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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

INFORMATION REPORT

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Industrial Laborers

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- [redacted] First of all, workers were not free to change their place of work. This applied both to white collar workers and factory workers. According to the new labor code, an employee could not change his place of work without the permission of the "chief." As a consequence, many people were forced to take any kind of job, mostly in factories, hoping that in the future they might get a better job. However, most of them found themselves tied to their jobs like slaves. Another reason for dissatisfaction was the new system of wages, known in Bulgaria as "podrednorasriadna sisteme".

[redacted] the aim of this system was to lower the salaries of workers. That is quite probable, because before the introduction of the new system, [redacted] received almost 900 leva per month, including his overtime wages. After the new system was put into effect, his wages were reduced by 200-300 leva per month. In the beginning of 1953 [redacted] Nikolov received 700 leva and sometimes only 500 or 600 leva per month.
- Another reason for dissatisfaction was the constant increase in work norms. In Bulgaria, every worker had to complete a certain work norm per day. If

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a worker did not complete the norm, his salary was lowered. On the other hand, the norms were established on the basis of the work of an average worker. This caused a constant increase in work norms.

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3. He worked in the government lithographic enterprise "Grafik" in Sofia. Work norms in that enterprise were increased almost every month. The majority of the workers were unable to fulfill their work norms, and as a result, their salaries were constantly reduced. Even shop workers were dissatisfied because the wages for a double or triple amount of work were also reduced.

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Independent Farmers

4. In general, it can be said that the Bulgarian farmers were very attached to their land and did not care to join agricultural cooperatives. Two or three years ago there were open uprisings of peasants in the Yablanitsa region which were reported even by the Communist press. The Communist Party sent special propagandists to calm down the peasants. The peasants of the Vidin region also protested openly to the Regional Committee of the Communist Party.

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in 1952 she visited Oryakhovo, a small town on the Danube, where her daughter's mother-in-law lived. Before she returned to Sofia she took a trip on the Danube. While she was waiting for a boat, she engaged in a casual conversation with a peasant who complained to her about the conditions in his village. He told her the peasants received very little money for their work on cooperative farms, that most of the peasants did not have enough bread by December (which never happened in Bulgaria in the old days), and that they had to buy their bread in a store, although the harvest had been very good. The woman, , was not sure if the peasant was sincere or if he was a Communist provocateur, so she did not make any comment.

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5. Another fact, well-known throughout the country, and one of the causes of dissatisfaction among the peasants, was that they had to give to the State almost half of their harvest at very low prices.
6. Another example: A peasant delivered milk every morning He often said that he had to sell the milk to the State at 0.75 leva per liter, while the State sold it for 3.20 leva per liter. He called it robbery. That is how the Communist State robbed both the peasants and the city dweller. It was generally known that the peasants were greatly dissatisfied, and the Communist Party often had to send special propagandists to the different regions and villages to quiet the peasants. But these facts were not published in the press.

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7. the Bulgarian State Enterprise for Cinematography, one of the employees there, , was sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to a small village in the Vidin region to "strengthen" a cooperative farm. one of the Communists not known to the public, but very much appreciated by the Communist Party for blind devotion to the regime. very active in the clandestine work of the Communist Party as one of the most outstanding terrorists.

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8. If the Communist Party had to send its best agents to the villages to strengthen farm cooperatives, this clearly showed the true situation in Bulgarian villages and the attitude of Bulgarian peasants toward the Communist regime.

Church Leaders

9. It was generally known that the Communist Party pursued an intensive anti-religious policy. Religious education had been banned from Bulgarian schools. Teachers and professors in Bulgarian schools had to prove to their pupils that there was no God, and that "religion is opium for the people." From 1945 until 1949, the ringing of church bells was prohibited. [redacted] remembers celebrating two Easters without the ringing of church bells. There were many political court actions against the Protestant Church and the Catholic Church. Several Protestant preachers and Catholic priests were condemned to death. At the same time, the Communist Party endeavored to force the churches to follow the Communist Line. Recently the patriarch of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church was chosen. Members of a Congress of priests sent telegrams of congratulations to the Prime Minister, Vŭlko Chervenkov. That gave the public the impression that high Orthodox clergymen were sold on the Communists. [redacted]

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[redacted] three representatives of the Orthodox Church: Metropolitan Stefan, a convinced anti-fascist, but also a convinced anti-Communist. He was the first exarch of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church after World War II, [redacted] he was in disfavor and had been exiled to a small Bulgarian village. Another priest [redacted], a Russian priest who migrated to Bulgaria after the Russian Revolution in 1917. [redacted] also anti-Communist and also in disgrace. He was one of the best theologians in Bulgaria. [redacted]

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[redacted] His attitude toward the Communist regime had been negative. Even if the high clergy cooperated with the Communists, one could find an excuse for this in the fact that the church had to be preserved.

