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3. From the lower stratum up to the highest level, the Bulgarian people as a whole are very much surprised at the low personal standards of the Soviet personnel in Bulgaria -- in fact, their attitude is one of amazement. Soviet propaganda which always portrayed the superiority of the USSR over the capitalistic world, led the Bulgarian populace to believe that Soviet standards were very high, but they perceived that USSR personnel wore inferior clothing, their tools, their manners and their actions were far below the level of what even Bulgaria herself was accustomed to. Personal habits of the Soviets are repulsive to the nature of the Bulgarian people. It is now apparent that the Soviet Union has but one aim and that is simply the exploitation of Bulgarian resources -- human, industrial and agricultural.

4. The East German uprising of June 1953 (in the estimation of Bulgarians with [redacted] showed extreme naivete on the part of the East German population. The Bulgarians are perplexed for they feel that the East Germans should have known that such action was not likely to succeed.

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5. All of the Bulgarian military departments are under USSR control. For that matter, so are the three categories of Bulgarian police and the State Bank. The Bulgarian Communists and other civilians realize that the so-called USSR experts in charge are by and large intellectually and practically far less capable than the Bulgarian administrators whom they displaced. However, there is but one course of action, a unanimous submission to the dictates and opinions of the Soviet rulers.

6. At the end of World War II there were approximately 700 thousand Bulgarian citizens residing in Sofia. Within the past five or six years the Soviet Union has dispatched to Sofia over 200 thousand USSR citizens who eventually received formal Bulgarian citizenship. These added peoples have not been assimilated into the Bulgarian way of life, have not accepted the Bulgarian social mores, but have remained aloof. It is evident that this group, which lives in a closely knit community, has been thrust upon the citizenry of Bulgaria for the obvious purpose of influencing and eventually controlling the Bulgarian way of life. In so doing, they are following the wishes of the Kremlin and the USSR. This group, as I understand, has a number of reasons for establishing residence in Bulgaria:

- a. to serve the Soviet military,
- b. to serve the Soviet police,
- c. to serve in espionage,
- d. to serve as technical experts, engineers and teachers.

This group received a much higher food ration than the typical Bulgarian population and is in possession of more substantial talons [ration cards] with which they purchase far more than the average Bulgarian citizen. In

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[redacted] even the dogs of this favored population are given choice morsels of foodstuffs and meat products. This has obviously irritated the Bulgarian population which perceives these inequalities. The Bulgarian Communist Party itself is definitely dissatisfied with this preferential treatment, but has no influence whatsoever on the existing administration. Their protests are either ignored or they are subsequently subject to reprisals at the hands of the Soviet authorities. At least three times between 1948 and 1952 the Bulgarian Communist Party at various Communist meetings, protested to the Soviet authorities about the treatment that was accorded to the Bulgarian population. In each case the Party members were criticized by the ruling Soviet authorities. Even in the face of such treatment, the Bulgarian Communist Party, which is by far the smallest of all the Satellites, remains the most faithful.

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7. The USSR, realizing that the Communist Party in Bulgaria is faithful, has armed and equipped the Bulgarian military forces with top Soviet military equipment -- such Soviet equipment as is issued to Soviet troops. No Soviet military forces as such are seen in Bulgaria. Soviet military instructors, however, are not uncommon. In my estimation, Bulgaria has never had such a disciplined army as it has today. The old-line Bulgarian officers have been supplanted by younger Communist trained and Communist inspired Bulgarian officers. As a consequence, the USSR seems to presume that the current officer personnel of the Bulgarian Army can be almost fully relied upon to carry out Soviet military aims. Military service has been extended from the normal two-year period to a minimum of three years. A student who has completed the high school, and is 20 years of age, is taken into the military service. Most of the youth which is taken into the service is married. I understand that the training is extremely rigid and is of excellent quality. It is my honest opinion that (since the Soviet militarists know the psychological makeup of the Bulgarian soldier) he would be used only in military conflicts in the Balkans -- the Bulgarian soldier would not fight elsewhere. Soviet propaganda in developing military strategy for Bulgaria emphasizes the old line of history in which the Turks, the Serbians, and the Greeks were enemies for centuries -- although the Yugoslavs call themselves Communists, they are in reality in the camp of the Western imperialists who aim to eventually establish control over Bulgaria. To this extent the Soviets are developing a totally chauvinistic philosophy in Bulgarian military 1

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Bulgaria. [redacted] between Sofia and Plovdiv has approximately 28 new airfields. This area is small -- not over 110 miles long and 80 miles wide.

