

SECOND EDITION



HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF
BULGARIA

RAYMOND DETREZ

HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES OF EUROPE

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Acknowledgments

The first edition of this *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Bulgaria* was prepared in the mid-1990s when Bulgaria was going through the most turbulent years of its recent history—the transition from a Soviet-style communist dictatorship with a centrally planned economy to a modern Western parliamentary democracy with a free-market economy. It was an unrewarding task to write a historical dictionary of Bulgaria at that particular time. Many personalities from the communist period, although performing their swan song, were still playing prominent parts in Bulgarian politics, while it was still unclear who of the many newcomers would finally win a lasting place in Bulgarian history. The same applied to the plethora of political parties and movements that mushroomed. Most of them turned out to be ephemeral, but at that moment it was impossible to predict which of them would develop into sustainable formations and which ones would disappear almost without a trace. As a result, the 1997 first edition of the *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Bulgaria*, which was intended to reflect “contemporary history” as well, included many entries that have subsequently become obsolete.

There was more. In the mid-1990s, Bulgarian historiography itself underwent a period of transition as well. Previously unknown documents were published for the first time; well-known historical events and developments were reinterpreted; some young historians and sociologists dared challenge “sacrosanct historical truths.” This particular dynamic of Bulgarian historiography was also reflected in the 1997 edition of the *Historical Dictionary*, although many of the discussions were still going on at the time.

This new edition of the *Historical Dictionary* is compiled in a time of slow but steady economic recovery and relative political stability in Bulgaria. It offers better opportunities for a serene assessment of personalities, organizations, and events to be included in a book like this.

This dictionary is not intended to diminish the first edition, which remains a reliable guide through Bulgarian history and a valuable source of information about the early years of Bulgarian transition, but rather to stress the particular nature of this new edition. In this volume, due attention is paid to contemporary facts and developments, but in a more selective way, from a genuine “historical” point of view. Many of the entries in the first edition have been omitted from this edition, and even more new entries have been added. Almost all of the entries of the first edition that have remained were updated, adjusted, and—whenever necessary—corrected. Information on important new facts and insights that Bulgarian and foreign historians brought to the fore have been incorporated in this second edition to the extent that they are of interest to a non-specialized readership.

The author

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Editor's Foreword

In 1990, after the collapse of the Soviet Empire, a new Republic of Bulgaria emerged. This was not the first time for such an occurrence. Bulgarian empires, kingdoms, and states had already risen with the demise of the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman empires. This nth manifestation is more promising than its predecessors, although its tasks remain arduous: establishment of a democratic regime, development of a market economy, forging national unity despite large ethnic and religious minorities, and the need to provide its people with education, jobs, and hope for the future. So far, this new Bulgaria has had about 15 years to show what it could do and, although it is too early for a definitive decision, the results are respectable—if hardly as good as many of its citizens had expected. Certainly, it has achieved more than some other East European countries, and although there is still much to be accomplished, it does have notable achievements to its credit.

Among other things, this new edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Bulgaria* takes a close look at the new Bulgaria, with its new leaders, its new parties, and its new institutions (although many are not quite as new as is claimed). It tells us something about what has been happening over the past 15 years. However—and this is extremely important—it situates the new within the context of the old by also including numerous entries on the communist era and the earlier empires, kingdoms, and states. And it reaches beyond the historical and political events to include economic, social, and cultural aspects. The chronology helps untangle the confusing web of the past, and the introduction helps sum up the present. Those who want to know more can—and should—consult the very substantial bibliography.

This second edition was written by the same author who wrote the first edition, Raymond Detrez, who has continued to follow events in Bulgaria in particular and the Balkans in general very closely. Fortunately, his

knowledge of Bulgaria goes back quite some time; he studied Eastern European languages and history at the University of Ghent, Belgium, and then specialized in Bulgarian philology at the University of Sofia, Bulgaria, in 1972. His doctoral dissertation was on Grigor Pŕrlichev and the development of national consciousness in the Balkans. For more than two decades, he worked as a producer of the Belgian Radio Third Program and then became a professor of Eastern European history and culture and presently director of the Center for Southeast European Studies at the University of Ghent. Dr. Detrez also teaches Balkan history at the Catholic University in Leuven. That he knows Bulgaria intimately is immediately evident. Since he has also lectured and written on the Balkans more generally, he is familiar with the broader context as well. This is particularly important since without this background, he could not have presented Bulgaria's past and present as cogently as he does. The result is a second edition that is even more complete, more up-to-date, and more useful than the first.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ASA	Alternative Socialist Association
ASD	Alliance for Social Democracy
ASLP	Alternative Social Liberal Party
ASP	Alternative Socialist Party
BANU	Bulgarian Agrarian National Union
BANU-Aleksandûr Stamboliyski	Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Aleksandûr Stamboliyski
BANU-G. Markov	Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-G. Markov
BANU-Nikola Petkov	Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Nikola Petkov
BANU- <i>Pladne</i>	Bulgarian Agrarian National Union- <i>Pladne</i>
BANU-United	Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-United
BANU- <i>Vrabcha 1</i>	Bulgarian Agrarian National Union- <i>Vrabcha 1</i>
BAS	Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
BAYU	Bulgarian Agrarian Youth Union
BBB	Bulgarian Business Bloc
BCC	Bulgarian Cinematographic Corporation
BCF	Balkan Communist Federation
BCF	Bulgarian Constitutional Forum
BCP	Bulgarian Communist Party
BCP-Marxist	Bulgarian Communist Party-Marxist
BCP-Revolutionary	Bulgarian Communist Party-Revolutionary
BCYU	Bulgarian Communist Youth Union
BDC	Bulgarian Democratic Center
BDF	Bulgarian Democratic Forum
BDP	Bulgarian Democratic Party
BDY	Bulgarian Democratic Youth
BEL	Bulgarian Euro-Left

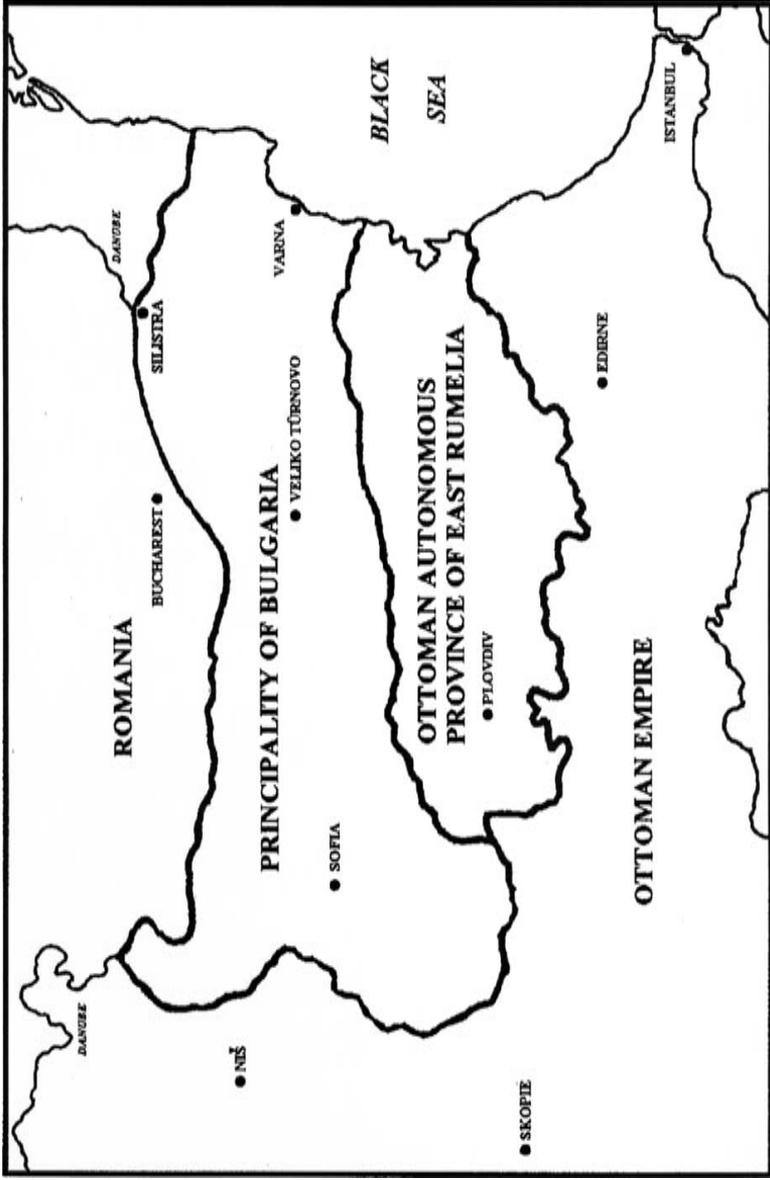
BLS	Bulgarian Literary Society
BLU	Bulgarian Labor Unions
BMARC	Bulgarian Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Committee
BNRP	Bulgarian National Radical Party
BP-Liberals	Bulgarian Party-Liberals
BPU	Bulgarian People's Union
BRCC	Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee
BSCRC	Bulgarian Secret Central Revolutionary Committee
BSDP	Bulgarian Social Democratic Party
BSDU	Bulgarian Social Democratic Union
BSECZ	Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone
BSP	Bulgarian Socialist Party
BSRB	Bulgarian Secret Revolutionary Brotherhood
BTA	Bulgarian Telegraph Agency
BWP	Bulgarian Workers' Party
BWSDP	Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party
BWSDP-BS	Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party-Broad Socialists
BWSDP-NS	Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party-Narrow Socialists
BWSDP-United	Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party-United
BWU	Bulgarian Workers' Union
CAR	Civil Association for the Republic
CB	Constitutional Bloc
CC	Central Committee
CRR	Committee for Religious Rights
CDU	Christian Democratic Union
CEP	Conservative Ecological Party
CF	Constitutional Forum
CFB	Coalition for Bulgaria
CGD	Club for Glasnost and Democracy
CILUB	Federation of Independent Labor Unions in Bulgaria
CIM	Citizens' Initiative Movement
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

CNP	Center for New Politics
Comecon	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
COR	Coalition of the Rose
CP	Conservative Party
CRP	Christian Republican Party
CSCE	Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe
CU-Salvation	Christian Union-Salvation
DA	Democratic Alliance
DAR	Democratic Alternative for the Republic
DCYU	Dimitrov Communist Youth Union
DEMOS	Movement for Democratic Socialism
DP	Democratic Party
DPO- <i>Septemvriyche</i>	Dimitrov Pioneers Organization- <i>Septemvriyche</i>
DSB	Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria
DU-Roma	Democratic Union-Roma
EU	European Union
FBSY	Federation of Bulgarian Socialist Youth
FCGD	Federation of Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy
FFD	Forum of Free Democrats
FISA	Federation of Independent Students' Associations
FF	Fatherland Front
FLP	Fatherland Labor Party
FU	Fatherland Union
GNA	Grand National Assembly
GP	Green Party
GRC	Gyurgevo Revolutionary Committee
GWLU	General Workers' Labor Union
IADHR	Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights
ILC- <i>Podkrepa</i>	Independent Labor Confederation- <i>Podkrepa</i>
IMARO	Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMRO	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization

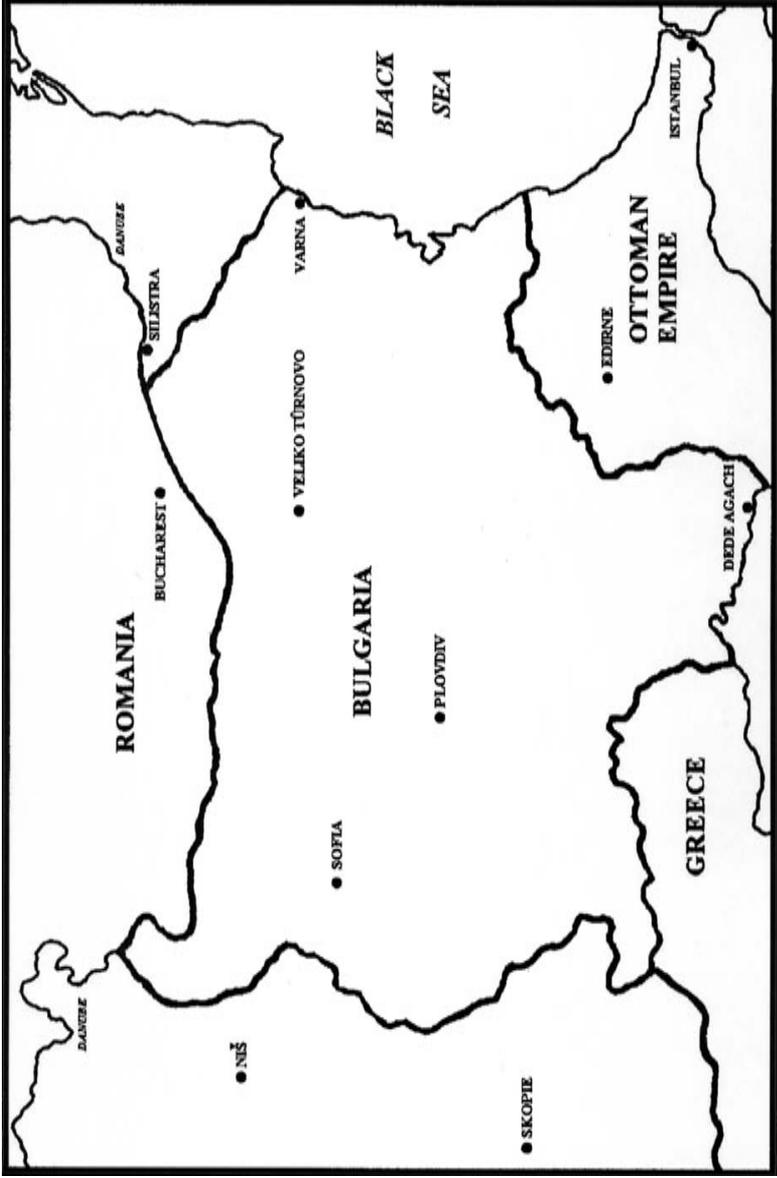
IMRO-UMA	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Asso- ciations
IMRO-United	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-United
IRO	Internal Revolutionary Organization
ISU	Independent Students' Union
IU- <i>Ekoglasnost</i>	Independent Union- <i>Ekoglasnost</i>
IWLU	Independent Workers' Labor Unions
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
LP	Liberal Party
LP - Radoslavists	Liberal Party-Radoslavists
MFO	Macedonian Federalist Organization
ML	Military League
MNR- <i>Oborishte</i>	Movement for National Revival- <i>Oborishte</i>
MRF	Movement for Rights and Freedoms
NA	National Alliance
NA	National Assembly
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NB	New Bulgaria
NC	New Choice
NCD	National Club for Democracy
NCDNI	National Committee for the Defense of Na- tional Interests
NDP	National Democratic Party
NE	New Era
NFC	National Film Center
NL	New Left
NLP	National Liberal Party
NMSS	National Movement Simeon the Second
NP	National Party
NP	New Politics
NSDP	New Social Democratic Party
NSM	National Social Movement
NU	National Union
NUD	New Union for Democracy
ONA	Ordinary National Assembly
PB	People's Bloc

PCDNI	Provincial Committees for the Defense of National Interests
PC- <i>Ekoglasnost</i>	Political Club- <i>Ekoglasnost</i>
PLP	People's Liberal Party
PLP	Progressive Liberal Party
PMSD	Political Movement Social Democrats
PU	People's Union
PUI	Parliamentary Union of Independents
PUSD	Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy
RDP	Radical Democratic Party
RP	Republican Party
SCBC	Secret Central Bulgarian Committee
SDC-Europe	Social Democratic Club-Europe
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SMAC	Supreme Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Committee
SMARO	Secret Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization
SMC	Supreme Macedonian Committee
SU	Soviet Union
TDP	Turkish Democratic Party
TNLM	Turkish National Liberation Movement
UBW	Union of Bulgarian Writers
UCDC	United Christian-Democratic Center
UDC	United Democratic Center
UdDF	United Democratic Forces
UDF	Union of Democratic Forces
UDF-Center	Union of Democratic Forces-Center
UDF-Liberals	Union of Democratic Forces-Liberals
UDF-Movement	Union of Democratic Forces-Movement
UF	Union for the Fatherland
UFD	Union of Free Democrats
ULB	United Labor Bloc
UMCEA	Union of the Macedonian Cultural and Educational Associations
UMO- <i>Ilinden</i>	United Macedonian Organization- <i>Ilinden</i>
UN	United Nations
UNS	Union for National Salvation

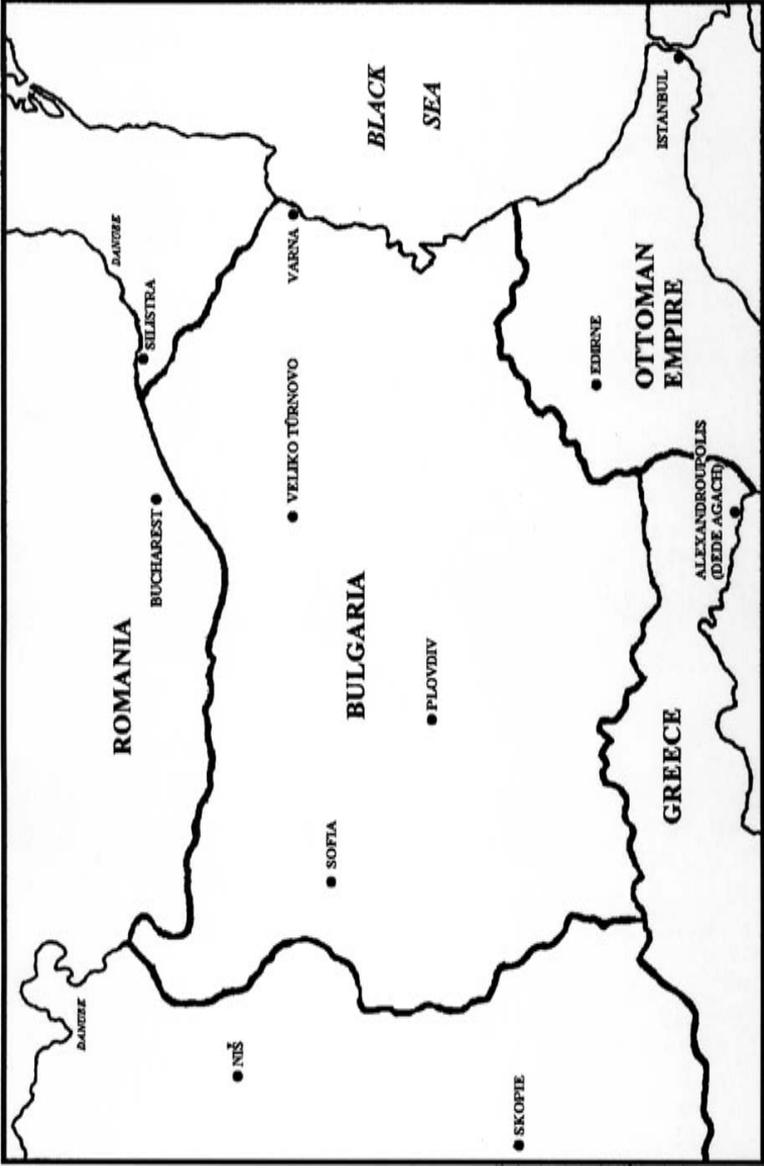
UPY	Union of the People's Youth
URB	Union of the Repressed in Bulgaria
US	United States
USD	Union for Social Democracy
WCM	Women's Christian Movement
WP	Workers' Party
WYU	Workers' Youth Union



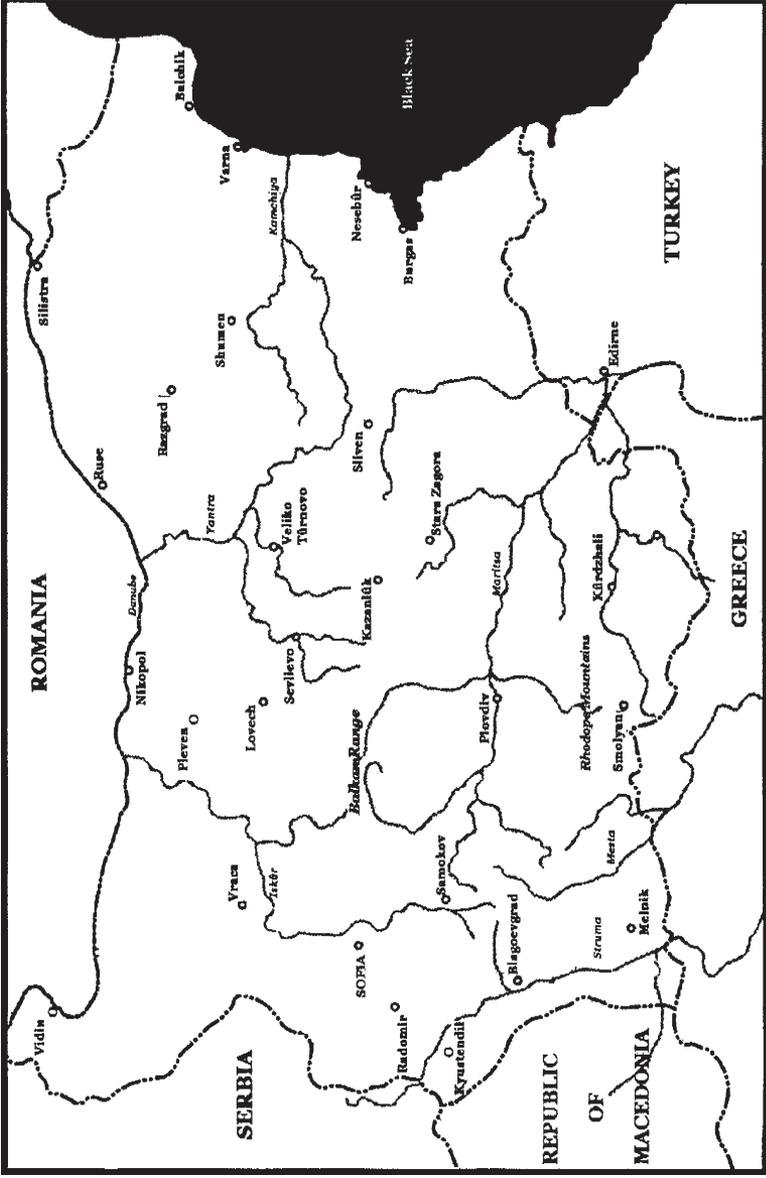
Bulgaria after the Treaty of Berlin (1878)



Bulgaria after Balkan War II (1913)



Bulgaria after World War I (1919)



Bulgaria

Chronology of Bulgarian History

Antiquity (Before AD)–681)

Fifth century BC Establishment of the Thracian Odrysian state, stretching from the Danube to the Aegean.

352 BC Thrace conquered by Philip II of Macedonia. Founding of the city of Philippoupolis (Plovdiv).

Third century BC Invasions of the Celts.

Second century BC First half: Thracians at war with the Macedonians. Second half: first clashes with the Romans.

163 BC Macedonia conquered by the Romans.

First century BC Increasing Roman military activity in Thrace.

72 BC Romans conquer the southern part of Thrace.

27 BC Romans control the south bank of the Danube.

First century AD Establishment of the Roman province of Moesia (north Bulgaria and Dobrudja). Building of the road to Constantinople through Naessus (Niš), Serdica (Sofia), and Philippoupolis (Plovdiv).

105 Annexation of Dacia (Romania) by the Romans.

Third century Great prosperity of Moesia and Thrace during the first half of the century.

250–252, 278 Invasions of the Goths.

271–275 The Romans abandon Dacia. Reorganization of the provinces of Moesia and Thrace in view of a reinforcement of the Danube lines.

330 Constantinople becomes the capital of the Roman Empire.

354 Proto-Bulgarians, or Bolgars, mentioned for the first time in an anonymous Roman chronicle.

395 Partition of the Roman Empire. Moesia, Thrace, and Macedonia henceforth belong to the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire.

499, 515, 540 Proto-Bulgarian raids into the Byzantine possessions in the Balkans.

545–555 Slavic tribes make yearly incursions into the Balkans.

586, 604, 615, 618 Slavs besiege Salonika.

626 Avars, Proto-Bulgarians, and Slavs besiege Constantinople.

632 Founding of “Old Greater Bulgaria,” a mighty Proto-Bulgarian federation in southern Russia.

635 Peace treaty between the Proto-Bulgarian Khan Kubrat and the Byzantine emperor.

Seventh century Second half: The Byzantines partly restore their domination over the peninsula. Moesia remains under the control of the Slavs.

651 As a result of the war with the Khazars, some Bulgarian tribes, under the leadership of Khan Asparuh, settle in Onglos (southern Bessarabia).

680 Proto-Bulgarian tribes cross the Danube and enter into a military alliance with the Slavic tribes in Moesia.

First Bulgarian Empire (681–1018)

681 Khan Asparuh defeats the Byzantines. Emperor Constantine V Pogonatos recognizes the Bulgarian state. The capital is Pliska.

Eighth and ninth centuries Expansion and consolidation of the Bulgarian state. The Proto-Bulgarians are assimilated by the Slavic tribes, who adopt the name “Bulgarians.”

864 Khan Boris is converted to Christianity and baptized by Byzantine priests. Christianity becomes the state religion.

- 870** Establishment of a Bulgarian autocephalous archbishopric, subordinate to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.
- 886** Pupils of Cyril and Methodius Slaviceze the Bulgarian church by introducing the first translations into Slavic of liturgical texts.
- 893–927** Under the rule of Tsar Simeon, the first Bulgarian empire reaches the peak of its territorial expansion and cultural development.
- 893** Preslav becomes the new capital.
- 917** Simeon defeats the Byzantines near the Aheloy River. Establishment of the Bulgarian Patriarchate.
- 927–970** Rule of Tsar Petŭr; period of feudal weakening of central authority, territorial losses, social unrest. Spread of the Bogomil heresy.
- 946 18 August:** Death of Holy Ivan of Rila.
- 968–969** Bulgaria is invaded by the Russians under Svetoslav.
- 970–991** Rule of the brothers David, Aron, Moisey, and Samuil.
- 971–976** Northeastern Bulgaria is occupied by the Byzantines. Preslav falls in 971. The capital is moved to the southwest: Sofia, Ohrid, Prespa.
- 991–1014** Rule of Tsar Samuil, who succeeds in partly restoring the Bulgarian Empire. Continuous warfare with the Byzantine emperor, Basil II.
- 1000** Eastern Bulgaria again under Byzantine rule.
- 1014** Samuil's army is beaten by Basil II. Samuil dies at the sight of his defeated army.
- 1015–1018** Rule of Samuil's nephew, Ivan Vladislav.
- 1018** Ivan Vladislav falls during the siege of Durrës (in Albania). The whole of Bulgaria is reconquered by Byzantium.

Byzantine Rule (1018–1185)

- 1018–1185** Bulgaria ruled by the Byzantines. The Bulgarian Patriarchate is abolished. Increasing influence of Greek language and culture on the aristocracy and in the cities, especially in Macedonia.

Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1393)

1185 Successful uprising of Petър and Asen against the Byzantines results in the restoration of Bulgarian statehood between the Danube and the Balkan range. The renewed Bulgarian state rapidly expands and regains its former strength. The capital is Veliko Tърново.

1204 Constantinople is taken by the Crusaders. Bulgaria joins the Roman church.

1205 Baldwin, count of Flanders and (Latin) emperor of Constantinople, is defeated by Tsar Kaloyan.

1218–1241 Rule of Asen II. The Second Bulgarian Empire reaches its greatest territorial expansion, bordering the Black Sea, the Adriatic, and the Aegean.

1235 Restoration of the Bulgarian Orthodox Patriarchate.

Thirteenth century Second half: feudal centrifugal forces are responsible for the disintegration of the state and the loss of vast territories. Invasions of the Tatars.

1277–1280 Social tensions result in a massive peasants' uprising under the leadership of Ivaylo.

1280 Ivaylo is killed by the Tatars, to whom he turned for help against the Byzantines. Bulgaria becomes a Tatar fief.

1300–1321 Rule of Tsar Todor Svetoslav, who throws off the Tatar domination. Reconsolidation of the Bulgarian state.

1331–1371 Rule of Tsar Ivan Aleksandър. Growing tendency toward feudal dismemberment and separatism. The Serbian King Stefan Dušan (1331–1355) gains control over Macedonia. In the Rhodope region, Momchil defends his independence against Bulgaria and Byzantium. The Ottoman Turks, having gained a foothold in Eastern Thrace, carry out repeated raids, penetrating deeply into the Bulgarian lands.

1330s Dobrudja becomes an independent principality under Dobrotitsa.

1360s The tsar divides Bulgaria between his two sons: Ivan Sratsimir gets the western part (capital: Vidin); Ivan Shishman gets the eastern part (capital: Veliko Tърново).

1371 Lost battle of Chernomen against the Ottomans. Tsar Ivan Shishman becomes a vassal of the Ottomans.

1393 Veliko Tŭrnovo is taken and destroyed by the Ottomans. The Bulgarian Patriarchate is abolished.

1396 Vidin is taken by the Ottomans.

Ottoman Rule (1393–1878)

1444 Battle of Varna. Polish and Hungarian Crusaders' army against the Ottomans is defeated.

1453 Fall of Constantinople. Establishment of the *Rum milleti*.

1598 Anti-feudal uprising in Tŭrnovo.

1651 *Abagar*, first Bulgarian printed book, published in Rome.

1668 Second anti-feudal uprising in Tŭrnovo.

1688 Chiprovtsi Uprising against Ottoman rule.

1699 26 January: Treaty of Karlowitz. The Ottoman Empire is forced for the first time to cede territories in Europe. Hungary, Slavonia, and Transylvania are annexed by the Hapsburg Empire.

1718 21 July: Treaty of Passarowitz forces the Ottoman Empire to cede Vojvodina and Banat to the Hapsburg Empire. Start of Bulgarian emigration to Banat.

National Awakening (1762–1878)

1762 Paisiy of Hilendar finishes his *History of the Bulgarian Slavs*.

1774 16 July: Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca gives Russia the right to protect Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

1792–1807 The Ottoman warlord Osman Pazvantoglu rules over the region of Vidin.

1802–1803 *Kŭrdzhaliyas* loot the Bulgarian lands.

1806 *Book for Sundays* by Sofroniy of Vratsa, second Bulgarian printed book, published in Romania.

1811–1812 Bulgarian volunteers participate in the Russo-Turkish War.

1824 Dr. Petûr Beron publishes the first Bulgarian secular school-book, *The Fish Primer*.

1835 2 January: The first Bulgarian secular grammar school opens in Gabrovo.

1835 Abortive uprising against the Ottoman rule in Tûrnovo under the leadership of Velcho Atanasov and Georgi Mamarchev.

1830s Beginning of the so-called church struggle.

1838 The first Bulgarian printing house opens in Salonika.

1839 3 November: Proclamation of the *Hatti Şerif* (solemn rescript) of *Gûlhane*, inaugurating the *Tanzimat* (reforms) of the Ottoman Empire.

1840 The first grammar school for girls opens in Pleven.

1841–1843 Anti-Ottoman riots in Pleven.

1842, 1843 Aleksandûr Ekzarch calls upon the European powers to urge the sultan to give cultural autonomy to the Bulgarians.

1844 Neofit Bozveli and Ilarion Makariopolski present to the Ottoman government their demands concerning an independent Bulgarian church.

1844 Konstantin Fotinov publishes in Izmir (Smyrna) the first Bulgarian periodical, *Philology*.

1846 Ivan Bogorov publishes in Leipzig the first (ephemeral) Bulgarian newspaper, *The Bulgarian Eagle*.

1848 30 January: In Istanbul the first lasting Bulgarian newspaper, *Istanbul Herald*, starts appearing (last issue on 15 December 1862).

1849 Consecration of Saint Stefan's—first church of the Bulgarian community in Istanbul.

1853–1856 Crimean War.

- 1854** Bulgarians in Romania create the Bucharest Committee, which organizes the recruitment of volunteers for the Russian army.
- 1856** The first *chitalishtes* open in northern Bulgaria. **18 February:** Proclamation of the *Hatti Humayün* (imperial rescript).
- 1858** Georgi Sava Rakovski develops his program for the liberation of Bulgaria by arms.
- 1859** The Bulgarian habitants of Kukush (now Kilkis in Greece) join the Uniate Church.
- 1860** **3 April:** Easter Action: the Bulgarian community in Istanbul rejects the authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and proclaims ecclesiastical independence.
- 1861** The organizers of the 1860 Easter Action are exiled by the Ottoman government.
- 1862** Rakovski founds the United Leading Center of the Bulgarian Liberation Movement in Belgrade and organizes a Bulgarian Legion.
- 1860s** Bulgarian *chetas*, recruited in Romania, cross the Danube to fight the Ottomans.
- 1864–1868** The Ottoman reformer Midhat Pasha administers the Danube province.
- 1866** The Bulgarian Secret Central Committee (BSCC) is founded in Bucharest.
- 1867** **May–June:** Lyuben Karavelov organizes the Bulgarian Committee in Belgrade and calls on the Bulgarians to take up arms against the Ottomans. Rakovski organizes another Bulgarian Legion in Belgrade.
- 1868** Vasil Levski forms his Internal Revolutionary Organization (IRO).
- 1869** The Bulgarian Literary Society is founded in Brăila, Romania.
- 1870** **28 February:** The sultan issues the decree which offers to the Bulgarians an autonomous church: the Bulgarian Exarchate.
- 1872** **29 April to 5 May:** Gathering of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee (BRCC) and representatives of IRO in Bucharest. They discuss the strategy of the national liberation movement.

1872 February 16: Antim I is elected the first exarch of the Bulgarian Exarchate. The Patriarchate of Constantinople excommunicates the Bulgarian Exarchate. **26 December:** Arrest of Vasil Levski.

1873 6 February: Vasil Levski is hanged in Sofia.

1875 12 August: The BRCC decides to prepare for a popular uprising in Bulgaria. **September:** Uprising in Stara Zagora. **December:** Founding of the Gyurgevo Committee, charged with preparing for the April Uprising.

1876 12 April: Gathering of the representatives of the revolutionary cells in Oborishte. **20 April:** Outbreak of the April Uprising in Koprivshitsa. **16–20 May:** Hristo Botev's *cheta* crosses the Danube and advances toward Vratsa. Botev is killed. **23 December:** Start of the Istanbul Ambassadors Conference.

1877 31 March: The Great Powers sign the London Protocol, defining the borders of a Bulgarian autonomous province. **12 April:** Russia declares war on Turkey. **7–11 August:** Battle at the Shipka Pass.

1878 19 February/3 March: Russia and the Ottoman Empire sign the Treaty of San Stefano, creating an independent Bulgarian state. **1/13 July:** Treaty of Berlin revises the Treaty of San Stefano. Creation of a semi-independent Bulgarian principality and of the Ottoman autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia.

Kingdom of Bulgaria (1878–1944)

1878 4 July: Establishment of the Russian provisional government. **5 October:** Outbreak of the Kresna-Razlog uprising.

1879 10 February: Start of the proceedings of the Constituent Grand National Assembly (GNA) in Veliko Tŭrnovo. **14 April:** Promulgation of the Organic Statute of the Ottoman autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia. **16 April:** Promulgation of the Tŭrnovo Constitution. **17 April:** Alexander Battenberg is elected king of the Bulgarians. **May:** End of the Russian provisional government. **5 July:** Formation of the first Bulgarian cabinet.

1881 27 April: Coup d'état, engineered by King Alexander Battenberg. **1 July:** The GNA, gathering in Svishtov, approves the monarch's extraordinary powers.

1883 6 September: End of the regime of extraordinary monarchical powers. **5 December:** Amendment of the constitution in favor of the monarch adopted.

1885 6 September: Union with Eastern Rumelia. **2–16 November:** Serbo-Bulgarian war.

1886 3 March: Serbia and Bulgaria sign peace treaty. **24 March:** Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire sign the Tophane peace treaty, through which Istanbul recognizes the union. **9 August:** Coup d'état of pro-Russian officers. King Alexander is forced to abdicate and is kidnapped. **10 August:** Countercoup engineered by Stefan Stambolov. **14 August:** Stambolov invites the king to come back and rule again. **26 August:** King Alexander decides to abdicate. **November:** Russia breaks diplomatic relations with Bulgaria.

1887 25 June: Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha is elected the new king of the Bulgarians. **2 August:** Coronation of King Ferdinand in Veliko Tŭrnovo. **20 August:** Beginning of the government of Stefan Stambolov.

1891 2 August: Founding of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party.

1893 23 October: Formation of the Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO).

1894 18 May: The Stefan Stambolov cabinet resigns.

1896 2 February: Relations with Russia normalized. Ferdinand is recognized as king of the Bulgarians by the Great Powers.

1899 28–31 December: Founding of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU).

1903 2 and 19 August: Outbreak of the *Ilinden* and *Preobrazhenie* Uprisings in Macedonia and the region of Adrianople.

1908 22 September: Independence of Bulgaria. Ferdinand acquires the title of tsar.

1912 July: Formation of the Balkan League.

1912 5 October–20 November Balkan War I.

1913 21 January: Resumption of the military operations in Eastern Thrace. **1 April:** Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire agree on an armistice. **30 May:** Treaty of London. **16 June–18 July:** Balkan War II. **10 August:** Treaty of Bucharest. **16 September:** Treaty of Istanbul between Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire.

1914 1 August: Outbreak of World War I.

1915 21 August: Bulgaria acquires the region of Dimotika and Soflu through the Convention of Istanbul. **14 October:** Bulgaria declares war on Serbia and enters World War I.

1916 1 September: Bulgaria declares war on Romania.

1918 7 May: Peace treaty among the Central Powers, including Bulgaria and Romania. Southern Dobrudja, ceded through the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, is returned to Bulgaria. **18 September:** Macedonian front is broken by the Allies near Dobro Pole. **27 September–2 October:** Radomir rebellion. **29 September:** Armistice signed in Salonika between Bulgaria and the Allies. **3 October:** Abdication of Tsar Ferdinand; his son becomes the new tsar, Boris III.

1919 27 November: Treaty of Neuilly signed by Aleksandûr Stamboliyski. Bulgaria again loses Southern Dobrudja to Romania and has to cede the Western Districts to Serbia. Western Thrace is to be administered by the occupying forces of the Entente powers.

1920 21 May: Stamboliyski forms a BANU cabinet. **22 April:** Conference of San Remo assigns Western Thrace to Greece.

1922 23 March: Agreement with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes on the security of the Bulgarian-Serbian border signed in Niš.

1923 9 June: Coup d'état against the BANU government, engineered by the Constitutional Bloc. The Democratic Alliance (DA) comes to power. **13 September:** Outbreak of the September Uprising against the DA government.

1924 6 May: Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) May Manifesto. **10 September:** Politis-Kalfov Agreement.

1925 16 April: Communist outrage in the Holy Nedelya Church in Sofia.

1926 4 January: Prime Minister Aleksandûr Tsankov resigns. A new DA cabinet, led by Andrey Lyapchev, is formed.

1931 29 June: End of the Lyapchev cabinet. A new cabinet, led by the People's Bloc, comes to power.

1932 May: Aleksandûr Tsankov founds the fascist National Social Movement.

1934 9 February: Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia conclude the Balkan Pact. **19 May:** Coup d'état backed by the tsar. All political parties and organizations are banned; the Tûrnovo Constitution is suspended.

1936 May: Formation of the "Five," a coalition of traditional parties opposing the tsar's personal regime.

1937 24 January: Bulgaria and Yugoslavia sign the treaty "For Eternal Friendship."

1938 31 June: Salonika Agreement between Bulgaria and the Balkan Pact member states.

1940 7 September: Treaty of Craiova, restituting Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria, is signed.

1941 1 March: Bulgaria joins the Tripartite Pact. **19–20 April:** Bulgaria is allowed by the Germans to occupy Yugoslav Macedonia and Western Thrace.

1943 10 August: Creation of the Fatherland Front (FF) coalition. **28 August:** Tsar Boris dies unexpectedly.

1944 10 August: Negotiations about an armistice with representatives of the United States (US) and Great Britain in Ankara. **26 August:** Bulgaria declares neutrality. **4 September:** Bulgaria ends its "war" with the US and Great Britain and breaks off its alliance with Nazi Germany. **6 September:** Bulgaria declares war on Germany. **8 September:** The Red Army invades Bulgaria. **8–9 September:** Coup d'état by the FF. Government officials are arrested. A FF government, led by Kimon Georgiev, is established.

Communist Rule (1944–1989)

1944 8 October: The Bulgarian army is included in the military operations of the Third Ukrainian front of the Red Army in Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Austria (until May 1945).

1946 8 September: Referendum on the monarchy: 92.72 percent of the vote is in favor of a republic. **27 October:** Elections for a GNA won by the FF. **23 November:** Georgi Dimitrov elected prime minister.

1947 10 February: Paris Peace Treaty signed. Bulgaria is restored within its 1 January 1941 borders. **23 September:** BANU leader Nikola Petkov executed. **December:** The Red Army withdraws from Bulgaria.

1948 11 August: The Bulgarian Workers' Party-Communists and the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party merge. **18–25 December:** Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party-Communists. The party's name is changed to Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP).

1949 2 July: Georgi Dimitrov dies. **17 December:** Traycho Kostov, arrested on charges of "nationalist deviationism," is hanged. The BCP is purged.

1950 Diplomatic relations with the Vatican are broken off (restored in 1975).

1951 20 February: Diplomatic relations with the US are broken off (restored in 1959).

1952 February and March: Clashes at the Bulgarian-Greek border.

1953 May: First five-year plan, started in 1949, completed.

1954 4 March: Todor Zhivkov is elected BCP first secretary.

1954 27 July: *El Al* Constellation commercial aircraft is brought down by Bulgarian fighters; 58 passengers are killed.

1955 May: Bulgaria is among the founding members of the Warsaw Pact.

1956 2–6 April: Plenary session of the Central Committee of the BCP consolidates Zhivkov's position of power.

- 1956 July:** Riots in several Bulgarian cities against communist dictatorship as a result of the Hungarian uprising.
- 1959 January:** Projects are considered for a total collectivization of agriculture following the Chinese model.
- 1962 5–12 October:** Bulgaria and Yugoslavia agree on economic cooperation.
- 1963 January:** Traycho Kostov rehabilitated.
- 1965 April:** Foiled “pro-Chinese” coup d’état against Zhivkov led by Tsvjatko Anev and Ivan Todorov-Gorunya.
- 1968 March:** Todor Zhivkov and Süleyman Demirel sign an agreement on the emigration of Bulgarian Turks to Turkey.
- 1968 August:** Two Bulgarian divisions participate in the Warsaw Pact suppression of the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia.
- 1969 January:** Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations worsen as a result of Bulgarian statements concerning Macedonia.
- 1970 May:** Bulgarian Foreign Minister Ivan Bashev visits Athens (the first Bulgarian foreign minister to visit Greece after the 1967 coup d’état). Agreement on irrigation works at the Maritsa. **November:** Albanian Foreign Minister Gogo Kozma visits Sofia. Improvement of Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations.
- 1971** First half: social agitation and strikes. **April:** Zhivkov is elected state president.
- 1973 July:** The BCP Central Committee allegedly approves an agreement reached between Todor Zhivkov and Leonid Brezhnev concerning Bulgaria’s entry into the Soviet Union as its 16th republic. The project never materializes.
- 1975** Diplomatic relations with the Vatican restored. Lyudmila Zhivkova appointed chair of the Committee for Art and Culture.
- 1977 4 March:** Earthquake with its epicenter in Romania causes considerable damage in a number of cities in northern Bulgaria, especially in Svishtov.
- 1978 June:** Four members of the Red Army Brigades are arrested while vacationing in Varna and handed over to West Germany. **September 7:**

Dissident Georgi Markov murdered in London, presumably by the Bulgarian secret service. An attempt on dissident Vladimir Kostov in Paris fails.

1978 30 November: Emigration agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey expires and is not renewed.

1979 Economic crisis increased by the Soviet Union's failure to provide Bulgaria with sufficient amounts of gasoline, forcing Bulgaria to buy gasoline from OPEC.

1981 Celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the foundation of the Bulgarian state.

1981 13 May: Attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II in Rome. The Turkish perpetrator Ali Ağca alleges he had been assisted by the Bulgarian secret service.

21 July 1981 Death of Lyudmila Zhivkova.

1982 January: Proclamation of the New Economic Mechanism, introducing some free-market elements into the Bulgarian economy.

1983 December: Zhivkov declares to Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu that he would not allow the installation of SS-20 missiles on Bulgarian soil. Bulgaria and Greece plan to establish a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

1984 Spring: Launching sites for SS-20 missiles are under construction. **Fall:** Bomb attacks in Plovdiv, Ruse, Burgas, Tŭrgovishte, and Varna, coinciding with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the 9 September 1944 communist takeover.

1984–1985 Winter: Name-changing campaign or “regeneration process” against the 800,000 members of the Turkish minority.

1985 Growing economic crisis, price increases, and shortages, allegedly caused by “natural calamities.”

1986 Urged by Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev's reform policy, the BCP replaces a number of ministers and party secretaries. Oppression of Turkish minority continues. **11 September:** Bulgaria and Greece sign a Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighborliness, and Cooperation.

1987 May: Bulgarian press reports on a strike in Bulgaria for the first time since World War II. **July:** Zhivkov launches the July Theses, a variant of Gorbachev's openness (*glasnost*) and restructuring (*perestroika*).

1988 First environmental and political opposition groups are formed. **February:** First elections with multiple candidates for one post since World War II.

1989 3 February: Members of the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights, all of Turkish origin, arrested on charges of spreading false information, are expelled from Bulgaria. **8 February:** Intellectuals in Plovdiv found Independent Labor Confederation-*Podkrepa*. **7–9 March:** Fiery debates during congresses of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists and the Union of Bulgarian Writers on the democratization of society. **31 March:** The BCP and BANU create special commissions inquiring into the possibility of introducing political pluralism. **7 April:** Stefan Cholakov and Rumen Tsankov, arrested in December 1988 on charges of having founded an environmental party, are expelled from the country. **5 May:** Eleven members of the Sofia Discussion Club are arrested. **19–24 May:** Several people killed or injured during clashes between police forces and Turks demonstrating against the assimilation campaign in a number of Bulgarian towns. **Summer:** Beginning of a mass expulsion of nearly 350,000 Turks to Turkey. **4 July:** The Council of State issues a decree allowing the mobilization of workers to replace the Turks who have left. **22 August:** Turkey closes the border for Turks from Bulgaria. **14–16 October:** Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) environmental conference in Sofia. Bulgarian environmental groups demonstrating in Sofia are beaten up by the police. **10 November:** The plenary session of the BCP Central Committee dismisses BCP first secretary Zhivkov. He is replaced by Petûr Mladenov.

Post-Communist Period (1989–)

1989 16 November: Notorious “Zhivkovists” are ousted from the BCP Central Committee. **17 November:** Zhivkov is replaced by Mladenov as state president. **2 December:** Petûr Tanchev, BANU chair, is replaced by

Angel Dimitrov. **7 December:** Nine organizations create the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF); former dissident Zhelyo Zhelev is elected chair. **14 December:** Stormy session of the National Assembly (NA); Mladenov allegedly considers having a demonstration by the opposition dispersed by tanks. **16 December:** Constituent congress of the UDF in Stara Zagora. **29 December:** Mladenov pledges the restoration of the Turkish minorities' rights.