Communist Party Members

10. This is really a difficult question. It was known that the members of the Communist Party always had to manufacture Communist propaganda, especially when they talked with persons who were not Communist Party members. [redacted] most Communists were either fanatics or persons without moral principles. On one occasion in June 1953 [redacted] a conversation between [redacted] the Bulgarian Communist leader who was visiting the secretary of the Committee of Bulgarian Democratic Women, [redacted] with another woman [redacted] in the office of the Committee of Bulgarian Democratic Women which was two rooms on the fourth floor of a building occupied by the National Council of the Fatherland Front. [redacted]

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[redacted] The three women talked about the monetary reform and prices. At that time this was a subject of discussion everywhere, because once more everybody had to feel the cruelty of Communist hypocrisy. It was very interesting [redacted] the opinion of one of the outstanding Communists on this question, [redacted]

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[redacted] it was very difficult for her to explain to the audiences this money reform and prices, because she could read in the eyes of her audiences that they did not know whether to believe her or not. She went on to say that it was a real martyrdom for her to give these lectures

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because she herself did not have faith in the so-called "good" intentions of the Communists, but as a Party member she was obliged to make that propaganda.

11. This example was very significant [redacted] one of the highest Communists, sister of "the father of our people!" This, in her mind, proved that there were many Communist Party members who had become disillusioned, but as Party members, they had to play their roles.

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Bulgarian Youth

12. [redacted] the conditions and the attitude of Bulgarian youth, especially the students. [redacted]

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certain that the attitudes of the youth of Bulgaria toward the Communist regime were more than negative. [redacted]

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[redacted] the causes of this profound dissatisfaction of Bulgarian youth. Young people in Bulgaria, from an early age, were brought up to love and deeply respect national traditions and history. They were taught in childhood the glorious history of their past. At home and in school, they were taught to be strong and to endure difficulties, as had their people who were under Turkish rule for five centuries. The first book they had to read was a national novel called Under the Yoke, which described the last years of Turkish domination and the struggle against it, glorifying the heroism of Bulgarians fighting for national liberation in 1870 to 1876. The Communists have tried to destroy the cultural traditions of the Bulgarian people. They repudiated the works of their great national writers, such as Ivan Vazov, Pencho Slaveikov, Yordan Yodkov, Anton Strakhimirov, and Todor Vlazkov. The Communists went so far as to propose the destruction of the house in which Pejo Yavorov was born, one of the greatest poets since the liberation, accusing him of being individualistic.

13. The Communists tried to destroy the free spirit of Bulgarian youth. All youth organizations were suspended to form only one youth organization, namely, the Dimitrov Union of People's Youth. Communist papers frankly admitted that this union was under the complete influence of the Communist Party. All young people had to belong to this organization, otherwise they could not hope for anything. They could neither go to the university nor get a good job. In this organization members were spied upon by group trustees. Each trustee had a special notebook in which he entered the names of the members of his group. He had to put down everything about the young man or woman in his file: his attitude toward "People's Power," and the activities of "People's Power," and names of his friends, and how he met them. The trustee also tried to get into the intimate circle of friends of the group member in order to establish better the political attitude of each member.

14. In order to convert to Communism the Bulgarian youth, the Dimitrov Union created Youth Brigades under the direction of the Communist Party. These brigades existed three years as informant recalls. The interesting thing about the brigades was that it was stated that no one was obliged to belong to them, but when one had to fill out forms to register in a university, to get a job, or anything, there was always a question asking if the applicant had belonged to the Youth Brigade movement. The aim of these brigades was purely political.

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15. In these camps where youth brigades worked on various projects (later almost without exception abandoned) during the vacation time, they had no time to themselves. After a hard day of work they had to attend courses in politics and physical exercise.

[redacted] During all that time they had only one free Sunday on which they had to march to a nearby town. They had no time to think whether what they were told was right or not.

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[redacted] They did not care to listen to the lectures, but when the places in the rear of the circle outdoors were occupied, they had to listen. When they were asked a question they answered it mechanically and in a pure Communist spirit. Nevertheless, Bulgarian youth preserved its real character under these trying conditions.

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16. After the work brigades, when they returned to the university, they had to attend political lectures, study the history of the Soviet Communist Party and of the Bulgarian Communist Party. They had to attend meetings and lectures of all kinds so that there was no time for fun or ease. Such activities were carried on in all offices, factories, and schools. Everywhere the trustees watched their colleagues. The Communist press frankly stated, "We must know how the young people spend their free time, how they amuse themselves, and with whom they associate." Bulgarian youth, always interested in studies, found the doors of higher schools either closed or strictly guarded. It was difficult to register in a university. A young man or woman had to fill out all kinds of questionnaires, pass the special obstacles set up by the Council of Workers' Deputies. Both of these organizations were under the direct control of the Communist Party, and the filling out of questionnaires was purely political in purpose. Without passing a political examination it was unthinkable for anyone to go through the gates of the university.
17. When a student finished his studies, he was not sure of his future. Students remembered well the great purges in the university from 1947 to 1948, when thousands of students were expelled from the university solely for political reasons. In addition, there was an office of Cadres at the University without whose authorization no one could receive his diploma. The difficulties students had to face can be summed up as follows:
- They had no possibility of forming their own opinions;
 - They had to submit themselves to the Communist science which allowed no contradiction;
 - They were forced to live a double life in order to receive their diplomas;
 - They had no freedom of choice of their place of work.
18. A large number of students who were accused of having had a past not acceptable from the Communist point of view were excluded from entering the university. But that was not enough; they could not choose their kind of work. They had to take jobs as unskilled workers in factories without any hope for a better future.
19. Young people of the workers' class were not better off than the students. They had no right to change their place of work without the authorization of "their

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Chief." They could not hope to advance if they were not Communists, or if they were not protected by a highly-placed Communist. They were obliged to work only in the place of their residence. And they too had to attend all kinds of political courses, meetings, lectures, etc. The salaries were low. [redacted] a single young man or woman who received more than 450 to 500 leva per month.

