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ZORA PARTY MANIFESTO

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Zora Manifesto

Article 1: What is Zora?

Zora is a Bulgarian political party with the goal of making Bulgaria a civilisation-state.

Article 2: What is civilisationism?

Civilisationism is the philosophical worldview that advocates for the protection, promotion, and integration of the values of a folk across all aspects of society. Broadly defined, these are the values of a population that share a common political, economic, and social understanding of life. It opposes values that are contrary to the population and accepts values that align with the population.

Article 3: What is a civilisation-state?

A civilisation-state is the evolution of a country's nation-state status and worldview, via the unification of the political, economic, and social spheres of life. The political sphere refers to the institutional make-up of the country. The economic sphere refers to the distribution, management, and allocation of the scarce resources of the country. The social sphere refers to the cultural make-up of the country. All three spheres are actively intertwined, resulting in a triune harmony that is geared towards the advancement of the civilisation and its people.

Article 4: Bulgaria as a civilisation-state

Bulgarian civilisation is currently faced with the prospect of extinction. Philosophically, Bulgaria sits at the intersection between the European and Russian civilisations, with a false dichotomy being presented to the public by all sides of the political spectrum. At current, neither civilisation, nor Bulgarian political party, promotes Bulgarian civilisation. Thus, Zora offers a third position for the Bulgarian people; the advocacy for a state that promotes the Bulgarian civilisation and serves the Bulgarian people.

Article 5: Core policy

Zora believes in placing the Bulgarian people first, above all else. We propose three core principles, and a set of core policies across the three domains, to make a real and lasting change for the Bulgarian public.

Our three key core principles are: 1. constitutional change, 2. pro-EU, and 3. pro-Bulgarian civilisation.

These principles are embedded across our proposed policies below. Our policies are a long-term outlook of the party and its vision for Bulgaria.

I. Political

a. Domestic policy

The biggest problem that Bulgaria has faced since the fall of the communist regime has been corruption. This is a rampant problem in our country that has seen several weak, and ultimately failed, attempts at reform. We believe that the system cannot be reformed. Instead, we advocate to change the system via a constitutional change. The constitutional change will allow Bulgaria to rid itself of the widespread corruption in our country, by changing the institutional levers of the government. Several key institutions that have been captured, such as the judiciary, the ministries, and the parliament, will be changed to be, or replaced with, institutions that function as intended and work for the Bulgarian people.

b. Foreign policy

Zora supports a pro-EU stance. There is immense geopolitical uncertainty in the world, and we believe that our place in this world is with the EU. The EU provides indispensable political, economic, and security benefits, and the union between Bulgaria and the EU is crucial for the country's sovereignty moving forward. Bulgaria has historically been part of the European civilisation, serving as the centre of Orthodox Christianity for South-East Europe. We believe that this historical legacy has shaped Bulgaria's path as one of a European nation. This

does not mean that we endorse every position of the EU, as our understanding of a European nation may differ from the EU's position. However, what we both agree on is that Bulgaria's place for the future is with the EU.

II. Economic

At the root of our policy is civilisational economics, which is economic policy that promotes Bulgarian civilisation. Economic policy will be directed for the sake of the Bulgarian people. We will not prioritise economic growth at the expense of the public. Instead, our proposed economic policy seeks to improve the quality of life for the Bulgarian people at all levels, whilst maintaining harmony with, and promoting, the political and social aspects of the country.

a. Zora's four economic rights

Zora believes there are four economic rights all Bulgarians should have access to: agriculture, housing, energy, public services. Funding for each economic right will be allocated from money that is wasted due to corruption.

1. Agriculture

We believe that all Bulgarians should have access to cheap, high-quality, and home-grown food, produced domestically by Bulgarians for Bulgarians. Bulgarian agriculture has been at the forefront of our country's historical economic development, which has unfortunately declined over the last decades. We want to promote both small-scale and regulate large-scale farming, where farmers will be rewarded for their hard work and quality of their produce. Investment into water systems, physical and human capital, and an economic policy that promotes agriculture will be utilised. Legislation will be changed and implemented against the formation of oligopolies that price out the local Bulgarian producer. Local, small-scale farming will be pushed and promoted across the country as the primary means of agricultural production and consumption. These changes will promote our agricultural production and provide Bulgarians with cheaper access to home-grown food.

