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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

REPORT NO. [REDACTED]

### INFORMATION REPORT

CD NO.

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DATE DISTR. 14 April 1948

COUNTRY Bulgaria

SUBJECT Interrogation Report on the Situation in Bulgaria

NO. OF PAGES 13

PLACE ACQUIRED [REDACTED]

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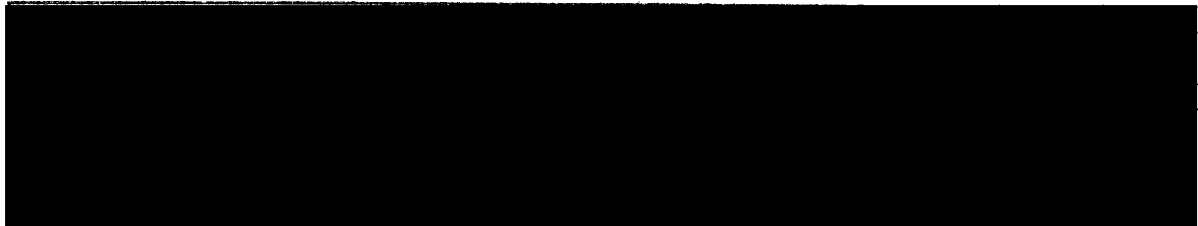
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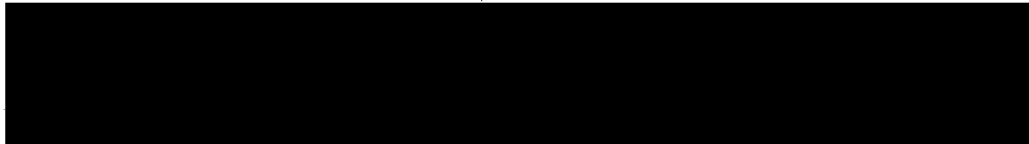
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I. Bulgarian Collaboration with the Greek Guerrillas

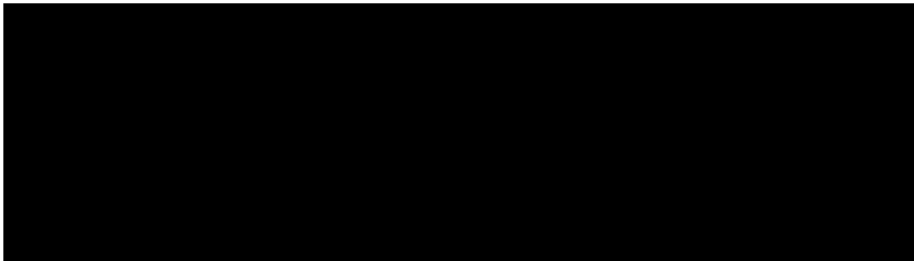
1. From my own observation I know the following. In April 1948 General Peter Vranchev was serving in the Spesialna Sluzhba (Special Intelligence Service).

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third was a man whom I did not know. We went in the direction of the old barracks of 6 Infantry Regiment. When we reached the entrance we stopped the cars, and the unknown man got out and directed the cars to a building among the old barracks. It was a long, narrow building, and when it was opened we loaded about 70 boxes on the empty truck. Some of the boxes were broken, and I saw that they were full of dressings and bandages from Czechoslovakia. We left there and went out of the city with the three cars following the road to Petric. The unknown man, who was the warehouseman, did not come with us.

4. The chauffeurs knew the road very well. We left Sofia at noon and travelled all night. When we reached the point where for the last time the highway follows the Struma River, we turned left from the

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gravel road and followed a country road. On this road we were challenged by a military guard-post, but we passed through after [redacted] Partisan identity card, which [redacted] since the occupation and which gives one the right to go anywhere, except to places which are specifically prohibited to former Partisans (sic).

- 5. About ten o'clock we reached a mountain near the border. There was a village on its lower slope; I think that it was the village of Marikostenovo. There the chauffeurs stopped the cars and we got out. Further on there was a camp of Greek guerrillas, and I could see tents, huts, et cetera. Greek guerrillas were drilling in the open. At that particular time they had stacked arms which were clearly visible. [redacted] told me, "You see, our men are being very well-trained."