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Even these facts are not complete enough to give a full impression of the attitude of Bulgarian youth toward the Communist regime.

20. The Communist press campaigned against the tendency of the youth to digress from Communist discipline. Communist writers complained of the behavior of Bulgarian youth and thought that it was becoming demoralized. Youth was accused of singing American songs, dancing American dances, following Western fashions in dress, and of changing their Bulgarian first names into American-sounding first names, and also, in conversation, of changing the names of streets and towns. The press quoted an example of young people changing the name of the town of Nesebur on the Black Sea to "Nuw Seibar;" of Rakovski Street in Sofia being changed into "Roxi" Street; of the name Ivan being changed to "Johnny," etc. So the article concluded that there existed a demoralizing Western influence among a part of Bulgarian youth. Mention was also made of "crimes" committed by Bulgarian youth. Some students of a gymnasium in Sofia wrote on the walls of the school slogans against People's authority. The press enumerated districts and locales where American dances were danced and American songs sung. For all these excesses the Communist press blamed young people of bourgeois families. [redacted] all the places cited by the Communist press were located not in the so-called bourgeois districts of the city, but in the workers' districts of the city.

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Aspects of Present Regime Considered to be Most Objectionable [redacted]

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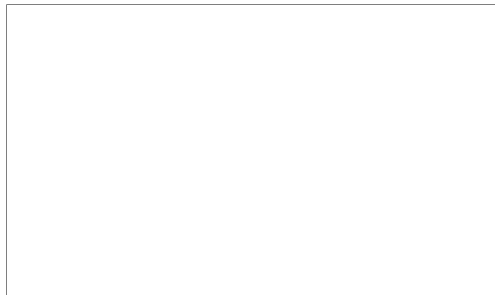
21. The most objectionable aspects of the present regime may be summed up as follows:
- a. Lack of personal liberty;
 - b. Fear of militia;
 - c. Fear of being caught listening to Western broadcasts;
 - d. Lack of freedom of speech, even in a restaurant;
 - e. Obligation to attend lectures, meetings, and to have to say "yes" to all the lies the Communists told them; to have to applaud the regime and praise its accomplishments when all activities of that regime were directed against the rights and interests of the simple people;
 - f. The necessity of having to carry identification papers issued by the Communists;
 - g. The necessity of having to have political approval whether trying to get work or registering in a university; and
 - h. Finally, high prices and low salaries.

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22. Aspects of Present Regime [redacted] Found Desirable 25X1
- a. Irrigation works;
- b. Progress in liquidating illiteracy;
- c. Free medical care for all the people.
- Reactions [redacted] Toward Death of Stalin 25X1
23. [redacted] the morning after the news of the death of Stalin was received, one of her friends called her up and her first words were, "Congratulations." [redacted] "I hope it happens often." [redacted] 25X1
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- [redacted] The two went to see two young men friends. There they shut the windows, turned on the music, and had a little celebration. But they had to be careful because a mourning of three days was imposed on all entertainment, including cinemas, concerts, and dances. The events which followed the death of Stalin gave them hope. They believed there would be some changes.
- Reactions [redacted] Toward the 17 June 1953 Riots 25X1
24. [redacted] it not difficult to visualize the excited faces of her friends and the hope that filled their hearts. She could see them all gathered around the radio in the evening, listening anxiously to the latest news from the West. She could also imagine their disappointment when the riots were controlled. They might have commented, "This time it did not succeed, but it will start again sooner or later, and it will start in our country too." 25X1
- Reactions [redacted] Toward Titoism 25X1
25. What happened in Yugoslavia was of no interest. The problem was hardly ever discussed. It was believed that the Yugoslav Communist Party would always remain a Communist Party with the only difference that it was a more independent Communist Party.
- Reactions [redacted] Toward Soviet Advisors 25X1
26. Soviet advisors were found everywhere: in the Council of Ministers, in the Defense Ministry, in the Interior Ministry, in the Ministry of Heavy Industry, in all economically important factories, and even in the national theater, and the Bulgarian State Enterprise for Cinematography.
27. The people's attitude toward Soviet counselors is simple to describe: nobody liked them, and with good reason. These Soviet advisors received enormous salaries which were twice or three times as large as the highest salaries of Bulgarian officials. They lived in spacious apartments which had formerly belonged to Bulgarian citizens. Nobody knew whether or not they paid taxes. The people could not love them because they knew that they were the real masters of their country.



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