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The Organization Of The DARJHAVNA Sigurnost (D.S.)

SOURCE TRIESTE : Confidential source.

DATE OF OBSERVATION : Until the end of 1952.

EVALUATION COMMENT : This report is a valuable contribution on the organization and activity of the Bulgarian State Security. A complete evaluation is not possible due to its lack of details. However, this report corresponds in general lines with information available in this office (see RFE Items Nos. 883/53, 13919 and 7367/52.)

The Chief Evaluator is of opinion that each Desk should be provided with a copy of this report, the study of which will disclose that the system of Secret Police employed in Bulgaria has parallels throughout the captive countries; no wonder since it is not only shaped after Soviet police, but retains shades of a development which leads back to the days of the "Ochrana."

Some of the special merits of this report lie in the clarity with which it demonstrates the formation of a new privileged super-Party class, which is actually formed by a group whose guilt by association is the reason for its strong cohesion; a sociological phenomenon, unfortunately until now far too little exploited and almost undocumented. Thus, this report assumes a significance far exceeding pure Bulgarian affairs; it provides, for instance, inklings of the kind of power BERIA must have possessed; it explains the absence of a large organized underground; it also provides a key to appreciate the difficulties of removing the system.

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1. Location and Organization of the State Security.

The Darzhavna Sigurnost (State Security) in Bulgaria is an organization that had already existed before 1944 and that was founded for the first time under the Government of Alexander ZANKOV, the Government of the democratic parties, called the "Demokraticheski sgovor" (The Democratic Entente). The organization is comprised of secret as well as official known agents, i.e. there is a secret service and contemporaneously an official open one.

Although the Communists claimed that this organization did not have a constitutional form and said that it was a contradiction of the TIRNOVO constitution before they came to power, they did not only spare it after 9 September 1944, but they even developed it to perfection. It was only due to a misunderstanding or inadvertence that its name Darzhavna Sigurnost was not changed. Naturally, the Communists who invaded the organization after 9 September 1944, favored also by the fact that at that time the Ministry of the Interior was in Communist hands (Anton YUGOV,) did not feel sufficiently prepared for their new functions. As a result and despite the obvious contradiction, a great number of the D.S. officials of the old regime were kept on the pay-roll during the first period and particularly those who kept on the pay-roll during the first period and particularly those who were known as sadists, so that they might train the new-comers for their positions. Thus, for example, in PLEVEN, a well-known sadist of the Darzhavna Sigurnost known under the name of "Mantoto", remained in the services of the Secret Police; In VRATZA the sadist "Oven"; in SOPIA the famous wrestler (borez) Petr FERESHANOV remained at the Central Management of the Darzhavna Sigurnost, and many others. But after bequeathing their experience in the field of inquisitions to the Communists, all these persons were "liquidated", i.e., killed without a trial.

Officially, the Darzhavna Sigurnost works quite openly through its offices in all the district and provincial towns of the country. These offices have their plain-clothes agents who do not have a uniform of their own. They are issued special identity papers which entitle them to free rides on all means of State, communal, cooperative and private transportation and to free entry at all times,

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to every public place, such as theaters, cinemas, dances, etc.

The Darjhavna Sigurnost is organized as follows:

The Central Management in SOPIA directs all the agencies of the organization throughout Bulgaria and has its offices in the building of the former General Police Management (glavna direkzia na poliziata) on Georgi Dimitrov Street (former Maria Luisa Street) near the "Lions bridge". The Darjhavna Sigurnost itself is divided into three sections:

The internal information section (vatreashen razuznavatelen otdel) at the central office;

The economic section (stopanski otdel) which occupies a separate building near the central management;

The foreign information section (vanshno razuznavatelen otdel) on "Bulevard Evlogi Georgiev."

Moreover there is a sub-division of the Darjhavna Sigurnost on "Iskar" street which is concerned with the "moral preservation of the people" (za moralno opazvane na naselenieto).