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- 6. A fat Greek guerrilla came up and spoke to us, and we unloaded the trucks. Two other trucks were loaded with weapons of different kinds (rifles, sub-machine guns, light machine guns, heavy machine guns, et cetera) and ammunition. I verified this myself during the unloading, with which I helped. The weapons were visible because they were not well-packed.
- 7. We waited there for a good hour. The guerrilla knew Russian (he looked like a Caucasian), and we talked together, which we could do because of the similarity of the Russian and Bulgarian languages. I also talked Greek with him because I know Greek. The place where we were is quite far from the border, well within Bulgarian territory.
- 8. During the afternoon an ambulance of the Bulgarian Red Cross came to the place where we were. In it were wounded Greek guerrillas. Among them was a young woman who had her foot bound with wire and splits, the way they bind up broken feet in a hospital. From this I concluded that somewhere in the vicinity there was a first aid station where the wounded had received care. I asked the chauffeur of the ambulance who the people were, and he told me that they were Greek Partisans, and that the transportation of their wounded was a regular occurrence.

- 9. When we had finished our job we all left for Sofia, to which the Red Cross ambulance also was going. I went from Sofia to the village of Kniazevo

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- 10. I do not know why [redacted] ordered me to accompany these automobiles. Perhaps the men who ordinarily accompanied them had been sent away on some other mission, and it was necessary to transport the materiel quickly.

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[redacted] had complete confidence in me, because he knew me as an old Communist and Partisan. He did not give me a note which I might need to pass the various control points, because he knew that [redacted]

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[redacted] the privilege of going everywhere. I perceived that there was no need for such a note, because the chauffeurs were well-known [redacted] to the guard-post through which we passed. I did not take part in any other mission.

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- 11. Aid in food and money (i.e. other than war materiel) has been undertaken in Bulgaria by two large organizations, viz. the Bulgarian Red Cross and the Pomost Organizatsia. My knowledge of the organizations is from personal observation.

II. Bulgarian Red Cross

- 12. The Bulgarian Red Cross maintains hospitals in many cities of Bulgaria, and Greek guerrillas are treated in them. In Sofia the Red Cross has three hospitals. In the one on 9 September Street about 80 wounded Greek guerrillas

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are being treated. There is another on Dianzo Blankoev Square beyond the Russian monument; about 50 wounded Greek guerrillas are receiving treatment there. The third is in Gorna Banya where about 150 wounded Greek guerrillas are undergoing treatment. The hospital of Gorna Banya is housed in the villas there that once belonged to rich Bulgarians.

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13. I have visited these three hospitals, and I have talked with the Greek Partisans being treated in them. I visited them [redacted] repeatedly, because [redacted] and was always interested in learning whether any [redacted] relatives were among the wounded who arrived at the hospitals.

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14. The physicians, nurses, and other personnel of these hospitals are Greeks. These hospitals are not guarded by the Bulgarian army or police. There are Greek doormen who do not always know to whom to forbid entrance. They never made any objection to [redacted] me entering it.

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15. I should add that Bulgaria does not take any measures to conceal the Greek guerrillas, because you frequently see unarmed Greek guerrillas in the streets of Sofia, where they march in formation singing guerrilla or Russian songs. Many times they march in formation to the moving picture theaters. They work in the market gardens and at other tasks. In Sofia in 20 to 25 huts, located behind the radio station Dobri Terpeshev, a considerable number of Greek guerrillas are housed. I do not know why they are staying there.

16. There are two Czechoslovak ambulance airplanes on which wounded Greek guerrillas are transported from the border areas to Sofia or other cities for admission into the hospitals. These airplanes are located at the Vrasdebna airdrome. The fact that they carry wounded Greek guerrillas is well-known to everybody in Sofia. I personally learned about this from a Greek Slavo-Macedonian [redacted] an old Communist fugitive from the Eptapyrgion Prison in Salonika. [redacted] is a mechanic and worked at this airdrome, and he told me that last summer they transported by air an important Kapetanios from Thrace.

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17. The Bulgarian Red Cross has the monopoly of selling various refreshments, sweets, and mineral waters. It sells them in shops which it has established. It has also undertaken the sale of Boza which has a great sale in the summer, particularly in the factories. The resulting large profits are given to Markos' guerrillas. This is known everywhere in Bulgaria.

18. The Red Cross organizes theatrical performances, lectures, et cetera; the receipts are given sometimes to Markos and sometimes to the Greek children who are in Bulgaria, and sometimes to those refugees who have fled from Greece to Bulgaria.

19. The Red Cross often puts on drives to raise funds throughout Bulgaria, and the sums collected and the articles gathered are given to the same persons.

### III. Pomost Organizatsia

20. The Pomost Organizatsia is active throughout Bulgaria, because it has sections everywhere in the country. It often raises funds which sometimes are given to the Greek guerrillas and sometimes to the Greek children, and sometimes to the Greek refugees.