8. In constant attempts to develop a strong border defense, the Communist Party deports from border areas those peasants whose backgrounds are unknown to the Communist Party and also those whose political background is undetermined. The Turkish, the Greek and the Yugoslav borders are adequately staffed by well trained Bulgarian troops.
9. Bulgarian response to the Balkan Pact assumes the following attitude: They acknowledge the existence of this Pact but only formally (just a scrap of paper). However, it has no particular significance and is in reality meaningless.

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[redacted] the Moslem philosophy towards the USSR and the Bulgarian Communist administration is one of acceptance and submission. For the past five years the Bulgarian Government has specifically concentrated on indoctrinating the Moslem youth in Communist principles. The Macedonian question, perpetually a pre-World War II problem, has been eliminated by the Communist Bulgarian Government. Prior to September 1944 there were two groups of Macedonians in Bulgaria, both terrorist in nature. One was a rightist wing and the other a leftist wing. The leftist wing has been incorporated into the Communist Party and favored with prominent positions. This segment of Macedonians is employed to purge the rightist element. Ivan Mihailoff, the leader of the rightist group, is now in Italy. The "Macedonska Trybuna" which is printed in the US, is actually expressive of the view of the Mihailoff group. Pero Shandaroff and Leff Lavincheff are top leaders of the leftist element. They have been rewarded with responsible slots in the Bulgarian Police Administration. Lavincheff, after World War II, made several journeys into Western Europe, primarily to Austria. It is rumored that the nature of his journeys to the West was for the purpose of pinpointing dissident Macedonian elements in order to have them purged by the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

11. One of the projects undertaken by the Communist Government in 1945 was the selection (from all social strata) and elevation of intellectually inferior Bulgarian personnel to positions of prominence within the new State. In my

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estimation these people would be the least likely to succeed under any other system of government, for many of them had been failures prior to Communist occupation. They were permitted to enter high schools and universities where courses of instruction were designed particularly for people of their intelligence quotient. This category, aware of its limitations, goes along with the New Order realizing that it is important only under the Communist system. It is obvious that the Soviets have drawn on this type of personnel because it can be harnessed and directed to whatever ends the Communists desire. Today /1954/ approximately 50 percent of the students in the high schools and the universities consist of this element. They must realize that should the day of reckoning ever come for Bulgaria, they would lose their positions of prominence and prestige; consequently, they are willing followers and supporters of the Soviet system.

12. There is no overt resistance in Bulgaria today. As I previously stated, the population is in a state of passivity based on years of experience in dealing with revolutionary trends. Purges which have taken place over a period of time in Bulgaria have in part resulted from the activities of various penetration agents who enter Bulgaria for the obvious purpose of developing resistance groups. Persons who affiliate with such movements are detected and as a result purged. This is having an adverse effect and, in my estimation, is doing considerable psychological damage to the populace at large. Penetration agents who enter Bulgaria via Constantinople and deal with what the present Bulgarian Government considers illegal elements are causing considerable harm. One could even liken it to murder for when these people are traced, they are picked up, incarcerated, and eventually liquidated. An excellent example of my latter statement pertains to the group of Captain (fnu) Kristoff who re-entered Bulgaria under the auspices of a Western power in 1953 to develop resistance movements. In pursuing such a course in Bulgaria he was accompanied by eight or nine men all, I believe, of Bulgarian origin. His unit, which passed through many Bulgarian villages, was detected and apprehended after several months of operation. Subsequent interrogation by Communist authorities of the country revealed that Kristoff and his group made contact with residents from approximately 200 villages. As a result, the purges which ensued involved some members from each of these villages -- I heard that approximately 200 villagers were taken captive and purged. The consequences of the above were so far reaching that the people of Bulgaria were deeply shocked and quite concerned. I understand that their reasoning followed lines something like this: With US military forces and those of other Western Governments so far away, how in God's name could anyone expect resistance movements to be successful -- so why gamble unless Western forces are intent upon actually occupying the country? Should such an event transpire, these groups would be of definite use and would willingly support a Western invasion.
13. Discontent and unrest are not expressed through any physical efforts. The Bulgarian population, however, by word of mouth, through whispering campaigns, ridicules and belittles the Soviet system -- making fun of it all the while. One of the present jokes coming out of Bulgaria deals with Chervenkov himself and a postage stamp which bears his face. In watching the mails, Chervenkov noticed that letters did not bear his stamp. He consequently inquired at the Postal Ministry in order to learn why his stamp was not being used. This Ministry assured him they would look into the matter. Shortly thereafter Chervenkov was informed that his stamp was in use but that the population of Bulgaria when mailing a letter, mailed the stamp with Chervenkov's face down. It was obvious that they delighted in spitting on the face of Chervenkov and then pasting it down.
14. The old members of the Communist Party (those who were Communists prior to 1944) try to point out to the Soviet Union that they would fare much better if they employed a more relaxed policy when dealing with the populace. Such Communists, to all intents and purposes, have lost what prestige they maintained.