2. Location and Organization of the Intelligence Service.

In 1952 the military information section, (otdel voenno razuznavane) heretofore part of the Darjhavna Sigurnost, detached itself from the latter and became an independent organization. It is situated on Stalin Street (former Zariza Ioanna Street) on the third floor of the Palace of Justice (Sadebna Palata). In those offices there are the various stations and set-ups for the emission and reception of information, for interceptions and the "voenna prokuratura". The military intelligence and counter-intelligence agents wear civilian clothes. This services supervises the newly formed "voizka za vatreashna sigurnost" (unit for internal security), whose soldiers wear a special military uniform (with a blue cap) and carry special arms, of the type of the Soviet MVD agents. The country's key positions, strategical centers, guard service for Communist high-ups etc., are entrusted to this unit. It has nothing to do with the frontier guards units (granichni vojski) in the service of the Ministry of the Interior. The

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arrests of soldiers are exclusively carried out by members of this unit. Attached to it there is a school (secret) whose graduates are sent to regular army units as simple soldiers to carry out secret internal intelligence activities. These secret agents are not known to anybody, not even to the officers; They carry pistols and normally carry out the functions of couriers, quartermasters and other administrative duties which might also justify their carrying a pistol which they are entitled to use at every moment and whenever it appears to be necessary, even against the commander of the regiment.

3. Provincial Organization of the State Security.

As mentioned above, the Darjhavna Sigurnost has its own agencies in all main towns of the districts and provinces which agencies are directed by a Darjhavna Sigurnost Chief (nachalnik na D.S.), a civilian to whom also the so-called "sledovateli" (investigative magistrates) who are never real lawyers are subordinate. In reality the Darjhavna Sigurnost does not exercise any administrative services, but, on the other hand, it intervenes always and everywhere in all fields of life, i.e. at the schools, factories, in the army, etc. When a young man wishes to be admitted to a university, the opinion of the Darjhavna Sigurnost is a factor that matters most in deciding whether or not his application will be approved. For example a young applicant for admission to the university who is a member of the DSNM (dimitroveski savez na narodnata mladezh - para-Communist youth organization) and therefore has all the necessary qualification to be admitted may still be rejected if the Darjhavna Sigurnost makes use of its right of veto his admittance. This happens when the Darjhavna Sigurnost wants to punish a DSNM member who either refused to collaborate with its agents or collaborated insufficiently. In other cases it may happen that a young man who is apparently an opposer of the regime and should therefore not be admitted to the university manages to be admitted upon request and with the support of the Darjhavna Sigurnost itself, because he was and still is a secret collaborator of that organization. This interference of the Darjhavna Sigurnost at the universities is secret. The university authorities can only decide upon such matters after the Darjhavna Sigurnost has expressed its opinion and are obliged to follow the decisions of the secret police.

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The Darjhavna Sigurnost is not concerned with criminal cases occurred in the country, which fall under the competence of the Militia and the judiciary authorities, unless these cases involve sabotage or other extraordinary facts with a political tendency, or where it is necessary to create the conditions for such facts when they might be of interest to the Darjhavna Sigurnost.

4. Cadres of the State Security

The cadres of the Darjhavna Sigurnost in all its sections and branch offices are formed of tried and faithful members of the Communist Party, and, above all, of persons who in the past have compromised themselves with criminal and political offences also against their own relatives. Normally they are young people some of whom were sent to the USSR for a "specialization course". Only a few of these young people have a diploma from the Lyceum. All the Darjhavna Sigurnost officials in service at the offices of the central management in SOFIA and at the agencies in the main towns of the districts are identified with their own real names, all others have false names and, of course do not serve in their native regions or provinces but in those parts of the country where none of the population knows them.

5. Tasks of the various sections.

The functions of the 1st Darjhavna Sigurnost section, i.e. the internal information section (vatrashno razsuznavane) which has its fixed secret agents and their collaborators either levied voluntarily or by force, are to discover the so-called "enemies of the people", "class enemies", "political bandits" etc., among the people and to watch over the loyalty of the administrative officials and Party functionaries in the country.

