favor.

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