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They have been informed that they do not understand the principles and policies of true Stalinism. While they are still carried on the rolls, their prominent positions within the Party have been bestowed upon young Communists indoctrinated in the light of so-called Stalinism.

15. The word "careerism" is prevalent in Bulgaria today. Since the vast majority of the population lives in fear, their response to Soviet directives is one of immediate attempts to comply in a manner indicative of willing acceptance. Such reaction to Communist requirements and dictums is premised upon the desire to impress their leaders with the hope that such actions will lead to a more secure and less hazardous future. Those high school students who, in the eyes of the Communist Party, are not considered good prospects for the future Communist State are barred from participating in such activities as choir, theatre, sports, and other school functions. Many of them never graduate from high school and others are not permitted to enter the universities. As a consequence, the students of today have become far more tactful and deceitful than they were in pre-Communist Bulgaria.
16. The Bulgarian Communist leader, Chervenkov, has fully consolidated his position within the Communist Party of Bulgaria and, as I stated, he rules with an iron hand. Rivalry, of course, exists in the Communist bureaucracy of Bulgaria, but it also exists in all phases of Communist activity. Each tries to outdo the other, seeking a more favorable position in the eyes of Soviet authorities. Chervenkov and members of the top team were long-time residents of the Soviet Union and as a result have personal relations with Soviet personnel in the Kremlin. Today 1954 there is no purge as such within the Bulgarian Communist Party. There is a constant fluctuation in the attitude of Soviet authorities towards high ranking Communist personnel in the Bulgarian Government. This fluctuation is most usually expressed in the form of favors bestowed by the Soviet Union on such personnel. Nevertheless, Chervenkov appears to have attained a formidable position and, as previously stated, continues to pursue the old-line policies of Stalinism as Bulgaria's ranking Communist.
17. A new law to become effective in October 1954 has been introduced only in Bulgaria - not in any of the other Satellites. According to this law, all Bulgarians who have relatives and friends abroad will be subject to interrogation, confinement or even purge at the hands of the Communist Party. This is an example of how fanatic the small Bulgarian Communist Party has become. For even the Soviet Union does not overtly advocate such extreme measures with its own population who may have friends and relatives abroad.
18. There is a definite trend towards rule by Committee in Bulgaria. Committees rule in the high schools among both the faculty and the students. The same situation prevails among the faculty and the students of the universities. For that matter, a student preparing for graduation cannot receive his diploma until a committee has determined whether or not he merits it. Such situations prevail in factories and other industrial establishments. The newly revised Bulgarian Constitution has necessitated the introduction of a special course in Bulgarian high schools. This course, called "Constitution", serves a dual purpose. It interprets the constitution as the government desires and further indoctrinates the students in the dialectical approach.
19. During the first five years of their administration the Communists were in a hurry to collectivize Bulgarian agriculture. For the past two or three years prior to 1954 they have been trying to consolidate their gains and correlate their politics and theories with new goals. For the first few years, of course, they were primarily concerned with the destruction of opposition parties. In this endeavor I believe they have overtly succeeded. Under the new agrarian setup, life for the farmer is exceedingly difficult, for the farmers are unable to procure the barest necessities such as nails, tools or small machines. On the other hand, the government orders them to deliver more foods

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than they can produce. This is particularly true in the case of those few remaining private landowners and farmers who, in order to survive, must agree to collectivization. Figures published by the Bulgarian Government which show that there is an increase in land under cultivation are valid. I would presume that the figures published concerning Bulgarian agricultural production are close to the truth. However, Soviet figures grossly exaggerate USSR aid to Bulgaria.