21. Recently the Bulgarian public were offered three books of propaganda for the Greek guerrillas. The purpose of the books was both to spread propaganda and to raise funds. One of these books is entitled "With Markos' Guerrillas"; I do not know the author, but the book is priced at 200 leva. The second book has the title "Written in Blood"; it was written by the Greek Patsadjis, who is in Bulgaria, and costs 150 leva. The title

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and author of the third book I do not remember, but I do remember that it costs 300 leva. I bought these three books, because this was obligatory.

- 22. The public are obliged to buy pictures of Zachariades and Markos for 10 leva each. The money realized from these is given for the purposes enumerated above.
- 23. The Pomost Organizatsia even puts on drives to raise funds in the Bulgarian Army. An order to raise funds is issued, and it is decided that the soldiers will not get the cheese that was intended for their mess, and that instead of meat they will eat beans or the like. The cheese or meat is collected and turned over by a committee consisting of an officer and some enlisted men to the Pomost Organizatsia for the Greek guerrillas or the Greek children or the refugees.
- 24. Each employee and workman when paid contributes a predetermined percentage for the guerrillas, or the Greek children, or the refugees. Anyone refusing to contribute is termed a fascist and is arrested. Whenever money is exchanged a fee is collected for the same beneficiaries.
- 25. Each fund is specifically designated for certain recipients. The books and pictures mentioned above are allotted to the army, and if a soldier does not happen to have the money to pay for them the sum is withheld from his next pay. I know all of these things from first hand experience.

IV. Information from Others

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26. During the occupation, when I was a Partisan, I knew [redacted] from Eastern Macedonia in Greece, who had the pseudonym [redacted] and served as liaison of the Greek guerrilla bands of ELIAS with the Bulgarian guerrilla bands. [redacted] After the rise of the present guerrilla movement in Greece I saw him in Bulgaria, and my friends and Communist acquaintances told me that he often accompanied Bulgarian automobiles to the border when they transported war materiel, weapons and other supplies for the Greek Partisans. I believe, however, that he went to Soviet [redacted] from Bulgaria, emigrating with other [redacted] who left there.

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27. The commanding officer of the 2nd Sector (Border Unit) is Colonel Ivan Radev. In 1934 or 1935 he was imprisoned in Bulgaria as a Communist. He escaped with 17 others, and he fled with his wife to Greece. I know that he fled to Greece, because [redacted]

[redacted] Bulgarian Communist named Ivan Radev was being held in Eptapyrgion Prison, and that his wife was in exile in Chalkidiki. I be-

[redacted] with similar ideas we began various discussions. When we got to the Greek Partisan movement, he asked me if I was doing anything to help them, and I answered that no opportunity had been given me to do so. He told me that he was doing a lot for them, and was sending them a great deal of help. Radev comes from Kastoria and speaks perfect Greek.

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28. [redacted] In discussing the aid given to the Greek guerrillas he told me that almost every day trucks filled with weapons, ammunition, and other supplies pass in front of his shop on their way to the Greek-Bulgarian border to supply the Greek guerrillas.

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29. When talking with [redacted] who works at Vrazdebna airdrome and whom I mentioned above, about the activities of the Greek guerrillas, I expressed my bewilderment as to how they get their supplies of weapons, ammunition, and other materials. [redacted] told me that airplanes fly over these areas and make drops. When I asked why the planes are not recognized he told me that they bear no markings and that they start from his airdrome and from other airdromes.
30. I heard from various officers, who are in a position to know, that the Militia uniforms which were recently replaced were dyed, their insignia removed, and then were given to the Greek guerrillas. I also heard that a large part of the German arms which were replaced by Russian arms in the Bulgarian Army have been sent to the Greek guerrillas.
31. Among the officials of the Communist Party of Bulgaria it is said that the leader of the whole movement for furnishing help to the Greek guerrillas from Bulgaria is Kostov (not Traise (sic) Kostov). He is greatly esteemed by Dimitrov and is one of his closest collaborators. In connection with the aid given by the Bulgarian people Kostov worked with the highest officials of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. For the aid given by the army Kostov works with a general designated for this purpose. Up to April 1948 General Vranchev, whom I mentioned above, was responsible for the aid furnished by the army.