1990 **2 January:** Demonstrations by Bulgarian nationalists against the restoration of the Turkish minorities' rights. **4 January:** The Movement for Rights and Freedoms, the "Turkish party," is founded in Varna. Chair is Ahmed Dogan. **15 January:** The BCP power monopoly is abolished. **22 January:** Roundtable Negotiations on the democratization of society begin. **30 January to 2 February:** Fourteenth BCP Congress. Aleksandŭr Lilov is elected party leader. **1 February:** The Georgi Atanasov cabinet, which has been in power since March 1986, resigns. **2 February:** Lilov elected BCP leader. **3 February:** Andrey Lukanov is elected prime minister by the NA. The UDF refuses to form a coalition government. **7 February:** BANU breaks the 42-year coalition with the BCP. **8 February:** Lukanov presents his cabinet to the NA. **6 March:** The NA legalizes strikes. **1 April:** The BCP is renamed the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). **3 April:** The NA amends the constitution, changing Bulgaria into a "democratic and parliamentary constitutional state." The Council of State is abolished; its chair, Mladenov, is elected to the new post of state president. **5 April:** A 10-year agreement on economic cooperation with the European Union (EU, then still European Community) is signed in Brussels. **10 and 17 June:** First free post-communist elections. **Mid-June to July 7:** University of Sofia students' strike. **29 June:** Lukanov reaffirmed as prime minister. **6 July:** President Mladenov resigns. **12 July:** Georgi Dimitrov's mausoleum is closed down; his embalmed body is cremated. **17 July:** First session of a new GNA. **1 August:** Zhelev is elected state president by the GNA; Atanas Semerdzhiev becomes vice-president. **3 August:** The UDF elects Petŭr Beron as its new chair. **22 August:** The Lukanov cabinet resigns. The UDF still refuses to form a coalition government. **26 August:** Arson at the Sofia Party House. **19 September:** A new Lukanov cabinet is voted in by the NA. **22–25 September:** Thirty-ninth Congress of the BSP, Lilov is re-elected chair. **25 September:** Bulgaria is accepted as a member of the

International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. **24 October:** The Depolitization Act (concerning the army, police, security services, foreign affairs, and presidency) is adopted by the NA. **6 November:** Striking students demand the resignation of the Lukanov cabinet. **22 November:** The People's Republic of Bulgaria is renamed the Republic of Bulgaria. **23 November:** The Lukanov cabinet survives a no-confidence motion. **26–29 November:** Strikes organized by *Podkrepa* and supported by the Confederation of Independent Labor Unions demand an unaffiliated government. **29 November:** The Lukanov cabinet resigns. **7 December:** The unaffiliated Dimitûr Popov is elected prime minister by the NA. **11 December:** Filip Dimitrov is elected the new chair of the UDF, after Beron had been forced to resign, accused of having collaborated with the communist secret services. **14 December:** The BSP, UDF, and BANU agree upon the formation of a coalition government of national unity. **20 December:** The Dimitûr Popov cabinet is voted in by the NA. **21 December:** Rehabilitation of all those sentenced for “political crimes” after 9 September 1944.

1991 **3 January:** All main parties sign Popov's Agreement Guaranteeing the Peaceful Transition to a Democratic Society. **8 January:** A Preserving Social Peace agreement is reached by the National Tripartite Council for Coordinating the Social Interests. **22 February:** The NA adopts the Law on the Ownership and Use of Agricultural Land. The land will be returned to those who owned it before collectivization. **25 February:** In Sofia, the trial against former party leader Zhivkov opens. **17 March:** Massive demonstration of the joint opposition (UDF, BANU, MRF) against the policy of obstruction practiced by the BSP majority in the NA. **March–April:** Protest action of pupils and teachers against the planned introduction of optional Turkish lessons in schools in regions with a Turkish population. **19 April:** Third Congress of the UDF. **14 May:** Thirty-nine UDF representatives leave the NA in protest against the course the debates on the new constitution have taken. **28 June:** The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) is dissolved in Budapest. **1 July:** The Warsaw Pact is dissolved in Prague. **12 July:** Adoption of the new Constitution. **13 October:** Second post-communist parliamentary and municipal elections. **5 November:** The Popov cabinet resigns. **8 November:** The new prime minister Dimitrov presents his cabinet to the NA, obtaining 131 of the 240 votes. **17 November:** Zhan Videnov is elected new chair of the BSP.

1992 15 January: Bulgaria recognizes the independence of the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia. **19 January:** Zhelev is reelected state president. Vice-president is Blaga Dimitrova. **3 February:** Bulgaria signs an agreement concerning the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone (BSECZ). **5 February:** The NA adopts the Law on the Restitution of Nationalized Immovable Properties. **3 March:** Amendment of the 22 February 1991 Law on the Ownership and Use of Agricultural Land. **2 April:** The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) is declared a legal party by the Constitutional Court. **23 April:** The NA adopts the Law on the Restructuring and Privatization of State-Owned and Communal Firms. **7 May:** Bulgaria is accepted as a member of the Council of Europe. **21 May:** Dimitrov proposes his reconstituted cabinet to the NA. **26 May:** President Zhelev meets the former Bulgarian tsar Simeon II in Madrid. **4 September:** Former BCP leader Zhivkov is sentenced to a seven-year prison term. **18 September:** The Dimitrov cabinet is denounced for having had secret talks with the Republic of Macedonia on arms supplies. **28 October:** The Dimitrov cabinet resigns after the MRF joined the BSP in a vote of no confidence. **20 November:** Dimitrov's new cabinet fails to be approved by the NA. **December:** National census. **15 December:** President Zhelev charges the MRF with forming a new government. **30 December:** Lyuben Berov presents his new cabinet to the NA.

1993 8 March: A 10-year association agreement between the EC and Bulgaria on a free-trade zone is signed in Brussels, but fails to be ratified by the EU for nearly two years. **29 March:** Bulgaria is accepted as a member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). **23 June:** Prime Minister Berov reshuffles his cabinet, replacing five ministers. **30 June:** Vice president Dimitrova resigns. **24 September:** In a special declaration, the Berov cabinet insists on receiving compensation for the damages resulting from the United Nations blockade of Yugoslavia. **31 December:** An interim agreement between Bulgaria and the EU becomes effective, in anticipation of the ratification of the 8 March 1993 agreement.

1994 14 February: President Zhelev signs the Partnership for Peace agreement in Brussels. **2 April:** President Zhelev withdraws his support of the Berov cabinet. **11 May:** Bulgaria becomes the first former com-

munist country to preside over the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Council of Europe. **20 May:** President Zhelev declares himself in favor of new elections in October 1994 and of forming a transitional government composed of representatives of all main parties. **24 May:** Prime Minister Berov proposes calling for new elections in November 1994. **2 September:** Berov tenders the resignation of his cabinet. New elections will take place on 18 December 1994. **17 October:** An interim cabinet, led by Reneta Indzhova, is established. **18 December:** Parliamentary elections are won by the BSP. **29 December:** Ivan Kostov elected chair of the UDF.

1995 **25 January:** The new Zhan Videnov cabinet is voted in by the NA. **1 February:** The Association Agreement between Bulgaria and the EU becomes effective. **21 March:** The BSP issues a “white book” blaming the UDF government for the disastrous economic situation of the country. **Summer:** Bulgaria’s private banking system collapses. **Fall:** The government allows grain exports, which will result in bread shortages in summer 1996. **October:** Municipal council elections won by the BSP in the villages, by the UDF in the cities. **12 November:** Stefan Sofiyanski is elected mayor of Sofia.

1996 **4 July:** Pimen, bishop of Nevrokop, is proclaimed (alternative) patriarch of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. **Spring and summer:** Food shortages cause serious social and political unrest. **June:** Videnov cabinet reshuffled. **2 October:** BSP faction leader and former prime minister Lukanov killed by gunmen. **27 October and 3 November:** Presidential elections won by Petûr Stoyanov and his running mate Petûr Kavaldzhiev. **December:** The UDF and the labor unions organize daily demonstrations in the capital and other cities, demanding the resignation of the Videnov cabinet. **28 December:** The Videnov cabinet resigns.

1997 **January:** Former minister of internal affairs Nikolay Dobrev leads a caretaker government. Economic and political crisis. Demonstrations demand early parliamentary elections. **10 January:** The building of the parliament is looted by angry demonstrators. **22 January:** President Stoyanov is sworn in. **4 February:** Dobrev is appointed by the BSP as prime minister, but refuses to form a new cabinet in order to avoid more unrest and possible bloodshed. The government decides to

call for early elections in April 1997. **12 February:** President Stoyanov appoints a caretaker cabinet, headed by Stefan Sofiyanski. **15–16 February:** The coalition UDF is transformed into a single party, called United Democratic Forces (Uddf). Chair is Ivan Kostov. **17 February:** The Sofiyanski cabinet approves of Bulgaria becoming a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). **19 April:** The Uddf convincingly win the parliamentary elections. **21 May:** Ivan Kostov becomes prime minister of the new UDF cabinet. **1 July:** Establishment of the currency board. The Bulgarian *lev* is henceforth linked to the German Mark, and later to the Euro. **16 December:** Death penalty is abolished.

1998 8 February: The NA ratifies the Framework Convention for the Protection of Ethnic Minorities, signed by President Petûr Stoyanov on 9 October 1997.

1999 1 January: The new administrative division of the country in 28 *oblasts* instead of nine *okrûgs* (both words meaning “provinces”) becomes effective. **22 February:** The Bulgarian and the Macedonian Prime Ministers Ivan Kostov and Ljubcho Georgievski sign an agreement in which Bulgaria recognizes Macedonian as the constitutional language of the Republic of Macedonia. **4 May:** The NA allows NATO aircraft to enter Bulgarian airspace during military intervention in Yugoslavia. **25 June:** The NA allows NATO troops to pass through Bulgarian territory in connection with the action *Joint Guardian* in Yugoslavia. **21 November:** US President Bill Clinton visits Bulgaria. **10 December:** Bulgaria is invited to start negotiations on an association agreement with the EU. **21 December:** The Kostov cabinet is thoroughly reshuffled.

2000 March: Accession negotiations with the EU start. **April:** Bulgaria joins the European Social Charter.

2001 28 April: A coalition called National Movement Simeon the Second (NMSS) is founded, consisting of the Party of Bulgarian Women and the Movement for National Revival-*Oborishte*. **17 June:** The NMSS wins the parliamentary elections. **24 July:** Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha becomes prime minister of a cabinet, consisting of representatives of the NMSS and the MRF. **11 November:** BSP candidate Georgi Pûrvanov wins the presidential elections. **December:** National census.

2002 **22 January:** President Georgi Pûrvanov is sworn in. **12 March:** Nadezhda Mihaylova is elected chair of the UDF. **6 April:** The NMSS becomes a regular political party.

2003 **March:** The NA decides Bulgaria to participate in the military operations in Iraq. **17 July:** The Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet is reshuffled. **13 December:** The EU decides Bulgaria may be accepted as a full member on 1 January 2007.

2004 **21 February:** The Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet reshuffled again. **2 April:** Bulgaria joins NATO. 26 May: Ivan Kostov is elected president of the new UDF offshoot Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria. **14 June:** The accession negotiations with the EU are concluded. **July:** Two Bulgarian truck drivers decapitated by fighters of the Unity and Jihad group in Iraq.

2005 **25 April:** EU Accession Agreement signed. **25 June:** Parliamentary elections won by the BSP. **11 July:** The new NA starts its activities. Summer: Floods destroy about 10,000 homes and hundreds of bridges, paralyze railway transportation for months and cause US\$0.5 billion damages, engraving the political crises. **16 August:** A new cabinet, led by Sergey Stanishev and consisting of members of the BSP, the NMSS and the MRF is voted by the NA.

2006 New presidential elections by the end of the year.

2007 **1 January:** Anticipated date of Bulgaria's accession to the EU.

Introduction

Bulgaria is a country of extraordinary beauty, with high, wild mountains and gentle valleys, and with picturesque cities and idyllic villages. It is also a country where east and west, antiquity and modernity, constitute a paradoxical, often unfathomable, though always intriguing entirety. Since the early Middle Ages up to the 21st century, Bulgarian history has been full of dramatic political vicissitudes and impressive cultural achievements. And behind the history of the Bulgarian state and its leaders, there is the—rarely told—story of the pragmatic, hardworking, sober-minded Bulgarian people who in spite of its innate skepticism stubbornly believes in a better future.

Bulgarians are a patriotic people; they live with the images of glory and defeat from the past. They are proud of the mighty medieval Bulgarian Empire, which was one of the superpowers of its time, and—with even more reason—of the impressive radiation that medieval Bulgarian culture had all over the Orthodox Slavic world. They deeply resent the nearly five centuries of Ottoman domination. They continue to hold in high esteem the many 19th-century freedom fighters who gave their lives for national liberation—or were prepared to do so. A foreign observer might be even more impressed by the economic boom in 19th-century Bulgaria, by the dense network of schools and cultural centers 19th-century Bulgarian enlighteners built from scratch in the same period, and by the fact that during the interwar period Bulgaria had the best education, the best public health care, and the best social security system in the Balkans.

Although Bulgarians are proud of their history, it has not been particularly kind to them. After being isolated from Europe as a result of the Great Schism and the Ottoman domination, Bulgaria was isolated again from the West due to the even more impermeable Iron Curtain. Communist rule, imposed by the Soviet Union, brought some prosperity for

several decades but finally turned out to be economically and politically inefficient and intellectually suffocating. Now, the Bulgarians hope to acquire the place in Europe they have been claiming since the 19th century. The preparation for the accession to the European Union again demands great social sacrifices but is generally expected to be the beginning of a new, more prosperous era in Bulgarian history.

LAND AND PEOPLE

The Republic of Bulgaria (Republika Bŭlgariya) is situated in southeast Europe, in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, between the latitudes 41°14' and 44°13' north and the longitudes 22°21' and 28°36' east. It is surrounded (clockwise) on the north by Romania, from which it is separated by a 608-kilometer border (470 kilometers of which follow the River Danube); on the east by a 378-kilometer Black Sea coastline; in the south by Turkey and Greece, sharing with them 259 kilometers and 493 kilometers of boundary line, respectively; on the west by the Republic of Macedonia and Serbia-Montenegro, sharing with them 148 and 318 kilometers of boundary line, respectively.

Bulgaria covers 110,994 square kilometers, which is about 22% of the area of the Balkan Peninsula. The distance from the Romanian border in the north to the Greek border in the south is about 330 kilometers; from the Serbian border in the west to the Black Sea in the east, about 520 kilometers.

In Bulgaria, five main geographic zones can be discerned: (1) the massive Balkan mountain range, flanked in the south by the Sredna Gora ("Middle Mountains"; "Mountains amid the Mountains"), stretching from east to west, parallel to the Danube and dividing the country into a northern and a southern half; near Sofia, the Balkan range turns off to the north, crosses the Danube, and continues as the Carpathian range; (2) the Danubian plain, between the Balkan range and the Danube, linked to the Russian steppes through Dobrudja in the northeast; (3) the Rhodope Mountains in the south along the Greek border, with the adjacent Rila and Pirin mountains in the southwest; (4) the Thracian plain, between the Balkan and the Rhodope ranges, forming one single geographic unit with Greek Thrace (the Maritsa delta) and the rolling terrain in (Turkish) Eastern Thrace; and (5) the Black Sea

coastal area in the west, connecting Dobrudja and the east Thracian hills.

High, non-arable mountains—the Balkan range, the Sredna Gora, the Rhodope, the Rila and Pirin mountains, the Vitosha (near Sofia)—on the one hand, and fertile lowlands—the Danubian plain, Dobrudja, the Thracian plain, the broad valley between the Balkan Mountains and the Sredna Gora, the Sofia plain—on the other each constitute nearly one-third of the Bulgarian territory. The remainder consists of transitional hilly country, suitable for horticulture and viticulture.

Although water is abundant, Bulgaria has no navigable rivers except for the Danube. The northern basin contains a number of rivers (Lom, Ogosta, Vit, Osûm, Yantra, and others), which rise in the Balkan Mountains and flow into the Danube. The only river belonging to the northern basin, but having its source more southerly, is the Iskûr, which rises in the Rila mountains and cuts a bed for itself straight through the Balkan range. The southern basin pours its waters into the Aegean Sea in Greece. It comprises the Struma (Greek: Strymon), the Mesta (Greek: Nestos), and the Maritsa (Greek: Hebros; Turkish: Meriç), flowing through the Thracian plain, with the Arda and the Tundzha as its main tributaries. Only a few rivers (such as the Kamchiya and the Ropotamo) discharge into the Black Sea.

The 1987 administrative division of the country had created nine provinces (*okrûzi*; sing. *okrûg*): Burgas, Haskovo, Lovech, Montana, Plovdiv, Razgrad, Sofia, Sofia City, and Varna, each named after its respective provincial capital. After the fall of the communist regime, this division underwent only minor changes: a province was again called *oblast* instead of *okrûg*; Lovech and Razgrad were replaced by Plevn and Ruse, respectively, as provincial capitals, as a result of which the names of both provinces were also changed. On 1 January 1999, 28 *oblasts* were created to replace the former *okrûgs*: Blagoevgrad, Burgas, Dobrich, Gabrovo, Haskovo, Kûrdzhali, Kyustendil, Lovech, Montana, Pazardzhik, Pernik, Plevn, Plovdiv, Razgrad, Ruse, Shumen, Silistra, Sliven, Smolyan, Sofia, Sofia City, Stara Zagora, Tûrgovishte, Varna, Veliko Tûrnovo, Vidin, Vratsa, and Yambol.

The provinces, which have their own administration, are divided in 1,206 municipalities (*obshtini*; sing. *obshtina*). A municipality consists in a major city, or a small town with the surrounding villages, or a number of villages. The considerable autonomy municipalities already

enjoyed was extended by the 1991 constitution. A strict distinction is made between a village (*selo*) and a city (*grad*). As a rule, the latter has a more elaborate infrastructure, consisting in government offices, high schools, a shopping center, and others. Although every populated location is officially labeled either “city” or “village,” to an outsider the difference is often difficult to make, especially since many small cities have a rather rural character.

Bulgaria has a transitional climate, the Balkan range forming the dividing line between the harsh Continental weather conditions coming down from the north and the temperate Mediterranean zone in the south. Pleven, north of the Balkan range, has an average temperature of -1.8°C in January and 23.5°C in July; Plovdiv, in the Thracian plain, has 0.0°C and 24.0°C , respectively. In southeast Bulgaria, the Mediterranean influences are strongest: Petrich has 1.4°C in January and 25.1°C in July. On the Black Sea coast, summers are cooler and winters warmer: Varna in the north has 1.4°C and 22.6°C , and Tsarevo (formerly Michurin) in the south 3.2°C and 23.1°C , in January and July, respectively.

The average annual precipitation in Bulgaria is about 650 millimeters. In mountainous areas, the figures are considerably higher: the Musala summit (2,925 meters) has 1,193 millimeters. The driest places are the Thracian plain and Dobrudja. Balchik in Dobrudja has only 416 millimeters of rainfall yearly.

The Bulgarian flora is very rich. The mountains are densely wooded, mainly with Eurasian deciduous trees, while conifers are found predominantly in the Rila and Pirin mountains. The highest belts have typically alpine vegetation. The fertile Danubian plain and Dobrudja in the north produce abundant corn, fruit, and vegetables. Dobrudja is famous for its cereals and sunflowers. In the south, olive trees, cypresses, and other Mediterranean species occur. Thrace is known for its garden plants, the large valley between the Balkan range and the Sredna Gora for its roses (the source of attar) and lavender, the coastal region for its vineyards, and the Rhodope region for its tobacco.

Because of the large mountainous areas, Bulgaria’s wildlife is extremely rich, too. There are deer, chamois, and boars, and also wolves, bears, and jackals that rarely are to be found living wild in other European countries. Bulgaria is internationally renowned for its hunting opportunities.

According to the 2001 census, the population of Bulgaria amounted to 7,928,901 people (8,487,317 in 1992, when the prior census was held), which implies a current population density of about 71.4 inhabitants per square kilometer (76.5 in 1992).

Of the total population of Bulgaria, 83.9% is Bulgarian. The remaining 16.1% consists of ethnic communities, like Turks (9.4%), Gypsies (4.6%), Russians (0.2%), Armenians (0.1%), and smaller numbers of Vlachs and Greeks.

Religious affiliation to a great extent coincides with ethnic affiliation. The overwhelming majority of the Bulgarian-speakers are Orthodox Christians, but there are an estimated 270,000 Pomaks (Bulgarian-speaking Muslims) as well. About 44,000 Bulgarians adhere to Catholicism, including the estimated 15,000 Uniates, who have preserved their Orthodox rites but acknowledge the authority of the pope of Rome. Protestants of various denominations make up a growing community of more than 42,000 members.

Nearly all the Turks in Bulgaria are Muslim, except for the about 1,500 Gagauz (Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians), mainly in Dobrudja. The Gypsies are religiously divided; as far as unofficial statistics and estimates allow any conclusions: about two-thirds of the Bulgarian Gypsies are Orthodox Christians and one-third is Muslim. Jews and Armenians have their own religious organizations.

HISTORY

Antiquity (Before 681)

In antiquity, the territory of present-day Bulgaria (then roughly Moesia in the north and Thrace in the south) was populated by Thracian tribes, who succeeded in creating a Thracian state-like formation by the middle of the fifth century BC. The Thracian upper class was Hellenized and used Greek as a language of culture (thus little is known of the Thracian language). The coastal towns, founded by Greek colonists, remained Greek until the 20th century. In 324 BC, Thrace was conquered by Philip of Macedonia; at the beginning of the first century AD it was incorporated into the Roman Empire, together with Moesia. Having been Hellenized before, it was now Romanized. After the partition

of the Roman Empire in 395, Moesia and Thrace became part of the East Roman, or Byzantine, Empire. The European provinces of the empire were continually raided by tribes coming from north of the Danube. Some of them settled in the Balkans, with or without the consent of the Byzantines.

First Bulgarian Empire (681–1018)

In the sixth and seventh centuries, Slavic tribes overran the Byzantine Balkan provinces, where they created the so-called *sklaviniai*—semi-independent territorial formations mentioned in Byzantine sources. In the seventh century, the Proto-Bulgarians traversed the Danube and settled in Dobrudja. In 681, they entered into an alliance with the local Slavic tribes and defeated the Byzantine emperor, Constantine IV. By signing a peace treaty and committing himself to the payment of an annual tribute, the emperor formally recognized the Bulgarian state. The first Bulgarian capital was Pliska. Gradually, the Bulgarian state, which then contained a large part of present-day Romania, expanded to the south (Thrace) and the southeast (Macedonia) at the expense of the Byzantine Empire. The Proto-Bulgarian and the Slavic components of the population steadily merged. This process was finalized after 864, when under King Boris I (baptismal name Mihail, 852–889) both embraced Orthodox Christianity as a common state religion. By using Slavic as the language of liturgy and administration, Bulgarians limited the Greek cultural influence that was exerted by the representatives of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The First Bulgarian Empire reached the peak of its territorial expansion and cultural flourishing during the rule of King, later Tsar, Simeon (893–927). In 893, he moved the capital to Preslav, which developed into an important center of cultural life, and in 918 he proclaimed the independence of the Bulgarian church, which was recognized by Constantinople as a separate patriarchate in 927. After Simeon's death, decline set in. There was social unrest, which revealed itself in the spread of the heresy of Bogomilism. Under Simeon's successor, Petŭr (927–970), Bulgaria lost the territories north of the Danube. In the late 960s, after a long period of peace, Byzantium advanced again and reconquered west Bulgaria. Simultaneously, the Russians invaded the country from the north. After the fall of Preslav in 971, the political center of the First Bulgarian Em-

pire moved to the west. Subsequently, Sofia, Ohrid, Prespa, and Prilep became the residence of the new tsar, Samuil (991–1014). His successful wars against the Byzantines resulted in Bulgaria partly and temporarily being restored and even enlarged in the west. In 1014, Samuil's army was crushed by the Byzantines, and, in 1018, his entire realm was subjugated to Constantinople.

Byzantine Rule (1018–1185)

For nearly two centuries, the Bulgarian lands were reincorporated into the Byzantine Empire. Thus, the situation that had existed before the establishment of the Bulgarian state in 681 was restored. The penetration of Greek cultural influence resumed, particularly in Macedonia, where the Greek language partly regained the ground it had lost when the Slavic tribes overran the area in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Byzantines imposed their own political and administrative institutions; however, a number of local cultural traditions (such as the veneration of Slavic saints) were not affected. In 1185, the Asens, feudal lords in Veliko Tŭrnovo, rose and threw off Byzantine domination.

Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1393)

The Bulgarian Empire was finally restored in 1187 after two years of successful warfare by Asen (1187–1196) against the Byzantines. Veliko Tŭrnovo became the new capital. At the beginning of the 13th century, the First Bulgarian Empire, as far as its possessions south of the Danube were concerned, had already been restored. Under Tsars Kaloyan (1198–1207) and Ivan Asen II (1218–1241), the Second Bulgarian Empire reached the peak of its territorial expansion. In the second half of the 13th century, the Bulgarian tsars had to comply with the suzerainty of the Mongolian khans, whose armies had invaded the country. In the mid-14th century, the disintegration of the empire commenced, due to social unrest, rivalry between the tsars and the boyars, and dynastic conflicts: the principality of Dobrudja had broken away in the 1330s; in the 1360s, Tsar Ivan Aleksandŭr (1331–1371) divided his empire between his two sons, giving the western part (with the city of Vidin) to the elder, Ivan Sratsimir, and the eastern part (with the capital Veliko Tŭrnovo) to the younger, Ivan Shishman (1371–1393). The suzerainty of the Serbian

ruler had to be recognized. Ivan Shishman ruled over the remainder of the Second Bulgarian Empire until it was subdued by the Ottoman Turks in 1393. Vidin fell in 1396. The principality of Dobrudja was conquered in the same period.

In spite of the chaotic political situation, Bulgarian culture and especially religious literature flourished during the 14th century, bringing about a “second South Slavic wave” (of philological renewal) in Russia in the century to come.

Ottoman Rule (1393–1878)

The Ottoman invasion destroyed the Bulgarian state and church institutions and caused economic and social chaos. Vast areas were depopulated, and cities, palaces, and monasteries looted. Later, things normalized. Until the end of the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire was a militarily strong, well-ruled, and relatively prosperous entity. The *timar* system regulated the property relationships among the sultan, the feudal lords, and the peasants in a way that resulted in economic and social stability (though immobility and a low standard of living as well) and military efficiency.

The *millet* system regulated the coexistence of the dominant Muslim community with the communities of Orthodox and Gregorian (Armenian) Christians and Jews by giving them substantial autonomy in doctrinal, juridical, and educational matters. As the *Rum milleti* (the “nation” of the Orthodox Christians, which included the Bulgarians) was conceived by the Ottomans as the continuation of the Byzantine church, top positions were preferably given to Greeks, which contributed to the steady Hellenization of the Bulgarian urban elite. Although massive and forced Islamizations occurred, they were incidental. Most Muslims in Bulgaria were descendants of Turkish colonists from Anatolia or of Bulgarians who voluntarily, albeit under considerable social pressure, embraced Islam. The *devshirme* (child levy), consisting of periodically collecting young Christian boys who eventually were converted and prepared for military or administrative posts in the empire, probably was the most systematic form of Islamization.

After the abortive siege of Vienna in 1683, the Ottoman Empire began retreating from Europe, due to internal economic and political weakness, to technological backwardness, and to the aggression of both

Austria and Russia. Rock bottom was reached at the end of the 18th century, when the European provinces of the empire were plunged into a state of chaos for decades. Roaming bands of looters—the so-called *kûrdzhaliyas*—caused the sultans to arm even the Christian population in Bulgaria and Serbia. During the 19th century, the nationalism of some Balkan Christian peoples had become another factor contributing to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire.

The National Awakening (1762–1878)

In the course of the 18th century, the *timars* were gradually, although by far not everywhere, replaced by *chiftliks* (large hereditary land possessions), growing crops for export to Europe. The taxes, often collected *in specie* now, allowed the Ottoman government to pay for advanced military technology and foreign military experts. While the peasants in the *chiftliks* were increasingly exploited by the (Turkish and Bulgarian) large landowners, a class of well-to-do and self-confident merchants and later manufacturers came into being. They lived in the cities, spoke Greek to distinguish themselves from the rural population, and, from the 1820s onward, demanded good education and political rights. In general, the new bourgeoisie was in favor of a gradual democratization of the Ottoman Empire, striving for cultural autonomy within it, and being more opposed to what was then perceived as the Patriarchate of Constantinople's policy of deliberate Hellenization, than to the Ottoman rule as such. The Ottoman government, by introducing the *Tanzimat* (reforms) in the late 1830s, only encouraged reformist tendencies in society.

The Bulgarian National Awakening period was ushered in by the *History of the Bulgarian Slaves* (1762), written by the monk Paisiy of Hilendar with the aim of pushing back Greek cultural influence. Up until the 1870s, the mainstream of the Bulgarian national liberation movement limited its demands to the establishment of a separate Bulgarian church or *millet*, which would grant to the Bulgarians cultural autonomy and political representation. Despite Greek and Russian resistance, the “church struggle” was crowned with success when in 1870 the sultan endorsed the founding of the Bulgarian Exarchate.

The younger generation, however, acquainted more or less with contemporary Western political thinking (and from the 1860s on, with

Russian radical socialist thinking), insisted on more radical changes. It increasingly believed that only the establishment of an ethnic nation-state could resolve political, economic, social, and cultural problems. After the Crimean War (1853–1856), mere cultural autonomy, as demanded by the leaders of the “church struggle,” no longer satisfied the revolutionary-minded Bulgarian nationalists. The *cheta* movement in the 1860s and the revolutionary organizations created in the 1870s attempted to overthrow Ottoman rule by violence and to obtain full political independence. The Bulgarian revolutionaries realized, however, that they were too weak to achieve their political goals without foreign support. The uprising they organized in April 1876 was intended mainly to provoke a Russian intervention. The Russo-Turkish War, which broke out in 1877, ultimately resulted in the liberation of Bulgaria from Ottoman domination in March 1878.

Kingdom of Bulgaria (1878–1944)

On 3 March 1878, representatives of Russia and the Ottoman Empire signed the Treaty of San Stefano, which fixed the borders of an independent Bulgaria, encompassing all the regions populated by Bulgarians (albeit not only by Bulgarians). The neighboring Balkan nations could not accept the creation of a Bulgarian state including territories coveted by them, nor could the Great Powers tolerate the existence of a state of that size, which was expected to be an ally of Russia. The Treaty of Berlin, signed on 13 July 1878, revised the Treaty of San Stefano, dividing “San Stefano Bulgaria” into three pieces: the Principality of Bulgaria, an Ottoman vassal state, in the north; Eastern Rumelia, an Ottoman autonomous province in the south; and Macedonia, which remained an integral part of the Ottoman Empire without special status. This partition of the Bulgarian lands was henceforth considered by the Bulgarians a historical injustice which had to be undone.

On 6 September 1885, the union of Eastern Rumelia with the Principality of Bulgaria was achieved—a violation of the Treaty of Berlin which caused an international crisis, provoked the 1885 Serbo-Bulgarian war, and resulted in Bulgarian-Russian diplomatic relations being interrupted for nearly 10 years, as long as the “Russophobe” Prime Minister Stefan Stambolov was in power. In Macedonia, Bulgarian irredentism was opposed not only by the Ottoman Empire, but also by Greece and

Serbia, which claimed this part of the peninsula as well. After more than 30 years of tug-of-war among the parties involved, during which they promoted their respective causes through education, diplomacy, and terrorism, Macedonia and Thrace were conquered by a Bulgarian-Greek-Montenegrin-Serbian alliance during Balkan War I in 1912–1913. Subsequently, a war over the division of the conquered lands broke out between Bulgaria and her former allies supported by Romania and the Ottoman Empire. Bulgaria was defeated. Through the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, Bulgaria acquired a considerable part of the Rhodope Mountains and Western Thrace with the port of Dede Agach; however, it had to cede Southern Dobrudja to Romania and received only 10% of the total area of Macedonia.

During World War I, Bulgaria attempted to annex the Serbian part of Macedonia, but failed as its allies Germany and Austria were defeated. The 1919 Treaty of Neuilly stipulated four small Bulgarian districts to be ceded to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes; the 1922 Treaty of San Remo gave Western Thrace to Greece, thus depriving Bulgaria of access to the Mediterranean. During the whole interwar period, Bulgaria tried to escape the isolation its neighbors and their allies had imposed on it for fear of revisionism and revanchism. While the tsar and most cabinets were in favor of normalizing the country's relations with Yugoslavia and Greece by "suppressing" the Macedonian Question, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) went on—till 1934—committing terrorist actions on Greek and Yugoslav soil and pressuring Bulgarian politicians to take an uncompromising stand.

In internal politics, there was little stability. The Bulgarian constitution (called the Tŭrnovo Constitution after the city where it was drafted) was contested by Alexander Battenberg, the first Bulgarian king. By 1881, it was suspended and remained so until the National Assembly (NA) in 1883 consented to enlarge the powers of the king. Political life was polarized between a conservative and a liberal party, joined by the end of the century by a workers' and a peasants' party. From the turn of the century on and increasingly after World War I, Bulgarian political life suffered from cliquishness. Parties were often founded not with the aim of advancing a political program but of satisfying the ambitions of individuals. Elections often were manipulated or the voters were intimidated; governments were mostly ephemeral. Those which were more

lasting often acted dictatorially—as did the Stefan Stambolov cabinet (1886–1894), the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU) cabinets (1919–1923), and the Democratic Alliance (DA) cabinet (1923–1931). Coups d'état seemed to have become accepted as a normal means of political change: the BANU government was finished by the 9 June 1923 coup d'état; the People's Bloc government by the 19 May 1934 coup d'état; and half a dozen other abortive coups took place. Moreover, the Bulgarian rulers—Alexander (1879–85), Ferdinand (1887–1918), and Boris III (1918–1944)—each worked at establishing a “personal regime” that allowed the ruler to reign without much interference by the NA. The lack of efficiency of the political parties and the readiness of conspiratorial groups (such as the Military League and later *Zveno*) to violate the constitution were of help to them. Alexander suspended the Tŭrnovo Constitution on 27 April 1881. The 9 June 1923 coup d'état, which put an end to Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski's more or less democratically elected but increasingly dictatorial BANU government, was carried out with the tsar's knowledge. The 19 May 1934 coup d'état, committed in an atmosphere of political stagnation and increasing fascist influence, also suspended the Tŭrnovo constitution, banned all political parties and organizations, and limited the powers of the NA. The tsar, who at first had supported the putschists, subsequently dismissed them on 22 January 1935 and ruled by himself, although remaining in the background. The constitution was not restored.

Despite international frustration and internal political and social instability, Bulgaria was economically relatively better off than its Balkan neighbors. Around the turn of the century, Bulgaria had established trade relations with most Western European countries and had started developing its own industry, which remained small-scale until after World War II. Factory workers were well organized in parties and labor unions. The overwhelming majority of Bulgarians, however, were still engaged in agriculture. They, too, had their own political organizations, banks, and cooperatives. As a result, Bulgarian society was fairly egalitarian. Social security and health care, schooling, and so on were on a higher average level than elsewhere in the Balkans, and in spite of its diplomatic isolation Bulgaria enjoyed a certain international prestige.

At the beginning of World War II, Bulgaria opted for neutrality, but in 1941 it entered into an alliance with Germany, hoping once again to have the opportunity to restore San Stefano Bulgaria. In 1940, it suc-

ceeded in recovering Southern Dobrudja, thanks to the diplomatic pressure exerted on Romania by its ally Germany. In 1941, Bulgaria was allowed to administer—actually to annex—Yugoslav Macedonia and Western Thrace. But Germany was again defeated. Although Bulgaria did not participate in any military action against the Soviet Union or the Allies (except for the occupation of the irredentas in Yugoslavia and Greece and the symbolic warfare—no fighting took place—against the United States and Great Britain), it was occupied by the Red Army at the beginning of September 1944.

Communist Rule

On 9 September 1944, the Bulgarian communist partisans, who had never amounted to much but were now backed by the Red Army, seized power, and imposed communist rule through the umbrella organization, the Fatherland Front (FF). After the consolidation of the communist-controlled FF government, Bulgaria went through a decade of radical Sovietization: political institutions were abolished or transformed after the Soviet Stalinist model; the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) gained control over the entire state and increasingly coincided with it; agriculture was collectivized; banks, factories, and businesses were nationalized; socialist realism was imposed as the only artistic method by which to appropriately reflect the revolutionary changes in society. Many thousands of real and potential political opponents were physically liquidated. Typical of this period was the so-called personality cult, the veneration of the infallible party leader, who happened to be Georgi Dimitrov (until 1949) and then his successor Vûlko Chervenkov (1950–1954). Due to strong discipline and a certain amount of enthusiasm, and in spite of the ineffectiveness of the whole system, some undeniable economic successes (especially in the field of industrialization) were achieved; from an essentially agrarian country, Bulgaria gradually became an industrialized country with a predominantly urban population.

After World War II, the Bulgarian communists continued favoring the prewar *Comintern* solution of the “Macedonian Question” by establishing a Balkan federation including Albania, Greece, and Yugoslavia, within the framework of which Macedonia was to become a federal unit on its own. Bulgaria recognized the Macedonians as a separate Slavic nation. However, after Stalin opposed the establishment of a Balkan

federation in 1948 and Yugoslavia was ousted from the Soviet bloc, Bulgaria gave up the idea and eventually revoked its recognition of a Macedonian nation. Apart from the Macedonian Question, Bulgaria during the Cold War in fact denied having a foreign policy of its own, preferring (or being forced) merely to follow the Soviet course.

After Stalin's death in 1953, communist rule in Bulgaria, as everywhere in Eastern Europe, became more liberal. In Bulgaria, the new line was introduced by the April 1956 Plenum and was inextricably bound up with the new party leader, Todor Zhivkov. Essentially, little changed. Local political unrest connected with the 1956 Hungarian uprising was rapidly suppressed. The BCP remained in control of all political, economic, social, and cultural life. Due to the tangible improvement in the standard of living in the 1960s and 1970s, however, most Bulgarians could live with the system. Relations with the West became less tense, but the fusion of Bulgarian and Soviet institutions was accelerated. After the dismissal of the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in 1964, the relative liberalization policy came to an end, and after the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968, there was a clear tendency toward restoring ideological orthodoxy, especially in the fields of ideology and culture. The still precarious economic situation nevertheless required cautious economic experiments, which reportedly were most successful in agriculture.

A new period of cultural and to a certain extent ideological loosening coincided with Lyudmila Zhivkova's term as chair of the Committee for Science and Culture, from 1975 to 1981. In particular, Bulgaria's "public relations" with Western Europe, the United States, India, and Japan improved greatly as cultural contacts were intensified. At the same time, however, nationalism was increasingly resorted to as a means of mobilizing and uniting the population. Toward the end of the 1970s, the New Economic Mechanism was introduced in order to cope with growing economic problems.

Zhivkova's untimely death in 1981 marked the beginning of a new period of cultural stiffening. After the death of Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev in 1982, the general crisis of communism in the whole Soviet bloc became acute. In Bulgaria especially, where Zhivkov's aging leadership had resulted in stagnation, reforms were badly needed. After the 1978 murder of Georgi Markov and the alleged Bulgarian complicity in the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II in 1981, little

was left of Bulgaria's reputation abroad. The rampant economic problems, international tensions resulting from the installation of cruise missiles, and the increasing difficulty of legitimating the failing BCP regime impelled the party leadership to invent a common enemy whose alleged threat was such that it would make even the most dissatisfied Bulgarians side with the BCP. That "enemy" was the close to one million Turks, who in 1984–1985 were subjected to a forced assimilation campaign, euphemistically called the "regeneration campaign," during which they were forced to change their Turkish names to Bulgarian ones. Then, in 1989, the government succeeded in compelling about 350,000 Turks to emigrate to Turkey.

The reformist ideas of Mikhail Gorbachev, who was elected Soviet party leader in 1985, were looked upon as a threat by the BCP establishment, the more so as the Soviet Union became reluctant to sell raw materials and fuel at low prices to Bulgaria and to buy second-rate Bulgarian industrial products in exchange for mere ideological fidelity. Although pretending to follow Gorbachev's openness (*glasnost*) and restructuring (*perestroika*), Bulgaria in fact dissociated itself from the Soviet Union for the first time since World War II, forbidding even the dissemination of pro-Gorbachev Soviet publications. However, many faithful members of the BCP organized themselves in "informal groups" such as the Ruse Committee and the Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy to support Gorbachev's reform policy. The coup d'état of 10 November 1989, which put an end to 35 years of Zhivkov's dictatorship, is said to have been carried out after Petûr Mladenov consulted with and got the approval of the Kremlin leader.

Post-Communist Period

Political Developments

On 10 November 1989, Zhivkov was dismissed after a BCP "palace coup" and Mladenov succeeded him as BCP first secretary and state president. The BCP tried to keep developments under control by submitting itself to a kind of political face-lift, ousting the most compromised figures of the Zhivkov era. It was soon compelled, however, to start negotiations with the opposition that was united in the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF). The Roundtable Negotiations, which gathered together

Bulgaria's main political, spiritual, and intellectual personalities, resulted in the BCP being forced to give up its constitutionally established leadership role in society and allowing other parties and movements to participate in Bulgarian political life. Agreements were reached on the establishment of a multiparty system and a free-market economy. The modalities of the first post-communist free elections were comprehensively discussed. Three parties were considered to be in line for participation in the future cabinet: BANU, the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP, the former BCP), and the UDF. A fourth party, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF), a "Turkish" party, was viewed with distrust and was only reluctantly allowed. The restoration of the Turkish minority's cultural rights, which the MRF pleaded for, was vehemently rejected by a large nationalistically minded segment of the population. In Razgrad, nationalists went so far as to proclaim the Independent Razgrad Bulgarian Republic, demanding the local authorities not to apply national legislation concerning the restoration of the names of "Bulgarized" Turks.

The BSP narrowly won the June 1990 first post-communist elections, winning 211 of the 400 seats in the Grand National Assembly (GNA). Although the elections had not been without irregularities (cases of intimidation of the population by BSP officials did occur), it was obvious that the former communists enjoyed the support of a considerable part of the population, especially in the countryside. The BSP insisted on forming a coalition government with the UDF, but the latter, being reluctant to share any government responsibility with the BSP, preferred a policy of parliamentary obstruction and opposition in the street. In the summer of 1990, in a "communist-free zone" in the center of Sofia, anti-BSP demonstrators, mainly professionals and students from University of Sofia and several scientific institutions, put up a tent city, called "City of Truth." The demonstrators demanded "the truth" about the repression during the communist regime, about BSP properties inherited from the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), about the authorities' concealment of information about the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident in 1986 and its consequences for public health, about Bulgaria's participation in the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and about the past of BSP officials who still held important positions in the cabinet, including Andrey Lukanov and Dobri Dzhurov. Among the main achievements of the "City of Truth" was the dismissal of President Mladenov, the removal of the embalmed corpse of Georgi Dimitrov

from the mausoleum, and the election of former dissident Zhelyo Zhelev as the new state president on 1 August 1990.

The tensions between the BSP and the UDF finally culminated when the BSP leadership refused to remove the huge red star, a symbol of the communist period, from the roof of the BCP building, as agreed upon in the NA. On the evening of 26 August, demonstrators stormed the building and threw furniture, documents, and food supplies through the windows. The ground floor was partly destroyed by arson. The BSP accused the UDF and especially the labor union *Podkrepa* of having incited the people to “neofascist terrorism.” The UDF retorted by accusing conservative extremists in the BSP of having set the headquarters on fire themselves in an attempt to discredit the UDF and restore the old political order.

In October, the BSP cabinet formed by Lukanov resigned, and on 9 December 1990, Prime Minister Dimităr Popov presented his government of national unity, consisting of 17 ministers—members of the BSP, the UDF, BANU, and unaffiliated politicians—to the NA. The first, cautious laws on the restitution of nationalized properties and collectivized farming land, on privatization, and foreign investments were passed. On 12 July 1991, a new constitution (the fourth in Bulgarian history), drafted by the GNA after a year of debates, was promulgated. Its adoption was accompanied by vehement protests and hunger strikes by UDF radicals demanding that the ratification of the constitution be postponed until after early elections, as it allegedly bore the stamp of the socialist majority. The main controversial issues were the scope of presidential powers, the alleged protection the constitution offered to former communists and their property, and the absence of any provisions concerning collective rights for ethnic minorities.

The tensions provoked by the new constitution accelerated the polarization of Bulgarian political life which had set in after the June election results had been contested by the UDF. The BSP presented itself as a social democratic party and did indeed stick to a program that showed more concern about the social consequences of the economic reforms. In fact, it mainly defended the interests of the former BCP officials (and of their rather dubious financial holdings) who were not averse to white-collar and organized crime. The UDF was in favor of economic “shock therapy,” that would thwart the activities of the former BCP *nomenklatura* and attract foreign investors, even if this would cause

(temporary) unemployment and social regression. During the Filip Dimitrov cabinet (November 1991–October 1992) following the October 1991 UDF election victory, the shock therapy was applied—as much as the strong BSP opposition allowed—and yielded some rewards. Attempts were made to curtail severely the BSP position of power. During the Lyuben Berov cabinet (December 1992–September 1994), however, the economic reform program was slowed down, and a process of re-communization was initiated through the appointment of former BCP officials to key positions in the judiciary and in other sectors of the administration. In January 1995, a BSP cabinet led by Zhan Videnov came to power. By shelving economic reform and allowing dubious financial groups with BSP connections to benefit from the wavering privatizations, it brought the country close to bankruptcy. In fall 1996, massive protest demonstrations, organized by the UDF, took place. On 10 January 1997, when it had become obvious that the Videnov cabinet refused to consider a UDF proposal to call for early elections, demonstrators stormed the building of the NA, destroyed a part of the furniture, and set fire to one of the meeting halls. Three days later, massive strikes broke out all over the country, bringing Bulgaria to the brink of civil war. The Videnov cabinet was forced to resign; the newly sworn in UDF president Petûr Stoyanov called for early elections.

In the April 1997 parliamentary elections, the UDF won a sweeping victory. The UDF cabinet, headed by Ivan Kostov, introduced radical legislation on the restitution of nationalized properties and the privatization of state enterprises. Integration in the Euro-Atlantic structures—the European Union (EU, then still the European Community) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—became the most important foreign policy goals. Without any doubt, the cabinet led by Kostov was the most successful one in post-totalitarian Bulgarian history. However, it did not succeed in significantly improving the living conditions of the majority of the Bulgarian population, which suffered from the social damage of the shock therapy. Moreover, some of Kostov’s closest collaborators were suspected of corruption.

For many years the Bulgarian electorate, disappointed by both the BSP and the UDF, had looked for an attractive and powerful centrist party that would defend more moderate stances and provide a realistic counterbalance to BSP conservatism and UDF radicalism. Both the BSP and the UDF were suffering from “peeling off”: rightist and leftist fac-

tions left the party and formed new parties or entered new coalitions. The UDF was especially vulnerable to this tendency, since it was for many years a rather heterogeneous coalition of political parties and organizations. The reformist BSP factions and the more social-minded, moderate UDF splinter groups sometimes worked together in the NA and were expected in vain to organize themselves in a political coalition that might eventually develop into a centrist party. In 2001, the National Movement Simeon the Second (NMSS), named after its leader, the exiled (in 1946, as a child) tsar Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, presented itself as the long awaited centrist alternative to the BSP and the UDF. In the June 2001 elections, the NMSS obtained half of the seats in the NA. The outcome was a former—and future?—tsar who now became a prime minister, and who—to make things even odder—from January 2002 onward shared power with a new president, Georgi Pîrvanov, a former communist. Apart from Simeon himself, who turned out to be a rather unfathomable personality, the cabinet consisted mainly of young, ambitious people without much political experience but with considerable expertise in their respective fields (with the exception of a couple of “bad choices”). Under Simeon’s administration, Bulgaria joined NATO in April 2004 and continued preparing for accession to the EU.