2. Housing

Zora does not see housing as an asset to be exploited and speculated on, but as a fundamental right for every Bulgarian. To ensure that every Bulgarian has access to cheap and affordable housing, price caps and taxes will be levied on big, perverse businesses, entrepreneurs, and foreigners that speculate on housing merely seeking to profit and walk-over on the right to shelter of the Bulgarian people. Further measures, such as land value taxes and property ownership restrictions may be considered and put in place if the former policies do not meet satisfactory results. Overall, our goal is to provide every Bulgarian with cheap, affordable housing.

3. Energy

Zora envisions a Bulgaria that relies on clean, modern, and self-sufficient energy. Our policy of energy continues Bulgaria's current path of nuclear and solar energy development. We will invest into expanding Bulgaria's nuclear and solar energy capacities, in line with environmental laws and EU green policy. Cheap, domestic energy will make Bulgaria independent, without having to rely on foreign, non-renewable energy, whilst decreasing the costs for economic agents by reducing the price of energy. Crucially, reliable energy will provide Bulgaria with the necessary infrastructure to advance in Artificial Intelligence (AI) technology, which will be used across the public sector.

4. Public services

Investment into public services is at the forefront of Zora's proposed modernisation efforts for Bulgaria. We will heavily invest in healthcare, education, and public works, bringing Bulgaria's standard of living in line with our EU peers.

Zora seeks to increase the life expectancy and quality of treatment for all Bulgarians. To achieve this, the healthcare system will be modernised, ranging from investment for hospitals, medical equipment, and AI systems, to an emphasis on Bulgarian medical staff. All medical professionals, especially doctors, will see favourable increases in their working conditions, with sizeable pay rises to accommodate expertise. To increase the life expectancy of the

people, we will focus on prevention before cure, training healthcare and other relevant professionals on public education to spread awareness about best health practices, such as the importance of informed dietary and lifestyle choices.

The goal of Bulgarian education should be to equip Bulgarians with the knowledge and skills to thrive in the Bulgarian civilisation. Bulgarians should not only learn for the sake of entering a highly complex and ever-changing world but also enable them to civically participate in the social life of Bulgaria. We want to grow both the human capital and social capital of Bulgarians which will enable them to do so. To promote human capital, Zora will reform the education system in Bulgaria, by working with pedagogical experts, policymakers, and educators from across different countries to provide evidence-informed practices applicable to all aspects of public education in Bulgaria. Education staff, such as school teachers, will also see increases in their working conditions, with pay rises and flexible working arrangements to meet workload challenges. The government will promote the expansion of vocational and technical training, standardise higher education, and ensure an efficient pipeline between industry leaders and educational providers. To promote social capital, the government will work closely with cultural leaders and experts. The curriculum will be changed to accommodate and teach Bulgarians about the history, culture, and social values of the country, providing a comprehensive knowledgebase for life. These reforms will give the Bulgarian education system the push it needs to make it world-class.

Our push for a premium quality of life in Bulgaria wants to ensure that the whole country benefits from the advancement in public works, as opposed to being concentrated in a few urban places. Public works will involve the modernisation, renovation, and construction of high-speed rail, motorways, and airports across the country. Zora seeks to connect all major provincial capitals via several modes of transport, ensuring quick, cheap, and efficient ways of commuting. This connectivity will promote ease of access to de-urbanising places across Bulgaria and alleviate the harmful population reversal which is currently commencing. We will also ensure that drainage and water systems are built to provide every Bulgarian with reliable, clean, and hot water throughout Bulgaria, which remains an immediate priority after years of negligence and corruption.

All four of these economic rights mean that the quality of life of the average Bulgarian will increase significantly and will propel the advancement of the country's economic forces.

b. Environment

The environment, nature, and natural resources of Bulgaria will be protected under Zora. We reject the destruction of Bulgarian land for the sake of profit. Instead, we will use Bulgarian land for the Bulgarian people. We will protect the natural habitats, forests, waterbodies across the country, as well as stop building contracts that actively destroy our ecosystem. We will utilise Bulgaria's vast and rich natural resources and rare-earth minerals for economic and political objectives. Finally, we will stop the unequal and unfair economic exchange of rare metal outflows and renegotiate beneficial deals for Bulgaria.

c. Artificial Intelligence (AI)