V. International Brigade

32. At the end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948 an international brigade called "Inter Brigade" was established in Sofia. The headquarters of this brigade was and still is housed on the second floor of the building on Hristo Botev Street, which formerly housed the Club of the crippled non-commissioned officers of the First World War. 25X1X6
- 25X1X6 33. Of the members of this headquarters [redacted] (a) Doctor Mitsev, who has the Partisan pseudonym of Bouré Metska, who was chief of an international 25X1X6 brigade during the Spanish civil war and who at present has the rank of colonel; (b) General Bulgaranov; and (c) a man [redacted] about 40 years old, tall, blond, face rather thin, and lame in the left foot (I am not really sure which foot), and speaks Russian (I suppose that he is a Russian).
34. This brigade has its own flag, which is red with a yellow fringe, with a star in the middle surrounded by two sheaves of wheat, and around this in Bulgarian is the phrase "Death to Fascism; Liberty for the People"; in the upper left hand corner there is another smaller star with sheaves and the same inscription. I saw this flag at the end of 1947 when I was in Sofia for the annual anti-fascist congress, which I attended. They presented the flag there when the Greek question was being discussed. This flag is similar to that of the Anti-Fascist Union, but it should not be confused with it, because the flag of the Anti-Fascist Union is lighter in color. I believe that they approved the same flag, but with a different shade of red, so that the international brigade should not be too obvious. It was in order to conceal the brigade that it was installed in the offices in the same building with the offices of the anti-fascist organization on its first and third floors. This serves to explain the entrance of various persons who go to enlist in the international brigade but are supposed to be visiting the anti-fascist organization.
- 25X1X6 35. I myself have visited the offices of the International Brigade. When it was first established (at the end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948) there was considerable activity, and a great many people enlisted. There was propaganda for enlistment even among the troops in the regular Bulgarian Army. [redacted] the soldiers Ivan Katev,

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Kosta Dimchev, and another whose first name was Ivan [REDACTED] enlisted. The anti-fascist congress called at the end of 1947 was attended by invited representatives of the anti-fascist organizations of all countries. At present this Brigade does not engage in any activity, but it has its lists (of recruits) ready, and in a short time it can be in formation and ready for action. The Bulgarian arsenals have an enormous supply of weapons and material, chiefly German, and several such brigades can be armed. I do not know what arrangements were made for the induction of non-Bulgarians into this Brigade.

#### VI. Abduction of Greek Children

36. There are camps to shelter the Greek children abducted by the guerrillas and taken to Bulgaria, which are located in many of the cities and villages of Bulgaria. I have visited two of them, one in Burgas and one in Gorna Banya. In Burgas there are about 100 children, who are housed in the building which once contained the Labor Center. In Gorna Banya there are about 80 children who are housed in a villa belonging to a former Minister.

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37. I shall describe the Gorna Banya camp for you, for I visited it several times [REDACTED] to see if there were any relatives [REDACTED] among the children. The house is very fine and has two stories, a glass-enclosed front porch, and a flower garden. Games and toys for the children have been placed on the front porch. On the first floor there is a schoolroom, dining room, game room, and service rooms. On the second floor are the sleeping rooms with double-deck beds. The walls are covered with pictures of Markos, Zachariades, Stalin, Dimitrov, and other leaders of Communism. There are also various slogans posted on the walls: "Death to Fascism! Liberty for the People!", "Markos is our Father", "Russia is our Mother," "Down with Fascism!", and others like them. There are loudspeakers in several rooms, and somewhere there is a radio. The service personnel are Greek women wearing white or blue blouses. Many wear a red cross on the front of the blouse. Some of these women are teachers. There are no men except one old man who serves as doorman and who knows a little Bulgarian. The children range from four to fourteen years of age.

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38. I know Greek, and I have often taken the children's books and looked through them. They are written in Greek, and their entire content is against the Greek Government and the Anglo-Americans and favors the guerrillas and Russia together with the other Communist states. What made a great impression on me was the pictures in the books. They depict small children slaughtered by monarcho-fascists or soldiers, women with their breasts cut off, a mother at whose feet the monarcho-fascists throw her slain child to send to her husband who is a guerrilla, a square filled with troops and in the middle a fire on which the soldiers are roasting a little child on a spit, men and women and children being hanged, Partisans before the firing squad, burned villages, pictures of various Partisans, Kapetaneoi, Markos, Zachariades, Stalin, et cetera.

39. These children's minds are being poisoned in such a way that I am sure that after a short time they will not recognize father or mother or family or native land or anything else. They will believe only in Communism. I asked many little children what their names were and from where they came. As was natural the little ones did not remember their own villages or their parents or their family names. The older ones, who ought to remember, did not answer. After many visits I gained their confidence, and again they did not answer but said, "They do not let us talk about such things."