In light of the treatment of the Turkish minority in the 1980s, ethnic relations in Bulgaria have developed in a surprisingly positive way—to such an extent that some Bulgarian politicians and political scientists have proposed the rather self-flattering use of the term “Bulgarian ethnic model.” This positive development was due mainly to the fact that the Turkish minority was allowed to have its own political party, the MRF, which in a number of cabinets acted as an indispensable and moderate coalition partner and as such has been able to realize a considerable part of its program. The Turkish politicians are well integrated in the Bulgarian political elite, having—according to many Bulgarians—too large a share in the distribution of power and lucrative political functions. The fate of the Roma minority, caught in a vicious circle of poverty, lack of education, pilferage and discrimination, is far less bright.

Economic Reforms

In spite of some “teething” problems such as the endless proliferation of political parties (more than 200 at the eve of the June 2005 parliamentary

elections), the transition to a parliamentary democracy went relatively smoothly. The economic transition, however, was a long and troublesome process, due to the reluctance, if not the opposition, of the BSP to the introduction of a free-market economy. Several land reform laws and amendments were passed, aiming at the return of the collectivized land to its former owners. However, a full and unconditional restitution (as far as feasible), implying the abolition of the cooperative farms according to the BSP, would have led to economic and social disruption. In fact, partial and conditional restitution would have helped the BSP agrarian *nomenklatura* maintain their position of power and their privileges in the countryside. Radical legislation was introduced only by the Kostov cabinet in 1997–2001, restituting wherever possible real property. Nevertheless, by the end of 2004, the many disputed cases brought to court dragged on leaving large parcels of arable land uncultivated.

The founding of private enterprises was encouraged from the beginning, and myriad small and often ephemeral private businesses with a local radius of action emerged. Large and lucrative state enterprises, however, were scantily privatized, and the process all but stopped during the Lyuben Berov administration in 1993–1994. According to commentators, pressure groups of “new capitalists” (allegedly overwhelmingly former BCP *nomenklatura* members) urged the BSP representatives in the NA to obstruct legislation, as these enterprises were still a source of revenue for them. The lack of legislation enabled financial groups to buy lucrative enterprises and to gather enormous fortunes. Foreign investors on the other hand were discouraged by severe legal prescriptions.

This disastrous policy reached a breaking point during the BSP Videnov cabinet in 1996, when the Bulgarian banking system collapsed, the currency was struck by hyperinflation, and the market suffered from shortages. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) intervened and imposed the establishment of a currency board before new loans would be granted. The Kostov cabinet introduced a program of radical economic reforms, complying with the requirements of the international financial institutions. The currency board, which was installed on 1 July 1997, resulted in an immediate stabilization of the *lev* and the Bulgarian economy (on a macro level) in general. New loans were granted in early 1997, initially in order to enable the government to provide food, medicine, and fuel to the population and later to sustain structural reforms.

The severe legislation on foreign investment was amended and reduced. This reform policy was continued after 2001 by the Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet. However, many measures came too late, and by the end of 2004 foreign investment in Bulgaria was still lagging far behind that in Central European countries.

The economic reforms, whether implemented half-heartedly (by the BSP), or as an implacable shock therapy (by the UDF), or conscientiously, but without neo-liberal enthusiasm (by the NMSS), had a particularly negative effect on social conditions. Food prices and transportation costs have been multiplying; wages and pensions have also been rising but considerably slower. The economic transformation process was accompanied by increasing unemployment, social regression, growing social inequality, labor unrest (especially among the miners and transport workers), disintegration of the social welfare and health care systems, and rampant crime. Here, too, things are finally changing for the better, but much less rapidly than hoped for, and leaving many people who had welcomed the end of communism and the coming of democracy deeply disappointed.

Bulgaria's transition to a free-market economy has been troubled by a number of unfavorable external circumstances, too. At first, the Soviet Union stopped providing Bulgaria with cheap oil and Bulgaria was forced to buy oil at international market prices. After the disintegration of Comecon, Bulgaria lost its main export market. Bulgaria's most important trade partner, the Soviet Union, was undergoing a crisis itself. Although allegedly many Bulgarians enriched themselves through black market trading with Yugoslavia, the United Nations embargo against that country was without a doubt a big setback for Bulgaria's national economy. Moreover, during the NATO intervention in Yugoslavia in 1999, the passage of Bulgarian trucks to Western Europe was made impossible by the destruction of the bridges on the Danube.

Despite the economic, social, and political problems that Bulgaria is still facing, it commands definite respect and admiration because of the peaceful way it dealt with the dramatic and often traumatic changes that the transition brought. Social unrest remained within acceptable and "normal" limits; tensions between political parties seldom got out of hand; and there were hardly any serious ethnic conflicts. Bulgaria's

relations with its neighbors and its foreign policy in general were as a rule highly appreciated by the international community.

Under the Sergey Stanishev cabinet of “European Integration, Economic Growth, and National Responsibility,” which started its activities on 17 August 2005, Bulgaria entered the “home stretch” in its goal of accessing the EU on 1 January 2007.

Reader's Note

Bulgarian is written in Cyrillic script. In this volume, each Bulgarian Cyrillic letter is transcribed into one Latin letter or a combination of two Latin letters (*zh*, *sh*, etc.). In one case, a diacritic mark is used (*û*). In principle, each Bulgarian Cyrillic letter corresponds to one phoneme, which implies that it is always pronounced in the same way. Each Cyrillic letter—and each Latin letter in our transcription system (except for the combinations)—is pronounced separately (e.g., Arnaudov, Paisiy, Peev are pronounced *Ar-na-u-dov*, *Pa-i-siy*, *Pe-ev* respectively).

Cyrillic letter	Latin transcription	Pronunciation
а	a	“bad”
б	b	b
в	v	v
г	g	“go”
д	d	d
е	e	“get”
ж	zh	“pleasure”
з	z	z
и	i	“meet”
ь	y	“yard”
к	k	k
л	l	l
м	m	m
н	n	n
о	o	“got”
п	p	p
р	r	r (rolled)
с	s	s
т	t	t

у	u	“you”
ф	f	f
х	h	“loch”
ц	ts	ts
ч	h	“church”
ш	sh	sh
щ	sht	sht
ъ	û	“but”
й	y	“yard” (after consonants)
ю	yu	“you”
я	ya	“yah”

In 1582, in the Western (Catholic) world, the Gregorian calendar, named after Pope Gregorius XIII, was introduced to make up for the error of seven days the old Julian calendar had produced since Julius Caesar imposed it. The Orthodox world did not renounce the Julian calendar, which was 12 days behind in the 19th century and 13 days in the 20th century. On 1 April 1916, Bulgaria switched from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar.

In this book, all dates concerning events that occurred in Bulgaria before 1 April 1916 are given according to the Old Style—the Julian calendar—as is common in Bulgaria; later dates are rendered according to the New Style—the Gregorian calendar. Events involving Western countries as well are given according to the Gregorian calendar. Both dates are mentioned whenever it is necessary to avoid misunderstanding, for instance, the Treaty of Berlin: 1/13 July 1878—1 July according to the Old Style, and 13 July according to the New Style.

Bulgarians have three names: a Christian name, a patronymic, and a family name. Ivan Georgiev Petrov stands for: Ivan, son of Georgi, Petrov. Usually, the patronymic is omitted: Ivan Petrov. Some Bulgarians, however, for various reasons use their patronymic as a family name: Ivan Georgiev (on the visiting card, although Ivan Georgiev Petrov on the passport). Patronymics and family names are hard to distinguish as they have the same form. Whenever a person uses the patronymic as a family name, this is indicated in the *Dictionary* by mentioning his or her real family name, too: **IVAN GEORGIEV (1937–)**. Real name: Ivan Georgiev Petrov.

Dictionary

– A –

ABAGAR. The first printed book in Bulgarian, it consisted of five large pages with short Catholic prayers and pictures of saints. *Abagar* was written in a mixed Bulgaro-Croat language and was named after the apocryphal legend of King Abagar of Edessa, whose “message” to Christ was also included. *Abagar* was compiled by the Catholic bishop Filip Stanislavov (ca. 1608–1674), who worked as a missionary in Bulgaria, and was published in Rome in 1651 on behalf of the newly converted **Paulicians**. Only six copies have been preserved. *See also* CATHOLICS.

ABDULAZIZ (1830–1876). An **Ottoman** sultan from 1861 to 1871, he was born in Istanbul on 9 February 1830, the son of Mahmut II and brother of **Abdulmejit**. He continued the *Tanzimat* liberal reforms that had been initiated by his father. Abdulaziz founded a general accounting office, the Ottoman bank, started the construction of railways, and allowed foreign citizens to own land in the empire. Under his rule, **Midhat pasha** experimented with modern ways of administration in the Danube province. In 1870, he endorsed the establishment of the **Bulgarian Exarchate**, which the Bulgarian national movement had been peacefully fighting for since the 1840s. In 1876, he suppressed the armed **April 1876 Uprising** and had its participants prosecuted and executed. Forced to abdicate by liberal oppositionists, who were dissatisfied by the deplorable financial situation of the Empire, he committed suicide in Istanbul on 4 June 1876.

ABDULHAMIT (1842–1918). Ottoman sultan from 1876 until 1909, he was born in Istanbul on 21 November 1842, the son of **Abdulmejit**. He

came to power after a coup d'état by reformist-minded army officers, who forced him to proclaim the first Turkish constitution. However, he soon disposed of the "Young Turks," suspended the constitution, and imposed a dictatorial regime. His rule was particularly unsuccessful, especially with regard to Bulgaria and the Balkans. Bulgaria obtained de facto independence after the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**, accomplished the 1885 **union with Eastern Rumelia**, which deprived the Empire of one of its richest provinces, and gained full independence in 1908. Bulgaria was also involved in the 1903 **Ilinden Uprising**, which resulted in **Macedonia** being administered by the Great Powers. After Abdulhamit attempted to undo the 1908 Young Turk coup d'état and the restoration of the 1876 constitution, he was forced to abdicate and spent the last years of his life under house arrest. He died in Istanbul on 10 February 1918.

ABDULMEJIT (1823–1861). He was the father of **Abdulhamit** and was **Ottoman** sultan from 1839 until 1861. Born in Istanbul on 23 April 1823. Son of Mahmut II and brother of **Abdulaziz**. On assuming the sultanate in 1839 at the age of 16, he proclaimed the *Hatti Şerif of Gülhane* (Solemn Rescript of the Rose Pavilion), which ushered in the ambitious reform program called *Tanzimat*. In 1856, his intentions to modernize and democratize the Ottoman Empire were reformulated in the *Hatti Humayün* (Imperial Rescript). Thanks to the *Tanzimat*, for the first time in their history the Bulgarians enjoyed some civil rights, which they referred to demanding an independent Bulgarian ecclesiastic organization (see CHURCH STRUGGLE).

During Abdulmejit's rule, the Ottoman Empire became dependent on the financial, diplomatic, and military support of Western powers such as Great Britain and France, which by imposing the *Tanzimat* transformed the Empire into a semi-colonial state. As a result, Western influence also increased among the Bulgarians. Abdulmejit died in Istanbul on 25 June 1861. He was succeeded by his brother Abdulaziz.

ABECEDARIUM ACHROSTICUM. One of the most remarkable examples of Old **Bulgarian literature**, the Abecedarium achroscopicum is a poem; the first letters of the first words of the subsequent verses constitute the (glagolitic) alphabet, devised by **Cyril and Methodius**,

with the letters in the established order. The names of the letters—*azû*, “I,” *buky* “letters,” *vědě*, “know,” et cetera—form a (rather cryptic) prayer that glorifies the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity. The text might contain the key to the explanation of the bizarre glagolitic graphemes. *See also* GLAGOLITSA.

ADRIANOPLE REGION. The so-called Adrianople region (*Odrin-sko*) consisted of what had remained of the **Ottoman vilayet** (province) Adrianople—coinciding territorially with **Thrace**—after the establishment of the independent **Principality of Bulgaria** and the autonomous province of **Eastern Rumelia** in 1878. It was named after the *vilayet*’s capital, the city of Edirne, now in Turkey. (Edirne is called *Odrin* in Bulgarian; in the West the ancient name Adrianople is better known.) The Adrianople region became one of the Bulgarians’ most coveted *irredentas*, second only to **Macedonia**. By the end of the 19th century, the total population in the Adrianople region amounted to almost one million people, nearly one-third of whom were Bulgarians. One third of these Bulgarians were actually **Pomaks**; the others were Orthodox Christians. There existed a dense network of Bulgarian schools, churches, monasteries, and other cultural institutions. After 1878, a large number of Bulgarians left the region for Bulgaria, and their places were occupied by Turkish refugees from Bulgaria.

A Bulgarian national liberation movement began to develop immediately after 1878, in close cooperation with the national liberation movement in Macedonia, and acquired an organized character after the creation of the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO) in 1893. It relied mainly on the refugees from the Adrianople region who were living in Bulgaria, but there was also an “internal” organization. Its actions culminated in the *Preobrazhenie* (Transfiguration) Uprising, which broke out two weeks after the **Ilinden Uprising**, on 6/19 August 1903. The Bulgarian rebels proclaimed the so-called “Strandzha Republic” (named after the Strandzha Mountains) and held out for 26 days until the uprising was crushed in blood by the Ottoman army. After **Balkan War II**, the Adrianople region remained within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Almost the entire Bulgarian population fled to Bulgaria; those who remained were steadily Turkicized.

AGRICULTURE. From ancient times, agriculture in the Bulgarian lands has been concentrated mainly in the Danubian and the Thracian plains and the Sofia basin. The fertile soil and the climate are conducive to a well-developed agriculture. Cereals are grown predominantly in **Dobrudja**, while **Thrace** produces mainly fruit and vegetables. The hills in southern and coastal Bulgaria are suitable for viticulture, while in the high mountains sheep are bred. The Rhodope range is famous for its fine **tobacco**.

During **Ottoman** rule (14th through 19th centuries) agriculture remained at a low technological level since the Ottoman *timar* system contained no incentives for increasing production. Only in the 18th century, when *chiftliks* emerged in some parts of Bulgaria, the feudal lords developed into large landowners producing for the market, and new sorts of crops were grown and new techniques introduced.

After the liberation in 1878, the lands of **Turks** who had left the country were divided among the Bulgarians. After **World War I**, a new division was carried out in order to provide the many thousands of Bulgarian refugees from **Greece** and **Yugoslavia** with land (*see* IMMIGRATION). As a result, large landownership was extremely rare: only 0.7% of the arable land was on farms of more than 50 hectares; three-quarters was on farms of less than 10 hectares. Agriculture remained very traditional until **World War II**; wooden plows and oxen as draught animals were quite normal. Nevertheless, agriculture was Bulgaria's main form of economic activity and its primary source of income, the more so as food processing constituted a considerable part of Bulgarian industry. An indication of the importance of agriculture in Bulgarian society is the prominent role played by the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU), especially in the interwar period. BANU had its own credit banks and promoted the creation of **co-operations**.

After World War II, agriculture in Bulgaria was reorganized after the **Soviet** model. A heavy-handed campaign of forced collectivization was carried out at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, allowing a more extensive, industrial approach to agriculture in cooperative farms—the Bulgarian counterparts of the Soviet *kolkhoz*. In 1952, 61% of the land had been collectivized; in 1956, 77%; and in 1958, 92%. Agricultural development was projected in five-year plans. Despite the brutality of the collectivization cam-

paign, the limited effectiveness of the cooperative farms, the many wrong decisions inspired by ideological considerations rather than by agronomical knowledge, the unwillingness of the state to invest in agriculture, and the increasing pollution, Bulgarian agriculture was reasonably successful. Agricultural products were exported to the Soviet Union and other **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance** member states and to countries in the Arab world. In the 1960s, the peasants were allowed to own their own plots of private land and to sell the fruit and vegetables they grew there for their own profit. This considerably improved their living conditions as well as the supply of food on the market. In 1976, Agro-industrial Complexes (AIC) were created—huge production organizations that would allow more effective coordination of various agricultural and industrial production units. Thorough specialization and rationalization were expected to free up the work force. At the same time, the AICs were given a greater measure of autonomy, enabling them to react more effectively to the market demands. In general, peasants often were materially better off than factory workers were—which might explain why they initially massively supported the formerly communist **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) after the fall of the communist regime.

Due to a variety of circumstances—the cumbrousness of the AICs being but one—agricultural production stagnated in the 1980s and even slightly declined in 1988–1989 (partly as a result of the exodus of the **Turkish** minority).

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, agriculture was to be radically restructured by undoing the collectivization and restoring private landownership and private farming. The AICs were abolished. During the transitional period, agricultural production continued to decline due to the economic crisis in general and the shortages of feed, fertilizers, spare parts, and fuel.

The long and troublesome process of **privatization** of the forcibly collectivized farmland—that is, the **restitution** of the land to its former (pre-communist) owners—and the legal insecurity that resulted from it also contributed to deepening the crisis. Should the former proprietors receive the land they—or their fathers and grandfathers—*really* owned (on a real boundary basis), or an *ideal* amount of land having the same value? Final regulations have been held up for four

years, due also to a large portion of the BSP *nomenklatura* insisting on maintaining agricultural cooperatives rather than creating private farms. The disbanding of the cooperative farms implied the loss of their powerful positions and of the accompanying privileges. In addition, many **Pomaks** and **Turks**, who had had little or no land but had earned a living in the cooperatives, opposed disbanding the cooperatives and restitution of arable land through their **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF) representatives in the **National Assembly (NA)**. Continuing the existing cooperatives was not an attractive option, since they were burdened with debts; however, starting up an individual private farm proved even less attractive because of the usually small sizes of the acquired land and the lack of funds. Under the **Videnov cabinet**, the uncertainty about landownership resulted in serious grain shortages. By the end of the **Kostov cabinet** in 2001, reportedly, 98% of all arable land had been returned to its former owners, but a considerable number of the restitutions were contested in the courts, so that about 40% of the arable land remained uncultivated.

Because of these difficulties and the loss of the Eastern European and particularly Soviet markets, in the first half of the 1990s the production of grain, wheat, corn, tomatoes, apples, **tobacco**, and sugar beets diminished dramatically; the production of potatoes and grapes grew slightly, and only the production of fruit and sunflowers increased substantially. Even more notable was the decline of Bulgarian livestock: the number of cattle, pigs, sheep, and poultry was almost halved.

The Kostov cabinet limited state intervention in agriculture, freeing the prices and abandoning state control on import and export. Nearly all of the major state enterprises in the field of agriculture were privatized. In July 2004, the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**, complying with the **European Union (EU)** requirements, announced the privatization of the tobacco state enterprise *Bulgartabak*, ending the Bulgarian state monopoly on cigarette making. Since the majority of the members of the Turkish and Pomak minorities earned their living in the tobacco industry, the MRF viewed this with suspicion. The state still heavily subsidizes agriculture in order to secure an adequate food supply to the population. The EU Special Accession Program for Agricultural and Rural Development

(SAPARD), founded in 1999, which deals with problems of structural adjustment in agriculture and the implementation of the *acquis communautaire*, has been supporting Bulgaria with about US\$26 million.

In spite of all the setbacks, agriculture has remained one of the most important sectors of the Bulgarian economy, accounting for nearly 14% of the GDP, occupying an increasing number of the employed labor force (more than a quarter in 2001, also due to the dramatic unemployment in other sectors), and contributing substantially to export trade (an average of 15%).

AIRLINES. The first Bulgarian airline connection was established in 1927—by what later became *Air France*—between Paris and **Sofia**. From 1931 onward, the *Deutsche Lufthansa* organized flights between Sofia and Berlin. They were later joined by the Polish, Romanian, Italian, and Russian airlines. During **World War II**, the *Deutsche Lufthansa* monopolized all airborne transport from and to Bulgaria. After the war, communist Bulgaria founded its own airline, *Balkan*. The first domestic line (Sofia-**Burgas**) and the first international line (Sofia-Budapest) were started in 1947. The country had four international airports—Sofia, **Plovdiv**, **Varna**, and Burgas—where planes took off for about 60 destinations abroad. Seven other airports served only domestic flights. In 1987, Bulgarian planes transported about 2.8 million passengers and 24,000 tons of goods.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, *Balkan* partly replaced its old Soviet aircraft with modern Western planes and increased the number of flights and destinations. A new private airline, *Air Via*, was founded in 1990. It specialized in transporting tourists and groups between the local airports of Varna and Burgas and destinations in Western Europe, Africa, and the Near East. The national airline company *Balkan* was partly privatized in February 1993; it increasingly suffered from financial problems and managerial incompetence. In 1998, it was offered for sale; in 2000, it was bought by the Dutch branch of the Israeli *Zeevi* Group for US\$200,000. Although the *Zeevi* Group had a vision of the company's future, it went from bad to worse: *Balkan* lost its Arab route because of the Israeli connection, and the *Zeevi* Group blamed *Balkan* for mismanagement. In October 2002, *Balkan* went bankrupt,

its closing leading to a complex lawsuit between the *Zeevi* Group and the Bulgarian state. In 2003, a new national air company, *Bulgaria Air*, was created. It is not connected with the former *Balkan* airline company.

ALADZHA MONASTERY. Cave monastery, dating from the 13th century, near **Varna**. It is called *aladzha* (Turkish for “colorful”) either because of the multicolored limestone living rock from which the monastery was hewn, or the abundant wall paintings in the cells and churches, which have survived only partly in the apses. The monastery consists of two floors, originally linked with a wooden ladder. The monastery was inhabited until the 18th century; now it is a tourist attraction.

ALAFRANGA. Literally: “in the Frankish (French) way.” In the 19th century, during the **National Awakening** period, the adoption of a (slightly Orientalized) Western lifestyle, finding its expression in fashion, the way of decorating interiors, gestures, speech, etc., especially by the urban petty bourgeoisie, was called *alafranga*. It resulted from the increasing commercial and intellectual contacts with Western Europe and was encouraged by the reform policy carried out by the Ottoman government in the framework of the *Tanzimat*. Although the *alafranga* was an aspect of the generally adopted Westernization of Bulgarian society, it was often criticized and ridiculed by authors like **Dobri Voynikov**, who defended the traditional Bulgarian patriarchal values adhered to in the villages. Some fine examples of *alafranga*-decorated mansions can still be visited in the old quarter of **Plovdiv**.

ALBANIA (RELATIONS WITH). During the sixth through seventh centuries, Slavic tribes invading the Balkan Peninsula penetrated into the lands of the Illyrians, the presumed ancestors of the Albanians, especially in the south of present-day Albania. In the Middle Ages, Bulgarian rulers repeatedly conquered parts of Albania. After the liberation of Bulgaria in 1878, a number of Albanian **National Awakening** activists immigrated to Bulgaria and began publishing Albanian patriotic newspapers and magazines in Sofia, turning the Bulgarian capital into one of the main Albanian political and cultural

centers outside Albania. In the wake of the 1912–1913 **Balkan Wars**, Bulgaria and **Turkey** attempted to involve the newly established state of Albania in an abortive military alliance against **Serbia** and **Greece** by recognizing its claims on Serbian-occupied Kosovo and the western part of **Macedonia**. During **World War II**, Yugoslav Macedonia was divided between Bulgaria and Albania, the latter annexing the coveted western part. After the war, the old Yugoslav borders were restored.

Diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Albania, both of which had become communist states, were reestablished in 1946. In 1947, **Georgi Dimitrov** and the Albanian leader, Enver Hoxha, signed a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Help, which benefited mainly Albania, the more backward of the two partners. Political, economic, and cultural relations remained excellent until 1961. After Albania defected from the Soviet camp and allied with China, relations between Albania and Bulgaria, which was the most faithful satellite of the **Soviet Union** (SU), worsened; only diplomatic and commercial ties were maintained. Nevertheless, since Albania and Bulgaria had strained relations with Yugoslavia—because of Kosovo and Macedonia, respectively—a covert mutual understanding in matters concerning Yugoslavia—and Serbia in particular—continued. In the late 1980s, however, during the Bulgarian assimilation and ethnic cleansing campaign against the Bulgarian **Turks**, some officials openly sympathized with Serbian leader Slobodan Milošević’s treatment of the Albanian minority in Kosovo, thus alienating Albania.

The breakup of Yugoslavia caused Albania and Bulgaria to approach each other again, since the perspective of a weakened Serbia attracted both. On 13 March 1990, an Albanian foreign minister visited Sofia for the first time since 1958. An agreement on culture, aviation, and health care was signed. On 20 May 1990, during the visit of Bulgarian foreign minister Boyko Dimitrov to Tirana, the agreement was extended to other spheres of mutual assistance. On 14 February 1993, a Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, including clauses on economy, security, and environmental issues, was concluded in Tirana. On 7 April 1993, a five-year agreement on military, scientific, and technical cooperation was signed.

During the past 10 years, relations have developed normally, mainly in the framework of the regional cooperation, which the **European**

Union (EU) has been insisting upon. Particular attention is paid to economic cooperation, which largely depends on the EU project of building the Corridor No. VIII—highways, railways, pipelines, and telecommunications linking Durrës and Vlorë on the Albanian coast to **Varna** and **Burgas** on the Bulgarian **Black Sea** coast, via Tirana, Skopje, and **Sofia**. In addition, the promotion of cultural rights of the small Slavic minority in the Albanian region of Golo Brdo, Gora, and Prespa—Bulgarians according to the Bulgarians and **Macedonians** according to the Macedonians—is mentioned among the priorities in Bulgaria's dealing with Albania.

ALBANIANS. Balkan people living in **Albania**, Kosovo, the **Republic of Macedonia**, northern **Greece**, and southern Italy, probably the descendants of the ancient people of the Illyrians. During **Ottoman** rule, many Albanians settled in Bulgarian cities, mainly as bakers and *boza* (millet-ale) makers. According to the 2001 census, there were 278 Albanians in Bulgaria (still 3,197 in 1991). Their number dramatically declined due to (spontaneous) assimilation, emigration, and mortality. Bulgarian toponyms connected with Albania (like **Arbanasi**, a city near **Veliko Tŭrnovo**) may refer to old settlements of Bulgarians originating in the Albanian lands, although it seems more probable they were settlements of **Vlachs** from Albania.

ALEKO PASHA. *See* BOGORIDI, ALEKSANDÛR.

ALEKSANDROV, TODOR (1881–1924). Real name: Todor Aleksandrov Poporushev. **Macedonian** freedom fighter. Born in Shtip (now in the **Republic of Macedonia**) on 4 March 1881. He studied at the Bulgarian teacher training college in Skopje in 1897 and worked as a teacher in Kochani, Shtip, and Burgas. In 1903, he was elected a member of the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO) in Shtip. In 1907, he became the IMARO leader in the Skopje district, and in 1911, he was included in the IMARO Central Committee. In that capacity, he organized the outrages in Shtip in 1911 and in Kochani in 1912, which foreshadowed **Balkan War I**. After **World War I**, Aleksandrov was interned as a war criminal but escaped. In 1920, he became a leader of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO), along

with **Aleksandûr Protogerov** and Petûr Chaulev. Aleksandrov was vehemently opposed to the conciliatory policy of **Aleksandûr Stamboliyski** and the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** toward **Yugoslavia**. Hence IMRO backed the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923** and took part in crushing the **September 1923 Uprising**. In 1924, after long negotiations with the leftist **Macedonian Federalist Organization (MFO)**, Aleksandrov signed the **IMRO May Manifesto**. On 1 August 1924, however, pressured by the conservative **Democratic Alliance (DA)** government, he revoked his signature. On 31 August 1924, he was murdered near the village of Sugarevo in mysterious circumstances. *See also* MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

ALEKSANDÛR NEVSKI CATHEDRAL. Capital church of the Bulgarian Patriarchate, built between 1904 and 1914 in the center of **Sofia**, and consecrated in 1924. It is named after the Russian saint Aleksandr Nevski. The cathedral was intended to be a token of gratitude to the Russians, who decisively contributed to the Bulgarians' liberation from Ottoman rule by fighting the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**. The church, in neo-Byzantine style, was designed by the Russian architect Aleksandr Pomerantsev. It consists of a central nave and two aisles. The lower interior is abundantly decorated with 17 kinds of Italian marble; higher on the walls and in the arches, there are paintings by Russian, Bulgarian, and Czech artists (Vaznetsov, Mrkvička), representing mainly Russian military saints and princes. The 12 bells in the tower were made in Moscow. Because of its marvelous acoustics, the church is often used for recording religious choral music. The most remarkable aspect of the Aleksandûr Nevski cathedral are the three huge domes, covered with gold and visible from tens of kilometers from Sofia. They have become the symbol of the city and are often referred to in literature.

ALEXANDER BATTENBERG (1857–1893). First ruler of independent Bulgaria. Born in Verona, Italy, on 5 April 1857 to a German aristocratic family, related to British and Russian royalty. He fought in the Russian army during the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**, which resulted in Bulgaria's independence—a detail of his biography that greatly contributed to his popularity among the Bulgarians. Alexander was elected king (*knyaz*) of Bulgaria by the First **Grand**

National Assembly (GNA) on 17 April 1879. From the beginning, Alexander was dissatisfied with the limited powers given to him by the **Tŭrnovo Constitution**. Therefore, he relied on the **Conservative Party**, which favored a strong monarchical regime. On 27 April 1881, aided by the conservatives and by the Russian representatives in **Sofia**, he carried out a coup d'état, dismissing the **National Assembly** (NA) and establishing, on 1 July 1881, after dubious elections, a second GNA, which changed the constitution in a conservative spirit, extending the monarch's powers. The king would rule with special powers for seven years. Relations with **Russia** worsened, mainly because of Bulgaria's refusal to construct the railways Russia had demanded for strategic purposes. On 6 September 1883, the Tŭrnovo constitution was largely restored, though by a number of amendments to the constitution, adopted on 5 December 1883, the extension of the monarch's powers was partly maintained.

Alexander, whose reputation was damaged by the awkward coup d'état and by his losing Russia's support, tried to reconsolidate his position by backing the **union with Eastern Rumelia** on 6 September 1885. He successfully commanded the Bulgarian army during the 1885 **Serbo-Bulgarian** war, which followed the union. He proved, however, to be incapable of appeasing the general discontent stirred up by Russian diplomacy. Russia's opposition to international recognition of the union as long as Alexander was on the throne made his position untenable. On 8 August 1886, he was deposed by Russophile officers and kidnapped. The bold chair of the NA, **Stefan Stambolov**, succeeded in foiling the coup, however. Alexander returned to Bulgaria on 17 August, but as the Russian government continued to oppose his reinstallation, he decided to abdicate and left the country on 26 August. The rest of his life, he served as an officer in the Austrian army. After his death on 17 November 1893, he was buried in Sofia (in accordance with his last wishes) in a mausoleum built in his honor. Closed after the communist takeover in September 1944, it was restored and reopened in 1991.

ALIANS. *See* KŪZŪLBASH.

ALLIANCE FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRACY (ASD)/OBEDINENIE ZA SOTSIALNA DEMOKRATSIYA (OSD). Informal faction

within the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), founded in 1991 by **Andrey Lukanov**, **Georgi Pirinski**, **Aleksandûr Tomov**, **Chavdar Kyuranov**, and 32 other reformist BSP members of the **National Assembly** (NA) who preferred to stay within the BSP when a part of the Alternative Socialist Association (ASA) left it. Twelve of them had been elected members of the Supreme Party Council in September 1990 and were reelected at the BSP National Congress in December 1991. The ASD aimed at accelerating the democratization process within the ex-communist BSP in order to turn into a proper social democratic party. Although its members never occupied positions of power—in the Zhan Videnov cabinet, there was only one ASD minister—they exerted considerable influence on political developments in the 1990s.

ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION (ACC). Established by the armistice agreement between Bulgaria and the Allies, signed in Moscow on 28 October 1944, the ACC consisted of representatives of Great Britain, the **Soviet Union** (SU), and the **United States**, under the leadership of Marshal Fyodor Tolbukhin, later replaced by Sergey Biryuzov. The ACC ensured that the agreement was duly implemented, more specifically that the border arrangements were respected, the war prisoners liberated, the minefields cleared, **German** properties handed over to the Soviets, valuables returned, and political life normalized. Soon tensions arose within the ACC because of British and American resistance to the increasing influence of the communists on Bulgarian political life. Due to their support of the anticommunist parties, the first postwar elections that were scheduled for 26 August 1945 were postponed. The ACC was abolished on 15 September 1947 after the ratification of the **Paris Peace Treaty**.

ANTIM I (1816–1888). Real name: Atanas Mihaylov Chalûkov. First head (exarch) of the **Bulgarian Exarchate**. Born in Kırklareli (now in Turkey). He studied theology at the Theological College on the island of Halki near Istanbul in 1848 and in Moscow in 1856. After a short career as a teacher and rector at the Halki College, he was appointed bishop of **Preslav** in 1861 and of **Vidin** in 1868. In that capacity, he took an active part in the **church struggle**. After the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870, he participated in the

organizational work of the Provisional Council, and on 16 February 1872 he was elected the first Bulgarian exarch. Because of his support of the **April 1876 Uprising**, the Ottoman authorities exiled him to Asia Minor as soon as the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War** broke out. In 1878, he returned to his post under an amnesty. In 1879, he was elected chair of the **Constituent First Grand National Assembly** (GNA) in independent Bulgaria. He died on 1 December 1888 in Vidin.

ANTI-SEMITISM. Due to the **Ottoman** or **Muslim** tradition of relative tolerance toward Christians and **Jews** and the small number of Jews in the country, anti-Semitism has always been rather uncommon in Bulgaria. Although Bulgaria was an ally of Nazi **Germany** during **World War II**, no Bulgarian Jews were deported to extermination camps. However, under German pressure such anti-Semitic measures as compulsory name changes, internal exile, loss of jobs, and so on were introduced—for instance, through the 24 December 1940 Law on the Protection of the Nation. In August 1942, a Commission for Jewish Questions was established to implement other measures. Although pro-fascist Bulgarian organizations and even government officials insisted on a racial approach, public opinion in general sided with the Jews. The Bulgarian church, the **Union of Bulgarian Writers** (UBW), and other institutions and organizations protested to the tsar and the government against the discrimination and the persecution of the Jews. However, from **Western Thrace** and Yugoslav **Macedonia**, which were administrated by Bulgaria after being occupied by Germany, about 12,000 Jews (nearly the entire Jewish population) were handed over to the German military authorities and were deported.

After World War II, Jewish properties, confiscated in the preceding period, were returned—to be nationalized again some years later as a communist measure to liquidate private property in general. The Jews were encouraged to leave for Israel; however, those who preferred to remain never faced serious problems. After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, all Jewish properties were returned, except for a few, that were contested in court. However, in the late 1990s, anti-Semitism was on the rise. Synagogues were smeared with graffiti and cemeteries were desecrated. Books that negated or mini-

mized the holocaust and contained anti-Semite Nazi-propaganda (in Bulgarian translation) were published on a relatively large scale. These new phenomena were explained by referring to the situation in the Middle East and to the rise of extreme rightist and nationalist groups in Bulgaria. In particular, the delusion of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy gained some popularity. At the same time, the fact that a Jew—**Solomon Pasi**—was the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs (in the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**) was never seriously challenged.

APOSTOLOV, GEORGI (1853–1876). Real name: Georgi Apostolov Minchev. Freedom fighter. Born in Stara Zagora in June 1853, he was a member of the **Gyurgevo Revolutionary Committee** (GRC) in Romania, which put him in charge of helping organize the **April 1876 Uprising** in the Vratsa district. Before the insurrection broke out, Apostolov returned to Romania and was included in the armed detachment of **Hristo Botev** operating in the Vratsa region. After Botev was killed, Apostolov assumed leadership of one of the small groups into which the detachment had fragmented. He was killed on 21 May 1876 in the neighborhood of Lyutibrod.

APRIL 1956 PLENUM. Plenary session of the **Central Committee** (CC) of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), held from 2 to 4 April 1956. During the plenum, **Todor Zhivkov** informed the CC of the new political line of de-Stalinization adopted by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the **Soviet Union**. In turn, the April 1956 Plenum decided to put an end to Stalinism and in particular to the personality cult that was held responsible for the low rate of economic development and for the “unjustified repression” of “innocent comrades” in Bulgaria. The main target of Zhivkov’s attacks was **Vûlko Chervenkov**, party leader from 1950 until 1954, who was removed from his post as prime minister and replaced by **Anton Yugov**. Individual leadership was replaced by the collective leadership of the **Politburo** and the CC. A period of political “thaw” was ushered in. Although ideological purity remained important, and in the field of economic policy little changed, a more liberal atmosphere was tolerated, resulting in a relative increase of cultural and artistic diversity.

Although in the 1960s and the 1970s (after Leonid Brezhnev seized power in 1964 and after the Prague [Czechoslovakia] Spring in 1968) many changes of course took place, bringing about a more repressive cultural and ideological policy on the one hand, and experimental economic reforms on the other, the so-called April Line of the BCP was claimed to be strictly followed for more than 30 years. It served as the ideological legitimating of the regime of Zhivkov, who at the April Plenum had imposed himself as the new leader.

APRIL 1876 UPRISING. Incited by the uprising in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the summer of 1875, the **Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee** (BRCC) decided on “a general insurrection throughout the Bulgarian lands” in May 1876. The organization of the uprising was entrusted to the **Gyurgevo Revolutionary Committee** (GRC), which largely profited from the preparatory work done by **Vasil Levski** and his **Internal Revolutionary Organization** (IRO). Bulgaria was divided into four revolutionary districts: **Veliko Tŭrnovo**, Sliven, Vratsa, and Panagyurishte. The GRC sent to each of these districts so-called apostles whose task was to organize the insurrection on the local level. The most important of these apostles were **Stefan Stambolov** in the Tŭrnovo district and **Georgi Benkovski** in the Panagyurishte district. On 13 April, about 65 representatives from various villages in the Panagyurishte district gathered in **Oborishte** and discussed the statutes of the movement, the goals of the insurrection, and the strategy to be followed. The decisions were transmitted to the leaders of the other districts by secret couriers. The insurrection was supposed to begin on 1 May 1876, but it broke out prematurely on 20 April in **Koprivshitsa**, spreading immediately to other localities in the Panagyurishte district—in the Sredna Gora Mountains, the **Maritsa** River valley, and the foot of the **Rhodope** Mountains. In the other districts, the actions were not so widespread or intense. In the Tŭrnovo district, there were battles in the Dryanovo monastery, the neighboring villages, and near the towns of Tryavna and Sliven. In the Vratsa district, a *cheta* led by **Hristo Botev**, having entered the country from Romania, made an abortive attempt to raise the population.

An estimated 10,000 armed rebels participated in the uprising, backed by about 100,000 unarmed people. They resisted for about

two weeks against the more numerous **Ottoman** regular troops and the *bashibozuks*, and then the uprising was crushed. Hundreds of towns and villages were destroyed, and about 5,000 people were killed (according to Ottoman sources; Bulgarian sources give the number as 30,000). The atrocities committed by the *bashibozuks*—in Batak, for example—aroused indignation in Europe and brought discredit upon the Ottoman government.

Although the April 1876 Uprising was not fully implemented and was rapidly suppressed, it achieved its main goal of focusing the attention of the Great Powers on the “Bulgarian Question.” They discussed autonomy for the Bulgarian lands at the 1876 **Istanbul Ambassadors Conference** and did not oppose the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**, which was waged ostensibly to protect the Bulgarian population against Ottoman tyranny.

APRILOV, VASIL (1789–1847). Trader, benefactor, and writer of the **National Awakening** period. Born on 21 July 1789 in **Gabrovo** to a family of rich merchants, he studied in his native town, at the Greek and later at the German high schools in Braşov, **Romania**, and in Vienna (medicine). Finally, Aprilov became a trader in Odessa, **Russia**, in 1811. Like most Bulgarian traders and intellectuals, Aprilov was largely Hellenized and supported the national ambitions of the **Greeks**. After reading the works of the Ukrainian historian **Yuriy Venelin** on Bulgarian history, however, he became aware of his Bulgarian identity and became an ardent patriot. He recommended the use of the Bulgarian language for education and worship instead of Greek, as was common then. In 1835, he founded, with the financial support of the Bulgarian community in Odessa, the first secular Bulgarian high school in Gabrovo. Aprilov wrote *Morning Star of Modern Bulgarian Education* (*Dennitsa novobolgarskago obrazovaniya*, 1841) in order to acquaint the Russians with the cultural achievements of the Bulgarians. He died on 2 October 1847 in Galaţi, Romania.

ARBANASI. A small city high in the mountains near **Veliko Tŭrnovo**, Arbanasi existed as a settlement as early as the 13th century. In the 17th century, it was populated by immigrants from **Albania** or Epirus, whence it acquired the name Arnautköy (village of the Albanians) or

Arbanasi. These immigrants might have been **Albanians** or **Slavs** or **Vlachs**. Arbanasi is famous for its remarkable austere donjon-like mansions, reminding one of the *kullës* in Albania, and for the precious 17th-century wall paintings in its churches. The entire city has preserved a very authentic aspect and is among the most attractive places in Bulgaria. Recently, it has become an elegant resort where Bulgarian nouveaux riches have their villas, fortunately hidden behind high stone walls in the traditional style.

ARCHAEOLOGY. The oldest archaeological sites in Bulgaria, apart from the prehistoric **Varna** necropolis (ca. 3000 BC) are the **Thracian** settlements Kabyle near Yambol, Seuthopolis near Kazanlûk, Pulpudeva (**Plovdiv**), and Beroe (Stara Zagora), some of them dating from the eighth century BC. The tomb near Kazanlûk (third century BC) is one of the finest examples of Thracian building. Other recently excavated Thracian sites are the tomb near Starosel and the palace and sanctuary of Perperikon near Kûrdzhali, both dating from the fifth century BC. In the seventh century BC, a chain of small Greek cities was founded on the **Black Sea** coast: Bizone (Kavarna), Dionysopolis (Balchik), Odessos (Varna), Naulochos (Obzor), Aristaion (Emona), Mesambria (**Nesebûr**, on an older Thracian site), Anchialos (Pomorie), and Apollonia (Sozopol). The most spectacular archaeological finds in Bulgaria are the Thracian gold and silver treasures, found in Rozhen, Panagyurishte, Letnitsa, Vratsa, and elsewhere. In summer 2004, a huge mask of pure gold (690 grams), representing a Thracian king, was found in Svetitsa by Professor Georgi Kitov (1948–), who also discovered and investigated the tomb at Starosel. In summer 2005, the team of Daniela Agre discovered what was alleged to be the tomb of Orpheus near the city of Yambol.

After the Roman conquest of the Balkan Peninsula, a number of new cities emerged, mainly in the north of the country: Ratiaria near Archar, Oescus near Gigen, Durostorum (Silistra), all on the Danube and built as garrison towns. The Romans reconstructed some older Thracian cities like Serdika (**Sofia**), Pautalia (Kyustendil), Philippopolis (Plovdiv), and Augusta Traiana (Stara Zagora) as administrative, military, and commercial centers. The famous theater in **Plovdiv** dates from the Roman period. One of the latest and best-preserved Roman sites is Nicopolis-ad-Istrum, north of **Veliko**

Tŭrnovo. Saint George's Church (fourth century AD), a rotunda that was a part of a Roman forum, is Sofia's oldest standing monument. The oldest **Slavic** and **Proto-Bulgarian** sites date from the seventh century and are located in northeastern Bulgaria: **Pliska**, **Preslav**, and Madara.

Bulgarian **National Awakening** writers were already interested in archaeology. The first professional archaeologist doing excavations in Bulgaria (in the 1870s) was the French Charles Dumont (1841–1884). After the liberation in 1878, a number of Czech archaeologists—among them **Konstantin Jireček** and the Škorpil brothers—researched in Bulgaria. They were mainly attracted by Greek and Roman antiquity. In 1892, an archaeological museum was organized as a part of the National Library. The Russian scholar Fyodor Uspenski (1845–1928) extended his field of interest to Bulgarian history; he led excavations in the old Bulgarian capitals Pliska and Preslav at the beginning of the 20th century. In the same period, the first professional Bulgarian archaeologists started working. In 1920, the Bulgarian Archaeological Institute was established, and a chair for archaeology was endowed at the University of **Sofia**. Bulgarian experts like **Bogdan Filov**, Nikolay Mavrodinov (1904–1958), Vasil Mikov (1891–1970), Krŭstyo Miyatev (1892–1966), Rafail Popov (1876–1940), and Andrej Protich (1875–1959) now began systematically investigating what remained from Bulgaria's antiquity and the Middle Ages.

During the communist period (1944–1989), archaeological research was encouraged and supported by the government, mainly for patriotic reasons. Medieval churches and fortresses were of particular interest. However, Thracology—the study of the history and the culture of the Thracians—which was such that it seemed to assign to Bulgaria an impressive historical seniority—developed into the favorite field of research of Bulgarian archaeologists. Important political figures such as Aleksandŭr Fol (1933–) and **Lyudmila Zhivkova** worked on Thracian history and archaeology. Since the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, archaeological research in Bulgaria has had to rely mainly on private sponsorship and the support of international organizations.

ARCHITECTURE. Bulgaria abounds in architectural sites—villas, tombs and graveyards, churches, fortresses—from **Thracian**, Hellenic,

and especially from Roman and early **Byzantine** times. The most important examples of medieval Bulgarian architecture are found in the capitals of the **First Bulgarian Empire**—**Pliska** and **Preslav**—where the ruins of fortifications, palaces, churches, and houses can still be visited. Quite typical of Bulgarian architecture of that period are the painted brown ceramic tiles that ornament the walls. According to the descriptions of **Yoan the Exarch**, an eyewitness, Preslav was a magnificent city with huge, impressive, and richly decorated buildings. Nowadays, only the remains of the Great Basilica in Pliska and the Round Church (or **Simeon's Golden Church**) in Preslav recall the previous glory. *See also* ARCHAEOLOGY.

During Byzantine rule and the **Second Bulgarian Empire**, from the 11th to the 14th century, buildings became smaller and more modest. In church building, the basilica was gradually replaced by the domed cross-in-square church with many variants. Another feature was the decoration of the exterior walls with bricks of various shades of red forming geometrical patterns (such as swastikas), sometimes enriched with small colored ceramic rosettes. Fine examples of such churches survive in the coastal city of **Nesebûr**.

During the invasion by the **Ottoman Turks** at the end of the 14th century, many churches and other buildings were destroyed, or were assigned other functions by the Ottoman authorities afterward; huge and centrally located churches were often turned into mosques; old fortresses were used as barracks, administrative buildings, or governors' residences. Despite the restrictions imposed by the Ottomans, some damaged churches and monasteries were soon restored and new ones were erected.

There are many admirable examples of Ottoman architecture on Bulgarian soil, especially in **Sofia**, **Plovdiv**, Shumen, Razgrad, Kyustendil, and Samokov. These buildings are connected with religious life (mosques, religious schools, baths, charitable institutions such as hospitals and poorhouses) or with administration and economic life (covered marketplaces, caravanserais, bridges). Only those with great cultural value were not destroyed after the liberation in 1878.

During the **National Awakening** period (19th century), Bulgarian architecture, like Bulgarian culture in general, developed rapidly and reached new peaks. In this period large, two-story mansions with balconies were built. Typical of the Plovdiv mansions are the symmetri-

cal structure of the façade and the bay window in the middle. Other important mansions can be found in **Koprivshitsa**. The interiors of these are abundantly decorated with woodcarvings and wall paintings. In the same period, many Bulgarian monasteries took their present shape. The **Rila Monastery** is without doubt the most impressive example of Bulgarian National Awakening architecture. Some 19th-century Bulgarian architects are known by name, for example, **Nikola Fichev**, who introduced some innovations in the traditional architectural forms and designed some of Bulgaria's finest bridges.