The economic section is concerned with identifying black market dealers and, particularly, with making sure that the deliveries to the collection centers (darjhavna dostavki) are regularly accomplished by the people. This section also occupies itself with cases of economic sabotage unless they have a political character. The agents of this section wear civilian clothes and are assisted by militiamen wearing uniforms who belong to the special economic militia.

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The third section, i.e. that concerning foreign information (vanshen razuznavatelen otdel) is not in conflict with the duties assigned to the military intelligence service, and is in charge of discovering possible spies and agents from abroad or agents of foreign intelligence services living in Bulgaria, and of discovering possible anti-Communist plots inside the country etc.

6. Recruiting of Cadres.

The Darjhavna Sigurnost levies (zaverbuva) its agents among the population or among the Party members without the interference of third persons and according to its own judgement. Frequently there were conflicts between the Darjhavna Sigurnost and the Party because of the manner in which certain persons were levied as Darjhavna Sigurnost agents. Our source quoted the case of a young Communist (NU) who submitted an application for admission to the university. He was sent to prison in BELA SLATINA because he refused to agree to collaborate with the Darjhavna Sigurnost. The Communist Party section of BELA SLATINA defended his case, but nevertheless the young man had to remain in jail until he gave in and complied with the request of the Darjhavna Sigurnost.

The official collaborators of the Darjhavna Sigurnost are all Communist Party members and state employees who are in charge of collaborating in "unmasking (razoblichavane) the class enemies" (klassovete vragove). This is the formula proclaimed by the Communist Party. A formula that serves the Communists as a pretext to justify their calumnious, cowardly and mean activities against the non-Communist people. Thus for example, in case a man who is against the regime would attack the latter or one of his managers in the presence of a Party member, this Party member is compelled to denounce him to the Darjhavna Sigurnost, even if he might be his close friend or a relative. Then, in case this Party member should not comply with his duty and the Darjhavna Sigurnost should hear about it, his position within the Communist Party would certainly become a difficult one. He would be publicly attacked at the Party meetings and accused of "collaborating with a "class enemy" (sotrudnichestvo sas klassovia vrag). In every Party section at the factories, in the collectives, the

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State concerns and cooperatives at the schools etc., there is a Communist Party member who is in direct contact with Darjhavna Sigurnost which informs of all possible orders regarding this or that question or problem. In case the Darjhavna Sigurnost wishes to fire or simply punish a worker or even a manager of a concern or institution because he has rendered himself guilty in the eyes of the Darjhavna Sigurnost, the latter orders its secret collaborator to attack and crush that victim at the factory or other meetings. Thereby it wants to give the workers and employees the impression that the attack or criticism is personal, i.e. started by the secret collaborator and not by the Darjhavna Sigurnost. The latter wants to veil its inference in front of the masses and tries to remain in its position behind the scenes (zad kulissite).

7. Organizations

From a hierarchical point of view the Darjhavna Sigurnost is constituted as follows:

The general Chief (glaven nachalnik) for the whole of Bulgaria who is, contemporaneously, the chief of the Central Darjhavna Sigurnost in SOFIA.

The section chiefs of the central management of the Darjhavna Sigurnost in SOFIA (nachalnizi na ordeli).

The Darjhavna Sigurnost chiefs in the district towns (nachal nizi na okrajniti D.S.)

Group chiefs of the Darjhavna Sigurnost in the district towns (grupovi nachalnizi kam okrajnite D.S.) which have nothing in common with the administrative subdivisions in Bulgaria.

Section chiefs attached to the groups of every D.S. (sektorni nachalnizi kam grupite na vsiaka D. S.).

Common employees, agents and administrative personnel.

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In addition there are inspectors (inspektorski sluzhbi) who simply make checks.