20. Persons who do not fulfill their requirements in a particular line of endeavor in Bulgaria are not discharged. They are transferred to other lines of endeavor. The New Bulgarian State has introduced a new type of school which it calls Zavodsko Uchiliste [Technical Schools]. These schools are comparable to the high schools of the US, but their educational philosophy differs. The mission of these institutions under the New Plan is to indoctrinate and train workers for all industries in Bulgaria. At least one hundred different courses have been introduced, each varying in importance -- some emphasize technical training and others emphasize training for semi-skilled labor.
21. In comparison with pre-World War, II years, the actual standard of living in the country today [1954] is very low. All personal needs such as clothing and footwear are at best mediocre and in many cases tattered and worn. The currency reform of May 1952 wiped out all private savings which obviously makes everyone more dependent upon the existing administration. Whenever established norms in agriculture have not been met, the Soviet experts always cry "drought" thus excusing whatever may have prevented the realization of a norm or goal. They also attempt to explain to the people of Bulgaria that the suffering which they undergo now will, of course, be offset with plenty in future years.
22. No amnesty is evidenced as such, but from time to time numbers of individuals are released from various prisons. This is done without fanfare. The church has been fully subjected to the Communist Party. In 1950 a young girl, student of Turnovo, attended a Bulgarian orthodox church with her grandmother. The following day student committees ridiculed her for her weakness. Priests are by and large spiritual devotees, but the Soviets have found a group of individuals who claim to be priests but nevertheless adhere to Soviet ideologies. These people have been installed as leaders in the Association of Priests. Considerable interest by the Soviets has been directed towards the students in the schools. The results appear to be fruitful in spite of family opposition. It appears that these pupils cannot accept the fact that all of their teachers are wrong. Since this youth is in contact with instructors a major portion of the day, the propagandizing influence of the instructors appears to be effective. In several cases there was considerable controversy between the parents and students. The parents try to point out the fallacies in what is being taught. The students, of course, support what they have learned at the schools. In the attempt to prove to a senior high school student that his education is founded on false premises, one runs into extreme difficulty for the student not only will not agree, but calls such attempts Bourgeois propaganda.
23. In controlling radio broadcasts from foreign countries, the Soviet authorities did not requisition radio sets from the Bulgarian population; however, over a period of five years, no spare parts were available for deteriorating sets. Since many of these sets are no longer usable, information from the outside world is scarce. Receiving sets which can tune in programs from only the local station have been installed. Thus the Soviets control all broadcasts.
24. There is now [1954] an all inclusive ban against the import of printed material from the West. Prior to 1946 most towns and villages in Bulgaria had fine library systems. However, with the advent of the Soviet system, the Communists entered each of the libraries and removed that literature

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deemed to be expressive of Western ideas and Western influence. Anyone attempting to procure Western literature at Bulgarian libraries was informed that such materials were no longer in existence or that they were included on a list of forbidden books. In the winter of 1953 and 1954 the newspapers announced that all such books were destroyed.

25. One of the basic projects undertaken under the new government was the construction of large dams which would provide adequate water for irrigation. Within recent years, such projects have been by-passed in order to concentrate on the development of heavy industries. There is very little, if any, improvement in consumer goods within the country. There are, however, small and unimportant exceptions. For example, in the winters of 1949 and 1950 large quantities of skates were produced for Bulgarian children. Day to day propaganda constantly reminds the populace how bad conditions were prior to the Communist administration. However, since the Communist government has not fulfilled its own commitments, it prognosticates that in the years to come conditions will be much better than they are now. Of course the Bulgarian people realize how much better conditions were under their previous system. A real basis for comparison is the reminder that the goods and services which came to Bulgaria from Germany and Europe were far superior to anything which Bulgaria produces today.
26. During World War II at least two million soldiers from Germany crossed the country of Bulgaria. Prior to the time that they entered Bulgaria, they were indoctrinated in Rumania as to the social habits, general life and attitudes of the Bulgarian population. When they did enter Bulgaria, the Germans were on their best behavior. Their actions and attitudes were vastly different from general Soviet behavior. When the Soviets arrived they wore dirty apparel, their personal habits were crude, uncouth and unsanitary. This depicted them as nothing more than crude barbarians to the general populace of the country. Overindulgence in alcohol, promiscuity and violations of Bulgarian laws have left a bitter taste with the Bulgarian people.

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