After the liberation in 1878, the local oriental architectural style was abandoned. Mainly Austrian architects imported Central European eclecticism, tending toward Vienna Secession (such as the Parliament, the National Theater, the Military Club, the mausoleum of **Alexander Battenberg**, in Sofia and the theater in **Ruse**) or toward neo-Byzantine style (such as the public baths, the building of the Holy Synod, and the market hall in Sofia). After **World War I**, eclecticism remained predominant for many years to come. At the same time, a number of public buildings were erected in a more tense or rationalistic style inspired by the German *Neue Sachlichkeit*, such as the National Bank in Sofia. The popularization of the so-called *kooperatsiya* (an apartment house built jointly by individual average-income proprietors), introduced by the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) government at the beginning of the 1920s, induced architects to find rational and economical solutions to the specific problems of the collective use of an apartment house.

After the communist takeover in 1944, Western influences were replaced by Stalinist triumphalist neoclassicism (as in the Party House, the former Central Department Store, the building of the former Council of Ministers, the National Library, and the Hotel Balkan in Sofia). In the 1960s, a more rationalist, austere style, using rectangular forms without much decoration, sometimes recalling the **National Awakening** mansions, gained predominance. Many town and village centers were entirely redesigned, with public buildings in the above-mentioned, predictable style around a large square decorated with a memorial to a political leader or a local partisan. The major cities were surrounded by vast residential districts, lodging many thousands of people in immense and rather gloomy apartment houses. A special architectural genre represented the huge constructions, which

were at the same time conceived as a memorial and a sort of museum (such as the *Panorama* in Pleven, the memorials in Ruse and Kotel, and the memorial on the Buzludzha ridge) in honor of great patriots, party activists, and “crucial” historical events. The development of tourism at the seaside and in ski resorts resulted in the building of hotels appropriate to large-scale tourism. Bulgarian architects were also commissioned outside Bulgaria, especially in Third World countries.

Since the fall of the communist regime in 1989, Western postmodern architecture has conquered Sofia and other major Bulgarian cities, together with the capitalist free market. Banks, deluxe hotels, and business centers particularly are built in this postmodern, global style.

ARMENIANS. Armenians live in the Republics of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan and in northeast **Turkey**, as well as in the diaspora all over the world. They are an Indo-European people with a long and rich cultural tradition. They have their own Christian Gregorian church, which broke with the **Patriarchate of Constantinople** at the beginning of the sixth century. In Bulgaria, the history of the Armenian presence can be traced back to the fourth century when the first Armenians settled in **Thrace**. In the Middle Ages, Armenians were deported or were chased from their homelands into Bulgaria by the **Byzantine** emperors as a punitive measure. During the **Ottoman** period, Armenians continued migrating to Bulgaria, not only from Anatolia but eventually also from the adjacent areas within the Russian empire. The last massive immigration dates back to the years from the 1890s to **World War I** when the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire were subjected to genocide. During the interwar period, there were about 30,000 Armenians in Bulgaria. Many of them left for better economic conditions in Western Europe or in the **United States**. After **World War II**, although well integrated in Bulgarian society and enjoying the sympathy of the Bulgarian population because of their diligence and their dislike of the Turks, the Armenians were encouraged by the communist government to emigrate to the Soviet Republic of Armenia. According to the 2001 census, there were 10,832 Armenians in Bulgaria (nearly 3,000 fewer than in 1992), 6,500 of them belonging to the Gregorian church (9,672 in 1992).

Armenians live in all of the major Bulgarian cities, but their main center is **Plovdiv**. There are 12 Armenian parishes in Bulgaria and as many churches and chapels, which come under the jurisdiction of the Armenian bishop in Romania. The main Armenian cultural organization in Bulgaria is *Erevan*, named after the capital of the Republic of Armenia. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the Armenian school in Plovdiv, which had been closed since the beginning of the 1950s, was reopened. In the 1990s, Plovdiv had an Armenian mayor, Garabed Tomasyan. The French singer Sylvie Vartan is of Bulgarian Armenian origin. *See also* ETHNIC COMMUNITIES; RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.

ARMS INDUSTRY. The arms industry seems to have been the only flourishing branch of Bulgarian industry during communist rule. An estimated 70 plants in Bulgaria produced arms. Most arms were exported to the **Warsaw Pact** allies, to Cuba, Vietnam, and in the 1980s to Libya and Iraq. The state arms export company, *Kintex*, was officially involved in the textile trade but was repeatedly accused of providing terrorists and reckless Arab states with weapons and of being involved in drug trafficking. The export company was one of Bulgaria's main sources of hard currency. In 1984 and 1985, the revenue from arms sales reportedly amounted to US\$560 million and US\$610 million, respectively, although for obvious reasons reliable figures are not available. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the Bulgarian arms industry had to cope with drastic market limitations due to restrictions on arms sales imposed by the government for the sake of decency, and had to be partly converted to civilian manufacturing. Since about 140,000 people were directly and 300,000 indirectly involved in the arms industry, this conversion had dramatic social implications. In June 1991, *Kintex* was restructured to operate under the control of a special government commission.

In fact, prior to 1997, little changed, except for the short period under the pro-Western **Dimitrov cabinet** in 1991–1992, since the waning Bulgarian economy remained highly dependent on arms sales (and corrupt government officials were able to line their pockets). In spite of the **United Nations** (UN) embargoes, arms were sold to Libya, the former Yugoslav republics, the Rwandan forces who were responsible for genocide, and others, mainly through the services of

Kintex. Especially during the **Videnov cabinet** in 1994–1996, the arms trade was booming as it had in the good old communist times. In December 1996, arms of alleged Bulgarian origin with an unknown destination were dropped in West Bengal. The **Kostov cabinet**, which came to power in 1997, intending to work for Bulgaria's admission to the **European Union (EU)** and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, pledged to implement a tight arms trade policy. Although a number of measures were indeed imposed and in spite of all international commitments, arms sales to compromised governments or to rebels in Sierra Leone, Burundi, Congo, Angola, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Eritrea, violating UN embargoes or not, took place. Proper legislation allowing legal action against private arms dealers was lacking, and state manufacturers and trading firms were involved just the same. Still, in January 2003, the vice-minister of defense was fired after it was revealed that the state enterprise *Terem* had sold armored cars to Syria. Despite the economic crisis, unemployment, rampant corruption, and perceived national security threats, the perspective of entering the EU and NATO has forced the successive governments to reduce the arms production and trade to internationally acceptable limits.

ARMY. Under **Ottoman** rule, Bulgarians, being Christians, were not allowed to bear arms or to serve in the Ottoman army. The only exceptions were the janissaries, who were recruited by force from the Christian populations through the *devshirme*. Illegally armed Bulgarians were the *hayduks*, robbers who operated in gangs. They were the foundation of the *chetas*, guerrilla units that emerged in the 19th century and can be considered the military wing of the Bulgarian national liberation movement. The nucleus of the Bulgarian army, created after the liberation in 1878, comprised of Bulgarian volunteers who aided Russian troops during the **Russo-Turkish War** of 1877–1878 and won a crucial battle against the Ottomans near **Shipka**. In April 1878, by order of the **provisional Russian administration**, Russian officers began organizing and training the Bulgarian troops. In September 1885, Russia—disagreeing with Bulgaria's **union with Eastern Rumelia**—withdrew the Russian officers. Although this was expected to be a serious blow to Bulgarian military strength, the Bulgarian army inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ser-

bian army during the **Serbo-Bulgarian War**, which broke out immediately thereafter. This military victory considerably enhanced Bulgaria's prestige and credibility throughout Europe. The Bulgarian army again demonstrated its effectiveness during **Balkan War I** when it drove the Ottoman troops from Thrace and forced the city of Edirne to surrender by bombing it, thereby using airplanes for the first time in military history. The 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** limited the size of the Bulgarian army to a harmless 20,000 volunteers, but these restrictions were partly relaxed later and were finally abolished by the 1938 **Salonika Agreement**.

After the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, which brought the communists to power, the Bulgarian army fought alongside the Soviet troops in **Yugoslavia** and in Hungary against their former **German** allies during the last months of **World War II**. The Bulgarian People's Army was reorganized after the Soviet model, was trained by Soviet officers, was provided with Soviet weapons, and was actually controlled by the **Soviet Union** through the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP).

After the founding of the **Warsaw Pact** in 1955, the Bulgarian army was totally integrated into the Soviet defense system. Bulgarian generals had, for the most part, been members of the communist **partisan movement** and were an integral part of the BCP *nomenklatura*. During the communist period, military service was compulsory and lasted two years (three years in the navy). More than 150,000 men were under arms, nearly 100,000 of them being privates. While ethnic Bulgarians served in combat units, **Turks** and **Roma** fulfilled their service in transportation and construction units. Reservists numbered more than 200,000. Serving in the border troops (about 15,000 men) was especially dangerous, often involving battles with so-called diversionists (people trying to leave the country illegally). The police forces consisted of about 150,000 armed men. High school students also received military training. Imbuing the people with a constant feeling of danger was a substantial part of communist indoctrination. Defense spending amounted to 15.4% of the state budget in 1988.

After the communist regime was abolished by the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, the army underwent a number of reforms. In December 1990, a bill authorizing depoliticizing the army was

adopted and put an end to its being an instrument of the BCP and the Soviet Union, and initiated its integration into a democratic society. **Dimităr Ludzhev**, the first postwar civilian minister of defense, made an important contribution to the restructuring of the Bulgarian army during the first **Filip Dimitrov cabinet**, from November 1991 to May 1992. The **National Assembly (NA)** established a National Security Committee to monitor and exercise parliamentary control over the armed forces. In January 1994, a Consultative National Security Council, consisting of the president, the prime minister, the ministers of defense, interior, and finance, and representatives of the parliamentary groups, was officially established, after it had already been functioning for two years. The president's own Military Office, which closely cooperates with the General Staff, was disputed by the NA.

The military forces were supposed to be reduced in order to meet the requirements of the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty. In cooperation with the General Staff, a new defense policy was drafted (which in November 1993 resulted in the document *Military Doctrine of the Republic of Bulgaria: Basic Provisions*), focusing on the integration of the Bulgarian army into the European institutions and particularly into the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. The policy also focused on good relations with Balkan neighbors and their military establishments rather than on armament. Bulgaria's defensive capability was stressed; however, the strategic disparities created by the implementation of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, like the continuation of the technological inferiority of the Bulgarian army compared to the Greek and Turkish armies, were pointed out as well. This was particularly apparent since an estimated 20 to 30% of the Bulgarian army's equipment was unusable for various reasons, such as mechanical failure and lack of fuel. A considerable number of superfluous higher officers had to be discharged. The **Georgi Stoykov Rakovski Bulgarian Officers' Legion**, a newly founded and influential military lobby, supported the reforms, while at the same time defending the interests of the officer corps. Military service was limited to 18 months. Ethnic discrimination was gradually abolished.

Under Ludzhev's successor, Aleksandăr Staliyski, the relations between the ministry and the General Staff worsened. One of the reasons

was that the increasing alienation from Russia, which had been training Bulgarian officers for nearly half a century and still supplied Bulgaria with spare parts, had created a feeling of insecurity. Under Valentin Aleksandrov, the minister of defense in the **Lyuben Berov cabinet**, relations improved again, although in the spring of 1994, when Aleksandrov proposed a new, drastic reduction of the corps by early retirement, the Georgi Stoykov Rakovski Legion organized a protest action. A Law on Defense and Armed Forces, which would conclude the planned reforms in the army, was finally drafted in the summer of 1994. Reform, however, only began when Bulgaria's joining NATO became a real option, under the **Ivan Kostov cabinet**. On 22 May 1998, Bulgaria and the other Balkan countries (except for Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and **Yugoslavia**) signed an agreement on the establishment of a Multinational Peace Force for Southeast Europe (MPFSEE) designed to intervene in ethnic conflicts under the supervision of the **United Nations** (UN) or the Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe (OCSE). The armed forces—consisting (in 1999) of 75,000–80,000 troops (a regular army of 42,000, an air force of 18,300, a navy of 5,260, 10,000 centrally controlled staff, and 1,300 attached to the Ministry of Defense)—was to be reduced to 45,000 by 2004. In 2000, compulsory military service for all males was reduced to nine months. The entire military infrastructure, including airports, harbors, railway stations, et cetera, was to be reconstructed in order to be able to process allied troops and equipment. The army itself—staff, training, equipment—had to be adjusted to NATO standards, particularly since the capability to participate in multinational peacekeeping, humanitarian, and other operations was concerned. Bulgaria also had to demolish about hundred Scud, SS-23, and Frog missiles, which had been removed many years earlier because of the disarmament treaties that ended the Cold War. The demolition itself was initially shelved for environmental reasons and was finally completed by the end of October 2002. (In 2004, it transpired that the region around Stara Zagora was indeed polluted by radioactivity as a result of the demolition of the missiles on the local military bases.)

In spite of its being subordinated to civilian control by the NA and its “humiliation” (as some have it) by NATO, the army is still considered one of the rare uncompromised institutions in the country. Not accidentally, **Zhelyo Zhelev**, **Reneta Indzhova**, **Zhorzh**

Ganchev, and **Aleksandûr Tomov** all chose either a (retired) general or an army officer as their running mates in the **presidential elections**. *See also* ARMS INDUSTRY.

ARMY DAY. During the **communist** period (1944–1989), August 23, commemorating the battle of **Shipka Pass** during the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**, was celebrated as Army Day. Currently, 6 May, the day of the military Saint George, is Army Day.

ARNAUDOV, MIHAIL (1878–1978). Literary historian and ethnologist. Born in Ruse on 5 October 1878, Arnaudov studied in Heidelberg, Munster, Leipzig, Berlin, Prague, Paris, and London. During the interwar period, he was professor, dean, and rector at the University of **Sofia** and was a member of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS). His splendid career was crowned by his appointment as minister of education in the last cabinet before the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1994**. At variance with the other members of the cabinet, the communists did not execute him, allegedly out of respect for his scientific achievements. Arnaudov published articles and books about **National Awakening** political activists (**Georgi S. Rakovski**, **Neofit Bozveli**, **Vasil Aprilov**) and contemporary authors (**Ivan Vazov**, **Peyo Yavorov**). He is also known for his exhaustive collections of Bulgarian oral **literature**. He died in Sofia on 18 February 1978.

AROMANIANS. *See* VLACHS.

ARTS. In Bulgaria, exceptional examples of ancient plastic art can be found. The frescoes in the tombs near Kazanlûk (**Thracian**, third century BC) and near Silistra (Roman, fourth century AD) are unique of their kind. The monumental representation of a **Proto-Bulgarian** horseman (eighth century), carved out in a rock face in Madara, and many decorative stone reliefs and ceramics from the palaces in **Pliska** and **Preslav**, go back to the **First Bulgarian Empire** (681–1018). After the Bulgarians converted to Christianity in 864, such Christian art forms as icons and church wall paintings were widely produced. Remarkable examples of medieval religious art are the two layers of paintings in Saint George's Church in

Sofia, dating, respectively, from the 10th and the 12th centuries (the building itself having been erected in the fourth century). The most famous medieval paintings in Bulgaria are the frescoes in the small church of **Boyana** near Sofia, dating from 1259, which differ from the Byzantine artistic canon by the psychological realism of the portraits—typical, however, of provincial Byzantine art. A similar style was applied during the **Second Bulgarian Empire** (1185–1393) in the churches in **Veliko Tŭrnovo**, in the church in Ivanovo (14th century), and in the monastery of Zemen (about 1360). Bulgarian medieval book illustrations are also of great beauty and refinement, as can be seen from the Ivan Aleksandŭr Gospels and the illustrated translation of the Byzantine chronicle of Manasses, both dating from the 14th century.

During the **Ottoman** invasion, many Bulgarian Orthodox Christian cultural centers were disrupted, but Bulgarian arts partly recovered from the setback. New churches were built, and icons and frescoes were painted. The most interesting specimens are found in the monasteries of **Bachkovo**, Boboshevo, Dragalevtsi, **Rila**, and Rozhen and in some churches in **Arbanasi**, Dobŭrsko, Samokov, Sofia, and **Vidin**. (The finest icons painted during the Ottoman period are now exhibited in the crypt under the **Aleksandŭr Nevski Cathedral** in Sofia.) Book illustrations were on a considerably lower artistic level. Much in the line of the Byzantine tradition, sculptural art was rather poor. Only woodcarving—applied to iconostases, ceilings, and furniture—was on a high level.

During the **National Awakening** (1761–1878), the medieval genres endured. Remarkable results were achieved in the fields of wall painting (in the monasteries of Bachkovo, Rila, **Troyan**, and elsewhere) and wood carving (the iconostasis in the church of the Rila Monastery). Several schools and styles with centers in Samokov and Tryavna enjoyed fame. The most famous masters were Dimitŭr (1796–1860) and especially **Zahariy Zograf**, in whose work the gradual Westernization of Bulgarian painting is reflected. Stanislav Dospevski (1823–1878), who studied in Russia, broke definitively with the Byzantine artistic canon and worked in the realistic academic style. He was followed by Nikolay Pavlovich (1835–1894). The favorite subjects were portraits, landscapes, scenes from everyday peasant life, and historical events. In 1896, a Bulgarian painting

school, which eventually developed into the Bulgarian Academy of Fine Arts, was founded.

The first generation of post-liberation artists, dominated by Ivan Múrkvichka (1856–1938), Yaroslav Veshin (1860–1915)—both of Czech origin—and Ivan Angelov (1864–1924), specialized in scenes from peasant life in the style of academic realism. The second generation, including Aleksandŭr Bozhinov (1878–1968), Aleksandŭr Mutafov (1879–1957), and Tseno Todorov (1877–1953), searched for more diversified techniques, keeping pace in a moderate way with Western European artistic innovations. Nikola Petrov (1881–1916) painted fine impressionistic landscapes. During and after the **Balkan Wars** the battle scenes rendered by Dimitŭr Gyudzhenov (1891–1979), Boris Denev (1883–1969), and others gained great popularity.

In the 1920s, Bulgarian painting flourished with the impressionistic works by the first women painters Elizaveta Konsulova-Vazova (1881–1965) and Elena Karamihaylova (1875–1961). Nikola Kozhuharov (1892–1922) and Boris Georgiev (1888–1981) treated symbolist subjects, while Ivan Milev's (1897–1927) paintings remind us of those of some of the Russian avant-garde artists. Ivan Sotirov (1903–1984) created forceful expressionistic portraits of peasants. Constructivism and surrealism were represented by Zhorzh Papazov (1894–1972), who worked in Paris, and Nikolay Abrashev (1897–1962). The Native Painting movement included a number of artists who adhered to romantic and decorative folklorism, sometimes with a critical social undertone. Zlatko Boyadzhiev (1903–1976), **Vladimir Dimitrov-Maystora** (“the Master”), Tsanko Lavrenov (1896–1978), and Stoyan Venev (1904–1989), who constitute the most exciting group of Bulgarian painters of all time, have succeeded in creating a very diversified and personal, but nevertheless recognizably Bulgarian, style. Ivan Lazarov (1889–1952) obtained similar results in sculpture. A striking feature of Bulgarian arts between the two world wars is the very limited influence exerted by either Western or Russian avant-garde tendencies.

After **World War II** and the victory of communism in Bulgaria, socialist realism—a kind of pompous academic realism propagating the communist political ideals, narrative, “accessible to the people,” and preferably with a “national mark”—was the only artistic method tolerated by the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) up to

the mid-1980s. The **April 1956 Plenum** introduced a prudent liberalization, giving the opportunity to painters like Georgi Baev (1924–) and **Svetlin Rusev**, and sculptors like Velichko Minekov (1928–) and Galin Malakchiev (1931–1987) to experiment with new forms and techniques, provided they chose ideologically “neutral” subject matter. Interesting artists are Dora Boneva (1936–), Georgi Bozhilov (1935–2001), Dimitŭr Buyukliyski (1943–), Aneta Drŭgushanu (1937–), Rumen Skorchev (1932–), Teofan Sokerov (1943–), Emiliya Yaneva (1948–), all painters; and Georgi Chapkŭnov (1943–), a sculptor. In the 1980s, new tendencies—like pop art, photo-realism, personal mythology, and surrealism—appeared. The *Vulcano* (Vulkan) workshop in Varna was one of the main centers of artistic renewal in Bulgaria. The neoexpressionist Nikolay Maystorov (1943–) is internationally acknowledged as one of Bulgaria’s most important artists. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, Bulgarian artists made use of such new genres as installations and performances in order to criticize the old political structures. Adherents of avant-garde tendencies can paint and exhibit without interference from the authorities. The quality of their work, however, is quite uneven.

For the sake of completeness, mention should be made of Christo (Hristo Yavashev, 1935–), a world-famous installation artist of Bulgarian origin, living in the **United States**, and known for wrapping famous landmarks in fabric. In 2005, he organized a show in Central Park in New York.

ASEN (?–1196). Tsar of Bulgaria from 1187 to 1196; founder and first tsar of the **Second Bulgarian Empire**. In 1185, he organized in Tŭrnovo, together with his elder brother Petŭr, an uprising that ended the nearly two-centuries-long Byzantine rule over the Bulgarian lands. In 1187, he was crowned tsar of Bulgaria. In the following years, he succeeded in largely restoring the former Bulgarian Empire by steadily pushing back the Byzantines and subduing the local feudal lords. He was killed by one of them—his cousin Ivanko.

ASPARUH or ISPERIH (ca. 644–ca. 700). **Proto-Bulgarian** khan. Founder and first ruler, from 681 until his death, of the First Bulgarian Empire. By the middle of the seventh century, Asparuh and his

people migrated from Central Asia to the area between the Dnieper and the **Danube**, whence they made numerous raids on Byzantine territories inhabited by Slavs south of the Danube. After they defeated the **Byzantines** in 680, they settled between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains and entered into an alliance with the **seven Slavic tribes**, creating the first Bulgarian state. The Byzantines recognized this state after the battle of Onglos through the peace treaty of 681, which fixed the borders between the two countries and imposed on the Byzantines the payment of an annual tribute. It is assumed that Asparuh fell in a battle against the Khazars.

ATANASOFF, JOHN VINCENT (1903–1995). Mathematician and electronic engineer, one of the inventors of the digital electronic computer. Born in Hamilton, New York, on 4 October 1903 to a family of Bulgarian immigrants, Atanasoff studied electrical engineering at the University of Florida, received a master's degree in mathematics from Iowa State College in 1926, and a Ph.D. in theoretical physics from the University of Wisconsin, where he taught mathematics and physics until 1942. In the late 1930s, he and Clifford Berry devised the Atanasoff Berry Computer—a major contribution to the development of the computer that was later unsuccessfully challenged by John Mauchly and J. Presper Eckert, whose claims to the patent were overturned by a court in 1970. Atanasoff received several medals in Bulgaria and in the **United States** for his merits in the field of computer technology. He died on 15 June 1995 in Monrovia, Maryland.

ATANASOV CABINET (17 November 1989 to 8 February 1990).

After the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, the communist cabinet, led by **Georgi Atanasov** since 19 June 1986, remained in power. However, on 17 November, many changes were made involving ministers who had compromised themselves during the communist period. On 27 December, a new shift took place. Some changes were accompanied by a reorganization of the ministries. The resignation of the Atanasov cabinet on 3 February 1990 was an important step in the de-communization process in Bulgaria. The Atanasov cabinet was succeeded by the (first) **Andrey Lukanov cabinet**.

See Appendix D for a list of the members of the Atanasov cabinet after 17 November 1989.

ATANASOV, GEORGI (1933–). Politician. Born in Pravoslaven on 25 July 1933, he studied history at the University of **Sofia**. After joining the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) in 1956, he made a career in the **Dimitrov Communist Youth Union** (DCYU). He was elected a member of the BCP **Central Committee** (CC) in 1966. In that capacity, he was entrusted with responsibility for the Education Department from 1966 to 1976. In 1977, Atanasov became a secretary of the CC, and later was elected prime minister and full member of the **Politburo** in 1986.

Although party leader **Todor Zhivkov** is said to have proposed him as his successor, Atanasov played an important role in the backstage events preceding the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, which brought down Zhivkov. He survived the first anti-Zhivkovist purges and kept his post, thus becoming the prime minister of the first post-communist cabinet. After being strongly criticized at the 14th BCP Congress (30 January to 2 February 1990), he and his cabinet resigned on 3 February 1990. The day after, he failed to be elected as a member of the leadership of the newly founded **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP). On 24 April 1992, he was arrested on charges of complicity in the country's catastrophic economic situation and of embezzlement of state funds. He was sentenced to a 10-year jail term in September 1993. On 2 August 1994, President **Zhelyo Zhelev** pardoned him on medical grounds.

ATHOS (MOUNT). A long, narrow peninsula in Halkidiki in North Greece. In the 10th century, the monk Athanasios built the first monastery in what was to become, in the following centuries, the site of 20 monasteries. Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Russians, and Georgians all built monasteries on the site. All of the monasteries together constitute a “monastic republic” under the sovereignty of Greece. The capital is Kareas. Mount Athos has been the center of Orthodox Christian spirituality since the Middle Ages. Many of the monasteries are famous for their libraries and wall paintings. Orthodox tsars, kings, and wealthy aristocrats used to donate land and money to the monasteries, and outstanding intellectuals of the Orthodox creed spent some time in them, studying or contemplating or in exile. The Zograf Monastery was considered the Bulgarian monastery, although many Bulgarians lived in the Serbian Hilendar Monastery. **Paisiy** and

Neofit of Hilendar and **Ilarion Makariopolski** spent part of their lives on Mount Athos.

ATTACK (ATAKA). Extreme rightist and nationalist political party, actually a coalition of the National Movement for the Salvation of the Fatherland and the Bulgarian National Patriotic Party. Allegedly, it was initiated by former members of the communist military and secret services. Although it was registered on 11 May 2005, less than two months before the June 2005 **parliamentary elections**, it obtained almost 8% of the total vote. *Attack* is opposed to **Turks**, **Roma**, and all religious communities except for the **Orthodox** church, and to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO), the **United States** and the **European Union** (EU), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and others. The party also sympathizes with extreme nationalist and xenophobic parties abroad. Its leader is **Volen Siderov** (1956–). The general dissatisfaction with conditions of life, which was actually not sustained by the facts (Bulgarian economy performed better than in the early 1990s and unemployment rates were declining), also explains the success of *Attack*. Nevertheless, although no other political parties wanted to cooperate with *Attack*, its electoral success is illustrative of the conservative and xenophobic attitudes of a large segment of Bulgarian society.

AVARS. Turkic nomadic people, who in the sixth century established a large empire with Pannonia (now Hungary) as its central part. Together with the local **Slavic** tribes, they frequently invaded and looted the Byzantine provinces south of the Danube. Their raids ultimately resulted in the Slavs permanently settling in the Balkans. The Avars were defeated by the end of the eighth and in the beginning of the ninth centuries by Charlemagne and the Bulgarian khan **Krum** (802–814).

AVKSENTIY OF VELES (1798–1865). Bishop who participated in the **church struggle**. Born in Samokov, he studied in the **Rila Monastery**. He was bishop in Kyustendil, Mostar in Herzegovina, and Veles in **Macedonia**. In 1859, he went to Istanbul where he actively participated in the struggle for an independent Bulgarian church, opposing the **Patriarchate of Constantinople** as well as the

Uniates. He took part in the so-called Easter Action in 1861, together with **Ilarion Makariopolski**, after which the Patriarchate had them both exiled by the **Ottoman** authorities as insurgents. Avksenty died soon after their return, on 1 or 2 February 1864. With the resources he bequeathed, a theological school was built in his native town.

AYAN. In the Ottoman Empire, initially a dignitary in a village or a town, acting as an intermediary between the local community and the Ottoman authorities, especially in matters of tax collection. In that capacity, the *ayans* were able to become wealthy and influential and often turned into local potentates, opposing the Ottoman government and/or engaging in violent competition. By the end of the 18th century, parts of Bulgaria were ravaged by insurrections and wars between *ayans*. The most famous among them in Bulgaria was **Osman Pazvantoglu**.

– B –

BABA VANGA (1911–1996). Literally Granny Vanga. Real name: Evangeliya Dimitrova Gushterova. Wise-woman. Born in Petrich on 3 October 1911. She was known as an exceptionally accurate fortuneteller, and there are many legends explaining her extraordinary gift. According to one, as a young girl she fell into the undergrowth during a thunderstorm, lost her eyesight, and became a clairvoyant. According to another, an angel offered her the choice between sight and clairvoyance. Still another holds that a knight on horseback announced to her in 1941 she would become a prophetess. Anyhow, Baba Vanga enjoyed nationwide popularity and was consulted by Bulgarians of both sexes, of all ages and social classes, and even by members of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) leadership. **Todor Zhivkov**, too, is said to have been impressed by her clairvoyance and recommended her to his Soviet colleagues. Baba Vanga was also famous for her healing capacities. Thousands of people visited her house in Petrich, and the authorities took care to keep order. By the end of her life, Baba Vanga was venerated like a saint. She died on 11 August 1996 and was buried in Rupite near Petrich in the Church of Holy Petka the Bulgarian that was specially built for

her and decorated with wall paintings by **Svetlin Rusev**. *See also* SUPERSTITION.

BACHKOVO MONASTERY. Located in the Rhodope Mountains, 11 kilometers south of Asenovgrad. It was founded in 1083 by a former Byzantine general of Georgian origin, Grigori Bakuriani. In successive centuries, the monastery often went from **Byzantine** to Bulgarian hands and vice versa, always enjoying the protection of the respective rulers. The **Ottoman Turks**, who conquered the region by the end of the 14th century, left the monastery undisturbed.

The only monastery building, dating from the 11th century, that was recently restored and is open to the public is the ossuary, decorated with wall paintings dating from the 11th to the 14th centuries. In the 13th–14th centuries a small church, dedicated to the Holy Archangels, was erected in the inner court. At the beginning of the 17th century, when the monastery flourished, the Holy Mother-of-God Church, which is now the main church, was built and decorated with wall paintings, which are preserved only in the narthex. The magnificent wall paintings in the refectory, representing the seven ecumenical councils and the Tree of Jesse, date from the same period. The humble Holy Nikola Church in the southern court is decorated with wall paintings by the famous Bulgarian **National Awakening** painter **Zahariy Zograf** and represent the Last Judgment. He also added a small self-portrait. The Bachkovo Monastery, which is surpassed only by the **Rila Monastery**, is striking for its splendor, intimacy, and authenticity.

BAGRYANA, ELIZAVETA (1893–1991). Pen name of Elizaveta Lyubomirova Belcheva. Poet. Born in Sofia on 16 April 1893, she published her first poems in 1921 in *Golden Horn (Zlatorog)*, the leading Bulgarian literary journal of the interwar period. Her first collection, *The Eternal and the Sacred (Vechnata i svyatata)*, 1927), was a milestone in the history of **Bulgarian literature**. Bagryana expresses the intense joy of living and the longing for freedom of a young, beautiful, and independent woman who is aware of her desirability and enjoys it. Her poems are evidence of the emotional emancipation of the Bulgarian woman in the 1930s and have served as a guide for women poets in Bulgaria ever since. Her postwar work is of less value. She died in Sofia on 23 March 1991.

BAGRYANOV, IVAN (1891–1945). Politician. Born in Voden near Razgrad on 27 November 1891. After military training, Bagryanov took part in the **Balkan Wars** and in **World War I**. For some time, he was aide-de-camp of Tsar **Ferdinand** and his son and successor, **Boris III**. He was linked with the latter by a close friendship. In the 1920s, Bagryanov studied law in Sofia and, being a large landowner, specialized in agronomy in Leipzig. In 1935, he became involved in politics. During Tsar Boris's **personal regime**, Bagryanov held several important posts. From 1938 to 1944, he was the leader of the official General Union of Agrarian **Cooperatives** and from 1938 to 1941 was minister of agriculture. Since he was less associated with the pro-German policy of the government and had already been secretly negotiating a peace agreement with representatives of the **United States** and the United Kingdom, Bagryanov was appointed prime minister on 1 June 1944, in the hope that he could save Bulgaria from approaching disaster, now that its ally Germany was on the verge of defeat. He took harsh measures against the partisans, attempting at the same time to come to terms with the communists. He declared neutrality, pledged the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and granted amnesty to all political prisoners. He also tried to establish closer contacts with the Allies, hoping to avert Bulgaria's being occupied by the Red Army. When a Soviet invasion seemed inevitable, Bagryanov resigned on 2 September 1944 and was succeeded by **Konstantin Muraviev**. After the communist **coup d'état on 9 September 1944**, he was arrested and was sentenced to death by a people's court. He was executed on 1 February 1945.

BAJ GANYO. See KONSTANTINOV, ALEKO.

BAKSHICH or BAKSHEV, PETÛR BOGDAN (1601–1674). Catholic archbishop of Sofia from 1742 until his death. Born in Chiprovtsi, where there was a considerable Catholic community. He studied in Rome. As an adjunct bishop of Sofia, he traveled through Bulgaria and Wallachia and wrote for the *Congregatio Propagandae Fidei* in Rome a detailed account of the living conditions of the Bulgarian people and their cultural and spiritual life in the 17th century. His judgment of the Ottoman administration and also of the Orthodox clergy is harsh. He died in Chiprovtsi in 1674.

BALKAN. Mountain range in Central Bulgaria, 600 kilometers long and about 30 kilometers wide, stretching from the **Black Sea** coast in the east to **Sofia** in the west and from there to **Vidin** in the northwest. It constitutes a single geographic unit with the Carpathians. *Balkan* is actually a Turkish word for “mountain.” In Bulgarian, the Balkan range is formally called *Stara Planina* (“Old Mountain”), although the name Balkan is more usual and sounds more familiar. This massive range has given its name to the whole peninsula.

The Balkan range divides Bulgaria into a continental climate zone in the north and a Mediterranean zone in the south. It also forms the watershed between the **Danube** and the Aegean basins. The Balkan is rather easy to cross and therefore is relatively densely populated, especially in the north, where the slopes are less steep. Important economic activities are forestry and sheep breeding.

Since the 19th century, the Balkan range has occupied a prominent place in Bulgarian popular imagination. Its magnificence is evoked in many folk songs. Moreover, under Ottoman rule it gave shelter to the *hayduks*, who were regarded as national freedom fighters, and later to the **partisans** (see **PARTISAN MOVEMENT**). The Balkan range was the setting of many historic events in recent Bulgarian history, such as the **April 1876 Uprising**, the 1877 Battle at the **Shipka Pass**, and the founding congress of the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party** (BSP).

BALKAN COMMUNIST FEDERATION (BCF). Association of the communist parties of Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, and Yugoslavia, founded in Sofia during the Third Balkan Social Democratic Conference in 1920. The BCF was controlled by the **Comintern**. During its existence, from 1920 until the end of the decade, the BCF organized eight conferences in Sofia and Moscow. Bulgarians were very influential in the BCF: **Vasil Kolarov** and **Georgi Dimitrov** served as its secretaries. The BCF aimed to guard the ideological purity of the Balkan communist parties and make them accept the political leadership of the **Soviet Union**. It advocated a federal solution to the **Macedonian Question**.

BALKAN DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE (BDL)/Balkanska Demokraticzna Liga (BDL). Coalition of “Turkish” parties, founded in

2004, uniting Bulgarian **Turks** and Turkish emigrants from Bulgaria. Members of the BDL are the Movement of the Democratic Wing (MDW), led by Osman Oktay, the Party for Democracy and Justice (PDS), led by Nedzhim Genchev, and the Union of the Bulgarian Turks (UBT), led by Seyhan Tyurkan, and others. Many of them are defectors of the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF)**, whose political monopoly over the Turkish community in Bulgaria the BDL wanted to challenge. The BDL joined the **Coalition of the Rose (COR)** at the eve of the June 2005 parliamentary elections but performed rather poorly. Its chair is Osman Oktay.

BALKAN ENTENTE. *See* BALKAN PACT.

BALKAN LEAGUE (1912). A set of bilateral alliances among the Christian Balkan states of Bulgaria, **Greece**, Montenegro, and **Serbia** concluded in 1912 in view of a joint military action aimed at ending the **Ottoman** domination of **Albania**, Epirus, **Macedonia**, and **Thrace**—the only European territories left under the control of the sultan after the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**. On 27 February 1912—after mediation by **Russia**—Bulgaria and Serbia reached a secret agreement on mutual help in case it was decided to attack the Ottoman Empire. The appendix contained an agreement on the division of Macedonia between Bulgaria and Serbia, a so-called **contested zone** remaining to be assigned to one of the parties by the Russian tsar after the war. An agreement with Greece was reached on 16 May 1913, after mediation by Great Britain. It did not contain any clause concerning the division of the conquered territories. Between Bulgaria and Montenegro, there was a verbal agreement. Similar written or verbal agreements existed between Greece and Serbia, and among Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia, concerning the division of Albania.

The Balkan League proved to be a rather unfavorable diplomatic construction for Bulgaria: on the one hand, due to its geographic position, Bulgaria was burdened with the most extensive military operations at the eastern (Thracian) front; on the other, the occupation of the most coveted areas in Macedonia was left to the Greek and Serbian armies. This division of tasks weakened Bulgaria's position after the war, when the apportionment of the conquered territories was

discussed. *See also* BALKAN WAR I; BALKAN WAR II; MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

BALKAN PACT (1934). Also called *Balkan Entente*. Agreement among **Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia**, signed in Athens on 9 February 1934. France was a backstage promoter of the Balkan Pact, being eager to prevent Italy and **Germany** from spreading their influence in the Balkan Peninsula. Initially Bulgaria was invited, and even pressured, to join the Balkan Pact as well. Since the pact was meant to maintain the territorial status quo created by the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly**, it was welcomed by Greece, Romania, and Yugoslavia, which greatly benefited from this arrangement, but was rejected by Bulgaria, whose main foreign policy goal was a revision of the arrangement. Albania, which was an Italian protectorate at that time, did not join the Balkan Pact either. On 31 July 1938, relations between Bulgaria and the Balkan Pact member states were normalized as a result of the **Salonika agreement**. The Balkan Pact did not succeed in protecting the Balkan countries against Italian and German aggression. *See also* BULGARIAN-YUGOSLAV PACT “FOR ETERNAL FRIENDSHIP”; MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

BALKAN WAR I. War waged by the **Balkan League**, including Bulgaria, **Greece**, Montenegro, and **Serbia** against the **Ottoman Empire** between 4/17 October 1912, and 1/14 April 1913. The aim of the allies was the conquest—or the liberation, as they called it—of what had remained of the Ottoman Empire in Europe after the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**: **Albania**, Epirus, **Macedonia**, and **Thrace**. After Montenegro had provoked an Ottoman declaration of war, the allied armies invaded these Ottoman provinces. While the Greeks, Montenegrins, and Serbs occupied Albania, Epirus, and Macedonia, the Bulgarians drove the Ottoman troops out of Thrace in less than a month, winning victories in Lüle Burgaz and Bunar Hisar (now in Turkey). At the beginning of November, the Bulgarian army was stopped at the Çatalca lines, about 40 kilometers from Istanbul. In the west, Bulgarian troops penetrated eastern Macedonia, between the Vardar and the Struma Rivers, and reached Salonika on 27 October, only one day after the Greek army had taken the city. On 20 November, an armistice was signed; peace negotiations started in London,

but no agreement could be reached between Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire concerning Edirne (Adrianople), which was still in Ottoman hands. After the coup d'état by the Young Turks on 10 January 1913, the Ottoman Empire reopened hostilities. On 13 March, the Bulgarians finally took Edirne. A new armistice was signed on 1 April, and peace negotiations resumed and resulted in the **Treaty of London**, signed on 17/30 May 1913, by all the belligerents. *See also* BALKAN WAR II; MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

BALKAN WAR II. Called *Mezhdusûyuznicheska vojna* (“war between the allies”) in Bulgarian. War waged by Bulgaria on its former **Balkan League** allies between 16/29 June and 28 July/10 August 1913. Due to the establishment of an independent **Albania**, the nations of **Greece**, Montenegro, and **Serbia** were unable to annex the Albanian territories they coveted. Therefore, Greece and Serbia claimed parts of **Macedonia**, which had been promised to Bulgaria. Since Macedonia had been the main reason for Bulgaria to participate in the war, these claims were unacceptable to it. On 19 May 1913, Serbia and Greece signed a new secret agreement of mutual military assistance in case of aggression by a third party—which could be none other than Bulgaria. The agreement also included a new division of Macedonia based on the territories already occupied by the Serbian and Greek armies. Referring to the endangered Balkan power balance, Romania claimed the northern part of Bulgarian **Dobrudja** and entered into an alliance with Greece and Serbia. Finally, they were joined by the **Ottoman Empire**, which was eager to make use of the discord within the Balkan League to reconquer some of the territories west of the Enos-Midya line, drawn by the **Treaty of London** as the western border of the Ottoman Empire. Although Russia had offered to mediate between the quarreling allies in a conference to be held in **Salonika** on 16 May, the Bulgarian tsar **Ferdinand** ordered the Bulgarian army to attack Greek and Serbian positions in Macedonia. Greece and Serbia, supported by Montenegro, struck back. On 27 May, **Romanian** troops entered Bulgaria and three days later the Ottomans launched an attack. Since the Bulgarians had concentrated their armed forces in the west, neither Romania nor the empire encountered much resistance. Facing fearful odds, Bulgaria was forced to capitulate barely six weeks after the outbreak of the war. The peace

conditions imposed by the **Treaty of Bucharest**, signed on 28 July/10 August 1913, were extremely unfavorable to Bulgaria. Both Balkan Wars took more than 60,000 Bulgarian lives, and more than 100,000 people were wounded. *See also* MACEDONIAN QUESTION; NATIONAL CATASTROPHES.

BANAT BULGARIANS. Banat is a region in southwest **Romania**. At the beginning of the 16th century, it was conquered by the **Ottoman** Turks; after the 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz (Požarevac), Banat was included in the Hapsburg Empire. In the 17th and 18th centuries, some tens of thousands of Bulgarians settled in Banat, where they founded the city of Vinga and many villages in the neighborhood. They had their own schools, cultural institutions, and publications, which enabled them to preserve their language and customs. After the liberation in 1878, about 7,000 Banat Bulgarians returned to Bulgaria. Their descendants now live mainly in northern Bulgaria (in the regions of Pleven, Veliko Tŭrnovo, and Vratsa). They still speak their archaic Bulgarian dialects. According to the 2002 census results, there were 8,025 Bulgarians in Romania, 6,468 of them living in Banat.

BANKING. The Bulgarian National Bank was founded in 1879. During the interwar period, many private banks, some of them of foreign (Austrian, Belgian, French, Italian) origin, emerged. Particularly successful were the Bulgarian Agrarian and Cooperative Bank, the Agrarian Credit Corporations, and the cooperative so-called popular banks, which met the needs of the Bulgarian peasantry (*see* COOPERATIVES). After the communist takeover, all banks in Bulgaria were nationalized; at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, they were centralized and merged into the Bulgarian National Bank (BNB). In addition to this bank, there existed until 1987 only the State Savings Bank (founded in 1951), the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank (BFTB, founded in 1964), and the Mineralbank (founded in 1981, dealing with mineral resources). In 1987, the role of the BNB was limited to monetary questions and supervisory functions, and seven new specialized banks, organized like shareholding companies, were established, among which were the Economic Bank (with financing tasks in domestic industry), the Elektronika Bank, the Transport Bank, the Biohim Bank, and the Balkan Bank. At the end

of 1989, 59 smaller banks were created out of former branches of the BNB. All of these banks were allowed to operate as all-around banks.

After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, the Bulgarian banking system was radically reformed. Private banks and, at the beginning of 1991, banks with foreign capital were also allowed. A number of new private banks emerged, among them the First Private Bank and the Bank for Agricultural Credit were the most successful. All banks functioned like joint-stock companies; the BNB and the BFTB owned most of their shares. A banking law was adopted to regulate the activities of the banks; in addition, they are subject to the directives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to limit inflation. At the beginning of 1995, a large part of the Bulgarian banking system was threatened with insolvency. Because of corruption and bad legislation, unprofitable state companies and questionable private firms had obtained large loans, which were not paid back. Undercapitalization, high inflation rates, and finally slow privatization and the limited interest of foreign banks in investing in Bulgaria also contributed to the crisis. A number of mergers between local private banks and state banks occurred to cope with undercapitalization and meet international requirements. In summer 1996, Bulgaria's banking system collapsed. The ensuing financial crisis contributed greatly to the fall of the **Videnov cabinet** in December. The **currency** board, which linked the Bulgarian *lev* with the Deutsche Mark, stabilized the Bulgarian currency and improved the commercial bank balances. Ultimately, most Bulgarian banks were sold to foreign—mainly German—banks. Initially, these were rather reluctant to give credits, but eventually they developed a more lenient loan policy, which induced the long expected revival of the Bulgarian economy under the **Kostov cabinet**. The Bulgarian banking system further consolidated under the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**.

BASHIBOZUK. Turkish: *başibozuk*; literally, “disturbed head.” Member of the **Ottoman** irregular forces, recruited mainly from among the local non-Turkish Islamic populations of the empire—**Albanians**, **Kurds**, and, in Bulgaria, **Tatars** and **Pomaks**. They were brought into action in the event of massive uprisings against the Ottomans, when there were no regular troops available, and were notorious for their

cruelty and rapacity. Bashibozuks were responsible for massacres in Batak and other places during the **April 1876 Uprising**.

BASIL II (957–1025). Byzantine emperor from 976 to 1025. He belonged to the so-called Macedonian dynasty. Basil II managed to cope with the centrifugal ambitions of the provincial feudal property owners and succeeded in pushing back the Arabs in Anatolia, Syria, and Palestine. In the Balkans, he continued his predecessor's policy of restoring Byzantine authority in the provinces, lost to the Bulgarians in the previous centuries. After the abortive siege of Sofia in 986, when Basil II's army was attacked and defeated on its way back to Constantinople, he waged a war against the remnants of the **First Bulgarian Empire**, during which he earned himself the epithet *Vulgaroktonos*, the "Bulgar-slayer." In 1014, the army of Tsar **Samuil** was finally defeated. Basil II had both eyes of about 14,000 captured Bulgarian soldiers gouged out—and one eye of every hundredth soldier left so that those one-eyed soldiers could lead the others back home. In the following years, the Bulgarian lands were (re)incorporated into the **Byzantine Empire**.

BELENE PRISON CAMP. Situated on Persin Island in the Danube in the neighborhood of the village of Belene, the Belene prison camp was the most notorious communist prison camp in Bulgaria. It operated until the end of the 1980s but reached its highest capacity at the beginning of the 1950s when there were many thousands interned there. Hundreds of the prisoners were killed or died of deprivation. *See also* REPRESSION, COMMUNIST.

BENKOVSKI, GEORGI (1841/42–1876). Real name: Gavril Gruev Hlûtev. National liberation fighter. Born in **Koprivshitsa** to a family of merchants and artisans and having become a merchant himself, he traveled throughout the **Ottoman Empire** and visited **Bucharest**, where he contacted the **Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee** (BRCC) and became involved in the national liberation movement. In 1875, he participated in the abortive Stara Zagora uprising. Back in **Romania**, Benkovski was put in charge of preparations for the **April 1876 Uprising** in the Plovdiv district, together with **Panayot Volov**, who, although nominally the leader, was soon over-

shadowed by Benkovski. During the *Oborishte* meeting on 13 April 1876, Benkovski imposed upon the other participants his ideas about the organization and the goals of the insurrection. When the uprising broke out prematurely on 20 April in his district of Koprivshitsa, Benkovski nevertheless carried out the planned military operations, informed the other districts about the developments, and assumed the leadership of the uprising. With a view to greater mobility, he created a special cavalry unit—the “winged detachment.” After the insurrection was crushed, Benkovski and his men set off for the districts in the north in order to join the rebels there or to seek refuge in Romania. They were killed on 12 May 1876 in the mountains near the town of Teteven.