8. Wages and Privileges.

The material conditions of the Darjhavna Sigurnost members are the best: a chief in a district town earns 1,400 leva a month, as basic pay, in addition to travel expenses (komandirovki, dnevnii i prochii) and other bonuses. They buy their supplies at special shops of the Darjhavna Sigurnost where they can buy foodstuffs, clothing and other commodities upon presentation of special identity cards marked with an MK and a red line (MK - parva categoria - first category). In the past they got these goods free, today at very moderate prices. Such shops, by now known to the population, are in SOFIA as well as in the provinces. One of them in SOFIA is on Sveta Nedelija Square opposite the theological school (bogoslovski fakultet). It is characteristic that after the food ration cards were abolished in Bulgaria, payment of goods at very limited prices was introduced at these shops, and the right to buy them was also extended to other categories, i.e. higher state employees, high party officials and Soviet specialists in Bulgaria. Even at times of strong crises in Bulgaria when food, vegetable and fruit supplies can short, such goods were abundant at these shops and there was no need to stand in lines for these commodities. Special identity cards are required in order to be admitted to these shops.

On the whole the salaries of the Darjhavna officials are among the best in the country and even higher than those of the soldiers which are already relatively high. It is pointed out, however, that all Darjhavna Sigurnost officials below the grade of group chiefs are secret agents who have additional jobs in normal life, such as those of teachers, accountants, surveyors, managers, simple workers etc., for which jobs they also draw additional salaries. That the Darjhavna Sigurnost disposes of great means is proved by the fact that it regularly pays its innumerable collaborators. The latter are divided into two categories: the first one with a fixed salary and the second one paid occasionally, i.e. not on a stable basis. Those with a fixed salary are paid a minimum of 250-300 leva a month, the others are paid according to the services rendered to the Darjhavna

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Sigurnost, for each single case. These payments are very high when the discovery of some organized plot is concerned. In those cases the Darjhavna Sigurnost might pay 2,000 leva and more on one single occasion. In all these cases of payments the Darjhavna Sigurnost requests receivers to sign receipts.

The levying (zaverbuvaneto) of Darjhavna Sigurnost collaborators among the people to form this great police net embraces the entire population and is carried out in the following two manners: through direct imposition or through indirect imposition. The main objectives in levying secret Darjhavna Sigurnost collaborators are the ranks of the former anti-Communist political parties, of the religious organizations, former military men, etc.

9. Recruiting methods.

In the case of direct levying the person concerned is arrested and accused of serious against the regime, against the Communist Party, etc. This accusation is nothing but faked and is supported by "documents", "facts", "witnesses", etc, which are, of course, all false. After uninterrupted illtreatment the victim is compelled to "confess" his guilty for the mere reason of saving his life. Normally the accusation bears the risk of a death sentence. The Darjhavna Sigurnost makes it clear to the defendant that he might avoid the death sentence and remain alive if he renders himself useful to the people and thereby expiate his crime in another way. Thus it is suggested that he join the services of the Darjhavna Sigurnost and watch and discover the "enemies of the people" etc. Once he has agreed, the victim has to sign a sworn statement (kletvena deklarazia) with which he obliges himself, with the risk of losing his life, to punctually carry out the orders of the Darjhavna Sigurnost. Then the victim can be set free, or he is only sentenced to a few years imprisonment. In prison he will carry out the functions of a secret Darjhavna Sigurnost agent among the prisoners. If he is not tried he is released and sent to a concentration camp where he will always be a secret Darjhavna Sigurnost agent, or he is interned in some part of Bulgaria where he is unknown and where he will be in charge of working as a secret denunciator of the Darjhavna Sigurnost among the population. If such a person should ever regret having agreed to collaborate with the Darjhavna Sigurnost and refuse to continue his service,

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he is re-arrested. His trial is reopened and frequently concluded with a death sentence.

The same happens to a person who, though regretting his collaboration with the secret service and continuing his collaboration, through indiscretion, lack of tact or involuntarily, makes his relatives or his work companions understand that he is a Darjhavna Sigurnost agent. Every now and then the Darjhavna Sigurnost assigns bonuses, always against a receipt, to this category of collaborators levied in the above way. The latter are mainly former state and army (under the old regime) officers, former officials of the dissolved political parties, etc. As a general rule such victims are previously and thoroughly "studied" by secret Darjhavna Sigurnost agents in that sense that either their weak character or state of physical depression after an illness makes them eligible to serve the purposes of the secret police and suitable to become its agents. Those anti-Communists whom the Darjhavna Sigurnost does not trust to have such qualities and would not become collaborators despite ill-treatment, are not approached with proposals of becoming agents because of the risk of compromising the organization. Moreover the real plotters in the countries are not taken into consideration for collaboration since the Darjhavna Sigurnost knows perfectly well that these men risked their lives many a time and that they would not accept any offers even if they should be subjected to all possible tortures.