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"Do not look for him, since it is useless. They have taught the children not to tell their family names and the names of their villages, and they have also assigned to them new names and places of origin. When you question them, they either will not answer or will tell you lies."

41. On the children's faces you see a constant fear, and their eyes dart right and left to see whether a teacher has heard what they said, for they are not allowed to talk. I do not believe that the visit of any commission would do any good in trying to determine the identity of the children, because the children will not talk, or if they do talk they will give false names and villages as they have been taught to do.
42. In order to ridicule the Christian religion and to make the children believe that only Communism, and not God, can give them anything, they use the following system. In the schoolroom on one wall hangs the picture of the Virgin, and on the opposite wall is the picture of Markos. The children go and pray to the Virgin to give them toys, but nothing is given to them. Afterwards they go and ask Markos. In one corner of the room there is a hole in the wall. When they ask Markos for toys, various playthings are thrown through this hole for them by a man who is not visible, and as a result the children believe that Markos gives them these things, for Markos is everywhere and hears requests of those who call upon him.
43. The older children have begun to learn Russian and Bulgarian. The songs which all the children learn are Russian and Bulgarian songs.

#### VII. Internal Political Situation

44. The Communists of Bulgaria at present amount to 40 to 45 percent of the population. Today there are 1,700,000 members of the Party. The others are not members of the Party but either are sympathizers, or the Communists have involved them in crimes or other activities in such a way that they are obliged to become their followers. A very intensive propaganda is being spread among the youth, so that in two years the Communists have won 60 percent of the youth of Bulgaria.
45. The non-Communists naturally are not happy with the prevailing regime. Even a large number of the Communists are dissatisfied and now more than half the population is opposed to the Dimitrov government. I shall explain below why the Communists are dissatisfied.
46. One cannot say that the situation has become stabilized in Bulgaria. There are still clashes of ideas, and there is a struggle regarding who will finally win. The Communist Party of Bulgaria has suffered its first cleavages, and the position of Dimitrov is not assured. He himself understands this and is struggling to achieve a secure position.
47. The first break in the Party came from the clash between Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov. You know that Dimitrov and Kolarov are the two old Communists who lived for many years in Russia. Many others of the leaders of the Party, such as Dragoitcheva, Terpeshev, and others, had stayed in Bulgaria, where, under the monarchy, they struggled to maintain and develop the Party. These militant leaders receive greater veneration from the Communists than do those who fled to Russia (Dimitrov and others).

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48. Kolarov is ambitious to take over the government of the country, and to achieve this he sided with the opponents of Dimitrov on the question of the clash between Tito and the Cominform. To Kolarov's faction belong Blagoi Ivanov, Dobri Terpeshev, Tsola Dragoitcheva, General Trenski, General Sneobolnski, and others. The Kolarov faction is composed of Communists, but they do not want Bulgaria to become a slave of the Cominform and of Russia. They want the Party to be a part rather than to control the government (sic). It is possible for the Communist Party of Bulgaria not to have relations with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia while the governments and the states continue to maintain relations.
49. The followers of Kolarov are not spreading propaganda against the government, because they are participating in it themselves, but they are waging an internal struggle, i.e., a struggle within the Communist Party, with the definite purpose of winning the Party to their views. The followers of Kolarov cannot be read out of the Party, because almost half the Party members belong to the Kolarov faction. No one has yet been able to impose his will to such an extent that he can win over the majority of the Party and so eject his opponents. If an attempt were made today there would be a danger of creating two Communist Parties, which is hardly expedient. For this reason both factions are limited to propagandizing among their followers.
50. Since there was danger of a split and of Dimitrov's losing leadership, he postponed indefinitely calling the fifth annual congress of the Party which should have met in Sofia in September. Dimitrov wanted to call the congress, and he wanted to set only the month and not the day, so that he might decide the day without warning and so invite only his own followers; as a result the representatives of the provinces who, for the most part, are followers of Kolarov would not be able to attend. Thus Dimitrov would have obtained approval for the policy of the government from the Party. His intention was perceived, however, and he was compelled to yield in order to avoid splitting the Party.
51. The Communists following Dimitrov are those who became Communists after 9 September. Among them are the former fascists and collaborators with the Germans; such people signed statements that they have embraced Communism, in order to avoid prosecution. Naturally the old Communists have no use for them or, consequently, for Dimitrov.
52. Furthermore I report the following things against Dimitrov and his friends, and the people are fully aware of these things. King Boris used to receive a grant of 47,000,000 leva per annum; Dimitrov receives 89,000,000. The King had a palace and two villas; Dimitrov has seventeen villas and he is now building a Kremlin. The King had 150 bodyguards; Dimitrov has more than a thousand. Mrs. Dimitrov spent 200,000 leva for her toilette for one evening only, while the people are hungry and naked and have no shoes. Dimitrov has seventeen luxurious automobiles, whereas one or two would be enough for him. He lives a very luxurious life and so do all the Communists who fled to Russia and returned after the 9th of September. The people call them the "Red Bourgeoisie".
53. Dimitrov's officers, who fled to Russia and ate and drank, have all become colonels and generals, while we who fought hard at the side of the people during the fascist regime and during the period of German rule have remained in unimportant positions. In order to justify the preference and promotions given to his own men (those who lived in Russia) he says, "Give us educated men. Bulgaria needs educated men." He says