BERLIN, TREATY OF (1878). International agreement reached on 1/13 July 1878, by Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, France, Italy, **Germany**, the **Ottoman Empire**, and **Russia**. The Treaty of Berlin revised the 19 February/3 March 1878 **Treaty of San Stefano**. Bulgaria, as created by the latter, was considered by the Western powers and by the other Balkan nations as too vast, which was dangerous since it was expected that it would be a faithful ally of Russia and the agent of the tsar’s policy on the peninsula. According to Bulgarian historiography, the Treaty of Berlin “dismembered” San Stefano Bulgaria, which had actually never existed. The northern and the western parts of Bulgaria (the areas between the **Balkan** range and the **Danube**, together with the region of **Sofia**, **Montana**, and **Vidin**) were included in the **Principality of Bulgaria**, which had the status of an Ottoman vassal state (and only became fully independent in 1908). The internal organization of the principality and its relations with the Ottoman Empire were the same as stipulated by the Treaty of San Stefano. The term of the Russian administration of the principality, however, was reduced from two years to nine months. The area in the south, between the Balkan range and the Rhodope Mountains, was transformed into the Ottoman autonomous province of **Eastern Rumelia**. It was annexed by the principality in 1885 through a coup d’état known in Bulgarian historiography as the **union with Eastern Rumelia**. **Macedonia** and the region of **Adrianople** (Edirne) continued as parts of the Ottoman Empire without any special status. The Ottoman Empire was bound only to carry out a set of reforms, which it never did.

The Treaty of Berlin was considered by the Bulgarians to be a historical injustice. It deprived Bulgaria of large territories, which in their opinion were historically Bulgarian or (predominantly) populated by Bulgarians. The loss of **Macedonia** especially caused a deep national trauma, resulting in a forceful and persevering irredentist movement. *See also* MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

BERON, PETÛR (1800–1871). Real name: PetÛr Hadzhiberovich. Scholar and educator of the **National Awakening** period. Born in Kotel in October 1800. He studied in his native city and in the Greek high school in **Bucharest**. From 1821 to 1825, he taught in Braşov, **Romania**. In 1825, Beron left for Heidelberg and Munich, where he studied medicine for six years. From 1832 to 1841, he worked as a physician in Craiova, Romania. Afterward, he devoted himself entirely to philosophical reflection and scientific research in the fields of medicine and physics. He wrote in Bulgarian, French, German, Greek, and Latin, and was the first Bulgarian scholar on a European level. While he was teaching in Braşov, he compiled his *Primer with Various Instructions* (*Bukvar s razlichni poucheniya*), which was published in Bucharest in 1824 and is better known as *The Fish Primer* (*Ribniyat bukvar*) because of the picture of a whale on the last page. In his foreword, Beron explained the Bell-Lancaster system of teaching, which enabled one teacher to instruct a great number of pupils by including older pupils in the teaching process. Further, the book contained the alphabet, prayers and tales for children, and elementary arithmetical rules. It was used for decades by thousands of Bulgarian children. Beron was killed in Craiova by a robber on 21 March 1871.

BERON, PETUR (1940–). Scientist and politician. Born on 14 March 1940 in Sofia. Great-grandnephew of **PetÛr Beron** (Hadzhiberovich). He studied biology, and after specializing in biospeleology in France, he received a Ph.D. in Sofia in 1975. He worked at the Institute for Biology of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS) and as a director of the Museum of Natural Sciences in Sofia. He was the cofounder and chair of *Ekaglasnost* and was one of its representatives to the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) National Coordinating Council. After UDF chair **Zhelyo Zhelev** was elected state president on 1 Au-

gust 1990 and resigned as UDF chair, Beron succeeded him on 3 August. In November 1990, however, he was accused of having worked for the secret State Security force under the communist regime. On 3 December, he resigned as the UDF chair; **Filip Dimitrov** succeeded him. At the beginning of 1992, Beron tried to make a political comeback in the **presidential elections** as the running mate of **Zhorzh Ganchev** and candidate for the vice-presidency but lost the election, after which he returned to the Museum of Natural Sciences. In November 2001, he ran for president but was not elected. In May 2005, he joined the extreme rightist *Attack* party.

BEROV CABINETS. Lyuben Berov headed two cabinets in the post-communist period.

First Lyuben Berov cabinet (30 December 1992 to 23 June 1993).

On 30 December 1992, after weeks of political chaos and tough negotiations led by **Ahmed Dogan**, Lyuben Berov's cabinet, composed of moderate members of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), and **Union for Democratic Forces** (UDF) defectors, was approved by 124 votes to 25 by most of the BSP and MRF and at least 23 of the UDF representatives in the **National Assembly** (NA). Nationalist BSP members and the deputies of the Fatherland Labor Party (FLP) voted against the new government, because according to them it had been "appointed by the Turks." Two of the three vice-prime ministers, Evgeni Matinchev and Neycho Neev, were MFR members (although both were ethnic Bulgarians). Berov had a UDF background, although he reportedly had never been a member of the UDF; ministers Valentin Karabashev and Marin Dimitrov came from the UDF; Rumen Bikov had even been minister in the **Filip Dimitrov cabinet** earlier. However, the UDF as well refused to support the new cabinet.

In spite of the support of the majority of representatives in the NA with 160 of the 250 seats, the cabinet had great difficulties in carrying out its intentions and surviving the repeated non-confidence motions initiated by the UDF, which accused the cabinet of pursuing a policy of "creeping recommunization" by appointing predominantly former communists to key positions.

See Appendix D for a list of the members of the first Lyuben Berov cabinet.

Second Lyuben Berov cabinet (23 June 1993 to 2 September 1994).

On 23 June 1993, a radically reshuffled second Berov cabinet was voted by the NA. The main innovations were the splitting up of the Ministry of Culture, Education, and Science and the appointment of two new ministers to replace Marin Dimitrov. Minister of Transportation Neycho Neev was replaced by Kiril Ermenkov. A full minister of foreign affairs was appointed, and Petŭr Kornazhev succeeded the late minister of justice Misho Vŭlchev. Although strongly attacked, boycotted by the opposition, and denounced even by President Zhelev on 2 April 1994, the Berov cabinet survived half a dozen non-confidence votes. From 8 March to mid-April 1994, Berov was hospitalized for heart surgery and was replaced by Vice-Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev, which increased the pressure on his cabinet by the UDF opposition and the rumors about early **elections**. A minor change in the cabinet was introduced on 1 September 1993, when Neycho Neev was dismissed as a vice-prime minister for having had a secret meeting with top Yugoslav officials on 25 August. On 15 June 1994, Valentin Karabashev was replaced by Kiril Tsochev as a vice-prime minister and minister of trade.

See Appendix D for a list of the members of the second Lyuben Berov cabinet.

Like the first Lyuben Berov cabinet, the second was criticized for promoting “creeping recommunization,” which allegedly was particularly obvious in the cabinet’s reforms of the **judiciary**. On 9 September 1994, Berov and his cabinet resigned, declaring that it was impossible to strike a balance between the radical reforms the UDF demanded and the social caution the BSP insisted on in an atmosphere of growing political polarization.

The Berov cabinets were far from stable or effective. As the MRF and the New Union for Democracy (NUD) supported either the BSP or the UDF, and the UDF was always against him, Berov often had great difficulty in finding majorities for his bills. Allegedly, some political forces and pressure groups from the former **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) *nomenklatura* favored a government that could not cope with an economic reform policy threatening their interests. More probably, the Berov cabinet was allowed to survive for a long time for want of an alternative acceptable to the BSP. The second Lyuben Berov cabinet was succeeded by the **Reneta Indzhova** interim cabinet.

BEROV, LYUBEN (1925–). Economic historian and politician. Born in Sofia on 6 October 1925 to the family of an industrialist. He graduated from the Economic School in Sofia in 1949 and started an academic career. He was appointed professor in economy in 1949 and received a Ph.D. in 1976. In 1985, he left the Higher Institute for Economics and became a senior researcher at the Institute for Balkan Studies. In that capacity, he published more than 200 books and articles, mainly about Bulgarian and Balkan economic history. Reportedly, he has never been a member of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) or of any other party after the downfall of the communist regime in November 1989. In August 1990, President **Zhelev Zhelev** appointed Berov his chief economic adviser. In this capacity, he presided over the National Tripartite Council for Coordinating the Social Interests. On 22 December 1992, after the resignation of the second **Filip Dimitrov** government, President Zhelev entrusted him with the formation of a new cabinet, in which he succeeded on 30 December 1992. Although on 23 June 1993 he was forced to replace five of his ministers, his government showed a remarkable viability. It survived at least five “no confidence” votes backed by the UDF and various forms of obstruction. The allegation that Berov supported the restoration of the old communist position of power by more or less systematically appointing **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) members to key posts was not entirely unfounded. On 8 March 1994, Berov was hospitalized after a heart attack and underwent surgery on March 11; during his absence until mid-April, Vice-Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev replaced him. From then on his position rapidly weakened. On 2 September 1994, Berov tendered the resignation of his cabinet.

BESSARABIAN BULGARIANS. Descendants of the Bulgarians who left the **Ottoman Empire** in the first half of the 19th century together with a great number of **Gagauzes** and settled in Bessarabia (the present-day Republic of Moldova and the district of Budzhak, between Comrat and Izmail, in the southwest of the Republic of Ukraine), in the region of the cities of Bolgrad and Tarakliy. In the 19th century, they developed a relatively rich cultural life: they preserved their ancestral language and folklore; founded their own schools, libraries, and theater companies; and maintained close relations with their compatriots

in Bulgaria. Many Bulgarians from the Ottoman Empire studied or taught in Bessarabian schools.

During the interwar period when Bessarabia was annexed to **Romania**, the Bulgarians were subjected to Romanization similar to what happened in Southern **Dobrudja**. During **World War II**, about 18,000 Bulgarians were deported from the Soviet-held territories to Soviet Central Asia for fear they would collaborate with the Germans. After World War II, Bessarabia became part of the **Soviet Union** (SU). The Bulgarian ethnic zone was divided between the republics of Moldova and Ukraine; no administrative or cultural autonomy was granted. The Bulgarians who had been exiled to Central Asia were allowed to come back, but only a few thousand did.

Near the end of the 1980s, the Bulgarians founded a number of cultural societies, like Regeneration (*Vîzrazhdane*) in Moldova, demanding the establishment of Bulgarian schools. Although most of the Bulgarians in Moldova have accepted the far-reaching Complex Program for the Development of the Cultures and Languages of National Minorities issued by the government, in some areas they joined the Russians and Gagauz in striving for an autonomous status in Moldova, declaring they would prefer to be united with the Bulgarians in Ukraine if Moldova joins Romania. By doing so, they became involved in the conflict between the Moldovan state and the Russian and Gagauz separatists in Transnistria, especially in the towns of Parcani and Benderi. In June 1992, Bulgarians were killed during armed clashes. Many Bessarabian Bulgarians expect Bulgaria to intercede for them, while others preferred to go back to the homeland of their ancestors, where they are offered easy access to higher education and other privileges.

According to the censuses, there were 233,800 Bulgarians in Ukraine in 1989 and 204,600 in 2001, and there were 88,400 in Moldova in 1998 and 88,419 in 1989.

BLACK SEA. Half-closed intercontinental basin between southeastern and eastern Europe (the Balkans and Ukraine) and Asia Minor. It is connected to the Mediterranean through the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles. Its surface covers 420,843 square kilometers and the maximum depth is 2,245 meters. Bulgaria has 378 kilometers of Black Sea coast. The Black Sea fauna and flora

are relatively poor due to natural circumstances and to pollution. The Black Sea has played an important role in history from antiquity onward, especially as a bone of contention between **Russia** and the **Ottoman Empire** in the 18th century. However, the Bulgarians' contribution to the history of the Black Sea region has been modest. The Black Sea cities were overwhelmingly populated by **Greeks** until the beginning of the 20th century, but the Greeks were forced to leave in 1906. After Bulgaria lost its outlet to the Aegean in 1922, **Varna** and **Burgas** on the Black Sea coast became Bulgaria's main harbors and currently are among the most prosperous cities in the country. Tourism on the Black Sea coast is one of the major sources of revenues. Since the Black Sea is supposed to be the result of what is referred to in the Bible as the Great Flood, Bulgarian archaeologists have been searching for Noah's Ark on the bottom of it—for the time being without success.

BLACK SEA ECONOMIC COOPERATION ZONE (BSECZ). The BSECZ, a project that Turkish president Turgut Özal officially presented in December 1990, is conceived as a free-trade zone consisting of a number of former **Soviet** republics (mainly those with a "Turkic" population) and of Balkan states, all bordering the **Black Sea** (although this geographical criterion seems not to be decisive since the membership of **Albania** and **Greece**, as well, has been envisaged from the beginning). The BSECZ also intended to work on improving telecommunications, on protecting the environment, and promoting tourism, and on scientific cooperation. At first, the initiative was viewed with distrust by the Bulgarians, all the more so as they were hoping soon to be admitted to the **European Union** (EU; at that time still called the European Community). In November 1991, however, Bulgaria declared its readiness to join the BSECZ, and it signed the founding agreement at the BSECZ summit on 25 June 1992. On 10 December 1992, at a meeting in Antalya, Turkey, Bulgaria reconfirmed its cooperation, pointing out, however, that full independence in matters of foreign policy should be granted to the member states and that joining the EU remained Bulgaria's main goal. At the summit in Moscow on 25 October 1996, the member states repeated their intention of increasing cooperation in the fields of trade, banking, telecommunications, energy, crime prevention, and

environment, and establishing a free trade zone. The Turkish minister of foreign affairs, Tansu Çiller, stressed once more that the BSECZ's ultimate aim was integration in the EU. At the summit in Yalta in the beginning of June 1998, it was decided to found a Black Sea Economic Cooperation Bank, which would have a Turkish director and its seat in Salonika. In April 2001, a collective maritime force was established to intervene in cases of humanitarian and environmental catastrophes.

BLAGOEV, DIMITÛR (1856–1924). Real name: DimitÛr Blagoev Nikolov. Journalist and leftist ideologist; founder of the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party** (BSDP). He was born in Zagorichane near Kastoria (now in **Greece**) on 14 June 1856 to a family of peasants. In 1880, he began studying natural sciences in Saint Petersburg, where he became acquainted with the ideas of the Russian social democrats and the teachings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. In 1883, he founded the first social democratic circle in Russia. Because of these activities, he was urged to leave Russia in 1885. Back in Bulgaria, he began spreading his socialist ideas by means of his journal, *Modern Indicator* (*SÛvremenniy pokazatel*), and several brochures. In 1891, he organized a meeting on Buzludzha Peak in the Balkan Mountains during which the BSDP was founded. From 1892 to 1893 he edited the newspaper *The Worker* (*Rabotnik*) and from 1897 until his death *New Times* (*Novo vreme*), a journal dealing with Marxist ideological issues. After the BSDP, renamed Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (BWSDP) in 1894, split into a reformist social democratic and a communist party in 1903, Blagoev joined the latter. In 1904, he cofounded the General Workers' Labor Union (GWLU). Blagoev opposed Bulgaria's participation in **World War I**, running counter to the nationalistic atmosphere in his country. The October Revolution in Russia in 1917 filled him with enthusiasm. He died soon after the abortive communist **September 1923 Uprising** in Bulgaria on 7 May 1924.

BOGOMILS. Adherents of Bogomilism, a medieval Manichaeistic Christian heresy. The first Bogomils appeared in the second half of the 10th century in Bulgaria. They were named after the founder of the movement in Bulgaria, Pope Bogumil ("dear to God"). The Bo-

gomils did not consider good and evil to be two eternal cosmic powers, as pure Manichaeists did. To them, good and evil were involved in a temporary though age-old struggle, which was to end with Christ's victory over God's fallen son, Satan. According to the Bogomils, the whole visible, material world, including the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, was the creation of Satan and therefore had to be categorically rejected. Because of their insubordination to the state and to the official church, the Bogomils were often persecuted. The Bogomilist teachings, which actually originated in the **Byzantine Empire**, eventually spread throughout **Serbia** and Bosnia. In Bosnia, where the Bogomils were called Patarens, Bogomilism might have been proclaimed the state religion for some time, in an attempt to escape the rivalry between Catholic and Orthodox propagandists, which threatened the unity of the country. Bogomilism also penetrated into northern Italy and southern France, where it contributed to the emergence of the heresy of the Albigensian Cathars, referred to in documents of the Inquisition as the *haeresis Bulgarorum* ("the heresy of the Bulgars"). Given its spread, in the form of Catharism or similar heresies, Bogomilism can be considered one of Bulgaria's main contributions to European medieval culture. *See also* PRESBYTER KOZMA.

BOGORIDI, ALEKSANDÛR or Aleko Pasha (1822–1910). First governor-general of **Eastern Rumelia**. Born in Kotel to the family of **Stefan Bogoridi**. After finishing his studies in Iași (Moldova), Lunéville, and Berlin, where he graduated as a lawyer, Bogoridi held high positions in the **Ottoman** administration and diplomatic corps. On 13 March 1879, he was appointed by the sultan to be governor-general of the newly created Ottoman autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia, in which capacity he served until 1884, when he was succeeded by **Gavril Krûstevich**. After Prince **Alexander Battenberg** was deposed in 1885, Bogoridi became a candidate for the Bulgarian throne but was not elected. He died in Paris on 17 July 1910.

BOGORIDI, STEFAN (1775 or 1780–1859). Real name: Stoyko Tsonkov Stoykov. High official in the **Ottoman Empire**. Born in Kotel, a grandson of **Sofroniy of Vratsa**. After studies at the Greek high school in **Bucharest**, he was appointed district administrator in

Galați (1812–1819), subgovernor in Wallachia (1821) and Moldova (1822), and secretary at the Ottoman admiralty (1823). In 1829, he became counselor to Sultan Mahmut II (1808–1839) and later governor of the island of Samos. Sultan **Abdulmejit** (1839–1861) included him in the **Tanzimat** council. As a counselor, he participated in preparing all of the decrees and treaties that the Ottoman government made during that period. He died on 1 August 1859.

Bogoridi is one of the rare examples of a Christian Bulgarian national who succeeded in making a career in the Ottoman establishment. He used his position to act as a strong advocate for the Bulgarians in **Istanbul**. Thanks to him, they were allowed their own church, **Saint Stefan's**, which later developed into the focal point of the Bulgarian **church struggle**.

BORIL (? –1218). Tsar from 1207 until 1218. Son of the sister of **Kaloyan**. His rule was a period of feudal dismemberment and unsuccessful war with the **Byzantine Empire**, **Serbia**, and the **Latin Empire**, resulting in considerable losses of territory. He also had to cope with the heresy of the **Bogomils**, who were anathematized at a special council that was convened in 1213. In 1218, **Ivan Asen II** dethroned Boril and had his (Boril's) eyes cut out.

BORIS I (MIHAIL) (?–907). Khan (852–864) and king (*knyaz*) (864–889) of Bulgaria. In 864, Boris was forced by a peace agreement imposed by the **Byzantines** to be converted, together with his subjects, to **Orthodox Christianity**. He then adopted the Christian name Mihail. In order to avoid the Bulgarian clergy's being subordinated to the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**, Boris wanted to establish an independent Bulgarian church and entered into negotiations with the Vatican. In 870, a church council in Constantinople recognized the autonomy of the Bulgarian church, but the Byzantine clergy maintained their position of power in the country. For that reason, Boris eagerly accepted the services of some pupils of **Cyril and Methodius** who had fled persecution in Moravia. By introducing Old Bulgarian—or Old Church Slavonic—as the **language** of worship and ecclesiastical administration, they reduced the Byzantine influence on Bulgarian ecclesiastical and political affairs. In 889, Boris retired to a monastery, leaving the government

to his elder son, Vladimir. Vladimir subsequently attempted to restore paganism, thus Boris replaced him with his younger son, Simeon, in 893.

BORIS III OF SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA (1894–1943). Tsar of Bulgaria from 3 October 1918 until his death on 28 August 1943. Born in Sofia on 30 January 1894. Son of **Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha** and Marie-Louise de Bourbon-Parma. In 1918, Boris succeeded his father, Ferdinand, who was held responsible for Bulgaria's defeat during **Balkan War I** and **World War I** and was forced to abdicate. In 1930, Boris married Giovanna, Princess of Savoy and daughter of the Italian king Victor Emmanuel III. They had two children, Marie-Louise and **Simeon**, the heir to the throne.

Through his contacts in the **Military League**, Boris at least morally supported the **coup d'état on 9 June 1923**, which put an end to the rule of **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** leader **Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski**, a vehement republican who had been responsible for the ouster of Ferdinand. During the **Democratic Alliance (DA)** government from 1923 to 1931, Boris—following the example of his father—worked at steadily increasing his personal power, although the turmoil of Bulgarian political life left him little choice but to act like this in order to maintain his position. After the election victory of the **People's Bloc (PB)** in 1931, he had to relinquish some of his power. The **coup d'état on 19 May 1934**, carried out by the Military League (ML) and **Zveno**, weakened his position even more, since it had increased the influence of republican politicians like **Damyan Velchev**, who were critical of the tsar. With the support of the monarchists in **Zveno**, Boris replaced the putschists with a government of generals on 22 January 1935, and, on 18 April 1935, formed a government of civilians. He then established an authoritarian **personal regime**, labeled—not without exaggeration—as “monarcho-fascist” by communist historiographers.

By the end of the 1930s, Boris's major concern had become foreign policy, in which he showed great skill and cleverness. Although Bulgaria sided with Germany, he contrived to keep the country out of **World War II** and avoided Bulgaria sending soldiers to the Eastern Front. Moreover, Bulgaria was enabled by the Germans to annex Southern **Dobrudja** in 1940 and **Western Thrace** and Yugoslav

Macedonia in 1941 without fighting a single battle. At the beginning of 1943, after the German defeat near Stalingrad, Boris tried to establish contacts with Great Britain and the **United States**. This overture may have cost him his life: on 28 August 1943, he unexpectedly died of a heart attack nine days after a meeting with Hitler—killed by the Nazis, as rumors had it. Boris was succeeded by his brother, Prince **Kiril**, who ruled as regent during the minority of Boris's son, Simeon. On 28 August 1993, the 50th anniversary of Boris's death was solemnly commemorated at the **Rila Monastery**, where he was interred. The memorial service was attended by his widow, Giovanna, and his daughter, Marie-Louise.

BORISOV, BOYKO (1959–). First secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs during the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**. Nicknamed Rambo. Born in Bankya on 13 June 1959. He graduated in 1982 as an engineer of fire equipment and safety at the Special High School (later Police Academy) of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and started working as a platoon commander in the Sofia Police Department, eventually becoming company commander and head of the Department. From 1985 until 1990, he taught at the Special High School. He defended a Ph.D. thesis on psychological and physical training of the operational staff. Being an active participant in karate tournaments (fifth dan) and coach of the national karate team for many years, he became **Todor Zhivkov's** personal bodyguard in 1989. In 1991, he founded the private security firm, *Ipon I*, which took care of the security of **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha** during his stays in Bulgaria. In September 2001, he was appointed first secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In January 2002, President Petúr Stoyanov promoted him to the rank of major general. Borisov was subsequently entrusted with fighting organized crime. In 2002, he organized a massive police action against the mafia, resulting in the arrest and internment of more than a thousand people, especially drug dealers. As a consequence, he has become one of the most popular public figures in Bulgaria. In the June 2005 **parliamentary elections**, Borisov ran on a **National Movement Simeon the Second (NMSS)** ticket but stopped campaigning after he had received death threats in May 2005. In the beginning of June, there was an assassination plot against him, and on 26 June Borisov was seriously injured

when his car was hit by a truck. However, he soon recovered. In fall of 2005, he was elected mayor of **Sofia**.

BOTEV, HRISTO (1848–1876). Poet, journalist, and freedom fighter. Born on 25 December 1848, in Kalofer, a small city in the **Balkan Mountains**, to the family of a teacher. During his studies at the gymnasium in Odessa in **Russia** (1863–1865), he was introduced to Russian revolutionary thinking and became a socialist. He left school prematurely and gave private lessons in Odessa for some time; later he was appointed a teacher in a Bulgarian village in **Bessarabia**. At the beginning of 1867, he returned to Kalofer. After some months, however, he set off for Odessa again, fleeing persecution by the **Ottoman** authorities because of his political convictions and wishing to complete his education. On the way, he encountered the Bulgarian revolutionary circles in **Bucharest** and decided to devote his life to the cause of national liberation. In 1871, after some years of teaching in Bulgarian schools in **Romania** and Bessarabia, he began publishing in Brăila the periodical *Word of the Bulgarian Emigrés* (*Duma na bŭlgarskite emigranti*), which replaced *Freedom* (*Svoboda*) as the organ of the **Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee** (BRCC). Only a few issues appeared. Botev then cooperated on the periodicals that **Lyuben Karavelov** published in Bucharest. In 1873, he started *Alarm Clock* (*Budilnik*), a satirical journal, but quit after three issues for financial reasons. More successful was *Banner* (*Zname*), the new BRCC organ, which appeared from December 1874 until September 1875. Botev convinced the BRCC to take advantage of the increasing political tension in the Ottoman Empire (the uprising in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1875) and to proceed to revolutionary action in Bulgaria. At variance with the BRCC, which had placed its hope in a carefully prepared insurrection, Botev still believed in the feasibility of provoking a massive uprising against Ottoman rule by *cheta* actions. The **Ottoman** authorities suppressed the **April 1876 Uprising** in some weeks, even before Botev had managed to cross the Danube. After some heroic though futile clashes with the Ottoman forces, Botev's *cheta* was destroyed and he himself was killed in the neighborhood of Vratsa.

Through his journalistic activity, Botev decisively contributed to the radicalization of the Bulgarian national liberation movement.

He discredited or ridiculed the “enlighteners” who advocated legal, non-violent means to achieve national independence. Botev also introduced some socialist concepts into the Bulgarian national liberation ideology. Moreover, he is the author of about 20 poems full of romantic patriotism, some of which are among the finest poems ever written in Bulgarian. They form the culmination of 19th-century Bulgarian **National Awakening** literature. As a poet and a freedom fighter, Botev occupies a pivotal place in Bulgarian national mythology.

BOYANA CHURCH. A medieval church, located in Boyana, eight kilometers from Sofia, it consists of three parts. The oldest, eastern space is a small domed cross-in-square church (outer walls 5.80 by 5.60 meters), built in the 11th century. The central part—an extension of the former—is a two-story building, erected by a *sebastokrator* (governor) named Kaloyan in 1259. The ground floor is a narthex (destined to contain a tomb), dedicated to the Holy Nikola; the first floor is a chapel, dedicated to the Holy Panteleymon. The third, or western, part is an entrance space, dating from the 19th century and without any particular value. The Boyana church is appreciated by experts all over the world for its magnificent wall paintings in the **Byzantine** style of the 11th–12th centuries, representing scenes from the lives of Christ and Holy Nikola, and characterized by emotionality and realism. Of particular interest are the portraits (in the narthex) of the tsar, Konstantin Tih Asen, and his wife Irina, and of *sebastokrator* Kaloyan and his wife Desislava, painted in full length, solemnly dressed and with delicately individualized faces. The Boyana paintings belong to the masterpieces of European medieval art.

BOYAR. Feudal lord, member of the aristocracy in medieval Bulgaria. In most cases, boyars were large landowners, who acted as councilors to the tsar, military leaders, and administrators. During the **First Bulgarian Empire**, the boyars still had **Proto-Bulgarian** titles like *kavkhan*, *bagatur*, *ichûrgu*, *boila*; during the **Second Bulgarian Empire**, the titles were of **Byzantine** (Greek) origin: *logotet*, *protoves-tiariy*, *sevastokrator*. A distinction was made between those boyars who resided at the tsar’s court and those who exercised military functions at the borders. After the **Ottoman** invasion, the Bulgarian aris-

ocracy was killed or exiled, or were included in the Ottoman establishment. Since that time, there has been no Bulgarian aristocracy.

BUCHAREST. Capital of Wallachia, after 1878 of **Romania**, about 60 kilometers from the Bulgarian border. From the end of the 18th century on, many Bulgarian traders and artisans settled in Bucharest, creating a large Bulgarian community that had its own cultural institutions—a school, a *chitalishte*, and a church. In the 1860s, Bucharest developed into the main center of Bulgarian cultural and political life outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Only **Istanbul**, the Ottoman capital, was more important. Several revolutionary organizations—like the **Secret Central Bulgarian Committee** (SCBC) and the **Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee** (BRCC)—had their headquarters in Bucharest. **Hristo Botev**, **Panayot Hitov**, **Lyuben Karavelov**, **Vasil Levski**, and other Bulgarian intellectuals and freedom fighters lived and worked in Bucharest. Some of the most important Bulgarian **National Awakening** newspapers and journals were published there, too. Finally, a great number of international treaties crucial to the Bulgarian nation were signed in Bucharest. The Romanian tolerance of the Bulgarians in Bucharest and the often unconcealed Romanian support of their political goals contributed considerably to the traditionally good relations between Bulgaria and Romania later on.

BUCHAREST, TREATY OF (1886). *See* SERBO-BULGARIAN WAR (1885).

BUCHAREST, TREATY OF (1913). Peace treaty signed on 28 July/10 August 1913, after **Balkan War II**, by **Greece**, **Montenegro**, **Romania**, and **Serbia** on the one hand and Bulgaria on the other. With the Treaty of **Bucharest**, the partition of the former **Ottoman** territories in Europe between the young Christian Balkan states was brought to a conclusion. The most contested area, **Macedonia**, was divided into three parts: Serbia received the northern part (Vardar Macedonia), Greece the southern part (Aegean Macedonia), respectively 25,774 square kilometers (or 38.4%) and 34,602 square kilometers (or 51.5% of the area of Macedonia); and Bulgaria the north-eastern part (Pirin Macedonia), 6,789.2 square kilometers (or 10.1%

of the whole). With this partition, Greece and Serbia considered the so-called **Macedonian Question** to be resolved. However, in Bulgaria, irredentism remained strong and would lead to repeated attempts at revising the borders diplomatically or at changing them by military force. Moreover, the Treaty of Bucharest forced Bulgaria to cede **Southern Dobrudja** to Romania. Nevertheless, Bulgaria extended its territory by 15,491 square kilometers or 16%; in addition to the part of Macedonia already mentioned, it acquired the northern part of the **Rhodope Mountains** and **Western Thrace** with the port of Dede Agach (now Alexandroupolis in Greece). Border agreements with the **Ottoman Empire** were laid down in the 1913 **Treaty of Istanbul**. See also WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II.

BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES (BAS)/BŪLGARSKA AKADEMIYA NA NAUKITE (BAN). In 1869, Bulgarian emigrants in **Romania** and **Russia** founded in Brăila (now in Romania) the Bulgarian Literary Society (BLS)/Bŭlgarsko Knizhovno Druzhestvo (BKD), which was intended to stimulate Bulgarian intellectual and particularly scientific life. The first chair was the well-known historian **Marin Drinov**. The BLS published its own magazine, the *Periodical Journal (Periodichesko spisanie)*. After Bulgaria became independent in 1878, the headquarters of the BLS was moved to Sofia and the society was endowed by the state. The new statutes, which the BLS received in 1884, turned it into an academy. Historical and philological, natural and medical, and political sciences departments were created. In 1903, the BLS started publishing the famous *Journal of Folklore, Scholarship, and Literature (Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya, nauka i knizhnina)*, which is still published. In 1911, the BLS, renamed Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, was officially recognized as a state institution, and from then on it was completely financed by the state. In 1913, the *Journal of BAS (Sbornik na BAN)* began appearing.

In the interwar period, the BAS developed into a Western-style academy, accepting only distinguished scholars as members. In 1928, the BAS was housed in the well-known yellow building near the **National Assembly (NA)**. After **World War II**, the BAS was modeled after the Academy of Sciences of the **Soviet Union**. At the end of the 1940s, under the leadership of the Marxist philosopher and hard-liner

Todor Pavlov, the academy was placed under the control of the Council of Ministers and lost its autonomy; it became a huge, bureaucratic institution charged with the administration of numerous scientific organizations and research units. In 1973, after the BAS was integrated in the University of **Sofia**, a number of united centers were created, preparing the research and teaching staff for both institutions. At the end of the 1980s, the BAS supervised more than 95 institutes, most of which published their own periodicals. Because the staff (about 7,000 in November 1989) was selected mainly on ideological grounds, the scientific results were often insignificant compared to the investment.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the BAS was gradually reformed into an autonomous and democratic institution, the leading staff of which was to be elected. In 1991, a decree was promulgated stipulating that a number of the BAS research institutes should become completely or partially self-supporting. Departments based on ideological grounds were abolished; of the 4,715 staff members left, about 1,350 were dismissed. A national foundation was set up to financially support Bulgarian scientific institutions (among which was the BAS) through sponsorship, donations, and foreign aid. On 9 December 1991, Blagovest Sendov, who had become chair of the BAS immediately after November 1989 and who had subsequently decided to run for state president, was replaced by the chemistry professor Yordan Malinovski. The current chair of the BAS is the chemistry professor Ivan Yuhnovski, who was elected for the first time in 1999 and was reelected in 2004.

BULGARIAN AGRARIAN NATIONAL UNION (BANU)/ BŪLGARSKI ZEMEDELSKI NARODEN SŪYUZ (BZNS). Political party of the peasants. It was founded on 28–30 December 1899 in Pleven by Tsanko Tserkovski, Yanko Zabunov, Dimitŭr Dragiev, and others as a professional and educational organization. In 1901, BANU for the first time participated in elections as a real political party. In 1904, the editorship of the party paper, the *Agrarian Banner* (*Zemedelsko zname*), was entrusted to **Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski**. During the years that followed, Stamboliyski developed into the most prominent ideologist of the agrarian movement and the undisputed leader of BANU. Although in principle it defended the interests of all

peasants, BANU was internally divided into radicals and moderates, the former (the bulk of the membership) representing predominantly the average and poor peasants, and the latter the large landowners. Stamboliyski belonged to the radical wing. By the eve of **World War I**, BANU had become a formidable force in Bulgarian political life. In the 1919 elections BANU, which had gained popularity by opposing Bulgaria's participation in the war, received nearly 39% of the vote and entered a coalition government. After the 1920 elections, which provided BANU with a majority of the vote, Stamboliyski formed a BANU government and began implementing a number of reforms. The size of land ownership was limited; confiscated land entered a state fund to be distributed among landless peasants; and compulsory labor service was introduced.

Although BANU was in favor of normal diplomatic relations with the **Soviet Union**, its attitude toward the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, the second party in size and importance in Bulgaria, was complicated. As a radical agrarian party, BANU raised ideological objections to industrialization, which inevitably resulted in urbanization; these, however, were considered by the BCP to be necessary conditions for the emergence of a proletariat. BANU antagonized other political forces as well: the tsar, by its preference for a republican form of government; the army, which was brushed aside, though mainly as a result of the limitations imposed by the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly**; the traditional political establishment; and the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)**, which resented BANU's attempts to improve relations with **Yugoslavia**. Stamboliyski tried to get rid of the leaders of the traditional parties by having them sentenced to imprisonment for complicity in the "**national catastrophe**" of 1918. While Stamboliyski increasingly resorted to authoritarian measures in order to establish a peasants' dictatorship, conservative and moderate factions within BANU, like BANU-Stara Zagora, took a more conciliatory stand and were willing to negotiate and even cooperate with the traditional parties and other established political forces.

The **coup d'état on 9 June 1923** put an end to the BANU government and brought the **Democratic Alliance (DA)** to power. Stamboliyski and many of his collaborators were assassinated; the resistance of the **Orange Guard**, the BANU military organization, was

crushed. The communist **September 1923 Uprising** against the DA government was suppressed as well. During the following period of police terror, many radical leaders of BANU were arrested or killed. A crisis ensued, which resulted in a split within the party—the first of a chaotic number of splits that has been dividing and weakening the Bulgarian agrarian movement ever since. The rightists united in the BANU-Orange (the identifying color of BANU) faction, which later acquired an outspoken fascist character. The leftists formed the **BANU-Vrabcha 1** faction (named after the address of the faction’s headquarters). In March 1932, discontent within BANU-Vrabcha 1 about the faction’s participation in the **People’s Bloc** (PB) cabinet resulted in a new split: the leftist BANU-Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski, more commonly called BANU-Pladne (Noon), renamed itself BANU-United in 1933, after it had attracted a number of members from BANU-Vrabcha 1. The conservative wing merged with BANU-Orange into BANU-G. Markov, named after its leader. At the beginning of January 1934, the former BANU-Orange members defected to the fascist **National Socialist Movement** (NSM); the other BANU-G. Markov members rejoined the old BANU-Vrabcha 1.

After the **coup d’état on 19 May 1934**, all BANU offshoots were prohibited, as were all political organizations. They were forced to continue their activities illegally. A new crisis developed. BANU-United restored its former name, BANU-Pladne, after a number of smaller rightist organizations broke away. In 1936, BANU-Pladne and BANU-Vrabcha 1 both entered the so-called *Petorka* (“the Five”), a coalition of constitutionalist parties. Only BANU-Pladne, however, accepted the Popular Front strategy advocated by the communists. During **World War II**, it joined the **Fatherland Front** (FF). BANU-Vrabcha 1 explicitly refused to cooperate with the communists.

After the communist **coup d’état on 9 September 1944**, the various BANU parties were not disbanded like other parties but were restored as one single party. BANU, supported by the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party** (BSDP), became the main political force, opposing the growing influence of the **Bulgarian Workers’ Party** (BWP)—as the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) was called then—in political life, its acts of terrorism, and the useless participation of the Bulgarian army in **World War II** that it insisted upon.

Nevertheless, BANU was also increasingly infiltrated and dominated by the communists. Some BANU leaders (like **Georgi M. Dimitrov**) who opposed this process were forced into exile. The influential **Nikola Petkov**, who had founded the overtly anti-communist BANU-Nikola Petkov faction, was sentenced to death and was hanged in 1947. Other anti-communist BANU members were interned in jails and prison camps until they were rehabilitated in the 1950s. At its 27th Congress in 1947, BANU had no choice but to adopt the line of cooperation with the BCP, which became official in 1948. **Georgi Traykov** was elected first secretary (chair). After his death in 1975, he was succeeded by **Petûr Tanchev**.

Under communist rule, BANU continued to exist as Bulgaria's "second party" or the BCP's "little brother." It had a steady membership of about 120,000, and 100 (of the 400) representatives in the **National Assembly (NA)**, three ministers (among whom obligatorily the minister of agriculture), and a vice-prime minister. It was, however, nothing but a puppet party, which for 45 years never dared oppose the BCP, let alone recommend an alternative policy.

After the **coup d'état on 10 November 1989**, which ended the communist regime, BANU tried to recover from its compromised past by ousting some leaders and renewing the party structures. On 2 December 1989, First Secretary Tanchev was dismissed and was replaced by Angel Dimitrov, hardly a better choice. On 6 April 1990, in view of the forthcoming first post-communist free **elections** in June 1990, **Viktor Vûlkov** was elected BANU chair. From the beginning of 1990, attempts were made to unite BANU with both the renewed BANU-Nikola Petkov and BANU-*Vrabcha 1*. For BANU-Nikola Petkov, however, BANU's collaboration with the BCP during the communist period was hard to take; for BANU, on the other hand, BANU-Nikola Petkov's being a cofounder and constituent member of the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** was unacceptable. After the June 1990 **elections**, in which both parties performed poorly, at least their parliamentary caucuses decided to cooperate. On 27 July 1991, during a "national conference of agrarian unity," the BANU leadership, incited by Tsenko Barev, made a new attempt to unite the three agrarian parties. An agreement to that effect was reached with BANU-Nikola Petkov chair **Milan Drenchev**, BANU-Nikola Petkov dissident Josif Petrov, and Tsanko Stanoev from BANU-*Vrabcha 1*. BANU was renamed

BANU-United: Barev was elected as the new chair; Vûlkov became secretary. Not all BANU-Nikola Petkov members joined BANU-United, however, and the party actually continued to exist under the leadership of Milan Drenchev. BANU-*Vrabcha 1* did not disappear either. After the 13 October 1991 elections, in which BANU-United again performed poorly, a number of prominent members left BANU-United. Adding to the problems, on 12 December 1991 the NA passed a law confiscating BANU properties that had been acquired under communist rule. Also in December 1991, Barev and Drenchev again initiated negotiations with a view to uniting BANU-United and BANU-Nikola Petkov into a renewed BANU (without “United”). The Congress for Agrarian Unity, held on 21 and 22 March 1992, did not succeed in persuading the new BANU-Nikola Petkov chair, **Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser**, and her party to join BANU.

Only on 11 November 1992 did BANU and BANU-Nikola Petkov finally merge into one party—BANU—headed by Dimitrova-Moser. Barev and Drenchev were ousted. On the eve of the December 1994 elections BANU entered the **People’s Union (PU)**, a coalition with the **Democratic Party (DP)**. BANU won 13 of the 15 PU seats in the 37th National Assembly (1995–1997). However, the national congress of BANU, held in September 1996, resulted in a new split in the party. A number of BANU organizations refused to participate in the congress and organized an alternative congress in November 1996, under the leadership of Petko Iliev. They founded a new party and succeeded in preserving the name BANU. (In 1999, Iliev was replaced by Georgi Pinchev as chair.) Dimitrova-Moser registered her party with the name Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-People’s Union (BANU-PU). However, by the end of 1996, the PU as well entered the coalition **United Democratic Forces (Uddf)**, so that BANU-PU finally cooperated again with the BANU offshoots that had refused to leave the UDF. It has been true to the UDF ever since. Next to BANU-PU, there are still a dozen small agrarian parties competing for the favor of the electorate.

**BULGARIAN AGRARIAN NATIONAL UNION-ALEKSANDÛR
STAMBOLIYSKI (BANU-ALEKSANDÛR STAMBOLIYSKI)/
(BÛLGARSKI ZEMEDELSKI NARODEN SÛYUZ-
ALEKSANDÛR STAMBOLIYSKI (BZNS-ALEKSANDÛR**

STAMBOLIYSKI). Leftist wing of BANU-*Vrabcha 1* during the interwar period. Usually called BANU-*Pladne* (Noon) after the time of the party's daily gatherings. It published a periodical that was also named *Pladne*.

After the fall of the communist regime, BANU-Aleksandûr Stamboliyski was restored in 1993. It is a conservative, religiously inspired party supported mainly by the peasantry with medium-size farms. In 1994, it joined a coalition with the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) and the **Political Club *Ekoglasnost***, which yielded four seats in the 37th National Assembly (1995–1997). However, the party refused to enter the new coalition **Democratic Left** (DL) on the eve of the April 1997 elections, but remained true to the agreements made with the BSP and *Ekoglasnost*. In the June 2005 parliamentary election, BANU-Aleksandûr Stamboliyski participated as a member of the **Coalition for Bulgaria** (CFB). The current leader is Spas Panchev.

BULGARIAN AGRARIAN NATIONAL UNION-NIKOLA PETKOV (BANU-NIKOLA PETKOV)/(BÛLGARSKI ZEMEDELSKI NARODEN SÛYUZ-NIKOLA PETKOV (BZNS-NIKOLA PETKOV). Faction within the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU), opposing after **World War II** the establishment of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) dictatorship after the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**. Its leader, **Nikola Petkov**, was arrested, sentenced to death, and executed in 1947. Other members were forced to emigrate or spent many years in prison. In the 1950s, they were rehabilitated after signing a declaration of loyalty to the “official” BANU.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the revival of BANU-Nikola Petkov was initiated at a national meeting on 26 November 1989. The party was officially (re)founded on 9 December 1989 in Sofia by **Milan Drenchev**, who was elected chair, and others as an alternative to the compromised “official” BANU. On 7 December 1989, BANU-Nikola Petkov became one of the constituent members of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). From 1991 on, BANU exerted great pressure on BANU-Nikola Petkov to merge. BANU-Nikola Petkov, however, did not comply with these requests, as it still considered BANU too much a “communist” party

and did not want to leave the UDF. On 27 July 1991, BANU organized a “national conference of agrarian unity” in order to bring about the union among BANU, BANU-Nikola Petkov, and BANU-*Vrabcha 1*. Only a few BANU-Nikola Petkov dissidents, among them 82-year-old Josif Petrov, participated in the conference. BANU, considering the union among the three agrarian parties as a fait accompli, changed its name to BANU-United. However, BANU-Nikola Petkov continued as before under the leadership of Drenchev. Because of tensions that had emerged within the UDF in August 1991 in connection with the approaching **elections**, BANU-Nikola Petkov broke with the UDF on 4 September. One faction, Blue BANU (blue being the UDF identifying color), led by Georgi Petrov, remained faithful to the UDF. The majority within BANU-Nikola Petkov and BANU-*Vrabcha 1* decided to participate in the October 1991 elections apart from the UDF. After the elections, in which BANU-Nikola Petkov was rather unsuccessful, Drenchev revoked his resignation from the UDF, though rather ambiguously, which increased BANU-Nikola Petkov’s internal chaos.

On 8 February 1992, Drenchev and BANU-United leader Tsenko Barev announced that they would organize a congress in the near future, during which the two parties would merge into one, called BANU (without “United,” as was already agreed upon in December). However, the BANU-Nikola Petkov party congress that was held in the meantime, on 15 and 16 February, opposed the merger and replaced Drenchev with **Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser**. The party decided to cooperate closely with the UDF but not to be one of its constituents. Although Blue BANU was still a constituent member, the UDF worked smoothly together with Dimitrova-Moser’s BANU-Nikola Petkov. From the muddle, two main BANU-Nikola Petkov factions finally resulted: the Dimitrova-Moser faction, independent but cooperating with the UDF; and the Georgi Petrov faction, a UDF constituent member that on 29 March 1992 proclaimed itself a new party, BANU-Nikola Petkov-UDF. In November 1992, the genuine BANU finally merged with BANU-Nikola Petkov into one party—BANU—led by Dimitrova-Moser and named Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-People’s Union (BANU-PU), which it has been called since. However, a number of members remained faithful to Milan Drenchev, who continued a BANU-Nikola Petkov of his own.

BANU-Nikola Petkov participated in the June 2001 and 2005 elections together with some other smaller BANU splinter groups, but did not obtain any seats in the **National Assembly** (NA).

BULGARIAN AGRARIAN NATIONAL UNION-PEOPLE'S UNION (BANU-PU). *See* BULGARIAN AGRARIAN NATIONAL UNION; BULGARIAN AGRARIAN NATIONAL UNION-NIKOLA PETKOV.

BULGARIAN AGRARIAN NATIONAL UNION-PLADNE (BANU-PLADNE). *See* BULGARIAN AGRARIAN NATIONAL UNION; BULGARIAN AGRARIAN NATIONAL UNION-ALEKSANDÛR STAMBOLIYSKI.

BULGARIAN AGRARIAN NATIONAL UNION-VRABCHA 1 (BANU-VRABCHA 1). *See* BULGARIAN AGRARIAN NATIONAL UNION.

BULGARIAN BUSINESS BLOC (BBB)/BÛLGARSKI BIZNES BLOK (BBB). Founded on 10 December 1990, by **Zhorzh** (George) **Ganchev**, who was elected chair of the party. The BBB promoted private initiative and a free-market economy, resorting to rather populist **election** campaigns. It relied on an electorate of yuppies and protest voters dissatisfied with both the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) and the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). It ran for the first time in the 13 October 1991, elections, but without success. In the January 1992 first round of the **presidential elections**, Ganchev received 17% of the vote—enough to allow him to participate in the second round. However, in the second round he was defeated by **Zhe-lyo Zhelev**. A faction of the BBB broke off and founded a new party, New Bulgaria. In the December 1994 **parliamentary elections**, the BBB obtained 4.7% of the vote, or 13 seats in the **National Assembly** (NA), which was regarded a success. Its leader, Zhorzh Ganchev, was forced to resign, however, by a judgment of the constitutional court because he had not renounced his **United States** citizenship. Ganchev participated also in the presidential elections in 1996, but again in vain. In 2000, a number of party members led by Hristo

Ivanov defected, appropriating the name of the party. Ganchev then founded the Bloc of Zhorzh Ganchev.

BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BCP)/BŪLGARSKA KOMUNISTICHESKA PARTIYA (BKP). The BCP came into being in 1903, when the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP)**, founded in 1891 and renamed the **Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (BWSDP)** in 1894, split into the **Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party-Broad Socialists (BWSDP-BS)**, a social democratic reformist party, and the **Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party-Narrow Socialists (BWSDP-NS)**. The latter developed into an orthodox communist party, deeply influenced by Leninist ideologies and strategies. Referring to the fact that some of the principal founders of the BSDP (such as **Dimitŭr Blagoev**) joined the BCP, communist historiography has always claimed 1891 as the founding year of the BCP, thus attributing a greater seniority to it. In 1919, the BWSDP-NS joined the Third International and adopted the name **Bulgarian Communist Party-Narrow Socialists (BCP-NS)**. In the following years, Bulgarian and Russian communists worked closely together: the Bulgarians got their instructions directly from Moscow, and Bulgarians held important positions in Soviet international organizations. In the elections called for in 1919, the BCP performed better than the “bourgeois” parties, which were held responsible by the electorate for the “**national catastrophe**” following **World War I**, but it never seriously threatened the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)**. In 1922, the BCP-NS—together with its umbrella organizations such as the **General Worker's Labor Union (GWLU)** and the **Bulgarian Communist Youth Union (BCYU)**—had almost 84,000 members.

Although BANU leader **Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski** sympathized with the **Soviet Union (SU)**, relations between the BCP-NS and BANU remained complicated and tense; the BCP favored the proletariat, while BANU defended the peasants' interests. This rivalry contributed to the rightist and conservative parties' successfully carrying out the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**. The new **Democratic Alliance (DA)** government, led by **Aleksandŭr Tsankov**, finished with both the government of Stamboliyski and the BCP-NS. The abortive

September 1923 Uprising, clumsily organized by the BCP, resulted in the party's being formally outlawed on 4 April 1924. The suppression of the uprising and the subsequent police terror caused a trauma within the BCP-NS. Many prominent members were killed, and others (like **Georgi Dimitrov** and **Vasil Kolarov**) took refuge mainly in the SU; still others went underground. In May 1924, a secret conference was organized on Mount Vitosha near Sofia, during which the participants, encouraged by the **Comintern**, decided to continue the armed struggle. In the winter of 1924, however, the party leadership gave up the idea of taking power by force and limited its activities to agitation in the still-existing workers' organizations. Some communist activists, preferring to remain within the framework of legality, recommended that the illegal communist party be dissolved; others launched into terrorism. Actions like the April 1925 **Sveta Nedelya outrage** only incited the government to even harsher measures.

After Tsankov's dismissal in January 1926, the police terror stopped; the same year, the Independent Workers' Labor Unions (IWLU) were legally founded. In 1927, the Workers' Party (WP) was created, followed a year later, in 1928, by the Workers' Youth Union (WYU). Communists were pulling the strings of all of these organizations. The WP can be regarded as the legal counterpart of the illegal BCP-NS. Especially during the **People's Bloc** (PB) government, the Bulgarian communist movement rapidly increased and became the strongest in the Balkans. In the 1931 elections, which brought the BP to power, the communists had won no less than 15% of the vote. In 1932, the WP had 35,000 members, the WYU 18,000, and the communist IWLU 10,000. The BCP-NS itself had 3,000 members and its youth organization numbered 2,250. (All figures are according to communist sources.) As leftist terrorism also grew and a number of massive strikes broke out, the PB cabinet acted with increasing repressiveness.

After the **coup d'état on 19 May 1934**, all political parties, including the WP, were outlawed. All workers' organizations were then controlled by the state, which limited the possibilities for political action. The BCP-NS leadership decided to dissolve the WP and to include its most reliable members in the BCP-NS, as there was no need for two illegal communist parties. However, since BCP-NS members received heavier sentences when they were arrested than did WP members, the WP was restored.

As a workers' party, the BCP-NS tried in legal or illegal ways to defend the interests of the proletariat, to improve their living conditions, and to raise their cultural level and political consciousness, with the ultimate goal of establishing a classless society through revolution. Moreover, it had clear stands on issues concerning Bulgaria's international relations, although these stances were imposed by the **Comintern**. It promoted good relations with the SU and favored a federal solution to the **Macedonian Question**, recognizing not only the existence of a Macedonian, but also of a Thracian and a Moesian nation. After the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO) was disbanded in 1934, many Macedonian national liberation activists joined the ranks of the communists.

In the late 1930s, the BCP-NS concentrated on steering away from Bulgaria's increasingly pro-**German** foreign policy. The Popular Front strategy of a broad unity of all anti-fascist political forces against Nazi Germany, expounded by Comintern secretary Georgi Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress of Comintern in July and August 1935, was adopted by the **Central Committee** (CC) of the BCP-NS in 1936, but this had no impact on Bulgarian foreign policy. During the period of the German-Soviet Pact (August 1939–June 1941), the communists backed the “monarcho-fascist” regime's policy of neutrality, which they had opposed before. In November and December 1940, the Bulgarian Workers' Party (BWP)—as the party was named after the WP and the BCP-NS had merged in 1940—organized a number of meetings all over the country, the so-called Sobolev Action, supporting the mutual assistance pact that had been proposed to Bulgaria by the Soviet Union through the vice-commissar for foreign affairs, Arkadi Sobolev. After the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the BWP launched the **partisan movement** against the regime, as the latter overtly sided with the Germans and provided them with food and raw materials during **World War II**. In 1942, the communists created the **Fatherland Front** (FF)—an alliance of all of the democratic forces in the country that opposed the government. On the night of 8/9 September 1944, the BWP-controlled partisan movement, aided by the Red Army which had just invaded the country, staged the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944** and brought a communist-dominated FF government to power.

In the years 1944–1948, the BWP, renamed the Bulgarian Workers' Party-Communists (BWP-Communists), was legalized again, although a minority in the FFV, succeeded in eliminating all of its political opponents, one after another, using the so-called salami tactics, and established a communist dictatorship (*See* NIKOLA PETKOV). Only BANU was tolerated, as a puppet party. For more than four decades, the Bulgarian communists slavishly imposed Soviet political, economic, and cultural institutions on Bulgarian society. In 1948, the Fifth Congress of the BWP-Communists decided to re-assume the name Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and adopted the first five-year plan. **Industry** was nationalized, and **agriculture** was collectivized. In addition to the personality cult, the Stalinist practice of regularly purging the party cadres was also applied in Bulgaria. In 1949, **Traycho Kostov**, accused of “Titoism,” was arrested and sentenced to death. More than 90,000, or 20%, of the BCP members lost their membership cards, accused or suspected of Titoism, that means of favoring Bulgarian interests instead of those of the Soviet Union.

After Stalin's death, a period of detention and liberalization was initiated. At the **April 1956 Plenum**, BCP First Secretary **Todor Zhivkov** criticized the personality cult and the Stalinist methods of leadership. A new style of government, the so-called April Line, was introduced, implying a certain degree of intellectual freedom. “Democratic centralism” and “collective leadership” were preached again, although Zhivkov's absolute authority was never challenged. At its 10th Congress in 1971, the BCP declared Bulgaria to be a “developed socialist society,” having reached the last historical stage before the final establishment of communism. At the 12th Congress in 1981, the BCP introduced the **New Economic Mechanism** (NEM), which aimed at accelerating the development of the Bulgarian economy. The BCP firmly maintained its authority even after Mikhail Gorbachev launched his political and economic reform campaign in the Soviet Union. The BCP's readiness to liberalize Bulgarian political and economic institutions was symbolic. Through the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, Zhivkov, who had dominated the BCP and Bulgarian political life in general since 1954, was finally removed. At its 14th Congress, held from 30 January to 2 February 1990, the BCP rejected Marxism-Leninism, renounced its leading role in society, and initiated radical structural reforms. In mid-February 1990, all BCP

cells in the army were disbanded; in March, the same measure was carried out in all workplaces. On 3 April 1990, the BCP renamed itself the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)** and pretended to be henceforth a social democratic and reformist party. However, former communist functionaries managed to maintain strong positions in Bulgarian politics.

The orthodox Marxist-Leninist political line of the former BCP was continued by the Party of the Working People, which was founded on 5 April 1990 in Oryahova and changed its name to the Communist Party of Bulgaria (CPB) on 21 June 1990. The new CPB denounced the former BCP's leadership as well as the BSP. It failed to gain any political influence, although it reportedly had 15,000 members in May 1990 and succeeded in gathering delegates from nearly 300 party branches at the 15th BCP Congress in October 1990. Other (insignificant) parties that refer to Marxism-Leninism are the Bulgarian Communist Party-Marxist and the Bulgarian Communist Party-Revolutionary. *See also* COMMUNISM; COMMUNIST REPRESSION.

BULGARIAN COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION. *See* DIMITROV COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION.

BULGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM (BDF)/BŪLGARSKI DEMOKRATICHEN FORUM (BDF). Founded on 13 January 1990, full member of the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** since 9 September 1991. It claims to be a democratic, liberal party, defending the principles of the **Tŭrnovo Constitution**. The BDF pleaded for the (re)establishment of **Great Bulgaria**, although through peaceful means, and the restoration of the monarchy; it denied the existence of a **Macedonian** nation and insisted on measures against the "Turkization" of people with a Bulgarian ethnic identity, which means the **Pomaks**.

BULGARIAN EURO-LEFT (BEL)/BŪLGARSKA EVROLEVITSIA (BE). Coalition, founded on 28 February 1997, which aims to be "a modern social-democratic movement." Constituent members were the Civil Union for the Republic (CUR), the Alternative Socialist Union (ASU), the Movement for Social Humanity—an offspring

of the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party** (BSDP)—and four defectors from the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP). In the April 1997 **elections**, the party recruited its voters mainly from among the disappointed BSP members, at the moment when a BSP cabinet had brought the nation to the verge of an economic and social catastrophe. In 1998, the coalition reorganized itself into one single party. Chair was Aleksandŭr Tomov. On 3 July 2000, a number of BEL members split off, dissatisfied with the inconsistency of Tomov's policy and with the lack of transparency of the party finances, and founded the **Political Movement Social Democrats** (PMSD). On the eve of the June 2001 **parliamentary elections**, they joined the **Coalition for Bulgaria**. BEL, however, refused to enter any coalition. It received less than 1% of the votes. BEL eventually changed its name in Bulgarian Social Democracy (BSD) and participated in the June 2005 parliamentary elections as the core party of the **Coalition of the Rose** (COR).

BULGARIAN EXARCHATE. Bulgarian national church, the founding of which in 1870 resolved the so-called **church struggle**. It was officially established by the *firman* (decree) issued by Sultan Abdulaziz on 27 February 1870. The Exarchate was nominally subordinate to the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**; actually, it was accountable only to the sultan. On 16 February 1872, the Provisional Exarchic Council elected **Antim I of Vidin** as the first Bulgarian exarch (after the nomination of Ilarion of Lovech was rejected by the sultan). On 16 September 1872, the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**, which was opposed to the establishment of a Bulgarian church, declared the Bulgarian Exarchate schismatic.

Initially, the Exarchate consisted of the dioceses of **Ruse**, Silistra, Shumen, **Tŭrnovo**, **Sofia**, Vratsa, Lovech, **Vidin**, Niš, Piro, Kyustendil, Samokov, Veles, **Varna** (without the city itself and about 20 villages on the **Black Sea** coast up to Constanța in **Romania**), the province of Sliven (without Anchialo, now Pomorie, and **Nesebŭr**), the district of Sozopol (without the coastal villages), and the diocese of **Plovdiv** (without the city itself except the quarter of the Holy Virgin, without Stanimaka, now Asenovgrad, and without nine villages and four monasteries, among which was the famous **Bachkovo Monastery**). The Exarchate's seat was in **Istan-**

bul. Article 10 stipulated that a diocese that did not belong to the exarchate could be included in it if at least two-thirds of its population wished to submit to the authority of the exarch. As a result of plebiscites held in 1874, the dioceses of Skopje and Ohrid in **Macedonia** were attached to the exarchate. In the 1890s, the dioceses of Nevrokop (now Gotse Delchev) and Stara Zagora also joined the exarchate.

The Bulgarian Exarchate was the first officially recognized Bulgarian national institution. It fostered great cultural and political activity, especially in the field of education, aiming at enhancing the Bulgarian national consciousness among its flock. During the **1877–1878 Russo-Turkish War**, Exarch Antim I was dismissed by the **Ottoman** authorities because of his overt support of the Russians. After the liberation in 1878, the new exarch, Yosif I, concentrated his forces on Macedonia in order to neutralize the **Greek** and **Serbian** attempts to, respectively, Hellenize and Serbianize the local Slavic population. A similar policy was pursued in the **Adrianople region** vis-à-vis the Greek influence. As a result, on the eve of **Balkan War I**, the Bulgarian Exarchate was quite influential in large parts of Aegean and Vardar Macedonia. After **Balkan War II**, the exarchate lost control over the dioceses beyond the borders of the Bulgarian state, and its seat was moved from Istanbul to Sofia. After the death of Yosif I in 1915, no new exarch was elected, the exarchate being administered by a Holy Synod from that point on. On 22 February 1945, the patriarch of Constantinople undid the schism. The Holy Synod then elected Bishop Stefan of Sofia as the new exarch. In September 1948, Stefan was forced by the communists to resign. In 1953, a church council abolished the exarchate and with the approval of the Patriarchate of Constantinople restored the old **Bulgarian Patriarchate**. **Kiril** was elected the first Bulgarian patriarch since **Evtimiy of Tŭrnovo**.

BULGARIAN LABOR UNIONS (BLU)/BŪLGARSKI PROFESIONALNI SŪYUZI (BPS). Founded in 1945 when all the existing and permitted labor organizations were united into the General Workers' Labor Union (GWLU). This was called the Bulgarian Labor Unions after the seventh GWLU congress in 1972 renamed the governing body of the union the Central Council of the Bulgarian Labor

Unions. The BLU was subservient to the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) and in a way functioned as a state labor union, defending the economic interests of the state as a major enterprise rather than the social interest of the workers. The main task of the BLU consisted of organizing parades, meetings, trips, vacations, and so on. Workers' protests against deplorable working conditions, let alone strikes, were forbidden. In 1979, Petûr Dyulgerov was "elected" chair of the Central Council of the BLU. It then had nearly half a million members. In February 1990, after the fall of the communist regime, a BLU national congress decided to transform the BLU into a new labor union, the **Confederation of Independent Labor Unions in Bulgaria** (CILUB), which is Bulgaria's most powerful post-communist workers' organization.

BULGARIAN LANGUAGE. There are two languages known as Bulgarian. The first is the extinct Turkic language of the Proto-Bulgarians, related to modern Chuvash, which is still spoken in Russia. The second is the modern Bulgarian, an Indo-European language belonging to the Slavic group and sharing some common South Slavic features with Serbian and **Macedonian**. Macedonian in particular is closely akin to Bulgarian; Bulgarian linguists even consider the Macedonian standard language to be an artificially created language, based on southwest Bulgarian dialects. Bulgarian is spoken by about 10 million people—in Bulgaria, in the so-called Western Districts in Serbia, in Banat in Romania, in Moldova, and in Ukraine. According to Bulgarian experts, Bulgarian is also spoken in the **Republic of Macedonia** and in some areas in northern Greece and eastern Albania as well, although most of their colleagues abroad would call the Slavic language spoken in these areas Macedonian. *See also* BANAT BULGARIANS; BESSARABIAN BULGARIANS; MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

The history of the Bulgarian language can be grouped into three periods. Old Bulgarian (ninth through 11th centuries) was an inflected language with a very complex morphological system. **Cyril and Methodius** and their pupils translated the Scripture and liturgical texts for the first time in the Slavic dialect of **Macedonia**, which is considered as Bulgarian by Bulgarian linguists. Old Bulgarian—more often called Old Slavic or Old Church Slavonic—was the first Slavic language to acquire the function and the status of a literary

language. The Old Bulgarian texts, which were produced in **Preslav** and **Ohrid** from the end of the ninth century onward, exerted a considerable influence on the development of the literary language of all Orthodox Slavic countries. During the Middle Bulgarian period (12th through 14th centuries), Bulgarian gradually lost its case endings, but elaborated its verbal system, developing new tenses and moods. The New Bulgarian period starts in the 15th century, when the language had acquired most of its modern distinctive features (loss of case endings, definite article following the substantive, etc.). Due to the influence of Church Slavonic, however, literary Bulgarian remained rather archaic until the 19th century, although from the 18th century on, the vernacular started penetrating it (especially in the *damask-ins*). In 1835, Neofit of Rila wrote the first grammar of modern Bulgarian. A standardized Bulgarian, based on the east Bulgarian dialects, came into being only in the 1860s. A last set of spelling reforms was introduced after World War II. Now Bulgarian is written with 30 Cyrillic letters; the orthography is based on a combination of phonetic and etymological principles.

Although a Slavic language, Bulgarian has many striking morpho-syntactic characteristics in common with Albanian and Romanian. It constitutes together with these languages the core of the so-called Balkan linguistic league, which also includes Aromanian (Vlach) and Macedonian, and—to a lesser extent—Greek and Serbian. These characteristics are the use of the definite article placed after the noun it defines (*zhena*: “woman”; *zhenata*: “the woman”); the loss of the infinitive; the formation of the future tense by preceding the verbal forms of the present tense with a particle (in Bulgarian: *shte*); the analytic construction of the comparative and the superlative; and the use of several morphologically distinguished past tenses. These curious common features, making Bulgarian very different from other Slavic languages, have resulted from a long process of mutual influencing due to widespread polylingualism in the Balkans. The occurrence of a narrative mode—a verbal mode used whenever events not personally witnessed are related—is unique to Bulgarian and Turkish.

In spite of all purism, Bulgarian vocabulary still contains a great number of expressive Turkish words that were borrowed during the Ottoman period. Religious terminology is borrowed mainly from Greek. In the 19th century and during the communist period, many

Russian words entered Bulgarian. Since the fall of communism in 1989, Bulgarian political and business language has been increasingly Americanized. The use of Turkish words is now seen as an expression of non-conformism. Though not particularly melodious, Bulgarian excels through the functional economy and the austere harmony of its grammar. *See also* BULGARIAN LITERATURE.

BULGARIAN LEGIONS. Military units set up in Belgrade in the 1860s with a view to the liberation of Bulgaria from **Ottoman rule** through coordinated action of the Bulgarians and the Serbs. In case war broke out between **Serbia** and the Ottoman Empire, the Bulgarian Legion would enter Bulgaria and provoke a massive popular uprising, which was expected to result in throwing off Ottoman rule.

The First Bulgarian Legion was founded by **Georgi S. Rakovski** in 1862. It was financed by the Serbian government, trained by Serbian officers, and consisted of about 600 Bulgarians, including **Vasil Levski**, **Vasil Drumev**, and Stefan Karadzha (1840–1868). On 15 June 1862, the Bulgarian Legion clashed with Ottoman troops during the siege of the Ottoman garrison in Belgrade by the Serbian army. After the conflict was settled, the Serbian government disbanded the Bulgarian Legion and forced its members to leave the country. The Second Bulgarian Legion was founded in 1867, but never went into action, as the hoped for Serbian-Ottoman War did not break out. It was dissolved in 1868.

The idea of liberating Bulgaria by a legion in cooperation with the Serbian army was abandoned, as it had become clear that the Bulgarian population could not be incited by such a legion to take up arms, and that the Serbian government actually used the Bulgarian legions for its own purposes. *See also* CHETA.

BULGARIAN LITERARY SOCIETY. *See* BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

BULGARIAN LITERATURE. The first Bulgarian literary texts were written at the end of the ninth century, when the pupils of **Cyril and Methodius** arrived in Bulgaria and founded schools and scriptoria, where the Scriptures, liturgical texts, and other Byzantine religious and philosophical works were translated from Greek into Old Bul-

garian (or Old Church Slavonic). Some original Bulgarian works—mainly sermons, hagiographies, tracts, and polemical writings—were produced as well. Konstantin (mid-ninth century to early 10th century), **Yoan the Exarch** (ca. 850–ca. 930), the monk **Hrabûr** (ninth or 10th century), and the presbyter **Kozma** lived and worked in or around the capital, **Preslav**. **Kliment**, perhaps the most important of them, developed his literary and educational activities in Ohrid, **Macedonia**. A particular kind of Bulgarian medieval literature consists of legends and apocryphal texts produced by the **Bogomils**.

During the Byzantine period (1014–1285), literary activity in Bulgarian stagnated. After the restoration of the Bulgarian Empire, a new period of creativity began. The greatest figure is patriarch **Evtimiy of Tûrnovo**. After the Ottoman conquest of Bulgaria in 1393, Evtimiy’s work as an outstanding philologist and a writer was continued abroad by his pupils, **Grigori Tsamblak**, Konstantin of Kostenets (ca. 1380 to early 14th century), and others.

In Ottoman Bulgaria, literary activity was limited to the conservation of the medieval legacy. In some monasteries, texts were copied and new collections of sermons and saints’ lives were compiled. A special place among the hagiological literature is held by the lives of the “**new martyrs**”—Bulgarians martyred by Muslim zealots because they refused to embrace Islam. The most famous among them was Georgi of **Sofia** (early 16th century). In the 17th century emerged the *damaskins*—collections of sermons of rather conventional content but written in a lively, popular style and in the language spoken by the common people instead of in the archaic, hybrid language known as Church Slavonic, which remained in use until the mid-19th century (see BULGARIAN LANGUAGE).

The completion of the *History of the Bulgarian Slavs* by **Paisiy of Hilendar** in 1762 marked the beginning of the **National Awakening** and its specific literature. Paisiy called for more Bulgarian consciousness and national pride in order to put an end to the increasing Greek cultural influence. Paisiy’s younger contemporary, **Sofroniy of Vratsa**, drew a moving self-portrait in his *Life and Sufferings of the Sinful Sofroniy* (1804), at the same time giving a penetrating picture of his time. By the turn of the century, the so-called verse-makers initiated Bulgarian poetry by imitating the models of the Russian and Serbian classicists.

In the mid-19th century appeared the first authors in the contemporary sense of the word. In 1845, **Nayden Gerov** (1823–1900) published the first Bulgarian poem, inspired by folk poetry, in which modern metrical principles were applied. In 1862, **Vasil Drumev** wrote the first indigenous Bulgarian prose work, *The Unfortunate Family*, a horror story about the ups and downs of a Bulgarian family in the time of the **kŭrdzhaliyas**. Translations and “Bulgarizations” (foreign literary works translated and adapted to Bulgarian circumstances) greatly contributed to the development of Bulgarian belles lettres. Nevertheless, literature was rarely considered an end in itself; it mostly served the aims of cultural elevation, national emancipation, or, later on, national independence. The last is particularly evident in the popular battle songs written by Dobri Chintulov (1823–1886). It also explains the eminent role played by journalism in 19th-century Bulgarian intellectual life and the interest that writers took in history and folklore. In this respect, **Georgi S. Rakovski** is quite representative of the prolific, all-around Bulgarian National Awakening writer—a poet, journalist, ethnographer, and philologist all at the same time. **Petko Slaveykov** and **Lyuben Karavelov**, much more talented and modern authors, belonged to the same type. Slaveykov should be mentioned in particular as an excellent folklorist and the author of some of the finest Bulgarian National Awakening poems. Karavelov enriched Bulgarian literature with remarkable short stories and novels in the spirit of Gogolian critical realism. The greatest 19th-century Bulgarian poet was **Hristo Botev**, a representative of revolutionary romanticism. The period of the National Awakening concluded with the *Notes on the Bulgarian Uprisings* (1884–1892) by **Zahari Stoyanov** and *Under the Yoke* by **Ivan Vazov**, two epic accounts—memories and a novel, respectively—dealing with the **April 1876 Uprising**.

After Bulgaria was liberated from **Ottoman** rule in 1878, Bulgarian literature gradually shook off its bondage to extra-literary goals. This process was somewhat hampered by the formidable artistic authority of Ivan Vazov, considered the patriarch of modern Bulgarian literature. Vazov practiced all literary genres with indisputable skill, elevating Bulgarian literary writing to a truly professional level. By branding modernistic tendencies as “foreign to the Bulgarian soul,” however, he favored an artistic conservatism that Bulgarian literature

as a whole has had great trouble in overcoming. The younger generation of writers, to which belong **Aleko Konstantinov**, Todor Vlaykov (1865–1943), Anton Strashimirov (1872–1937), and others—however different they may be—followed artistically in his footsteps, being interested in contemporary social and political problems and/or in peasant life. As usual, poetry was more innovative than prose. Symbolism was ushered in by the poems of Kiril Hristov (1875–1944) and turned into the philosophical and aesthetic credo of the poets and critics connected with the journal *Thought* (*Misûl*, 1892–1907). Dr. Krûstyo Krûstev (1866–1919), the leading theoretician of the circle and an adherent of Friedrich Nietzsche, championed a “European” Bulgarian literature, treating universal themes and keeping pace with the newest international artistic movements. Poets like **Pencho Slaveykov** and especially **Peyo Yavorov** put these principles into practice. The latter created the first Bulgarian poetry of more than merely national importance. Petko Todorov (1879–1916) wrote a subtle impressionistic prose. Slaveykov and Yavorov left their mark on the tender Dimcho Debelyanov (1887–1916), one of Bulgaria’s most beloved poets. Due to the influence that both exerted, symbolism remained the most powerful current in Bulgarian poetry up until World War II, producing poets like the visionary Teodor Trayanov (1882–1945) and the intimate and tormented Nikolay Liliev (1885–1960). Hristo Smirnenski (1898–1923) combined symbolist stylistic sophistication with socialist commitment.

After World War I, Western artistic trends other than symbolism also had adherents in Bulgaria, although formal innovation was never very radical. **Geo Milev** was Bulgaria’s most remarkable expressionist. Nikola Furnadzhiev (1903–1968), who labeled himself an imagist, shared with Milev a warm sympathy for the rebels of the **September 1923 Uprising**. **Atanas Dalchev**, Bulgaria’s finest interwar poet, is sometimes compared with the Russian Acmeists. **Elizaveta Bagryana**, author of sensitive love poetry, was the first woman Bulgarian poet to become internationally acknowledged. Aleksandûr Gerov (1919–1997) seems to have been one of the rare Bulgarian poets with a sense of the mystical. **Nikola Vaptsarov**, influenced by Mayakovski and folk poetry, was promoted by the postwar communist regime as the most prominent representative of the so-called proletarian poetry.

From the formal point of view, prose rarely exceeded the boundaries of rather conventional storytelling, but some of these storytellers, like **Elin Pelin** and especially **Yordan Yovkov**, were outstanding. They continued a fascinating, typically Balkan realistic as well as romantic narrative tradition, the former tending to socialist criticism and the latter to philosophical contemplation. Georgi Raychev (1882–1947), a penetrating psychologist, and the satiric Svetoslav Minkov (1902–1966), should be mentioned as well among the best Bulgarian short-story tellers of the interwar period.

After the communist takeover in 1944, Bulgarian literature was modeled after Soviet socialist realistic literature: reality had to be shown in its “revolutionary dynamics,” true to the (changeable) party line, in a black-and-white way (in order to be accessible and comprehensible to the workers) and in a patriotic spirit. These prescriptions resulted in a “gray flow” of artistically uninteresting stories and novels, treating the **partisan movement**, the collectivization of **agriculture**, the workers’ enthusiasm for the increase of industrial production, and the constant fight against foreign subversion. Unfolding a panorama on the changing society, as Leo Tolstoy did in *War and Peace*, was considered the highest form of prose writing. This was what Georgi Karaslavov (1904–1980), St. Ts. Daskalov (1909–1985), Dimitûr Dimov (1909–1966), Andrey Gulyashki (1914–), and others attempted to do in voluminous novels and novel cycles. Dimov had to rewrite his novel *Tobacco* (*Tyutyun*, 1951), complying with the instructions of a Marxist literary critic and adding 250 pages dealing with working class heroes. Authors of historical novels, like Dimitûr Talev (1898–1966) and Emiliyan Stanev (1907–1979), though also forced to respect official views on the nation’s past, suffered less from the restrictions socialist realism imposed. Yordan Vûlchev (1924–2002) was sentenced to forced labor because of his novel *Battles* (*Boeve*, 1946), in which some German officers—Bulgaria’s allies in **World War II**—were described as human beings.

After the **April 1956 Plenum**, ushering in de-Stalinization, the cultural climate in Bulgaria became more moderate, and party critics showed more tolerance of individual feelings and formal innovations. Poetry grew prominent again with authors like Valeri Petrov (1920–), **Blaga Dimitrova**, Georgi Dzhagarov (1925–1995), Veselin Hanchev (1919–1966), and Vladimir Bashev (1935–1967). The younger gener-

ation, represented by **Lyubomir Levchev**, Ivan Tsanev (1941–), and others, criticized Stalinist dogmatism and restored a moderate intimacy to Bulgarian literature. Such “bourgeois” prewar poets as Bagryana, Gerov, and Dalchev became fashionable again. The most critical of contemporary communist society were the satiric poets **Radoy Ralin**, Stefan Tsanev (1936–), and **Konstantin Pavlov**. **Nikolay Kûnchev** has been the most radically “modern” poet in Bulgarian literature since the 1960s. In the 1970s, Boris Hristov (1945–) with his biblical style was the main newcomer.

The expanded artistic freedom resulted in more diversified prose writing as well. **Yordan Radichkov** practiced a kind of absurdism, deeply rooted in oral tradition, in short stories and plays; **Nikolay Haytov** revived regional literature with a fascinating picture of the community of the **Pomaks** in the **Rhodope Mountains**; Ivan Davidkov (1926–1990) and Blaga Dimitrova attempted to capture the subtleties of the human soul and conscience; Ivaylo Petrov (1923–2005) treated rather delicate political subject matters, such as the enforced collectivization of agriculture. Some interesting young prose writers have proved to be Georgi Markovski (1941–) and Ilinda Markova (1944–), among many others. A critical or satirical approach to communist reality was typical of the plays of Georgi Mishev (1935–) and Stanislav Stratiev (1941–).

Literary criticism remained rather dogmatic and on a low level. In the early 1970s, nevertheless, in the margin of official Marxist literary theory, “impressionist” critics like **Toncho Zhechev** and Krûstyo Kuyumdhiev (1933–), favoring an individual, creative, and nondogmatic approach to literary work—pitted their strength against the “structuralist” Nikola Georgiev (1937–) and some younger specialists of literary theory who followed the line of Russian formalist and modern Western concepts. The latter tradition has been continued by Aleksandûr Kyosev (1953–), who since 1989 has acquainted his readers also with post-modernist approaches.

Although many Bulgarian writers have suffered under censorship, boycott, and persecution, a Bulgarian dissident movement worth mentioning has never come into being, either in Bulgaria or abroad. The only well-known dissident was **Georgi Markov**, who emigrated to Great Britain and mercilessly exposed the Bulgarian ruling elite. **Atanas Slavov**, also an emigrant, critically described Bulgarian

literary life from a political and sociological point of view in *The Thaw in Bulgarian Literature* (1981, in English). In the late 1980s, Blaga Dimitrova, who had been the target of attacks before, became the communist regime's scapegoat because of her advocacy for the oppressed Turkish minority. In the same period, young writers and literary critics like Vladimir Levchev (1957–) and **Edvin Sugarev** started publishing *samizdat* literary journals like *Bridge (Most)*, *Voice (Glas)*, and others See also DISSIDENCE.

After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, the state-protected literary journals and publishing houses disappeared. The book market was flooded with translated foreign literature and with works of former dissident authors—among which there turned out to be no real masterpieces—and of prewar authors who had been disapproved of by the communists, along with pornography and horoscopes. Publication opportunities for Bulgarian authors of serious literary works dramatically decreased. However, an enormous variety of new, younger writers appeared, differing ideologically and stylistically. The main representatives of this younger, though now more or less established, generation are Hristo Kalchev (1944–), who wrote a number of novels about the Bulgarian mafia; Viktor Paskov (1949–), author of the best seller *A Ballad for George Henih (Balada za Georgi Henih, 1987)*; Ivaylo Dichev (1955–), an interesting fiction writer and literary and cultural critic who received his Ph.D. in Paris; Kalin Yanakiev (1957–), a philosophy teacher at the University of **Sofia**, who writes religiously inspired essays; the powerful poet Ani Ilkov (1957–); and the postmodern prose writer Georgi Gospodinov (1968–). A number of well-known or promising Bulgarian writers, translators, critics, and theoreticians live in the **United States**: Vladislav Todorov (1956–) teaches at the University of Pennsylvania; Georgi Belev (1945–) is a translator of American poetry who lives in Boston; the gifted poet and literary critic Vladimir Levchev (1957–) lives and works in Washington, D.C.; Miglena Nikolchina (1956–) defended a Ph.D. thesis on **Julia Kristeva** and Virginia Woolf in Canada.

There now exist an unfathomable number of ephemeral and resistant, national and regional, “democratic” and “ex-communist” literary journals. The very active poet and translator (from French) Kiril Kadiyski (1947–) revived the prewar journal *Golden Horn (Zla-*

torog). Among the former “communist” journals *The Flame* (*Plamûk*) and *The Contemporary* (*Sûvremenik*) are the most important to have survived the transition. (See also PANAYOT HITOV; THEATER; TZVETAN TODOROV; TURKISH LITERATURE; UNION OF BULGARIAN WRITERS; STOYAN ZAIMOV).

BULGARIAN PATRIARCHATE. One year after defeating the Byzantines near the Aheloy River in 917, King **Simeon** was proclaimed tsar. This act implied that, following the example of the **Byzantine Empire**, a “state church,” holding the rank of a patriarchate, should be established. The patriarch of Constantinople officially recognized the Bulgarian Patriarchate in 927, during the reign of Tsar Petûr (927–970). Its seat was the Bulgarian capital, **Preslav**. In the 970s, when the Byzantines conquered western Bulgaria, the seat was removed to Ohrid in Macedonia. In 1018, four years after the defeat of the army of Tsar **Samuil** near Belasitsa, the Byzantine emperor **Basil II** replaced the Bulgarian Patriarchate with the **Ohrid autocephalous archbishopric**, in circumstances and for reasons that are not completely clear. A moderate policy of Hellenization was pursued; local Bulgarian traditions (including the veneration of Bulgarian saints) were respected. In November 1204, after the reestablishment of the Bulgarian state in 1186, Tsar **Kaloyan** subordinated the Bulgarian church to the authority of the pope. He did so for diplomatic reasons, after a Catholic military alliance had captured Constantinople in April 1204 and had replaced the **Byzantine Empire** with the **Latin Empire**. In 1235, however, the Bulgarian Patriarchate was reestablished by Tsar **Ivan Asen II** as the Patriarchate of **Veliko Tûrnovo**, this city being the new capital. In the second half of the 14th century, during the learned Evtimiy’s administration, the patriarchate became the driving force behind the cultural flourishing in the last decades of the **Second Bulgarian Empire**. The Bulgarian Patriarchate was destroyed when the **Ottoman Turks** took Veliko Tûrnovo. The Bulgarian dioceses were incorporated into the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**. After the fall of the Byzantine capital in 1453, Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror appointed the patriarch of Constantinople to be the head of the **Rum milletî**, the community of all Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire, which included the Bulgarians. In the following centuries, Greek became the language of

worship and church administration. However, not all patriarchs and bishops were Greeks, as has often been suggested. There were patriarchs and bishops of Bulgarian origin as well.

Bulgarian resistance to the Greek influence had been expressed by **Paisiy of Hilendar** as soon as 1762 and resulted in the **church struggle**—a massive popular movement for ecclesiastical independence. From the 1840s onward, the Patriarchate of Constantinople was increasingly being abused by Greek nationalists as an instrument of Hellenization of the non-Greek flock, or at least as a means to defend the Greek position of power. Finally, in 1870, Sultan Abdulaziz proclaimed the ecclesiastical independence of the Bulgarians by establishing the **Bulgarian Exarchate**. On 10 May 1953, a National Church Council decided to abolish the exarchate and to restore the Bulgarian Patriarchate. The same day, **Kiril** of Plovdiv was elected Bulgarian patriarch.

The post–World War II Bulgarian Patriarchate consisted of 11 dioceses within the country: **Sofia**, **Vidin**, **Ruse**, Vratsa, Lovech, **Veliko Tŭrnovo**, **Varna**, Sliven, Stara Zagora, Blagoevgrad, and **Plovdiv**. Bulgarians abroad also have two dioceses (in Budapest and New York) and a number of parishes in **Istanbul**, **Bucharest**, Vienna, and Brussels, that are subordinate to the bishop residing in Budapest. The Bulgarian Patriarchate is administered by a Holy Synod consisting of the patriarch, who is at the same time the bishop of Sofia, and the bishops of the other dioceses. According to its statutes, the Holy Synod meets twice a year, but extraordinary meetings are possible. It elects an executive committee consisting of the patriarch and four members appointed for four years. The patriarch is elected by a National Church Council consisting of the bishops and delegates of the clergy and the laity, and the Council is bound to assemble every four years. Under communist rule, the Bulgarian Patriarchate was subject to the Committee on Questions of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and Religious Cults, attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was at the government's beck and call, mainly as its mouthpiece on various international pacifist issues. It received a subsidy from the state.

After Patriarch Kiril died in 1971, the new patriarch, **Maksim** of Lovech, was not elected by the National Church Council, as canon law requires, but was appointed successor by government decree. On

9 March 1989, the newly founded **Committee for Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience, and Spiritual Values** led by the priest **Hristofor Sûbev** criticized the communist regime's treatment of the Orthodox Church and formulated a number of demands. As a reaction, the Holy Synod tried to prevent the legal registration of the committee. After the compulsory resignation of communist dictator **Todor Zhivkov** on 10 November 1989, however, the Holy Synod, voicing the objections of Sûbev, sharply criticized itself for its servility, but at the same time it remained hostile to the committee. In March 1992, the newly established **Directorate on Religious Faiths**, following the 22 February declaration of the Parliamentary Commission on Religious Affairs presided over by Sûbev, declared Maksim's appointment as patriarch invalid and demanded that the Holy Synod convene the National Church Council in order to elect a new patriarch. In mid-May 1992, three bishops—Kalinik, Pankratiy, and Pimen—encouraged by Sûbev, left the Holy Synod. A new Holy Synod, consisting of 12 dissident clerics, headed by Bishop Pimen of Nevrokop and supported by the Union of Priests, was registered by the Directorate on Religious Faiths on 26 May 1992. The same day, Pimen enthroned Hristofor Sûbev as bishop of the renewed seat of Makariopolski. On 31 May, the Directorate dismissed Maksim and replaced him with Pimen. On 1 June, the Directorate had the former Holy Synod removed from its headquarters in Sofia by the police and allowed the new Holy Synod to move in. One week later, Maksim's supporters attempted to retake the building by storming it. On 22 July, Maksim defrocked the bishops who had backed Pimen and expelled Sûbev from the Bulgarian Orthodox church. The old Holy Synod refused to convene a National Church Council, which could either elect a new patriarch or duly reelect Maksim. The Directorate, which was at the base of the rift, refused to mediate. At the request of Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I of Constantinople and the **Russian** patriarch, President **Zhelyo Zhelev** asked the Constitutional Court to intervene. The Constitutional Court declared that the state (that is, the Directorate) was not entitled to interfere in religious affairs.

It turned out, however, that Sûbev's popular support was limited and had even decreased in parallel with the declining popularity of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). On 14 May 1994, Pankratiy and Pimen showed remorse; Maksim exiled them to a monastery. Pimen

died on 10 April 1999; he was succeeded by Inokentiy. Kalinik, who refused to submit, was excommunicated. Maksim and the old synod regained possession of the synodal building. In 2002, the Constitutional Court approved a highly controversial law forcing all religious communities in the country, except for the Bulgarian Patriarchate, to register. The “alternative” patriarchate, considering itself the rightful Bulgarian Patriarchate, refused to do so. On 21 July 2004, the police expelled the alternative priests from the approximately 200 churches they still possessed—about one seventh of all of the churches in Bulgaria. Although a number of “alternative” clerics “repented” and “returned to the bosom of the church,” as the Bulgarian Patriarchate sees it, many others resumed celebrating the liturgy, openly marrying people, and other activities.

In addition, the Bulgarian Patriarchate had to cope with a number of other problems. As church properties that had been nationalized by the communists were not fully reinstated for a long time, the patriarchate was constantly short of badly needed revenues for publications, education, restoration of buildings, and so on. Moreover, Bulgarian Orthodoxy is increasingly threatened by the proselytism of evangelical sects, which are particularly successful among young people.

Although the Bulgarian Patriarchate is now independent of state power, it has remained very much a state church, favoring patriotism over ecumenism and piety. Not incidentally, Orthodox Christianity was proclaimed “the traditional religion of the Republic of Bulgaria” by the 12 July 1991 **Constitution**. It is estimated to have 1,700 priests and 1,500 churches.

BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S UNION (BPU)/BŪLGARSKI NARODEN SŪYUZ (BNS). Coalition of the **Union of Free Democrats (UFD)**, the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Bulgarian National Movement (IMRO-BNM)**, and the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-People's Union (BANU-PU)**, formed with a view to the June 2005 **parliamentary elections**. The coalition obtained 5.70% of the vote, the smallest formation to pass the electoral threshold.

BULGARIAN REVOLUTIONARY CENTRAL COMMITTEE (BRCC)/BŪLGARSKI REVOLYUTIONEN TSENTRALEN

KOMITET (BRTsK). National liberation organization created in the late 1860s in **Bucharest**. The BRCC was intended to promote the idea of an independent Bulgaria and to coordinate political activities and armed actions to this end. The founding of the BRCC is closely connected with the creation of the **International Revolutionary Organization** (IRO) by **Vasil Levski** and the leadership of **Lyuben Karavelov**. Having realized the failure of the **Bulgarian Legions** and Rakovski's *cheta* tactics, the BRCC decided to attempt to throw off the **Ottoman** domination through a well-organized massive popular uprising. There were two centers: the BRCC per se, located in Bucharest and led by Karavelov, and the BRCC-in-Bulgaria, or Provisional Government, the core of the IRO, led by Levski. Backed by the BRCC in Bucharest, Levski created a network of revolutionary cells in Bulgaria. After Levski was arrested and hanged in February 1873, the BRCC was on the verge of collapse, although Levski's successor, Atanas Uzunov, partly succeeded in restoring the IRO. **Panayot Hitov's** attempts to reestablish the old *cheta* tactics and the cooperation with Serbia proved to be unsuccessful. Karavelov, who was considered too moderate by the younger generation, was removed. When in August 1874 the radical **Hristo Botev** was included in the BRCC leadership and **Stefan Stambolov** was appointed the leader of the IRO, the national liberation movement built up momentum again. However, their attempts to accelerate the ripening of a revolutionary situation in Bulgarian were abortive as well. The 1875 uprising in the Stara Zagora region broke out prematurely and was crushed by the Ottomans. After Botev withdrew later in 1875, the BRCC actually ceased to exist and its role was assumed by the **Gyurgevo Revolutionary Committee** (GRC).

BULGARIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE (BRC)/ BŪLGARSKI REVOLYUTIONEN KOMITET (BRK). Revolutionary committee, founded on 12 August 1875 in **Bucharest** by **Hristo Botev** and his followers with the aim of preparing a general uprising that was to result in Bulgaria being liberated from Ottoman rule. After the abortive uprising in Stara Zagora in September 1875, Botev quit; other members started planning a new insurrection in spring 1876. However, after the **Gyurgevo Revolutionary Committee** (GRC) took the lead in organizing the **April 1876 Uprising**, the BRC disbanded.

BULGARIAN SECRET CENTRAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE (BSCRC)/BÛLGARSKI TAEN TSENTRALEN REVOLYUTIONEN KOMITET (BTTsRK). National liberation organization whose purpose was preparing for the **union** of the **Ottoman** autonomous province of **Eastern Rumelia** with the **Principality of Bulgaria**. By the end of 1884, **Zahari Stoyanov** and others had set up a secret organization to prepare a coup d'état against the governor-general of Eastern Rumelia, **Gavril Krûstevich**, and to achieve the union. The BSCRC, founded on 10 February 1885, formed a network of revolutionary cells throughout the province, following the strategy of the former **Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee** (BRCC). Initially, the union with Eastern Rumelia was conceived as part of a global solution, including also Macedonia and the region of **Adrianople** (Edirne), which were to be annexed by Bulgaria in order to expand Bulgaria to the borders drawn by the 1878 **Treaty of San Stefano**. By mid-1885, the BSCRC leadership was promoting the idea of uniting the principality and Eastern Rumelia into one entity with King **Alexander Battenberg** as the governor-general. With this solution in view, the **"State" Party** established contacts with the ruling **Liberal Party** in the principality. The initial option of Eastern Rumelia's being integrated into the principality was soon given preference again, however. By the end of August 1885, the BSCRC leadership decided that the Eastern Rumelia armed forces in Plovdiv, supported by *chetas*, should carry out a coup d'état. On 6 September 1885, Gavril Krûstevich was removed, and the union of Eastern Rumelia with the Principality of Bulgaria was proclaimed.

BULGARIAN SECRET REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERHOOD (BSRB)/BÛLGARSKO TAYNO REVOLYUTIONNO BRATSTVO (BTRB). National liberation organization founded in 1897 in Istanbul advocating a legal, evolutionary way to obtain autonomy for **Macedonia** and the **Adrianople region**. It differed from and opposed the **Bulgarian Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Committee** (BMAC), which was more prone to armed action. In 1899, relations improved, and the two organizations started working together.

BULGARIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY (BSD)/BŪLGARSKA SOTSIALDEMOKRATSIYA (BSD). *See* BULGARIAN EURO-LEFT; COALITION OF THE ROSE.

BULGARIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (BSDP)/BŪLGARSKA SOTSIALDEMOKRATICHESKA PARTIYA (BSDP). Founded in 1891 by **Dimitŭr Blagoev**, Yanko Sakŭzov (1860–1941), and others during a meeting on the Buzludzha mountaintop. The BSDP was conceived as a party to defend the interests of the working class, but it also attracted many intellectuals. From the beginning, the BSDP was divided into various factions: the “Narrow Socialists,” led by Blagoev, followed the Marxist doctrine of class struggle; the “Broad Socialists,” led by Sakŭzov, took a more moderate stand and were ready to cooperate with progressive “bourgeois” politicians and parties. In 1893, Sakŭzov and his adherents broke away and founded the Bulgarian Social Democratic Union (BSDU). The “unionists” separated from the BSDP, because they disagreed with the more radical Marxist ideologists dominating the BSDP. In 1894, however, they rejoined the BSDP, which was then renamed the Bulgarian Worker’s Social Democratic Party (BWSDP). The gap was not bridged, however. In 1903, there was a new split, resulting in the emergence of two workers’ parties: Sakŭzov’s Bulgarian Workers’ Social Democratic Party-Broad Socialists (BWSDP-BS), which continued the ideological line of the BSDU, and Blagoev’s (communist) Bulgarian Workers’ Social Democratic Party-Narrow Socialists (BWSDP-NS). According to the point of view of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), and later the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), the BWSDP-NS should be considered as the BWSDP’s legitimate successor, as the Narrow Socialists formed a majority in the BWSDP. In 1908, the BWSDP-BS was widened with expelled or defecting members of the BWSDP-NS and other small leftist parties and organizations. It renamed itself the Bulgarian Workers’ Social Democratic Party-United (BWSDP-United), continuing more explicitly the ideological line of the BSDU. In the following years, the BWSDP-United entered into several coalition governments with conservative parties, opposing, after **World War I**, the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) as well as the BCP.