The recruiting methods as described in the second part, i.e. by indirect imposition, are carried out according to the following system. The personal relations of the person singled out for recruiting are exploited as well as their material difficulties, their passions, their weaknesses and their ambitions. For instance: A man who has trouble with his wife and wants to get rid of her at all costs, might be approached by the D.S. collaborators and be made to understand that, if he comes to an agreement with them he will win his divorce case on the condition that he is willing to render a "few services" to the D.S., services which in fact at the first moment might appear quite inoffensive. He might be asked, for example, whether he participated in the wedding party which took place on such and such a day, at such a place, whom he met there, and what kind of conversation he was able to overhear among the guests. Also the sentimental relations among young people are exploited for recruiting collaborators for the D.S. If a young man wants to marry a girl and the only

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obstacle for the realization of his dreams is the opposition of the girl's parents, the collaborators of the D.S. persuade the young man to agree to render some "small services" to the D.S., and in return the D.S. will "take care" of the girl's father, accusing him of being a "kulak" or "enemy of the people", and deporting him to a concentration camp. Subsequently in the father's absence, the marriage can take place. The concentration camps are filled with people who became the victims of the D.S., i.e. fathers who opposed their daughters' marriages and favored thereby, the aims of the D.S., which would immediately profit from the situation and get hold of and recruit the prospective bridegroom, while the unfortunate father would become the innocent victim of this recruiting procedure.

In addition to the above described methods also the divergencies which may exist within the families are cleverly exploited, as long as they serve the purpose of recruiting D.S. collaborators.

Thus, the youngsters who become involved and are recruited by the D.S. are put in charge of "easy jobs" at the beginning, and find themselves very soon deep within the network of that powerful organization, their tasks become more and more responsible, and, finally, they have no chance to get out of it.

The second system of getting recruits for the D.S. is to take advantage of the material and financial difficulties in which people find themselves. This system is applied when the persons concerned are honest citizens, who find themselves in difficult financial circumstances, out of work, or without a home, or with somebody in the family seriously ill. In such cases the D.S. plays the role of the "benefactor", promising all possible help and assistance in return for "small services" to be rendered to the D.S. The social strata which are best suited for that particular type of recruiting are the populations in the districts where the living standard is at its lowest, i.e. in the villages, in the mountain towns and in the border districts. In addition to the above, other methods are applied to serve the purpose of recruiting suitable collaborators for the D.S. A ladies' man is offered a pretty girl, a drinker gets the

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chance to drink as much as he likes, and a gambler put into a position to gamble liberally - while an ambitious candidate is captured by the prospective of realizing at least some of his secret aims. Even the most honest ambitions are exploited for this dishonest purpose. Students who want to continue their studies or want to be admitted to anyone of the superior institutes are particularly suited for the purpose and, in fact there is not a single student in the Bulgarian universities who has not "rendered" services of some kind to the D.S. in order to be granted admission to these superior institutes. Almost 85 per cent of the students have a scholarship of some sort, i.e. "Stalinska", "Dimitrovska", "Kolarovska", all of which represent a direct recompensation for collaboration with the D.S. These scholarships are granted only upon orders issued by the D.S. It is quite impossible that an honest young man, with no interests at all in politics, can attend the Bulgarian universities. The students are the best D.S. agents - not only are they in charge of reporting what is going on in the universities, but also about the life in the families where they are lodged, etc. During 1952 the few students who had refused to collaborate with the D.S. had been expelled from the universities and to-day the universities are filled only with such young people as are "appreciated" by the D.S. and who are ready to collaborate.