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this because he knows that the Communists who stayed in Bulgaria did not have the opportunity to be educated, and consequently the Kolarov faction does not have educated men. We followers of Kolarov recognize that we do not have many educated men, but we say, "Give us the opportunity to be educated by admitting us to the schools." They reply that if we study in schools we shall be half trained, because a complete education requires many years, and we Communists cannot have half trained men in the administration, when the other cooperating parties (Sveno, Socialists, et cetera) have educated men.

54. All the relatives of Dimitrov and of his wife have taken the highest positions. Everyone who has come or is now coming from Russia takes the highest position at a very fat salary. A lieutenant who is really a Communist but who lived in Bulgaria gets a salary of 7,000 leva. A director of a factory who came from Russia receives a salary of 100,000 leva. And that is not all, but to get this position he replaces some non-Muscovite, who was probably better than he, and then he proceeds to dismiss other workers and employees, and in their places he appoints his relatives. These relatives get jobs for their kinsmen, and so on, and so on. The Muscovites are not satisfied with one job only, but they get more than one salary, for they also serve as "Instructors".
55. In this way there is actually being formed a new bourgeois class, the "Red Bourgeoisie", who live more luxuriously than did the bourgeois of the old regime. While they receive such fat salaries and have the opportunity to procure the necessities of life from the Free Market, they do not do this, but rather get them from the cooperatives, and from the best one at that. In each cooperative there is a list of these "bourgeois" who receive preference in the distributions of various articles.

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56. If they worked, perhaps they would earn their pay, but they all play the "Instructor".

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The same thing goes on in all professions.

57. If you ask anyone why those men are appointed to the best jobs, you get the answer, "They have won our confidence." In reality they are former fascists and collaborators with the Germans. They have appointed all the criminals of the 9th of September to the police force, and the same thing has happened among the army officers and in other professions. They have obtained all the good jobs in the provinces. They are mayors, Party secretaries, directors of cooperatives, et cetera, and so anyone can see that in the distributions of rationed articles they get preferential treatment. When crops are requisitioned the heavy burden is always put upon the "reactionaries" (those who do not follow Dimitrov), whereas followers of Dimitrov are allowed to keep large quantities of their produce which they channel into the black market. If anyone dares to protest he is called a black reactionary and is arrested and disappears.
58. The children of these men receive preferential treatment in education. Their children enter the military schools, for to be accepted into a military school a certificate of the Party and of the Communist Youth organization is required, and since the leaders of these are the Muscovites, it is easy to see who gets the certificates.
59. Most important of all is the fact that all these followers of Dimitrov are agents of Moscow and are working only for Russia, not for Bulgaria.

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They follow everybody and everything, and they keep Russia informed regarding the slightest details, so that today Bulgaria is nothing but a Russian province. For this reason the people call Dimitrov's followers not only "Red Bourgeoisie" but also "Russian agents".

VIII. Education

60. Some of the letters of the alphabet have been discarded, so that the Bulgarian language may more nearly approximate Russian. So far as possible the pronunciation of Bulgarian is being made to resemble Russian.
61. Communist history is being taught in the schools. The old history of Tsar Symeon, et cetera, has been superseded. From the older history they teach only the periods which are connected with the help Bulgaria has received from Russia.
62. The study of religion has been abolished, just as prayers have been omitted in the schools and in the army, et cetera.
63. Marriages are performed according to civil rite instead of church rites. When one appears at the city hall to make his declaration of intent to marry, he is asked if he wants a religious ceremony. If he says that he does not, then they give him 60,000 leva on the supposition that within fifteen years he will have two children. If he does not have two children, then he will be obliged to return the money. If, however, he says that he will be married by the religious rite, then he gets no monetary aid. If he states that he does not want a religious ceremony and takes the money, and then later is married in a religious ceremony, he will be jailed.