After the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923** the BWSDP-United participated in the **Democratic Alliance** (DA) cabinet. The BWSDP-United Minister of Railways Dimo Kazasov greatly contributed to the suppression of the **September 1923 Uprising** by providing transport for the armed forces. In 1924, the BWSDP, for rather dubious reasons, withdrew from the cabinet. As a workers' party, the BWSDP-United was gradually overshadowed by the more influential BCP. At its 33rd Congress in 1931, the BWSDP-United decided to rename itself the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (BWSDP). After the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934** when all political parties were prohibited, the BWSDP ceased its activities, although individual BWSDP leaders remained politically active, opposing the personal regime of Tsar **Boris III**. Some individual members cooperated with the BCP and joined the **Fatherland Front** (FF) in 1943.

After the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, the BWSDP resumed its legal existence, although in a spirit of discord and pressured by the BCP to merge. At the 37th Congress, held in August 1945, the BWSDP's ideological stands obviously had shifted toward the BCP demands. Those opposing coalition with and subordination to the BCP broke away and founded a new party, called the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party-United (BWSDP-United) as before, and formed an anti-BCP coalition with the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Nikola Petkov** (BANU-Nikola Petkov) and other democratic parties. Nevertheless, on 11 August 1948, the BWSDP finally "merged" with the BCP and ceased to exist. **Petûr Dertliev** and other leaders were interned. The BWSDP-United was disbanded.

Only two weeks after the downfall of the communist regime on 10 November 1989, the party's restoration, under the name of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP), was announced. The official refounding by Atanas Moskov, who was elected chair, Petûr Dertliev, **Ivan Pushkarov**, Petûr Kornazhev, and others took place on 26 November 1989. On 7 December 1989, the BSDP was among the founding members of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). On 2 February 1990, Petûr Dertliev succeeded the aged Atanas Moskov as the BSDP chair, Moskov becoming honorary chair.

Its huge membership and its long political tradition morally empowered the BSDP to claim a prominent place in the UDF. As the

BSDP used to defend, without giving up its own position, a social-minded, cooperative, and conciliatory line toward the BSP, it often irritated the more radical anti-communist UDF constituents. The BSDP was accepted as a full member of the Socialist International (while the BSP was rejected). On 10 April 1991, the BSDP and BANU-Nikola Petkov founded the UDF-Center, which insisted on a pragmatic and realistic approach to political problems, rather than blindly sticking to principles. In mid-August 1991, the BSDP split in two, after chair Petúr Dertliev was accused by the UDF leadership of sowing discord by wooing the BSP. The BSDP left the UDF on 13 October 1991 and went over to the Bulgarian Democratic Center (BDC); it did not, however, withdraw its support from President Zhe-lyo Zhelev. A faction of the BSDP, headed by Ivan Kurtev, remained faithful to the UDF, changing its name to the **Social Democratic Party (SDP)**. In mid-1992, the BSDP left the BDC; in March 1993 it joined the Bulgarian Social Democratic Union (BSDU), and on 15 April 1993, the Council for Cooperation (CC). On the eve of the December 1994 **parliamentary elections**, the BSDP joined the **Democratic Alternative for the Republic (DAR)**.

After the BSDP suffered a defeat, Dertliev's position was increasingly threatened by factions in favor of coalition with the BSP—like the Movement for Social Humanism, which eventually joined **Bulgarian Euro-Left (BEL)**—and others who wanted to leave the DAR. With a view to the April 1997 elections, the BSDP joined the **United Democratic Forces (Uddf)** with the status of “accompanying party.” Although belonging to the winning coalition, the BSDP won only two representatives in the 38th **National Assembly (NA)**. By the end of 1997, Dertliev and part of the BSDP began to move away from the Uddf and cooperate with other social democratic formations. In 2001, they joined the **Coalition for Bulgaria**, while another group was in favor of joining the Uddf. The latter won a court case concerning the legal right to the name BSDP; the former continued its activities under the name Bulgarian Social Democrats (BSD).

The BSDP had done its utmost to develop into a centrist political organization, able to offer an alternative to the competing BSP and UDF, but had failed. As a result of constant “peeling off,” it has gradually lost much of its political significance.

BULGARIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (BSP)/BŪLGARSKI SOT-SIALDEMOKRATI (BSD). The BSD was founded on 21 September 2002 after a legal conflict with a rival faction about the name and the symbols of the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSP)**. Its leader is Georgi Anastasov.

BULGARIAN SOCIALIST PARTY (BSP)/BŪLGARSKA SOT-SIALISTICHESKA PARTIYA (BSP). After the fall of the communist regime as a result of the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, the bulk of the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** tried to maintain its position of power and to survive politically by disguising the party as a Western-style reformist social democratic party. Together with the most compromised BCP leaders, more than 3,500 party members were ousted and many more—mainly young people—left voluntarily.

By the end of 1991, the membership was about halved. At the same time, however, some victims of the former regime (like the son of **Traycho Kostov** and general Tsvyatko Anev, who had been sentenced to prison terms in 1965 after an abortive coup d'état) were reincluded in the party and were even given important positions. During its 14th Congress, from 30 January to 2 February 1990, called the Congress of Renewal, the BCP adopted a Manifesto for Democratic Socialism, which rejected Marxism-Leninism and the Zhivkovist one-party system. Thus, the BCP hoped, and not in vain, to regain credibility as a social democratic party comparable to the Western European socialist parties. The **Central Committee (CC)** was replaced with a Supreme Party Council, consisting of 151 members. They were to elect a Presidency (the counterpart of the former **Politburo**), consisting of 17 members. BCP party leader **Aleksandŭr Lilov** was elected chair of the Presidency (and the party); **Petŭr Mladenov**, who resigned the day after, when he became state president, **Andrey Lukanov**, **Dobri Dzhurov**, **Stanko Todorov**, **Georgi Pirinski**, Aleksandŭr Strezov, Rumen Serbezov, Nadya Asparuhova (“Bulgarized” Turk Nayde Ferhadova), and two BSP “dissidents,” **Chavdar Kyuranov** and Petŭr-Emil Mitev, were elected members of the Presidency. Of the 151 Supreme Party Council members, 39 had held important posts in the former BCP. On 3 April 1990, after consulting its members, the BCP renamed itself the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Although the BSP had rejected Marxism-Leninism together with any responsibility for the totalitarian rule after 1944 and had adopted political pluralism, it has always been identified with the former BCP by most voters, as it has retained—or has tried to retain—its members, funds, properties, and publishing facilities. The BSP's overt defense of the material interests of the former BCP members explains the aggression that the party provoked among the anti-communist opposition as well as the stubborn support of the numerous former BCP members. Many former BCP functionaries became successful businessmen, thanks to the capital they had accumulated under the previous regime and thanks to the “cautious” **privatization** that the BSP insisted on and which benefited mainly former BCP members. Nevertheless, the number of effective party members rapidly decreased from nearly a million at the beginning of 1990 to about a quarter of a million at the end of the year. Later, the BSP partly recovered; but from the 380,000 members in 1993, only 8% were younger than 35; more than 50% consisted of old-age pensioners (among whom the so-called “red grannies” are the most notorious for their fanaticism).

The BSP participated in the first post-communist free **elections** in June 1990 with 479 candidates. As the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) not unfoundedly complained afterward, the BSP resorted to a considerable—although not decisive—extent to intimidation, demagoguery, and fraud during the campaign and during the elections as well. It obtained the absolute majority in the **Grand National Assembly** (GNA) with 211 of the 400 seats.

This victory, however, could not prevent the party from splitting off to the left and the right in a number of factions that contended with the party leadership. Since the BSP had remained very much an “ex-communist” party, its reformist and radically social democratic factions felt especially uneasy. The Alternative Socialist Association (ASA) split in February 1990 and one part left the BSP. Other factions, like the progressive Alternative Socialist Organization (ASO) of Nikolay Vasilev, the Road to Europe of Mitev, the BSP-Democratic Forum of Dragomir Draganov, and the Council for Radical Reforms of Boriyan Kalchev, remained true to the BSP. The most important of these factions has proved to be the **Alliance for Social Democracy** (ASD), led by **Chavdar Kyuranov**. Rightist factions were the Marxist Platform for the Integrity and Revitalizing of

the BSP, the Forum for the Conservation of the Socialist and Marxist Alternative.

The divisiveness within the BSP reappeared at the 39th Congress of the BSP 22–25 September 1990. (The prewar congresses of the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party [BWSDP] were taken into account as well, to stress the continuity of the BSP's reformist social democratic legacy.) The embattled Lilov was reelected chair; Lyubomir Kyuchukov, Chavdar Kyuranov, Audrey Lukanov, **Aleksandŭr Tomov**, and Dimitŭr Yonchev became vice-chairs. Tomov and Kyuranov were leaders of the opposing faction, ASD, which the BSP thus tried to silence and to use as covers at the same time. Elected or reelected to the Supreme Council were Filip Bokov, **Svetlin Rusev**, Anzhel Vagenshtayn, and others. Many representatives of the old guard—Dzhurov, Mladenov, and Todorov—were not reelected. Only eight of the 151 Supreme Party Council members had been BCP functionaries. The reform-minded Mitev was not reelected. Instead of acting like a “modern leftist party” (as Lilov put it), defending the working people, who were increasingly threatened by unemployment and impoverishment, the elimination of reformers like Mitev showed that the BSP had remained a conservative party that defended mainly the ex-communists' interests, and, in addition, eagerly resorted to nationalism and ethnic intolerance in order to secure popular support. On 21 September 1991, the BSP formed a new and much disputed government, headed by Lukanov, who had attempted in vain to form a coalition government with the UDF. The government's position grew weaker on 9 November 1991, when 16 reformist BSP deputies to the **National Assembly** (NA) decided to form a caucus that would no longer vote as requested by the BSP leadership. After a week, the number of Deputies for National Agreement, all BSP members, amounted to 30, and from then on they permanently endangered the BSP majority in the National Assembly.

On 15 August 1991, in view of the October 1991 elections, the BSP formed the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy (PUSD) with a number of small socialist (ex-communist) and nationalist parties, to run on one ticket in the forthcoming elections. At the end of August 1991, Lukanov resigned as a vice-chair, after being criticized for having hidden his Soviet citizenship and having been involved in economic mismanagement during the communist regime—allegations

that, on the eve of the elections, seriously discredited the BSP. The BSP lost the October 1991 elections, but the fact that the victorious UDF had only a 1.22% lead in the vote seemed to affirm the correctness of Lilov's policy. Nevertheless, at the 40th BSP Congress (13–16 December 1991), Lilov resigned as chair and was succeeded by Zhan Videnov. Videnov was likely to continue Lilov's conservative line, at variance with Kyuranov, who had proposed that the party be radically transformed into a social democratic party. Neither, however, was willing to risk losing the vast ex-communist electorate. Lilov and Lukanov, as the informal leaders of the old BCP apparatus and the new "business *nomenklatura*," respectively, were still very influential and actually acted as behind the scenes leaders of the party, the former being more conservative and the latter more liberal. While Videnov represented Lilov's line, the chair of the PUSD parliamentary group, Nora Ananieva, represented Lukanov's line. At the 40th Congress, only one former communist was reelected to the Supreme Party Council.

During the **Filip Dimitrov cabinet**, from November 1991 to October 1992, the BSP had a rough time of it. On 12 December 1991, the NA passed a law confiscating all BSP properties that had been acquired during the communist period; the party would be compensated only to an extent enabling it to continue its activities. Former BCP members were prohibited from holding important offices. Important former communist functionaries—**Georgi Atanasov**, Milko Balev, Stoyan Ovcharov, Grigor Stoichkov, and BCP leader **Todor Zhivkov** himself—were sentenced to prison terms; Lilov and Lukanov lost their parliamentary immunity; nearly 50 BSP officials were forbidden to travel abroad. The Panev law attacked former BCP officials with work restrictions. Even the banning of the BCP was considered. Under the **Lyuben Berov cabinet**, from December 1992 to September 1994, the BSP partially recovered from this setback. Several bills introduced by the Dimitrov cabinet were rejected by the NA or, if adopted, were not fully implemented. The UDF's hostile attitude toward the BSP, especially during the Filip Dimitrov cabinet but also later, however, is generally considered, together with the subtle balance between conservatives and liberals within the party, to have largely contributed to the unity of the BSP, which has to a lesser extent than other parties suffered from splintering into factions.

With a view to the parliamentary elections in 18 December 1994, the BSP took the lead in the coalition **Democratic Left (DL)**, which turned out to be victorious. However, the **Videnov cabinet**, which governed for about two years, brought the country to the verge of total bankruptcy. During the extraordinary 32nd BSP Congress on 28 December 1996, Videnov was dismissed as party chair and was replaced by **Georgi Pûrvanov**; Videnov eventually also resigned as prime minister. In the April 1997 elections, the BSP was badly defeated by the UDF, which then formed the **Ivan Kostov cabinet**. A number of ASD members left the BSP and joined **Bulgarian Euro-left**. On the eve of the June 2001 election, the BSP took the lead of the leftist **Coalition for Bulgaria (CFB)**, including the granddaughter of Zhivkov in one of its lists; however, the **National Movement Simeon the Second (NMSS)** was victorious. On 15 December 2001, **Sergey Stanishev** was elected BSP chair. The young and non-conformist Stanishev was expected to cope with one of the main problems of the BSP—the need for rejuvenation. During the Kostov and the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha** legislatures, the BSP was in the opposition and steadily recovered from the shameful Videnov period. On the eve of the June 2005 elections, the BSP enlarged the CFB with some new member parties. It was regarded as a serious threat by both the UDF and the NMSS and ultimately won the elections, though less convincingly than expected.

BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY (BTA)/BÛLGARSKA TELEGRAFNA AGENTSIYA (BTA). Bulgarian official news agency. Founded in 1898 as the Press Department, controlled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After the communist takeover in 1944, the BTA developed into one of the most useful instruments of propaganda and indoctrination in the hands of the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**. The BTA not only selected as much as possible all information about Bulgaria destined for abroad but also decided which information from abroad was suitable for the average Bulgarian citizen. After the downfall of the communist regime in 1989, the BTA became the object of a long and bitter controversy between the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)** and the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)**. By now, attempts by ruling cabinets to control BTA, which is in principle an independent institution, have not yet completely ceased.

BULGARIAN WORKERS' SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY-BROAD SOCIALISTS (BWSDP-BS)/BŪLGARSKA RABOT-NICHESKA SOTSIALDEMOKRATICHEŠKA PARTIYA-SHIROKI SOTSIALISTI (BRSDP-ShS). *See* BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

BULGARIAN WORKERS' SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY-NARROW SOCIALISTS (BWSDP-NS)/BŪLGARSKA RABOT-NICHESKA SOTSIALDEMOKRATICHEŠKA PARTIYA-ŠESNI SOTSIALISTI (BRSDP-TS). *See* BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

BULGARIAN-OTTOMAN PROTOCOL (1909). Signed on 6/19 April 1909 in Istanbul. The Ottoman Empire recognized Bulgaria's full independence, proclaimed unilaterally on 22 September 1908. Up until then, Bulgaria had been an Ottoman vassal state, as stipulated by the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**.

BULGARIANS. Slavic-speaking people who emerged in the seventh through ninth centuries, when the Turkic **Proto-Bulgarians** and the Slavic tribes in northern Bulgaria merged. The Slavs, who had been settling in the Balkans from the sixth century on, had already partly absorbed the autochthonous Thracian and Greek populations. The Proto-Bulgarians lost their language and began speaking Slavic, but they transmitted their name to the newly formed people. The introduction of (**Orthodox**) **Christianity** as a common state religion considerably contributed to the merging of Proto-Bulgarians and Slavs into one single people. By creating a formidable state, including at its peak nearly the whole continental part of the Balkan Peninsula and Romania, the Bulgarians consolidated the Bulgarian ethnicity of the Slavic population in Moesia, **Thrace**, and **Macedonia**. Tribes, which immigrated to Bulgaria later (Kumans, Pechenegs, Saxons), were all assimilated. Only **Armenians**, **Greeks**, and—to a much lesser extent—**Vlachs** succeeded in maintaining themselves amid the Bulgarian majority.

Because of the **Ottoman** conquest of Bulgaria by the end of the 14th century, considerable numbers of Anatolian Turks immigrated to Bulgaria and dramatically changed the ethnic composition of the

population. Many Bulgarians embraced Islam; they are known as **Pomaks**. Due to the Greek cultural and social dominance in the cities, particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries, a large part of the Bulgarian urban population was Hellenized. By the end of the 18th century, massive immigration of Bulgarian peasants to urban areas (“rustification of the cities”) started a process of re-Bulgarization of the cities, which involved a struggle for cultural autonomy—the so-called **church struggle**—during which the Bulgarian national consciousness crystallized. The 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War** finally resulted in national independence.

The new Bulgarian state did not include all Bulgarians within its borders, however. In 1885, the autonomous Ottoman province of **Eastern Rumelia**, with its overwhelming Bulgarian population, was annexed. In 1913, after the **Balkan Wars**, a small part of Macedonia was acquired. Bulgarians who remained outside the borders of the Bulgarian state—in Greece, Romania, Serbia, or Turkey—were subjected to assimilation or expulsion. In Macedonia, due to particular economic, social, political, and cultural circumstances, at least part of the local Slavic, then generally called Bulgarian, population developed a Macedonian national consciousness, which was finally consolidated after the establishment of a **Republic of Macedonia** within the framework of the Socialist Federal Republic of **Yugoslavia** in 1944. In Bulgaria, the process of nation building, initiated after independence in 1878, was accelerated under **communist** rule, when (abortive) attempts were made to forcibly Bulgarize the **Roma** and the **Turks** and to erase religious differences as well. According to the 2001 census results, there are 6,655,210 Bulgarians in Bulgaria.

There is a small Bulgarian (or **Macedonian**) minority in **Albania** (in the region of Golo Brdo and Prespa), and a Bulgarian minority in **Serbia** (in the so-called **Western districts**). Large Bulgarian communities are found in **Banat** and **Bessarabia**. The Bulgarian community in Turkey has all but disappeared. The communities of Bulgarian **emigrants** in Australia, Canada, South America (especially Argentina), and the **United States** date from the beginning of the 20th century and from the interwar period. Under communist rule, only a small number of people managed to leave the country, the bulk of the (legal) emigrants being Turks. New massive waves of

emigrants have left the country since the fall of the communist regime in 1989. *See also* DEMOGRAPHY; EMIGRATION; ETHNIC COMMUNITIES.

BULGARIAN-YUGOSLAV PACT “FOR ETERNAL FRIENDSHIP” OF 1937. Signed on 24 September 1937 in Belgrade. Yugoslavia, which felt increasingly threatened by the Axis powers, considered the pact to be a means by which to protect its southeastern borders from aggression by an ally of Germany. Bulgaria was given the opportunity to escape from the political isolation to which it was condemned by the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** and the 1934 **Balkan Pact**. The pact held until the capitulation of Yugoslavia in April 1941. Bulgaria’s occupation and subsequent de facto annexation of Yugoslav Macedonia put an end to the eternal friendship. *See also* WORLD WAR II.

BURGAS. Harbor city on the **Black Sea** coast, formerly known by its Greek name *Pyrgos*, “tower.” The surroundings of Burgas were inhabited by **Thracians** in the sixth–third centuries BC. The Romans as well left some archaeological traces. In the **Byzantine** period, Burgas was mainly a fishing port. Under **Ottoman** rule, it developed into an important commercial center, where wood and sea salt were processed; in the 19th century, during the many wars between **Russia** and the Ottoman Empire, it also acquired some strategic importance. In the second half of the 19th century, Bulgarian immigrants from the surrounding villages steadily outnumbered the Greek population. Under the communist regime, the seaside resort *Sunny Beach* (*Slúnchev bryag*) was constructed south of the city, close to the picturesque cities of **Nesebûr** and **Sozopol**. Thanks to its harbor, Burgas is now one of the most prosperous cities in Bulgaria.

BURMOV, TODOR (1834–1906). Politician. Born in Nova mahala, **Gabrovo**, on 2 January 1834. He studied at the Theological Academy in Kiev and became a teacher in his native town and a journalist and editor in **Istanbul**, where he participated in the **church struggle**. During the 1877–1878 Russo-Turkish War, he served at the Russian headquarters. After the liberation in 1878, he became one of the leaders of the **Conservative Party** (CP) and in 1879 the

first prime minister of Bulgaria. In 1884, he defected to the moderate wing of the **Liberal Party** (LP). Continuing his activities as a journalist and publicist, he held a plethora of important political and administrative functions in the new Bulgarian state—governor of Sofia, minister of the interior, and others. Burmov died in Sofia on 23 October 1906.

BYZANTINE EMPIRE. Vast empire, encompassing as core regions all or a considerable part of the Balkan Peninsula and Anatolia. It emerged from the eastern Roman Empire during a long process, lasting from the end of the third century, when the Roman Empire was partitioned under Diocletian, until the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Byzantine Empire had acquired its own distinctive features—Orthodox Christianity, Greekness, and Roman political traditions. The Byzantine Empire was a very centralized state, headed by an emperor who resided in Constantinople, but it gradually fell victim to feudal divisiveness and disintegration. After a period of territorial expansion under emperor Justinian in the sixth century, a period of internal crisis and weakness followed, during which the **Slavs** succeeded in settling permanently in the Balkans and creating a durable state, the **First Bulgarian Empire**, which developed into a dangerous competitor of the Byzantine Empire. In the 10th and 11th centuries, under the Macedonian emperors, the Byzantine Empire subjugated the Bulgarians and restored its authority over the entire peninsula. The 12th century was marked by the emergence of provincial military dynasties, aspiring for imperial power. In 1204, the Crusaders conquered Constantinople and partitioned the Byzantine Empire among the Western knights and Venice (*see* LATIN EMPIRE). Only Epirus, a part of Western Anatolia and the remote realm of Trebizond in Eastern Anatolia remained somehow Byzantine. The Bulgarian dynasty of the **Asens**, who had thrown off Byzantine dominance in 1186, took advantage of the disruption of the Byzantine Empire to restore the Bulgarian Empire in its former size (*see* SECOND BULGARIAN EMPIRE). Although the Palaiologan dynasty had come into possession of Constantinople in 1261, the Empire never recovered from the blow inflicted by the Crusaders. In 1453, the capital was besieged and taken by the **Ottoman Turks**, who then ruled over Anatolia and the Balkans.

The Byzantine Empire deeply influenced political and cultural developments in medieval Bulgaria. To the ruling classes in the First and the Second Bulgarian Empires, the Byzantine Empire served as a model: they adopted the Orthodox, Byzantine variant of Christianity and Byzantine religious **art** and **literature**; Slavicizing it, they copied the Byzantine political and ecclesiastical institutions, such as the concept of a state church, et cetera. Actually, the legacy of Byzantine culture and ideology became one of the basic components of Bulgarian national identity.

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CABINETS. After the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, which put an end to more than 45 years of communist dictatorship, the prewar tradition of frequent governmental changes was resumed. Between the liberation in 1878 and the communist takeover on 9 September 1944, there were 58 cabinets. Since November 1989, the government has changed 14 times, minor reshufflings not taken into consideration. The last two cabinets were the first to complete their terms. *See also* APPENDIX D.

- **Georgi Atanasov cabinet:** 17 November 1989 to 3 February 1990
- First **Andrey Lukanov cabinet:** 8 February 1990 to 22 August 1990
- Second Andrey Lukanov cabinet: 19 September 1990 to 29 November 1990
- **Dimitûr Popov cabinet:** 20 December 1990 to 5 November 1991
- First **Filip Dimitrov cabinet:** 8 November 1991 to 20 May 1992
- Second Filip Dimitrov cabinet: 20 May 20 1992 to 28 October 1992
- First **Lyuben Berov cabinet:** 30 December 1992 to 23 June 1993
- Second Lyuben Berov cabinet: 23 June 1993 to 2 September 1994
- **Reneta Indzhova interim cabinet:** 17 October 1994 to 25 January 1995

- **Zhan Videnov cabinet:** 25 January 1995 tot 28 December 1996
- **Stefan Sofiyanski interim cabinet:** 12 February 1997 to 21 May 1997
- **Ivan Kostov cabinet:** 21 May 1997 to 24 July 2001
- **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet:** 24 July 2001–11 July 2005
- **Sergey Stanishev cabinet:** 16 August 2005–

CALENDAR (PROTO-BULGARIAN). Chronological system of East Asian origin, based on cycles of 12 years, named after an animal—mouse, ox, wolf, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, ram, ape, cock, dog, and wild boar. The months followed the lunar cycle and had numbers. The Proto-Bulgarian calendar was replaced by the Christian calendar after Christianity became the state religion in 864.

CAPITALS. The capitals of Bulgaria were **Pliska** (681–893), **Preslav** (893–1001), **Constantinople** (1018–1186), **Veliko Tŕnovo** (1186–1393), **Edirne** (1393–1453), **Istanbul** (1453–1878), and **Sofia** (1878–). **Plovdiv** was the capital of **Eastern Rumelia** from 1878 to 1885.

CATHOLICS. According to the 2001 census, there were 43,811 Catholics in Bulgaria (including an estimated number of 15,000 **Uniates**). In the Middle Ages, attempts by the Roman Church or Western European Catholic countries to penetrate Bulgaria were never very successful. At the time of the Christianization of Bulgaria (860s), Bulgarian rulers established relations with Rome in order to balance the increasing influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. At the beginning of the 13th century Tsar **Kaloyan**, facing the emergence of the **Latin Empire**, for diplomatic reasons recognized the supreme authority of the pope for a short time. During the Ottoman period, traders from Dubrovnik, who traveled around in the country, and miners from Saxon, who had settled in Northwest Bulgaria (Chiprovtsi, Zhelyazna), spread the Catholic faith among the Bulgarians. At the beginning of the 17th century, Catholic missionaries succeeded in converting the **Paulicians** in Nikopol, Svishtov, and **Plovdiv**. In the 19th century, Catholic influence increased as a result of the growing political interference of Western European powers in the

Ottoman Empire's affairs. Catholicism was regarded, both by the Western powers and by the sultan, as a way to reduce Russian influence among the Orthodox Balkan peoples. It did not gain massive popularity, however. By the end of the 19th century, there were about 50,000 Catholics in Bulgaria; they had about 40 parishes, 30 churches, and a number of schools, hospitals, and orphanages. More successful in that period were the Uniates, who recognized the pope's authority while preserving their own Orthodox rites. In general, Catholics and Uniates were considered by the majority of Bulgarians as sort of renegades; the contribution of Bulgarian Catholics to Bulgarian cultural development has been denied or underestimated.

After World War II, the communists severely persecuted the Catholics, considering them Western agents and a threat to the unity of the Bulgarian nation (which is overwhelmingly Orthodox Christian). In 1950, diplomatic contacts with the Vatican were broken off. In 1952, four Catholic priests, including Bishop Evgeni Bosilkov of Nikopol, were accused of espionage and were sentenced to death; many others were sentenced to long prison terms. In the 1970s, the situation improved somewhat; in 1975, diplomatic relations with the Vatican were restored and the Catholic hierarchy in Bulgaria was reestablished.

In 1990, a papal nuncio to Bulgaria was appointed. Relations with the Holy See have been completely normalized, and the Catholic Church is steadily recovering from the setbacks it suffered in the postwar period. Recently, huge Catholic churches were erected in Kaloyanovo and Rakovski. *See also* RELIGION.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC). Under communist rule, highest organ of the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, directing all party activities between the party congresses and implementing the decisions made during the congresses. The congresses elected the members of the CC and its **presidium**. The first secretary of the CC was in fact the party leader.

CHERKEZ. Turkic population, akin to the **Tatars**, who settled in Bulgaria and elsewhere in the Balkans after the Crimean War (1853–1856). Their hostile behavior toward the Bulgarian population contributed to the outbreak of the **April 1876 Uprising**. After the

1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish war**, most of the Cherkez left Bulgaria; those who remained were eventually Turkicized. According to the 2001 census, there were 371 Cherkez in Bulgaria (573 in 1992).

CHERVENKOV, VŪLKO (1900–1980). Politician. Born on 6 September 1900 in Zlatitsa (now Srednogorie). Member of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) from 1919 on. He participated in planning the **September 1923 Uprising**. In 1925, Chervenkov was sentenced to death in absentia and emigrated to the **Soviet Union**, where he was appointed director of the Lenin International Party School for the years 1937 and 1938. From 1938 to 1941, he was a member of the Executive Committee of the **Comintern**; in 1941, he entered the Foreign Office of the BCP **Central Committee** (CC). During **World War II**, Chervenkov was editor-in-chief of the Hristo Botev Radio Station. Immediately after the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, he returned to Bulgaria as a member of the **Politburo** and a secretary of the BCP CC. From 1947 to 1949, he was the chair of the Committee for Science, Arts, and Culture. In January 1950, Chervenkov succeeded **Vasil Kolarov** as prime minister; on 8 November, he was elected first secretary of the BCP CC (that is, the party leader). In this capacity, he became notorious as Bulgaria's "Little Stalin," continuing the policy of state terror that **Georgi Dimitrov** had initiated. In 1954, as a result of the first de-Stalinization measures, Chervenkov was forced to cede his post as first secretary to **Todor Zhivkov**. After the **1956 April Plenum** he was replaced by **Anton Yugov** as prime minister and given the far more humble position of vice-chair of the Committee for Culture. In 1961, he was finally dismissed because of "mistakes" committed during the period of the personality cult, and a year later he was removed from the Central Committee and expelled from the BCP. In 1969, his party membership was restored. Chervenkov died in Sofia on 20 October 1980.

CHERVENKOVA, KOPRINKA (1948–). Journalist. Born on 18 October 1947 in Sofia. She studied performing arts in Sofia and Moscow. From 1975 onward, she was responsible for the theater reviews in the weekly *National Culture* (*Narodna Kultura*). As one of the founders and active members of the Discussion **Club for Glasnost and Democracy**, she was removed from her job at *National*

Culture and excluded from the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP). After the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, she got her job and her party membership card back. After **Stefan Prodev**, editor-in-chief of *National Culture*—which had been renamed *Culture* (Kultura) in the meantime—went over to *Word* at the beginning of March 1990; Chervenkova succeeded him and continued his editorial line of pluralistic dialogue.

CHETA. Band of armed men, originally mainly *hayduks*. Since the *hayduks* have been increasingly identified with freedom fighters in the 19th century, the word *cheta* developed into a synonym for “guerilla unit.” By the middle of the 19th century, the *chetas* were seriously considered a means of liberating Bulgaria from **Ottoman** domination. *Chetas* were recruited and equipped abroad (mainly in **Serbia** and **Romania**) and their actions were coordinated. It was expected that the Bulgarian people, witnessing the exploits of the *cheta* members (*chetniks*), would spontaneously rise and throw off the “Turkish yoke.” The main ideologue of the so-called *cheta* movement was **Georgi S. Rakovski**. Although the *cheta* movement had little success and was renounced by more perspicacious organizers of the national liberation movement like **Vasil Levski** at the beginning of the 1870s, it had its adherents, especially in Macedonia, until long after **World War I**.

CHIFTLIK or CHIFLIK. From the Turkish *çiftlik*, a piece of land that could be plowed in one day with a couple of oxen. Rural estate, which emerged from the *timar* at the end of the 17th century. As a result the 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz (Karlovac), which marked the beginning of the decline of the **Ottoman Empire** in Europe, there was no longer any conquered land available to be distributed as *timars* among the *sipahis* (cavalrymen). Besides, the spoils of war, which were the principal source of income of the *sipahis*, had dramatically decreased. Therefore, the *sipahis* tried to turn the *timars* into hereditary possessions (instead of fiefs), the yield of which they could sell for their own profit mainly in Central Europe where the interest in agricultural products from the Balkans had increased. The foreign trade of crops produced by the *chiftliks* later enabled the Ottoman government to levy taxes in cash instead of in kind (as was the case

with the *timars*) and defray the cost of the technological renewal of the army and of establishing a modern, paid army.

In the Bulgarian lands, *chiftliks* were found mainly in **Dobrudja** and in **Macedonia** and were relatively rare. A real *chiftlik* system never existed (although many historians use this term), as has a *timar* system. Most former *timars* actually fell apart into small parcels that were cultivated by free peasants or tenant farmers. Nevertheless, as a form of private large landownership, the *çiftliks* played an important economic and social role. In order to increase production and keep prices low, new agricultural technologies were applied, and for the first time in Ottoman history, peasants were subjected to outright exploitation or became day laborers. Some successful Christian Bulgarians belonging to the category of the *chorbadzhias* also were *chiftlik* owners.

CHIPROVETS UPRISING (1688). The capture of the Ottoman fortress of Belgrade by the Austrians in September 1688 incited the **Catholic** and ethnically mixed population of the miners' region of Chiprovets to take up arms against Ottoman feudal rule. The insurrection, which spread to **Vidin** and Niš, was suppressed by the Hungarian count Imre Thököly, who was in Ottoman service. Some of the Bulgarian rebels who survived emigrated to Banat. The Chiprovets Uprising was the most massive revolt against the Ottomans on Bulgarian soil before the 19th century. *See also* BANAT BULGARIANS.

CHITALISHTE. Literally, “reading room.” Cultural institution comparable to a humble arts center and consisting of a library, a classroom (for Sunday school), and a hall for amateur musical and theatrical performances, celebrations, readings, and so on. Although *chitalishtes* were known to all Balkan peoples in the 19th century, including the Turks, they were extremely popular among the Bulgarians, who considered them a means of raising the cultural level and boosting the patriotic feelings of the nation. The first *chitalishte* was opened in Svishtov in 1856. On the eve of the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**, there were 131 *chitalishtes* in Bulgaria. After the liberation in 1878, the number of *chitalishtes* grew rapidly. In the 1930s, there were 2,356, with more than a hundred thousand regular members, and close to a million books. After 1944, the communist regime

took care to provide nearly every village with a *chitalishte*. In the late 1980s, there were more than 4,500 of them all over the country. Although the *chitalishtes* were to a great extent abused for communist indoctrination—especially after April 1954, when they were all placed under the control of the **Fatherland Front** (FF)—they had a stimulating effect on cultural life and especially on amateur artistic activities. The *chitalishtes* survived the end of the communist regime and now function as local cultural centers, without any ideological tasks. However, they suffer from the general lack of funds. **Ginyo Ganev** is president of the Union of *chitalishtes*.

CHORBADZHIYA. Turkish: *çorbacı*; literally, “soup maker or distributor.” Notable of Christian Bulgarian origin during the **Ottoman period**. The *chorbadzhias* were mainly traders, landowners, or manufacturers; at the same time, they participated in the administration of cities and villages and collected taxes. Being close to the Ottoman officials, which allowed them to accumulate fortunes, the common Bulgarians hated them. Many of them played leading roles in the Bulgarian **National Awakening**, however, by endowing the establishment of schools, *chitalishtes*, and other public buildings and the printing of schoolbooks. Politically, most *chorbadzhias* were opposed to an overthrow of Ottoman rule by revolutionary means, since a massive uprising would sweep away their social class together with the Ottomans. The Turcophiles among them wanted to democratize the Ottoman system in a reformist way; others expected the Russians to liberate Bulgaria. The bourgeoisie in independent Bulgaria emerged from the *chorbadzhiya* class.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION (CDU)/HRISTIYAN-DEMOKRATICHEN SÛYUZ (HDS). Political party. Founded on 27 January 1991, when a group of defectors from the Independent Social Organization of Citizens-Democratic Front (ISOC-DF) merged with a faction of the United Democratic Center (UDC) into the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). Former UDC chair Juliy Pavlov was (re)elected chair. Through the UDC, the CDU was accepted into the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). In 1993, a faction of the CDU led by Svetlana Spasova left the UDF and continued its political activities under the same name. The CDU has more

or less followed Stefan Savov's **Democratic Party** (DP), joining the **People's Union** (PU).

CHURCH STRUGGLE. After the **Ottoman** invasion of Bulgaria at the end of the 14th century, the **Bulgarian Patriarchate** was abolished. In 1453, the Bulgarian dioceses were subordinated to the *Rum millet* or the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**. This institution's policy of maintaining or imposing Greek as the language of worship, schooling, and administration, although pursued mainly for practical reasons without any assimilatory aims, nevertheless contributed to the Hellenization of the Bulgarian population, especially in the cities. In order to have church services and education in their own language, the Bulgarians had to acquire an ecclesiastical organization of their own—a kind of Bulgarian *millet* or Bulgarian national church. The Greek clergy was opposed to any form of autonomy, let alone secession of a Bulgarian church, not only for ecumenical reasons but also for financial ones since the Bulgarian dioceses were a major source of tax revenue. Moreover, Greek nationalists considered the territory of the Patriarchate of Constantinople to be the outline of the future Greek state, just as the territory of the Bulgarian church was conceived as the outline of an independent Bulgarian state. The Ottomans, for their part, made no ethnic or national distinctions between their subjects; they recognized only religious communities. Since the Bulgarians shared all Christian dogmas with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the sultan had no reason to approve of the existence of a separate Bulgarian church. Russia, which had obtained through the 1774 **Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca** the right to protect the interests of Orthodox Christians in the empire, was opposed to any weakening of the authority of the patriarchate as well.

In spite of these difficulties, the Bulgarians turned the struggle for an independent Bulgarian church into the first goal of their national liberation movement. In the 1820s and 1830s, conflicts broke out between the Bulgarian population and the Greek clergy in the regions of Vratsa, Skopje, and Samokov. Encouraged by the abolition of religious discrimination in the framework of the *Tanzimat*, proclaimed by the *Hattı Şerif of Gülhane* in 1839 and supported by the Bulgarian community in Istanbul, Bulgarian leaders such as Neofit Bozveli and **Ilarion Makariopolski** presented the Bulgarian demands: Bul-

garian bishops, a Bulgarian church in Istanbul, and a Bulgarian newspaper. Some activists in Macedonia insisted that the Ohrid autocephalous archbishopric, abolished in 1767, be restored. Since negotiations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, started in 1858 (with the first of seven special church councils held between that year and 1872), showed no progress, the Bulgarian community in Istanbul unilaterally proclaimed the independence of the Bulgarian church by not mentioning the patriarch as its hierarchical head during the Easter service in 1860. Their example was followed by many dioceses and parishes throughout the Bulgarian lands. Greek bishops were expelled; in the schools, Greek teachers were replaced by Bulgarians.

At the same time, the successes of the **Uniates** and the **Protestant** missions in Bulgaria started seriously threatening the monopoly of the Orthodox Church and made Russian diplomacy more indulgent toward Bulgarian aims. However, the concessions the patriarchate was finally prepared to make—like appointing Bulgarian bishops in the Bulgarian dioceses—were rejected by the Bulgarians. The Ottoman government, concerned with the increasing separatism of Christians in the empire, tried to regain the loyalty of the Bulgarians by issuing on 28 February 1870 a decree establishing the **Bulgarian Exarchate**, meaning a Bulgarian national church that was only nominally dependent on the patriarchate. The patriarchate did not endorse the decree, as was required, considering it in contradiction with the law. On 5 January 1872, the Bulgarians decided to disregard the position of the Patriarchate and started organizing their exarchate. On 16 February 1872, the Provisional Council of the Exarchate elected Ilarion of Lovech as the first Bulgarian exarch. When the Ottoman government did not approve of this choice, the Council elected **Antim I**. The patriarchate declared the Bulgarian exarchate schismatic.

The church struggle—democratic, reformist, and non-violent by nature—constituted the very essence of the Bulgarian national liberation movement. However, to the radical Bulgarian nationalists, mere ecclesiastical independence, which came down to cultural autonomy within the framework of the Ottoman Empire, did not resolve the problem of Bulgarian national liberation. The armed liberation movement was already striving for full political independence, which was achieved after the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**. In the meantime,

as according to the 1870 imperial decree patriarchic dioceses could join the Exarchate when two-thirds of the Christian population was in favor, a tug-of-war with the Patriarchate concerning the jurisdiction over the dioceses in **Macedonia** had broken out and lasted until the **Balkan Wars** in 1912–1913.

CINEMA. The first motion picture was shown in Bulgaria in February 1897. *Modern Theater*, the first cinema, was opened in Sofia in 1908. In 1915, the first Bulgarian film was shot. In 1919, Vasil Gendov (1891–1970) produced the first feature film, *Bûlgaran Is a Gallant* (*Bûlgaran e galant*). In 1933, he produced the first Bulgarian talking motion picture, *The Slaves' Revolt* (*Buntût na robite*).

In 1948, four years after the communist takeover, Bulgarian film production was nationalized and organized after the Soviet model. Since film was considered an excellent means of spreading communist ideology, it was generously subsidized and painstakingly supervised. The Bulgarian Cinematography Corporation (BCC) produced a huge number of films that were technically and thematically deeply influenced by Soviet film and met the aesthetic requirements of socialist realism. *Alarm* (*Trevoga*) by Zahari Zhandov (1911–1997), made in 1950, is one of the first examples. After the **April 1956 Plenum**, the psychological portrayal of protagonists became somehow more subtle, as in *Tobacco* (*Tyutyun*, 1962) by Nikola Korabov (1928–), *The Peach Thief* (*Kradetsût na praskovi*, 1964) by Vûlo Radev (1923–), *The She-Wolf* (*Vûlchitsata*, 1965) by Rangel Vûlchanov (1928–), and *The Goat Horn* (*Koziyat rog*, 1972) by Metodi Andonov (1932–1974). This screen version of **Nikolay Haytov's** famous story of a father who educates his daughter as a boy to help him take revenge on the Turks for the rape and murder of his wife, was internationally praised. A satiric picture of some of the shortcomings of socialist society was given in *The Whale* (*Kitût*, 1968) by Vûlchanov, which was banned for many years, and the films by Eduard Zahariev (1938–) *The Hares' Census* (*Prebroyaneto na divite zaytsi*, 1973) and *Summerhouse Area* (*Vilna zona*, 1975), both based on screenplays by Georgi Mishev (1935–). Georgi Dyulgerov (1943–) gave a harsh picture of corruption and moral disintegration in communist Bulgarian society in *The Advantage* (*Avantazh*, 1977).

Most productions remained true to the socialist realist canon, however, and treated standard political subject matter such as the partisan war and the workers' struggle against bureaucracy. To the category of prestigious films on historical themes, realized in a spirit of nationalism, belong Lyudmil Staykov's (1937–) trilogy *A Land for Ever* (*Zemja zavinaġi*), released in 1981 on the occasion of the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state; *Measure for Measure* (*Myara po myara*, 1981), recalling the 1903 **Ilinden Uprising**; and especially *A Time of Decisions* (*Vreme razdelno*, 1988), based on the novel by Anton Donchev (1930–) about forced Islamization in the Rhodope region, released in connection with the so-called **regeneration process** in the late 1980s. In the same period, Ivan Nichev (1940–) directed remarkable films like *Baj Ganjo Set Off for Europe* (*Bay Ganyo trŭġna po Evropa*, 1991) and *Ivan and Alexandra* (*Ivan i Aleksandra*, 1988). During the 45 years of communist rule, Bulgaria produced about 500 films. The Boyana Film Studios, founded in 1963, were the biggest in the Balkan Peninsula. Bulgarian cartoons and films for children used to be especially successful in festivals abroad.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, ideological prescriptions were abolished. A number of forbidden films were released—*The Public Prosecutor* (*Prokurorŭt*, 1958) by Lyubomir Sharlandzhiev (1931–1979), *The Tied Balloon* (*Privŭzaniyat balon*, 1967) by Binka Zhelyazkova (1923–), and *Margarit and Margarita* (*Margarit i Margarita*, 1988) by Nikolay Volev (1946–). Very few new films came out in 1990 and 1991, the film industry being mired in a financial crisis. The staff of the BCC was reduced from 1,220 to 340 employees. In the fall of 1991, the National Assembly decided to establish a National Film Center (NFC), modeled on the French *Centre National du Cinéma*. The NFC coordinates and sponsors the activities of the Bulgarian film industry, paying 50 to 80% of the costs of a selected production. Decisions are made by nine-member panels appointed by the Ministry of Culture, which together with the Ministry of Finance provides the funds. The NFC also encourages foreign film companies to cooperate on Bulgarian films; Bulgarian private investors are attracted as well. In the 1990s, about 25 motion pictures, 30 documentaries, and more than 20 animated films premiered, supported by the state and eight motion pictures by private investment. Foreign films

makers like Roger Corman, Francesco Rosi, Tony Palmer, and others worked in the Boyana Film Studios.

Bulgarian cinema, like other artistic genres, had to search for new moral and aesthetic values. The influence of American cinema and the **United States** as a symbol of “Westernness” were points of particular interest—for example, in *I Want America* (*Iskam Amerika*, 1991) by Kiran Kolarov (1946–) and *Letter to America* (*Pismo do Amerika*, 2000) by Igljka Trifonova (1957–). Among the most remarkable Bulgarian films of recent years is the remake of *The Goat’s Horn* (*Kozijat rog*, 1994) by Volev, stressing the topic of sexual identity rather than nationalistic emotions, as was the case in the 1972 Anonov version.

The most controversial political film of the post-communist period was *Burn, Burn, Little Flame* (*Gori, gori, ogûnche*, 1994) by Rumjana Petkova (1948–), dealing with a young Bulgarian teacher in a village in the Rhodope Mountains who is confronted with the traditional archaic lifestyle of the local Muslim population and the aberrations of the regeneration process. The film offended both the **Muslim** population and the Bulgarian nationalists. Other films on ethnic issues mainly focused on the fate of the **Roma** and provoked less indignation, although some critics admitted they would prefer more films about the Bulgarian majority instead of the minorities. *Pâtuvane do Ierusalim* (*Journey to Jerusalem*, 2003) by Ivan Nichev dealt with the **Jewish** community in Bulgaria.

The repressive nature of the communist regime was criticized in *The Well* (*Kladenetsût*, 1990) by Docho Bodzhakov (1956–) and *The Canary Season* (*Sezonût na kanarchetata*, 1993) by Evgeniy Mihaylov (1954–). In both films, sexual relations between oppressive men and submissive **women** stand for communist oppression—a rather schematic approach, recalling very much the socialist realistic way of dealing with positive and negative heroes. *Bird of Prey* (1993), a film scripted by Boyan Milushev and shot in Bulgaria by the American director Themistocles Lopez and with American financial aid, was the first Hollywood-like erotic thriller in the history of Bulgarian film.

CLUB FOR GLASNOST AND DEMOCRACY (CGD)/KLUB ZA GLASNOST I DEMOKRATSIYA (KGD). Informal group,

founded on 3 November 1988 at a public meeting at the University of **Sofia** as Discussion Club for the Support of Restructuring and Glasnost (or for short, Discussion Club). On 2 December 1989, it was registered as the Club for Glasnost and Democracy. The CGD insisted on the implementation of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's political reforms in Bulgaria, without challenging the position of power of the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, to which most of the CGD members were loyal. Several dozen similar clubs, commonly called Democracy Clubs, were created all over the country. On 20 January 1990, Sofia club members **Petko Simeonov**, **Dimităr Ludzhev**, and **Zhelyo Zhelev** united 15 of them in a Federation of Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy (FCGD). Petko Simeonov was elected chair. In March 1990, however, some clubs that did not agree with the FCGD membership in the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** split off and restored the old Sofia Discussion Club. In July 1991, a second split occurred within the FCGD: about half of the clubs reorganized themselves under the leadership of Yordan Vasilev; the other half maintained the existing structures and the leadership of Petko Simeonov. Only the former was admitted into the UDF. It later changed its name to National Club for Democracy (NCD); the chair was **Svetoslav Luchnikov**. In the December 1994 elections, the NCD won six seats in the 37th **National Assembly (NA)** from 1995 to 1997. The NCD has been attracting mainly intellectuals who are in favor of a fully decommunized, modern, democratic, and free-market-oriented Bulgarian state. It encompasses several smaller clubs including the Academic Club, the Lawyers' Club, the Doctors' Club, the Teachers' Club, and others.