Owing to the fact that in the past many students had promised to collaborate with the D.S. in order to be admitted to the superior scholastic institutes (which promise they did not keep), the Bulgarian Communists had to find means by which they would be able to avoid these "reneges" and, at the same time avoid upsetting public opinion by expelling the transgressors from the universities. Therefore, they created a law in 1952 which established that all students wanting admission to the superior scholastic institutes had to refer to the professional organizations and the worker's collective organizations (rabotnicheski kolektivi). The candidates for admission to the universities had to remain for an undetermined trial period 'na staj' in these organizations and collectives for the purpose of being examined and recruited definitively before being admitted to the universities. However, in spite of the above law, only 35 per cent of the students were admitted to the university during 1952,

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while the others followed the usual course, i.e. they passed directly from the superior highschools to the universities after having passed the respective exams.

What we have so far described in the foregoing refers to the recruiting methods for old and young D.S. collaborators. However, the most monstrous and criminal system is the one followed for the recruiting of children in their most tender age. These children become, without knowing it, the innocent denounciators of their own parents. Between these children and the D.S. are the teachers, i.e. the teachers in the elementary schools who represent without any doubt elements supporting the D.S. activities (the old teachers, who refused to collaborate and to come to compromise with their conscience, have been fired.) Normally the matter with the kids is handled in the following way: the regime mobilizes all its organizations, headed by the D.S. whenever it wants to realize one of its initiatives. In such events the children are made use of for finding out the opinion of their parents regarding the new initiatives. Generally, this is done under the heading of "homework", describing conversations which take place between the parents and the children. Thus, the children without knowing how much harm they are doing, are made to state on their homework the opinion of the parents regarding this or that question. Subsequently, the "homework" is examined by the teacher, and anything which might interest the D.S. is noted by the teacher. The same system is applied on the eve of all Communist festivities, such as 1 May, 9 September, etc.

10. M.W.D. Activities.

With the help of all these means and methods, the D.S. has created a powerful net which enables the Communist regime to find out at once whether there are any goings-on in favor of or against the Regime, and to be in a position to take immediate action. With this set-up the D.S. can stage popular agitations, riots, conspiracies, strikes, etc, if they are required for some particular purpose - the respective orders are issued by the SOFIA headquarters. Our source is of the opinion that these orders are not issued by any of the Bulgarian authorities, but directly by the MVD of MOSCOW, because the D.S. spies upon the movements of each of its members, be it the minister

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himself, a member of the Central Committee, and even the head of the Communist State. There are also frequent deportations of close relatives of Communist bosses to the concentration camps and the intervention of the latter never resulted in any benefit to the deported. As an example of this our source quotes the case of Nikolaj GEORGIEV, the son of the Militia chief of the district of PLOVDIV (NU), a young man of 18 years, who has been sent from one concentration camp to another for over two years, without being able to be set free again in spite of the intervention of the ex-Minister of the Interior, Anton YUGOV. Young Nikolaj is under the accusation of having been in the ranks of the "legionaries" in the past. In addition to the foregoing some officials in prominent positions have involuntarily confessed that the D.S. in Bulgaria is directed by MOSCOW, because on various occasions they have publicly stated that "thanks to the fraternal help of the Soviet specialists to the D.S. in Bulgaria the "ulcer" which was destroying the ranks of the Bulgarian Communists, has been eliminated". (Apparently they referred to the case of Tarjcho KOSTOV). Another factor which clearly proves that the MVD is the boss of the Bulgarian D.S. is the following: When a Bulgarian worker is refused work in a Bulgarian enterprise owing to his past anti-Communist activity, he will unfailingly succeed in getting work at some of the Soviet enterprises: the "GORBUSO", the "SOBOLSTROJ" the SOVRONSPROEKT, and others.

It is quite evident that the management of these Soviet enterprises pays no attention whatsoever to any opinions expressed by the Bulgarian officials, when it comes to assume labor. Thus, the impression is created that the Soviet enterprises look after the unemployed Bulgarian citizens, who are out of work for political reasons. However, the D.S. does not extend its activities to the factories, but is substituted here by the MVD organization. If it should occur that the D.S. wanted to arrest a Bulgarian subject employed in the Soviet enterprises, it is necessary to have the consent of the Soviet management, and it is rather dubious whether the D.S. would succeed in getting this consent.