AI is undoubtedly a key technology that will decide which country is able to utilise the benefits of the next industrial revolution. Zora believes that AI has a clear role for the future of the Bulgarian civilisation. In short, we think that AI is there to support and augment Bulgarian productivity and social advancement, instead of replacing it. We will invest in AI data centres, Science Technology Engineering and Maths (STEM) centres and university STEM training to promote relevant human capital, and promote industrial policy centred around AI. Training for AI will be provided across the public sector, such as in healthcare, education, and public works, to advance all aspects of society. These large investments into AI and STEM education will allow the Bulgarian workforce to meet the demands of the modern world and make Bulgaria into a regional leader of AI.

d. Defence

Zora's defence policy is dubbed the "Prussia of the Balkans". The aim of this policy is to re-militarise and strengthen Bulgaria's defence capabilities. This will include a modernisation effort across the armed forces to accumulate an

inventory of cutting-edge army equipment consisting of fighter-jets, anti-aircraft systems, and drones. State investment will be made into developing home-produced technology, such as satellite infrastructure and state of the art AI systems, as well as purchasing EU-produced weapons for defence. Finally, Zora aims to grow the size of the Bulgarian army to its once proud and historic World War I levels, which would make Bulgaria a serious military force within the EU.

III. Social

Zora's social policy is directed for the Bulgarian civilisation. It's at this point that we begin to fundamentally differ from liberal conceptions of society and the philosophy of the nation-state. What distinguishes our advocacy for the civilisation-state, as opposed to the nation-state, is that we operate outside of the contemporary liberal framework, and instead believe that the culture of the Bulgarian people should be unified with the political and economic spheres. This does not mean that we reject liberal values wholly, nor Liberalism as a philosophy, but we do believe that the values of the Bulgarian civilisation do not stem from Liberalism. Instead, our social values are rooted in the Bulgarian culture, which is, historically, predominantly Orthodox Christian. Thus, we believe in the philosophy of Civilisationism, which, for us, is the protection, promotion, and integration of Bulgarian values and culture across all aspects of society.

a. Orthodox Christianity

Zora believes that Bulgaria's Orthodox Christian heritage and Christian values are at the forefront of our civilisation. Thus, we advocate for the protection, preservation, and support of Orthodox Christianity across Bulgaria. We will promote Christianity across Bulgarian society, providing Bulgarians with education about the founding of Bulgaria and its profound history, the preservation of the language and culture, and the mystical traditions that have been passed down for generations. Zora will ensure the necessary funding is provided for the upkeep of Orthodox Christianity and remains committed to supporting it for the sake of the Bulgarian civilisation.

b. Cultural institutions

We will build and renovate major historical sites and buildings, as well as increase funding for various religious hubs; both Christian and non-Christian. These places will become major tourist attractions, stimulate local economic growth, and provide thousands of jobs for Bulgarians. Education about our traditions, literature, and history will be promoted in these places across the country. We will also reform the Bulgarian sports scene and make Bulgaria a world-class leader across several sports disciplines. This will be done through sports-specific funding to build training facilities and sponsor talented athletes, a restructuring of sports institutions, together with much needed measures to finally rid the sports bodies of corruption.

c. Bulgarians abroad

Zora fully supports the return of Bulgarians from abroad. Currently, Bulgarians abroad are dismissed in favour of non-Bulgarian immigration. This attitude is not only harmful to Bulgarians living abroad but also to Bulgaria itself. The only immigration policy Bulgaria needs is the return of Bulgarians. We will create a programme that will provide the necessary financial and professional support together with economic opportunities for these Bulgarians to reintegrate into daily life. Zora will promote the return and integration of all Bulgarians living abroad into the political, economic, and social life of Bulgaria.

d. Values

Zora promotes and supports Bulgarian values. We do not agree with the Enlightenment-era worldview that sees individual humans as units of analysis, but instead see the Bulgarian collective as one social category. Our aim is to create societal harmony and stability by promoting culturally Bulgarian values and opposing any values that disrupt both social cohesion and Bulgarian identity. We will promote marriage, the formation of Bulgarian families and the return of Bulgarians living abroad. We will promote policies that help the social fabric of the Bulgarian people and reject any values that disrupt it. We will promote knowledge, understanding, and love for our civilisation, its glorious past, and the future to come. We will advocate for the advancement of the Bulgarian civilisation.

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