IX. Compulsory Labor

64. Every person in Bulgaria is obliged to work 66 hours for the State in each six months period. To keep a record each person is provided with a booklet in which is kept an account of the hours that he works. This compulsory work is usually done on Sundays. When the schools close the students work during the summer vacation for two months in the Labor Brigades. Joining a Labor Brigade is "optional", but anyone who does not work will not be accepted in school the following year, even if he has not been arrested as a reactionary and imprisoned, which usually happens.
65. This compulsory labor is represented as the voluntary participation of the people in the reconstruction of Bulgaria. The Army also participates, and not even the officers are excepted. One sees old men, senior officers, university professors, and others working at manual labor. The "Red Bourgeoisie", of course, are excepted. They march at the head of the others as far as the site of the project, but then they play the "Instructor" with their hands in their pockets. The strange thing is that they act as if they know everything.
66. Nobody works voluntarily and eagerly. Everybody makes fun of those who do the work. The tragic irony is that when the work is finished all the workers are obliged to sit down and listen to a speech written by the "Instructors" but delivered by a laborer who usually does not believe a word of what he is preaching. The workers applaud, though unwillingly, while the "Instructors" take photographs to show the enthusiasm of the people.

X. Food and Clothing

67. Everything is rationed. Bread costs 18 leva a kilogram for the workers and 50 leva for those who do not work; 250 grams is the daily ration for non-workers, and 300 for persons working in offices and other light work, 400 for the workers doing ordinary work, and 800 to 1,200 grams

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for those working at heavy labor.

68. Daily wages vary between 250 and 500 leva, but there are various compulsory deductions, e.g., for Markos or for the refugees, for the Greek children who are in Bulgaria, for five newspapers which they are obliged to take every day, and for various books written by the "Russian Agents", et cetera. Monthly salaries vary from 6,000 to 100,000 leva, but the compulsory deductions are made on these salaries. A second lieutenant receives a salary of 7,000 leva, a first lieutenant receives 8,500, a captain 11,500. Those receiving more than 20,000 leva per month are "Russian Agents".
69. There is no bread on the free market. There are very rare distributions of the other foodstuffs in small quantities which are quite insufficient, and for this reason everybody has to turn to the black market which exists in spite of merciless prosecution and harsh penalties.
70. Oil is priced on the ration card at 180 to 200 leva (per kilogram ?), but on the black market is 1,200 leva. Meat on the ration card is 250 to 310 leva, and in the black market is 600 to 700 leva. Butter on the ration card is 800 leva and in the black market is 1,500 to 2,000 leva. Cheese on the ration card is 160 leva and in the black market is 500 to 600 leva. Shoes cost 250 to 900 leva on the ration card and in the free market (which will be explained below) are 10,000 to 15,000 leva. A man's suit on the ration card costs 4,500 leva but 30,000 to 35,000 leva in the free market. An ordinary meal in a restaurant usually costs 200 leva. I recently ate with [REDACTED] we each had a portion of fish, a salad, bread, and we shared a half oka of wine, and I paid 800 leva. It was a very ordinary restaurant but it had music.
71. The free market may be explained as follows. The State has taken over all business. To offer goods to the public, various stores have been established where one can find whatever he wants except food. Suppose that there is fine furniture worth more than a million leva. Anyone can buy all these articles, but they are so expensive an ordinary workman or salaried man cannot buy them. Only the "Russian Agents", who receive fat salaries, can and do buy them. If anybody else dares to go and buy any little thing, using his small savings, he is immediately spotted by the secret police, who are in every store; he is put under surveillance, arrested, interrogated as to where he got the money, and is beaten to compel him to confess the truth about such matters. They know the "Russian Agents", however, and no one says anything to them.
72. The goods on the free market are Bulgarian, Rumanian, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Polish and Serbian. There are no Russian goods anywhere. Not even a needle comes from Russia.
73. Food, as I said, is not sold in these stores, but there is another free market as follows. The peasants do not consume everything which the State leaves them after making its requisition. For example, they do not eat the butter, cheese, eggs, et cetera, but when there is an open air market in the cities they take their produce there to sell it and get a little money to buy the articles sold on the ration cards or other things that they require. They take their produce to sell it at a higher price than that paid by the State for requisitioned produce. If he wishes, the peasant has the opportunity to sell whenever he likes that portion of his products left to him after the State has made its requisition. They ask a good price. The State, however, through its agents, the "Muscovite Instructors", watches to see what articles have been brought by the peasants and offered for sale. In order to bring down the prices the State sends a truck loaded with the same articles into the market place and offers the same articles for sale at a very low price, even lower than the price of articles sold on the ration card. Word of this spreads, and the people run to buy the articles offered by the State at a bargain.