11. Working Methods.

All orders issued by the D.S. headquarters are

applied unconditionally even if it means discovering something which does not actually exist. For instance if a village has to launch a campaign against the "class enemies" or "political banditry", and if there are no such "enemies" available, well, they've got to create some right away. The D.S. executive organs are headed by the chief of the group, and end with the last collaborators. The superior instances issue and carry out the orders received. The heads of the groups give concrete tasks to their agents, and the agents pass them on to their collaborators. All dispositions issued to the agents are in writing, while the agents, on their part confer only verbally with their collaborators. All relations between agents and collaborators are registered and recorded by the D.S. while the agents prepare their reports in the offices of the chiefs of the groups and the district chiefs, the collaborators hand their reports secretly to the agents, at previously established secret meeting points, or else deposit them at pre-established places (in the forests, the camps etc), where they are, then collected by the agents. As the D.S. does never entirely trust its agents or its collaborators, there are often "cross explorations" (krastosano razuznavane), for checking purposes. In such cases two different groups of agents and collaborators are given the same assignment, not knowing that they are employed for the same job and for the purpose of reciprocally "exploring" each other. Thus, the impression has been created that only one group is in charge of the mission - and from the outcome of these "combined" enterprises depends the promotion of agents and collaborators.

Thus the D.S. collects a vast amount of material of compromising evidence, made up of reports, denunciations, etc, which are frequently shown to the collaborator who is given to understand that, should he refuse to collaborate in the case of political changes in the country (eventual change of regime etc) that this material which is always in some way compromising, will be published. This and other factors clearly reveal that the D.S. is preparing its set-up on the basis of a long future. This impression is supported by the opinion propagated among the various D.S. branches, and which can be re-assumed in the following: Should it be-

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come necessary for strategical reasons to temporarily abandon Bulgaria in case of aggression by the Capitalist forces, the D.S. organization will still carry on, and will have to be kept alive, because "the day of the Communist victory in the world is close, because capitalism is rotten and living its last years, and soon Communism will be, once more, in power in Bulgaria." This idea is also supported by the fact that frequently the D.S. agents request their collaborators to produce a list of all their acquaintances whom they know to be opposed to the government, so as to know who has to be "liquidated" in case of a change in the regime. Effectively, the D.S. has records of all these persons and does not require any supplementary information on their account, but the purpose of this request is to get ahold of compromising documentary proof which will keep the collaborators well under control (da derzhi vav respekt) should they cut off any further collaboration with the D.S. if Bulgaria passes to a different regime. Thus, the D.S. organizes its future cadres which will be useful also in the event of Communism being eliminated in Bulgaria. A certain part of the collaborators who enjoy a certain popularity will be allowed the luxury of "manifesting courage" among the population, so as to create for themselves the reputation of being "fighters against Communism", for the purpose of getting prominent positions in the Bulgaria of tomorrow, posts from where they will continue to serve as secret D.S. agents, i.e. to serve the Communist cause.

Whenever, the D.S. considers it necessary, it makes use of its collaborators to "unmask" some others.

In such a case other D.S. agents publicly declare the person concerned a "D.S. collaborator and spy", and they go even so far as to produce documentary evidence of any such statements, i.e. reports written by the interested party. The result of this procedure is either that the person thus denounced will commit suicide because he will become an object of utter despite for fellow citizens of his own class, or, as happens in most cases, he will become an even more eager and zealous D.S. collaborator.

Finally, all arrests which the D.S. decides to make are actually carried out by Militia agents - the Militia

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always being a declared collaborator of the D.S., without knowing, however, anything that is actually going on without the D.S. organization itself. All the procedures and tortures adopted during the interrogations of the victims are carried out by D.S. agents. The Militia is only entrusted with the surveillance of the persons who were arrested upon the initiative of the D.S., but the Militiamen are not authorized to talk with them. All Militiamen who do not respect this order are tried and sent to prison. The same order applies to the guards at the concentration camps.

End.