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74. When the distribution of foodstuffs goes very slowly, the first places in the queue are taken by the relatives and friends of the employees who make the distribution, and only those at the head of the queue get anything. It is just like the lottery ticket sellers in Greece, who always have their friends nearby, and they see to it that their friends win the prizes. There is a large number of persons in each city who are related to the State employees who sell foodstuffs. These relatives buy the food, and then resell it on the black market and share the profits with the State employees. The rest of the people do not get the cheap food distributed by the State, but the peasants faced with State competition are compelled to sell their products at a very low price, because they need the money and do not want to return with their products to their villages.
75. Farms have been assigned to the Kolhozes. If a man does not wish to join a Kolhoz, they take his land from him. The Kolhozes are established on the most productive land, and small farmers who formerly owned the land are compensated by being given an equal area of land- poor land that will not even grow grass. This system is a very good kind of propaganda for Dimitrov and his crowd, because the Kolhozes include the best and most productive land, and so they appear successful.
76. Vineyards are not brought into Kolhozes. Small enterprises which do not require machinery can continue under private ownership. So far houses continue to be privately owned, but the owner does not have the right to rent his house. The State has registered all dwellings and other buildings, and it assigns them to those who need them and submit a petition, and the State determines the rent to be paid.
77. Recently houses have again been registered, and there was talk that this was a preliminary to nationalizing them. The owner of a house has the right to make improvements on his property, but nobody does so, because everybody is afraid that the State is going to take the houses in its nationalization program.
78. The rent for one bedroom, living room, and kitchen is 500 leva and up. The State is building many houses and factories. Never has such an orgy of construction been seen in Bulgaria. Within a few years Bulgaria will be unrecognizable after the erection of new cities, new factories, et cetera.
79. Bulgarian industry is faced with a tremendous lack of raw materials, but it is trying to obtain these from its own sources. Very few raw materials are being imported from Russia.

XI. Political Parties

80. Every Bulgarian must belong to a political party. One cannot avoid participation. If you do not join a party you are a reactionary, and you will be arrested on a trumped up charge and you will be convicted.
81. Besides the parties there is the OF Opst Profesional Soyus (sic), a federation of workers and employees. It is absolutely necessary that workers and employees join these organizations, for if one does not join he cannot find employment, since he is a reactionary. There are also the Pomost Organizatsia and the Soyus Moitsi Protif Antifasizm ("Anti-Fascist Organization"). These three organizations make a show of being non-political, but in reality they are Communist. The REMS is like the EPON in Greece, and the Septemyritche is like the Aetopoula ("Eaglets") in Greece. These two (REMS and Septemyritche) and the Party itself are Party organizations. The other parties have similar auxiliary organizations. Recently the Youth organizations of all the parties have been united and

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and compose the SENEME (sic). You see the activity of the Communists in this organization. The other parties in the Fatherland Front, i.e. the Svenco, Agrarian, et cetera, are parties only for the sake of form. In reality they are all Communist, and the multiple party system is formally retained only to conceal the dictatorship of Dimitrov.

XII. Militsia

82. The uniformed Militsia has undertaken the maintenance of order throughout the country, and it has a strength of about 50,000 men. Its leader is General Hristozov, who is responsible to the Ministry of the Interior. In addition there are similar corps which are also responsible to the Ministry of the Interior. Such corps are the Drezavna Sigurno (National Security), Kreminal Militsia (regular police), Stopanska Militsia (Market Inspection Service), Politsika Otdel (sic - occupied with counter espionage), Pasaport Otdel (Aliens Police), City Police to guard the city stores and properties, Factory Police, Police of the State Stores, et cetera. In a word the Militsia is charged with keeping order, and special police corps have taken over police duties in many cases, but without depriving the Militsia of the right to exercise police duties. These corps are autonomous and independent, but can be regarded as auxiliaries of the Militsia.
83. During the day, the Militsia assigns patrols of two men each in the villages. At night it assigns sentries, foot patrols, mounted patrols, mechanized patrols (cars, motorcycles, et cetera) and patrols by the anti-fascist organization. During the day its men carry only pistols. At night they carry rifles, sub-machine guns, light machine guns, and in general have a good deal of firepower.

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