COALITION FOR BULGARIA (CFB)/KOALITSIYA ZA BŪLGARIYA (KZB). Coalition of parties formed with a view to the June 2001 elections. In January 2001, the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)**, the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP)**, the **Political Movement-Social Democrats (PMSD)**, and the **United Labor Bloc (ULB)** issued the political memorandum of the New Left. It was the basis of a pre-election coalition, called Coalition for Bulgaria. In the CFB participated, in addition to the above mentioned parties, BANU-Aleksandăr Stamboliyski, Women's Democratic Union, Fatherland Union, Bulgarian Anti-Fascist Union, Movement "Forward,

Bulgaria,” All People Committee for the Defense of the National Interests, Civil Union Roma, Confederation of Roma-Europe, Alliance for Social Liberal Progress, Communist Party of Bulgaria, Political Club Thrace, and the National Association-United Bulgarian Citizens. The leading force was the BSP. In the elections, they obtained 17.1% of the votes or 48 seats in the **National Assembly** (NA).

As an opposition party during the term of the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**, it enjoyed an increasing popularity with the population, as the **United Democratic Forces** (Uddf) had fell victim to internal quarrels. In the June 2005 parliamentary elections, the CFB was victorious, although it did not obtain the hoped for 40% of the vote.

COALITION OF THE ROSE (COF)/KOALITSIYA NA ROZATA (CNR). Are as varied as the folk dances and songs Coalition of eight small leftist parties, defending European standards in dealing with economic, social, and ethnic issues. It was founded on 17 April 2005, on the eve of the June 2005 **parliamentary elections**. The core of the coalition consisted of **Bulgarian Social Democracy** (BSD), led by **Aleksandûr Tomov**, the **National Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (NMRF), led by Gyuner Tahir, and the **United Labor Blok**, led by Krûstyo Petkov. Other parties were the National Patriotic Movement (NPM), led by **Zhorzh Ganchev**, and the **Balkan Democratic League**, led by Osman Oktay. Although they were supposed to be an attractive alternative to the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) and the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), they obtained only 2.30% of the vote and failed to pass the electoral threshold.

COLLECTIVIZATION. *See* AGRICULTURE.

COMECON. *See* COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

COMINTERN. Acronym of the *Communist International*, also called Third International. International organization of European and American communist parties, founded in Moscow in 1919. The Comintern was aimed at promoting the communist revolutionary movement all over the world, but in most cases defense of the national in-

terests of the **Soviet Union** was as their primary activity. Bulgarians held important functions in the Comintern, and the Comintern played a considerable role in Bulgarian history. After the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**, it ordered the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** to organize the **September 1923 Uprising**. In 1935, **Georgi Dimitrov**, who was the head of the Western European Department of the Comintern, devised the so-called popular front strategy, consisting of uniting all the democratic political parties in the Western European countries in broad anti-fascist coalitions, in which the respective communist parties would participate as well. The Comintern was also in favor of a federalist solution to the **Macedonian Question** and in 1934 “officially” acknowledged the existence of a separate **Macedonian** nation—a stance adopted by the Bulgarian communists as well until the 1950s. The Comintern was dissolved on 15 May 1943, to be replaced by the Cominform in 1949.

COMITADJI. Bulgarian: *komitadzhiya*; from the Turkish: *komitacı*, “member of a committee.” In particular, the members of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** *chetas* were called *comitadjis*.

COMMITTEE FOR RELIGIOUS RIGHTS (CRR)/KOMITET ZA RELIGIOZNI PRAVA (KRP). Full name: Committee for the Defense of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience, and Spiritual Values. Founded on 9 March 1989 in **Veliko Tŭrnovo** by Father **Hristofor Sŭbev**, who was elected chair. The very same day, the program of the committee was broadcast by Radio Free Europe. The authors criticized the Holy Synod and demanded that state interference in church affairs cease, that nationalized church properties be returned, that a new edition of the Bible be published in an edition of 300,000 copies, that the Christian holidays be reestablished, and that catechism instruction be allowed in voluntary Sunday schools. The **Bulgarian Patriarchate** reacted furiously and tried to prevent the legal registration of the committee. The CRR insisted on restoring the rights of all religions (including Islam) in Bulgaria. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the committee became one of the co-founding and constituent members of **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** and was invited to participate in the Roundtable Negotiations.

Renamed the Christian Union-Salvation (CU-Salvation) on the eve of the June 1991 elections, it resumed its resistance to the Bulgarian Patriarchate by contesting the validity of Patriarch **Maksim**'s appointment. In mid-1992, it founded an alternative Holy Synod, which was recognized by the newly established **Directorate on Religious Faiths**. The current chair of CU-Salvation is Hristofor Sûbev.

COMMITTEE 273. On 14 August 1989, Boris Hristov, Lyubomir Sobadzhiev, and others founded the Committee 273, named after Article 273 of the Penal Code, which punished by imprisonment of up to two years or by corrective labor all those found guilty of “deliberately spreading false evidence intended to incite mistrust of the authorities.” The Committee aimed at defending people incriminated on the basis of the article, and ultimately at having the article repealed. It adopted dissidents like **Konstantin Trenchev**, **Petûr Manolov**, and **Hristofor Sûbev** and imprisoned members of the forcibly assimilated Turkish and Vlach ethnic communities and other victims of communist repression.

COMMUNISM. Political theory, developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and based on the idea that history is moved by economic and ensuing social conditions, more specifically the relationship between the means of production and the ownership of these means. In a capitalist society, the bourgeoisie owns the means of production, while the proletariat owns nothing and is forced to sell its labor. This situation ultimately results in a revolution, during which the proletariat dispossesses the bourgeoisie and appropriates the means of production. According to Lenin, this happened in **Russia** with the October Revolution in 1917. The **Soviet Union** (SU), as the first state in which socialism was victorious, should guide the world proletariat to the final establishment of a universal communist—that means classless—socialist society. In order to protect the achievements of the revolution, the proletariat had to impose a dictatorial regime that suppressed the attempts of the remnants of the bourgeoisie to reverse history. Thus, communism provided the ideological justification for Soviet expansionism and communist dictatorship.

Bulgaria had a considerable communist movement during the interwar period. The **Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party-**

Narrow Socialists (BWSDP-Narrow Socialists) was in fact a communist party. Bulgarian ideologists like **Dimitûr Blagoev** and **Georgi Dimitrov** played major roles in the international communist movement. In 1944, after **World War II**, the SU forcibly introduced the Soviet communist system in Bulgaria. The dictatorship of the proletariat implied a one-party system, nationalization of the enterprises and collectivization of the arable land, censorship, police control over all public activities, including **literature** and **arts**, imprisonment of all real or potential opponents, and a ban on traveling abroad. In fact, all Bulgarian national resources and the entire Bulgarian internal and foreign policy were subordinated to the interests of (the party elite of) the SU and its collaborators in Bulgaria. Although without a doubt **social security**, **health care**, and **education** were on a higher level than in the interwar period, the lack of intellectual freedom and economic dynamics caused a dramatic developmental backwardness, which became obvious after the fall of the communist regime in 1989.

CONFEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT LABOR UNIONS IN BULGARIA (CILUB)/KONFEDERATSIYA NA NEZAVISIMITE PROFESIONALNI SÛYUZI V BÛLGARIYA (KNPSB). On 5 November 1989, the former official **Bulgarian Labor Unions** (BLU) declared its independence from the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP). At an extraordinary congress on 17 February 1990, it was renamed the Confederation of Independent Labor Unions in Bulgaria and was restructured. Since its predecessor had compromised itself as a tool in the hands of the BCP, the renewed labor union renounced all affiliation with the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) or any other party.

The CILUB very early found a way to cooperate with the **Independent Labor Confederation-Podkrepa** (ILC-*Podkrepa*). On 11 May 1992, both trade unions demanded the resignation of the **Filip Dimitrov** cabinet, which had failed to solve the economic and social problems of the country. In May 1994, the CILUB launched warning strikes in a number of Bulgarian cities, protesting against the social policy of the **Lyuben Berov cabinet** causing inflation, impoverishment, and the loss of such vital economic sectors as **mining**. The CILUB also participated in the demonstrations against the policy of the **Zhan Videnov cabinet** by the end of 1996.

Currently, the CILUB consists of 34 labor organizations and 28 regional coordinating councils, representing about 400,000 workers and employees in Bulgaria and defending their material and spiritual interests by participating in negotiations with employers, employers' organizations, and the government. It is a member of the European Federation of Labor Unions. The CILUB has continued publishing the weekly *Labor (Trud)*. The chair has been Krústyo Petkov from the very beginning. *See also* LABOR UNIONS.

CONSERVATIVE ECOLOGICAL PARTY (CEP)/KONSERVATIVNA EKOLOGICHNA PARTIYA (KEP). Founded on 1 March 1992 in Sofia and registered on 22 April 1992 by **Green Party** defectors. Member of, and since 1998 associated with the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). From 1992 until 1997, the CEP was led by Hristo Biserov; since 1997, Svetlana Dyankova has been chairperson.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY (CP)/KONSERVATIVNA PARTIYA (KP). The CP emerged in 1879 during the Constituent National Assembly in **Veliko Tŭrnovo**, which drafted the first Bulgarian constitution. The conservatives were in favor of strong monarchical powers and a two-chamber parliament; besides, they advocated close international relations with such Western countries as **Germany**, Austria, and Great Britain. They were supported mainly by the upper middle class. Its adversary was the **Liberal Party** (LP), which finally succeeded in considerably limiting the constitutional powers of the monarch. Although the LP had won the first elections in 1879, King **Alexander Battenberg** entrusted CP leader **Todor Burmov** with forming the first cabinet. Backed by the king, the CP government worked at changing the **Tŭrnovo Constitution** in favor of the monarch. On 27 April 1881, it approved the king's decision to dismiss the **National Assembly** (NA) and establish a regime of extraordinary monarchical powers in order to impose constitutional changes. After the constitutional regime was restored in an amended form in 1883, the CP lost its influence and broke apart into several new, more moderate conservative parties. The CP was disbanded in 1885.

CONSTANTINOPLE. *See* ISTANBUL.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. **Grand National Assembly** charged with the drafting and adoption of a new **constitution**. *See also* TÛRNOVO CONSTITUTION.

CONSTITUTION. The first Bulgarian constitution, the Constitution of the **Principality of Bulgaria**, commonly called **TÛrnovo Constitution** after the city **Veliko TÛrnovo**, where the first **Grand National Assembly** (GNA), or **Constituent Assembly** drafted it, was promulgated on 16 April 1879. It provided for the franchise of all male citizens over 28; eligibility as members of the **National Assembly** (NA) for those over 30 and literate; a unicameral national assembly; freedom of speech, press, and assembly; and local self-government. The king (*knyaz*) was the head of state and the commander in chief and was empowered to approve and promulgate laws and to control their implementation. On 27 April 1881, however, King **Alexander Battenberg**, discontented with the limited powers given him by the TÛrnovo Constitution and supported by the **Conservative Party** (CP), suspended the constitution. In September 1883, it was restored after a new cabinet had modified a number of articles, thus enlarging the monarch's powers. On 3–17 May 1893, Article 13 (concerning the title of the monarch) and some other articles (concerning the number of members of the NA and the length of their terms) were amended. In June 1911, the TÛrnovo Constitution was changed again, assigning to the tsar the constitutional power to negotiate and make agreements with foreign states without consulting the NA. The TÛrnovo Constitution was suspended for a second time after the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**, and was nominally restored in 1937. On 4 December 1947, it was finally abolished by the promulgation of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, modeled after the Soviet constitution. It consolidated the postwar communist political institutions. On 18 May 1971, a new Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, commonly called "Zhivkov Constitution" after the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) leader **Todor Zhivkov**, was promulgated. It was said to be a more sophisticated version of the previous constitution, meeting more adequately the requirements of a "developed socialist society." It provided for the establishment of a **Council of State**, a sort of collective presidency whose chair was to be Zhivkov, who thus became the head of the state.

In April 1990, half a year after the downfall of the communist regime on 10 November 1989, the Zhivkov constitution was amended and was freed of most of its ideological deadwood in order to facilitate the introduction of transitional measures aimed at democratizing Bulgarian society. After the first post-communist free parliamentary elections in June 1990, a GNA was formed, which on 30 July 1990 appointed a Commission for the Drafting of the Constitution, headed by **Ginyo Ganev**. All parties agreed that the new constitution should meet the requirements stipulated by the Council of Europe. Despite strong though not unanimous resistance from the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) and the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), the former protesting against the strong **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) mark on it, the latter against the allegedly discriminatory articles concerning ethnic minorities, the new Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria was adopted on 12 June 1991 with 309 out of 400 votes, thanks to the support of the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party** (BSDP) and the **Green Party** (GP)—both UDF constituents. The 1992 constitution defines Bulgaria as a multiparty parliamentary democracy and a republic, and grants civil rights to all.

CONSTITUTIONAL BLOC (CB)/KONSTITUTIONEN BLOK (KB). Political coalition of conservative parties founded on 6 July 1922. Its main goal was to drive back the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) and to legally put an end to the government. The CB convened three meetings, of which only one took place but ended in a fiasco, mainly because of intimidation by the BANU's **Orange Guard**. Nevertheless, in the 22 April 1923 elections the CB won 15.5% of the vote. The most prominent CB leaders were arrested and interned, allegedly on charges of being responsible for the 1913 and 1918 “**national catastrophes**.” They were liberated after the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**, which was instigated by the CB. In August 1923, most of the CB leaders joined the **Democratic Alliance** (DA), after which the CB was dissolved.

CONTESTED ZONE. Area in **Macedonia** northwest of the Kriva Palanka-Veles-Ohrid line, claimed by Bulgaria as well as Serbia during the negotiations preceding the formation of the **Balkan League**

in 1912. It was finally decided that the Russian tsar would assign the area to one of the claimants after the liberation of Macedonia from Ottoman rule. After **Balkan War II**, Serbia took the whole of northern Macedonia.

COOPERATIVES. The first cooperatives in Bulgaria were organized by farmers by the end of the 19th century. Their basic idea was social security through mutual aid. The cooperatives took special care to develop a banking and saving system for the provision of cheap credits. In 1897 and 1907, special legislation was issued to regulate the functioning of the cooperatives and to protect them. In fact, they received the same legal status as commercial companies. On the eve of **World War I**, there were approximately 1,000 cooperatives, more than 700 of them engaged in **agriculture**. In the interwar period, a plethora of cooperatives emerged covering a wide range of professional activities, though most in the field of agriculture and forestry. This growth was due not only to the precarious economic situation but also to the encouragement of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** government. In 1934, when the cooperative movement reached its apogee, there were 4,888 cooperatives with 836,742 members. In the late 1930s, there were 66 large cooperative farms in Bulgaria based on the principle of voluntary accession, the respect of private ownership of the land, and the collective ownership of the means of production. The organization of labor, the purchase of seed and tools, and the sale of the produce took place on a collective basis. The cooperative grocer's shops were particularly popular.

After the communist **coup d'état on 9 September 1944**, the cooperative movement was used as a springboard for the collectivization of agriculture—the massive creation of *kolkhoz*-like cooperative farms that the peasants were forced to join. The cooperative way of building blocks of flats—commonly called *kooperatsiyas*, “cooperations” in Bulgarian—initiated by the BANU government, survived the communist takeover. As a result, there were in Bulgaria more private flat owners than in any other communist country in Eastern Europe. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the collectivization was undone, but the cooperative movement required some new impulses since most peasants could not afford to run farms on their own.

CORRUPTION. Corruption, and especially giving and taking bribes, is a widespread social disease in present-day Bulgaria. In August 1999, even the chief of the economic police was fired for having accepted bribes. According to Coalition 2000, a number of non-governmental organizations ostensibly fighting corruption, customs officers, police officers, and judges are among the most corrupt people in the country. In a poll taken in 2000, 70% of the farmers admitted to having given bribes. Many politicians are reported to be involved in the semi-legal or illegal transactions of powerful financial agglomerates. *Multigrup* and *Orion* are alleged to have connections with the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), while *Sapio* and *VIS-2* are said to be linked with **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) members of Parliament. Members of Parliament and government ministers, earning monthly wages of between US\$350 and US\$450, are particularly vulnerable to bribery. Foreign investors often complain about the enormous bureaucracy in Bulgaria and the bribes that they were forced to pay. In February 2000, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) financed a corruption prevention program. In March, Steve Hanke, professor of applied economics at the John Hopkins University and designer of the **currency** board, mentioned corruption as the main problem that investors face in Bulgaria. Since 2001, under the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**, corruption was fought somehow more effectively than under the previous cabinets, although according to **European Union** (EU) reports much was still left to be desired at the end of its term. *See also* CRIME.

COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (COMECON OR CMEA)/SÛVET ZA IKONOMICESKA VZAIMOPOMOSHT (SIV). Founded in 1949 by **Albania**, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, **Romania**, and the **Soviet Union** (SU) as a reaction against the Marshall Plan. Later, the countries of Mongolia, Cuba, and Vietnam joined the Comecon as well; Albania left the organization in 1961. Comecon's aim was to coordinate the economic and particularly the industrial development of the member states and to create a common market. The secretariat was based in Moscow; the members met yearly in rotation in the capital of a member state, which then chaired the meeting. There were several committees and permanent commissions dealing with scientific coopera-

tion, statistics, foreign trade, currency and finance, energy, electronics, food production, and telecommunications. There were standing conferences on legal problems, internal trade, water resources, patents, pricing, labor, and freight and shipping.

The Comecon member states were to specialize in various aspects of economic and scientific activity. While the Central European countries concentrated on industrial development, Bulgaria and Romania were expected to develop **agriculture**. Within the framework of the Comecon, Bulgaria also made special efforts in microelectronics, cybernetics, and computer technology. In 1989, about three quarters of Bulgaria's exports and imports were with other Comecon countries. Because of the disbanding of the Comecon on 28 June 1991, Bulgaria lost most of its markets, which accelerated its economic decline.

COUNCIL OF STATE (CS). A communist political institution, established in 1971 to replace the former **Presidium** and having roughly the same tasks and powers. The CS was responsible for the daily work of the **National Assembly** (NA) between the latter's sessions and actually fulfilled the functions of the NA. It consisted of 26 members, elected by the NA. The CS was assisted by a number of commissions. The president of the CS was in fact the head of the state. The CS was abolished on 3 April 1990 and was replaced by a **Presidency**.

COUP D'ETAT OF 27 APRIL 1881. *See* ALEXANDER BATTENBERG.

COUP D'ETAT OF 6 SEPTEMBER 1885. *See* UNION WITH EASTERN RUMELIA.

COUP D'ETAT OF 9 JUNE 1923. Conspiracy of the **Military League**, backed by Tsar **Boris III** and the conservative party leaders, united in the **Constitutional Bloc** (CB) and the (then still informal) **National Alliance** (NA), and supported by the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO). It put an end to the increasingly dictatorial **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) government headed by **Aleksandŭr Stambolijski**. On the night of 8–9

June, the army occupied all strategically important buildings in the capital and the main provincial towns and arrested BANU ministers and members of the **National Assembly**. Since the coup d'état came as a complete surprise to the BANU leaders and consequently there were no plans for such a contingency, resistance to the putschists was offered only in a limited area in central and northern Bulgaria and only by the **Orange Guard** and other BANU supporters. The communists dissociated themselves from what they considered to be a conflict "between the urban and the rural bourgeoisie" and not the concern of the proletariat. The resistance was suppressed within a week. Stamboliyski was captured and killed by IMRO militants. A new government, consisting mainly of NA members and led by **Aleksandŭr Tsankov**, was established. An end had come to the BANU government, which had conducted one of the most exciting political and social experiments in Bulgarian history. In foreign policy, the NA government opted for Italy rather than France as a partner, which anticipated Bulgaria's joining the Axis powers in **World War II**. *See also* SEPTEMBER 1923 UPRISING.

COUP D'ETAT OF 19 MAY 1934. On 19 May 1934, on the eve of an ominous demonstration by the **National Social Movement** (NSM) in Sofia, a coup engineered by the **Military League** (ML), led by **Damyan Velchev**, and **Zveno**, put an end to the government of the legally elected **People's Bloc** (PB) coalition. The new cabinet, headed by **Kimon Georgiev**, consisted of members of **Zveno**, the ML, the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) right wing, and the NSM. The conspirators aimed to create a strong, centralized state based on an estate system. Their view of society resembled Italian fascism, although they were not fascists. They referred to Article 47 of the **Constitution**, which provided that the tsar could rule through decree (although the cabinet remained responsible). The new putschist government pursued an authoritarian policy, appointing local administrators (instead of electing them) and abolishing the autonomous local councils. In addition, they reorganized the banking system and introduced a state monopoly in some sectors of the economy. All political parties were disbanded and party newspapers were banned. Potential political opponents were interned. The **National Assembly** (NA) was reduced to a body of 160 members, approved by

the government and having no formal party affiliations. An official state-controlled labor union, the Bulgarian Workers' Union (BWU), was established. The new regime curtailed the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO) and normalized relations with **Yugoslavia** and its ally France. It also established diplomatic relations with the **Soviet Union** (SU). In January 1935, monarchist forces in *Zveno* and the ML managed to oust Kimon Georgiev and other republican-minded members of the 19 May 1934 cabinet. This was the first step toward the establishment of Tsar **Boris III's personal regime**. Although far from democratic, the 19 May 1934 government succeeded in stabilizing the country, and some of its measures have proven useful and have never been revoked.

COUP D'ETAT OF 9 SEPTEMBER 1944. During the night of 8–9 September 1944, partisan units backed by the Red Army entered **Sofia**, captured the main government buildings, dismissed the **Konstantin Muraviev** cabinet, and established a **Fatherland Front** (FF) cabinet headed by **Kimon Georgiev** and consisting of ministers from the main opposition parties and factions. The regent, Prince **Kiril**, the members of the former cabinet, and the main officials of the former administration in Sofia and in the countryside were arrested and were replaced by FF appointees. The army came under Soviet control. The **Bulgarian Workers' Union** was dissolved and was eventually replaced by the **General Workers' Labor Union**. Workers' councils were established on the Soviet model. People's courts assisted the BCP in purging the former institutions and trying potential opponents as collaborators and war criminals. Although neither of these categories in fact existed, since Bulgaria had never been occupied or involved in the war, tens of thousands of people were executed. By the end of 1947, the BCP had overcome all opposition and had consolidated its power. The communist dictatorship would last for more than 45 years. *See also* REPRESSION, COMMUNIST.

COUP D'ETAT OF 10 NOVEMBER 1989. Coup that ended 35 years of rule by **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) leader **Todor Zhivkov**. The circumstances in which the coup took place are not entirely clear. Minister of Foreign Affairs **Petър Mladenov**, who played a key role in the coup, presumably got approval in Moscow on 5–6

November, on his way back from China. During the 10 November 1989 BCP plenary session, Mladenov unexpectedly announced Zhivkov's resignation and thanked him for his services to the party and the country. Subsequently, Mladenov was elected the new BCP first secretary. Apparently, Mladenov was backed by other prominent **Politburo** members, including Prime Minister **Georgi Atanasov**, **Stanko Todorov**, chair of the **National Assembly** (NA), and Minister of National Defense General **Dobri Dzhurov** who controlled the army. On 17 November, Zhivkov was forced to resign as president as well. Zhivkov's closest allies—including Milko Balev and **Grisha Filipov**—were removed from the BCP leadership in an attempt to dispose of the most troublesome figures and to retain power. After several days, it became clear that even Todor Zhivkov, who initially was treated with respect, had to be sacrificed. Accused by the anti-communist opposition of abuse of power, embezzlement, and inciting ethnic hatred, he was arrested and expelled from the BCP on 8 December 1990.

The new BCP leadership, which had come into being in the spring of 1990—the triumvirate of Mladenov, president; **Andrey Lukanov**, prime minister; and **Aleksandŭr Lilov**, party leader—did not intend to share state power, let alone part with it. It did not succeed in remaining in control of the situation, however. It was forced to participate in the **Roundtable negotiations**, to renounce its power monopoly, and to make a number of other concessions. Thus, the 45-year-old communist dictatorship was steadily dismantled, and the return to a multiparty parliamentary democracy and a free-market economy was ushered in. Nevertheless, although the BCP and the communist ideology disappeared, the former communists, now disguised as social democrats and organized in the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), remained powerful for many years, performing amazingly well in elections. They occupied a number of key positions in the administration and in the economy, possessing fortunes of unknown origin.

CRAIOVA, TREATY OF (1940). Agreement between Bulgaria and **Romania** signed on 7 September 1940 in the Romanian city of Craiova. It annulled the clauses of the 1913 **Treaty of Bucharest** and the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** concerning Southern **Dobrudja**. The region was reincorporated into the Bulgarian state, and the pre-1913

border between Bulgaria and **Romania** was restored. The Treaty of Craiova also implied a “population exchange,” the Bulgarians in the counties of Tulcea and Constanța (about 67,000 persons) were forced to leave Romania, while Romanians from Southern Dobrudja had to leave Bulgaria. The Treaty of Craiova was considered a great success of Bulgarian foreign policy at that time, although it was due mainly to the pressure on the Romanian government that was exerted by Bulgaria’s ally, Germany. The 1947 **Paris Peace Treaty** confirmed the re-annexation of Southern Dobrudja by Bulgaria. Some Romanian nationalist organizations such as *România Mare* (Great Romania) have urged the Romanian government to reclaim the region. *See also* POPULATION EXCHANGES.

CRIME. During **Ottoman** rule, robberies by *hayduks* were the most widespread form of crime. After independence in 1878 and especially in the interwar period, the strange mix of crime and political struggle was continued by some of the **Macedonian** national liberation fighters who practiced political murder, kidnapping, extortion, and theft for the cause of Macedonia’s liberation. Crime was a taboo under communist rule, as it was considered an aberration of capitalist society. Since the collapse of the communist system, it has become one of the main social problems and political topics in Bulgaria. The **Roma** allegedly have a disproportionately large share in petty crime, due partly to the fact that their community is more stricken by unemployment and poverty. More important, however, is organized criminality, dealing with car theft, racketeering, pimping, blackmail, and gambling, in which the Roma do not participate. Companies like *Multigrup* are alleged to be involved in organized criminality, also. The so-called wrestlers—former wrestling champions and weight lifters now used as bodyguards and for intimidation—have become notorious in Bulgaria. Some criminal organizations have “legitimated” themselves by changing from car thieves’ and racketeers’ gangs to insurance companies. Allegedly, some police officers have been involved in organized criminality as well.

The crime rate soared in 1996 and 1997 due to the extremely bad economic and social conditions, while at the same time these conditions were partly the result of white-collar crime in the highest political echelons. Petty street crime, pick-pocketing, purse snatching,

and automobile theft are common phenomena in crowded urban environments, although they do not occur more frequently than in most cities in Europe and the **United States**. Recently, thefts from residences and offices have decreased, probably due to more efficient security measures. Politically inspired crimes are very uncommon, as is political violence in general. Killings among competing criminal gangs, however, have taken many lives—60 in only 2002–2005. Many threatened “businessmen” fled abroad. Politicians who wanted to expose the involvement of other politicians in the Mafia were killed (**Andrey Lukanov**) or died in suspicious circumstances (Ilko Eskenazi, who drowned in the **Black Sea** on a windless summer day). According to a declaration by a chief of an organized crime police unit, 356 criminal gangs existed in Bulgaria in October 2003.

Organized crime was also a concern of the **European Union (EU)**, which insisted that effective measures be taken if Bulgaria wished to avoid delays in the accession process. In October 2003, the Bulgarian Interior Ministry, financially supported by the EU, started the Twinning Project, a national information system that aimed to achieve a higher level of border control. In December 2003, France, Great Britain, and the United States insisted with the Bulgarian government on preventing criminals from crossing the border and developing their activities in the EU. In January 2004, a gang of counterfeiters was rounded up, and 300,000 false Euro bills were confiscated. According to the Bulgarian media, “Bulgarian” criminals abroad are predominantly Roma. However, just as in Bulgaria, Roma criminals operating abroad specialize in pick-pocketing and small thefts, leaving trafficking in drugs and human beings to their Bulgarian compatriots. *See also* CORRUPTION; JUDICIARY.

CULTURE (KULTURA). Weekly periodical of arts, culture, and political journalism. *Culture* continues *National Culture (Narodna kultura)*, published by the Ministry of Culture since 1957. *National Culture* was a rather conservative and colorless magazine before **Stefan Prodev** became its editor-in-chief in 1984. Encouraged by the more liberal political climate in the **Soviet Union (SU)** under Mikhail Gorbachev, he published articles critical of the regime. As a result, Prodev was dismissed in 1988. One year later, after the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, he was reappointed. The name of the

weekly was changed to *Culture* (*Kultura*). After Prodev resigned in February 1990 to become editor-in-chief of the daily *Word*, Koprinka Chervenкова replaced him. She turned *Culture* into an open-minded, pluralistic, often provocative, although slightly “highbrow” weekly.

CURRENCY. The Bulgarian currency is the *lev* (literally, “lion”), divided into a hundred *stotinkas* (cents). The *lev* was introduced in 1880, after the liberation. The first coins were minted in 1881 and the first bank notes were printed in 1885.

On 11 May 1952, the *lev* was switched from a gold standard to a ruble standard; one new *lev* replaced 1,000 old *lev*, and a 20% price cut was introduced. The Bulgarian currency was modeled on the Soviet ruble: the denominations, the sizes of the coins and bank notes, and even the color of the *lev* and the ruble were the same. The official exchange rate was highly artificial; more realistic rates were offered on the black market.

After the downfall of the communist system, as a result of political instability and the economic crisis, the *lev* underwent rapid devaluation. Measures to protect the *lev* were taken, but were not very successful. After prices were liberated in 2001, inflation reached 300%. Inflation rates declined in the following years but rose again in 1996 when Bulgarian household budgets were ravaged by hyperinflation. In practice, the US dollar replaced the *lev* as tender. On 1 July 1997, a currency board was established, which linked the Bulgarian *lev* to the *Deutsche Mark* and, from 4 January 1999 onward, to the Euro. Since the currency board also refused to increase the money supply unless the national reserves warranted it, inflation was reduced to a normal level (1% by the end of 1998, 2.6% in 1999), limiting, however, the options for economic policy. The new Bulgarian coins and bills are the same color and size as the Euro.

CYRIL AND METHODIUS. **Byzantine** monks and scholars, called the “Apostles of the Slavs.” They were brothers born in Salonika to the family of a Byzantine administrator—Cyril (whose secular name was Constantine) probably in 826, Methodius in 815. Both received an excellent education in the best Constantinople schools. Cyril became a teacher of philosophy at the court; Methodius served as a gov-

ernor of a Slav-populated province in the Balkans and later withdrew to a monastery in Anatolia.

In 862, the Byzantine emperor Michael III at the request of the local king sent the brothers to Moravia (now in the Czech Republic) in order to introduce the Slavic liturgy in the Moravian churches. (The Moravians had been Christianized already by Frankish monks and celebrated the liturgy in Latin. The king, however, preferred the Slavic liturgy, fearing the increasing German influence in his realm.) Since there was no written Slavic, Cyril created the first Slavic alphabet—the so-called *glagolitsa*—and subsequently, together with his brother, translated the Scriptures and various liturgical and theological texts into Old Bulgarian, based on the Slavic dialect spoken in the neighborhood of their native town, Salonika. The creation of the glagolitic script, and especially the translation of the sophisticated Greek liturgical and theological language into the Slavonic idiom of shepherds and peasants, can be ranked among the most impressive intellectual achievements of the Middle Ages.

Cyril died in Rome in 867; Methodius spent some years as a prisoner in a Bavarian monastery and then resumed their common undertaking until his death in 885. Afterward, the competing German priests in Moravia soon destroyed their work. The pupils of Cyril and Methodius were either killed or forced to flee. Some of them (such as **Kliment of Ohrid**) took refuge in Bulgaria. King **Boris I** preferred these Slavic priests to the Greek ones, who were suspected of acting as agents of the Byzantine Empire. The **Cyrillic** alphabet and the Bulgarian literary language and culture linked with it were created in Bulgaria, and in the late ninth and the 10th centuries they spread throughout **Serbia, Romania, Ukraine, and Russia**. In the 15th century, during the “second South Slavic wave” in Russia, the influence of the Cyrillic literary tradition, renewed by Bulgarian scholars like **Evtimiy of Tŭrnovo**, was reinforced. *See also* BULGARIAN LANGUAGE; BULGARIAN LITERATURE.

CYRIL OF SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA. *See* KIRIL OF SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA.

CYRILLIC ALPHABET. In Bulgaria, for the sake of convenience, the rather complicated *glagolitsa*, created by **Cyrillus and Methodius**,

was soon replaced by a graphic adaptation of the Greek alphabet, enlarged with some new—partly *glagolitic*—letters for typically Slavic phonemes. This new alphabet was called Cyrillic, to honor the Apostle of the Slavs, although Cyril had nothing to do with it. The Cyrillic alphabet, commonly though inappropriately called the Russian alphabet, is still in use among all of the Orthodox Slavic peoples.

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DALCHEV, ATANAS (1904–1978). Bulgarian poet. Born in Salonika on 12 June 1904 to a lawyer and a teacher. From 1908 to 1912, he lived in Istanbul, where his father was a member of Parliament. After the **Balkan Wars**, the family moved to Sofia, where Dalchev studied philosophy. In the years 1927–1936, he alternately traveled throughout Italy and France, studying painting and sculpture, and worked as a teacher in Bulgaria and Istanbul. In 1939, he was appointed school inspector and later director of the Sofia junior high school. After the communist takeover in 1944, Dalchev was appointed to a post in the Ministry of Information. In 1952, he resigned; until 1965, he was editor-in-chief of a youth magazine. He died in Sofia on 18 January 1978.

Dalchev was the most important Bulgarian poet of the interwar period. Rejecting the aesthetics of symbolism, he wrote in a terse style about everyday things, reflecting the alienation and the loneliness of a vulnerable intellectual in an inhumane world. During the communist period, Dalchev was accused of petty-bourgeois individualism and pessimism, and he was isolated although never ostracized. In the 1970s, he became the unwitting idol of a number of young poets who tried to escape from the empty pathos and compulsory subject matter of socialist realism. *See also* BULGARIAN LITERATURE.

DAMASKIN. Collection of sermons, didactic texts, and stories with a religious tenor, named after the 16th-century Greek writer Damaskinos Stoudites, whose book *Treasure (Thisavros)* was translated into Bulgarian and enjoyed enormous popularity. Later original compilations with a similar content were produced in Bulgaria too, containing not only translations but also stories of a rather profane character. The

most famous Bulgarian *damaskin*-writer was Josif Bradati (Joseph with the Beard, ca. 1695–ca. 1757). By using a **language** close to the vernacular, instead of Church Slavonic, the *damaskins* represent a transitional phase in the development of **Bulgarian literature**, announcing the modern genres of the **National Awakening** period.

DANCE. Dancing occupies an import place in Bulgarian **folklore**. The first dancing—in the sense of ballet—spectacles were organized by gymnastic teachers and were inspired by folk dances by the end of the 19th century. Classical and professional ballet developed in the framework of the activities of the Bulgarian Opera Society by the eve of **World War I**. During the interwar period, a number of Russian ballerinas taught in Bulgaria; budding Bulgarian ballet dancers studied mainly in **Germany**. Mostly Russian ballets (Nikolay Rimski-Korsakov, Aleksandr Borodin, Pyotr Chaykovski, Ilya Glazunov, Mili Balakirev, and others) were staged. In the 1930, Bulgarian composers as well began writing ballet music. Like the Bulgarian painters, composers, and writers, the choreographers intended to create a Bulgarian national style, based on folklore.

In the communist period (1944–1989), Bulgarian ballet, though often branded as a “bourgeois” kind of **art**, profited from the popularity that ballet enjoyed in the **Soviet Union** (SU). Ballet dancers were more than ever before trained in the classical Russian ballet tradition. The *Arabesque* Company, founded in 1967, was the first to engage in modern and even experimental ballet. In spite of financial problems—the lack of sufficient state support—Bulgarian ballet is still performing on a high level. Beside the National Ballet, *Arabesque* is still an internationally renowned ballet company. Among the newer companies, *Bulgarian Dream Dancers*, consisting of a number of women rhythmic gymnasts and led by world champion Lili Ignatova, is one of the most remarkable.

DANUBE. Called *Danuvius* or *Danubius* by the Romans and *Istros* by the Greeks. River in east central and southeast Europe, which rises in the Black Forest in **Germany**, flows through Austria, Slovakia, Hungary, and Serbia, constitutes the border between Bulgaria and **Romania** for 470 kilometers, and finally discharges into the **Black Sea** in north Romania. The Danube formed the northern border of the East

Roman, the **Byzantine**, and the **Ottoman Empires** and thus was of great strategic importance. The Danube is the main waterway between Central Europe and the Balkans. Commercial and cultural contacts between the Balkan citizens of the Ottoman Empire and Budapest and Vienna occurred via the Danube. The vast Danube plain is one of the most fertile regions in Bulgaria. Like the **Balkan** Mountain range, the “quiet white Danube” occupies a particular though more modest place in popular imagination. The most important Bulgarian ports on the Danube are **Vidin**, Lom, Svishtov, and **Ruse**. In Ruse, the “Bridge of Friendship” allows cars and trains to cross the river to Romania. A second bridge will be constructed near Vidin. The much-contested Bulgarian **nuclear power plants** are also located at the banks of the Danube, while the notorious communist labor camp of **Belene** was built on an island in the Danube.

DEFENSE. *See* ARMY.

DELICHEV, GOTSE or GEORGI (1872–1903). National liberation fighter. Born in Kukush (now Kilkis in Greece) on 23 January 1872. He studied at the Military School in **Sofia**, from which he was expelled in 1894 because of his socialist sympathies. As a teacher in Shtip (now in the **Republic of Macedonia**), he met **Damyan Gruev** and entered the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO) leadership. Following the example of **Vasil Levski**, Delchev advocated the creation of a network of revolutionary cells that would prepare for a general armed uprising against **Ottoman rule** in Macedonia and the **Adrianople region**. In 1896, Delchev and **Gyorche Petrov** drafted the IMARO program. In 1899, at Delchev’s suggestion and under his supervision, IMARO began coordinating and organizing *cheta* actions. In 1902, Delchev revised the IMARO program, emphasizing the importance of cooperation among all ethnic groups in the territories concerned in order to obtain political autonomy. The organization was renamed the **Secret Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (SMARO). During a meeting held in the absence of Delchev, the SMARO leadership decided to launch a massive uprising at the beginning of August 1903. Although Delchev disapproved of this decision, considering the uprising premature, he nevertheless participated

in its preparation. Crossing Macedonia with his *cheta*, he was attacked by an Ottoman unit and killed on 21 April 1903. The Macedonian liberation movement thus lost its most important organizer and ideologist, even before the **Ilinden Uprising** broke out.

DEMOCRACY (*Demokratiya*). Daily publication of the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)**. The first issue appeared on 12 February 1990. The first editor-in-chief was Yordan Vasilev, husband of **Blaga Dimitrova**. In the first years after the fall of the communist regime in 1989, *Democracy* played an important role in the democratization process, criticizing the policy of the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) / Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)** and formulating the political demands of the UDF. After Vasilev resigned, he was replaced by Panayot Denev. Since July 1994, Ivo Indzhev, former director of the **Bulgarian Telegraph Agency (BTA)**, has been editor-in-chief.

Democracy was the most prominent anti-communist and anti-BSP daily and has been one of the main sources of information on Bulgarian political life. Like most Bulgarian newspapers, however, it suffers from an irritating party bias. Moreover, it never equaled the journalistic professionalism of its socialist rival, **Word**. Due to financial problems, *Democracy* stopped appearing in 2002 and was available only on the Internet. It reappeared in March 2006.

DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (DA)/Demokraticheski Sgovor (DS).

Coalition of conservative political parties founded on 10 August 1923. The core was the **National Alliance (NA)**. Actually, the DA had been active for several months by then, its main goal being to overthrow the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** government led by **Aleksandър Stamboliyski**. The DA seized power through the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923** and governed the country until April 1931. The DA cabinet, including nearly all Bulgarian political parties except for the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** and BANU, was responsible for the suppression of the **September 1923 Uprising** and the persecution of communists and BANU members during the police and army terror in the years 1924–1926. Although the DA bore the hallmark of the NA, the constituent political groups and movements were quite diverse, which explains why several splinter parties soon broke away. Even within the core of the former

NA members, there was no unanimity. During the first period (until January 1926), the DA was dominated by the authoritarian **Aleksandŭr Tsankov**; from 1926 to 1931, the party was led by his more indulgent rival, **Andrey Lyapchev**. Lyapchev resigned in April 1931. At the June 1931 elections, the DA was defeated by the **People's Bloc** (PB). In May 1932, the DA split into a DA-Aleksandŭr Tsankov and a DA-Andrey Lyapchev. After the moderate adherents had left the DA-Aleksandŭr Tsankov, it developed into an overtly fascist organization, the **National Social Movement** (NSM). The **coup d'état of 19 May 1934** put an end to the legal existence of the DA and its offspring.

DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE FOR THE REPUBLIC (DAR)/DEMOKRATICHESKA ALTERNATIVA ZA REPUBLIKATA (DAR). Parliamentary coalition, founded in September 1994, consisting mainly of former deputies of the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy (PUSD), members of the Civil Association for the Republic (CAR), and the New Union for Democracy (NUD), and for some time the **Green Party** (GP). DAR was one of the many centrist parliamentary groups looking for an effective alternative to the political polarization between the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) and the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). In 1996, the coalition in fact ceased to exist when the members joined **Bulgarian Euro-Left**. In March 1997 it was revived, but thereafter it did not play a significant role in Bulgarian politics.

DEMOCRATIC LEFT (DF)/DEMOKRATICHESKA LEVITSA (DL). Coalition, created in view of the December 1994 elections by the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski** (BANU-Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski), the **Political Club Ekoglasnost** (PC *Ekoglasnost*), and the dominating **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP). It was maintained for the communal elections in October–November 1995 and the presidential elections in 1996, when it supported Ivan Marazov for president and Irina Bokova for vice-president. BANU-Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski refused to renew the DL for the parliamentary elections in April 1997. The leader of the DF parliamentary group during the term of office of the **Kostov cabinet** was the future state president **Georgi Pŭrvanov**.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DP)/DEMOKRATICESKA PARTIYA

(DP). Founded in 1896 by Petko Karavelov and like-minded politicians who had separated from the **Liberal Party** (LP). The DP defended the interests of the small industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. From 1902 to 1938, the party was headed by **Aleksandŭr Malinov**. In 1901, a split resulted in the emergence of the Progressive Liberal Party (PLP); in 1905, the **Radical Democratic Party** (RDP) broke away. In 1922, the DP was among the cofounders of the **Democratic Alliance** (DA); in that capacity, it supported the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**. In 1924, however, the DP went over to the **People's Bloc** (PB), which won the elections in 1931. It subsequently played an important role in the PB government (June 1931 to January 1934). The PB was forced to resign after the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**, which put an end to the DP's legal existence. During **World War II**, as a rightist although anti-fascist party, the DP opposed the pro-German as well as the pro-Soviet political forces in the country. After the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, the DP resisted the communist dominated **Fatherland Front** (FF) for awhile. In 1947, it was disbanded.

On 19 December 1990, the DP was reestablished as a conservative party in Sofia by Boris Kyurkchiev, who was elected chair, and others. Kyurkchiev eventually was replaced by **Stefan Savov**, while Kyurkchiev received the title of honorary chair. The DP cofounded the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) and was one of its most prominent constituent members. In the summer of 1994, however, disagreement with the UDF leadership resulted in suspending the DP's UDF membership. A new Democratic Party-1896, referring to the founding year of the old DP, was founded and remained within the UDF (to split in May 1998 into two new parties claiming the name DP-1896, and both intending to remain true to the UDF), while the original DP left the UDF in the fall of 1994 and decided to run in the December 1994 **elections** independently from the UDF, in a new centrist coalition with **Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser's Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU), called the **People's Union** (PU). The DP won two of the 18 PU seats in the 37th National Assembly (1995–1997). In March 1997 the DP joined the coalition **United Democratic Forces** (Uddf). It participated in the June 2001 and 2005 elections as a member of the Uddf. The current chair is Aleksandŭr Pramatarov.

DEMOCRATIC UNION-ROMA (DU-ROMA)/DEMOKRATICHESKI SÛYUZ-ROMA (DS-Roma). Organization of the Bulgarian **Roma**, founded on 17 March 1990, as the Independent Democratic Socialist Union of Roma in Bulgaria. The DU-Roma devotes itself to the preservation of the Roma culture, the defense of the cultural rights of the Roma community, and the protection of the Roma against racism and discrimination. It has failed to gain much influence.

DEMOCRATS FOR A STRONG BULGARIA (DSB)/DEMOKRATI ZA SILNA BÛLGARIYA (DSB). Rightist political party, founded on 26 May 2004 as an offspring of the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)**. The DSB promoted a neo-liberal economic policy and a moderate and modern civil nationalism. **Ivan Kostov** was elected chair. The name of the party provoked suspicion from the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF)**, which is Kostov's permanent target. The DSB has 1,300 members. It was likely to be a strong rival to the UDF in the 2005 parliamentary elections. The fact that the DSB refused to cooperate with most other parties, however, weakened its position. Nevertheless, it obtained 7.07% of the vote or 17 seats, little less than the coalition **United Democratic Forces (Uddf)**, thanks mainly to the charismatic Kostov.

DEMOGRAPHY. There were an estimated 1,179,000 people living in what is now Bulgaria in 1500; 1,631,000 in 1600; 2,257,000 in 1700; and 2,745,000 in 1800. The first real censuses date from the 1880s. There were 3,154,375 people living in Bulgaria in 1888. Later censuses yielded the following figures:

1892:	3,310,713	1946:	7,029,349
1900:	3,744,283	1956:	7,613,709
1905:	4,035,575	1965:	8,227,866
1910:	4,337,513	1975:	8,727,771
1920:	4,846,971	1992:	8,487,317
1926:	5,478,741	2001:	7,932,984
1934:	6,077,939		

The natural population growth began slowing in the 1960s: from 0.6% in 1965–1973 to 0.3% in 1973–1983. Since 1983, it has been

0.2%, one of the lowest in Europe. The decline of the population between 1975 and 2001 is due to the massive emigration of Turks in 1989 and of Bulgarian young people in the years following the fall of the communist regime in November 1989. Moreover, birth rates reached rock bottom in 1997 (7.7 per thousand, the lowest in Europe) and remained low (9.6 in 2004). The mortality rate was the highest in Europe (14.7 per thousand in 1997) and decreased slightly in the following years (14.2 in 2004). Life expectancy was 68.1 for males and 75.6 for females in 2004. Both declined after the fall of the communist regime due to the health care crisis, deteriorating living conditions, and stress. The number of abortions is twice the average in other European countries. Worried Bulgarian demographers estimate that by 2050, given the massive **emigration** and the higher birth rates among the **ethnic minorities**, the total population of Bulgaria will amount to 6 million, 3.5 million of whom will be **Roma** and **Turks**.

In 1989, there was an average population density of 81/square kilometer; in 1992, it was 76.5/square kilometer; according to the 2001 census results, it is 71.8/square kilometer. In Sofia, the population density is about 1,000/square kilometer, in the other bigger cities about 100; in the mountains there are only 40 to 60 inhabitants per square kilometer. About 70% of the Bulgarians are city dwellers; 30% live in rural areas. In the interwar period, the rural population amounted to 80% of the total population (78% in 1945). The migration from the villages to the cities during the communist period was a result of the collectivization of **agriculture**, which created a surplus of labor, and of industrialization and bureaucratic centralization. *See also* IMMIGRATION; RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.

DERTLIEV, PETÛR (1916–2001). Politician. Born on 7 April 1916 in Pisarevo. He studied medicine. In 1934, he became a member of the **Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party** (BWSDP) and later the chair of the BWSDP youth organization. In that capacity, Dertliev was repeatedly arrested. After the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, he was interned for some months. In 1946, he was elected to the **Grand National Assembly** (GNA). In 1948, however, he was arrested again and sentenced to a 10-year prison term.

On 26 November 1989, Dertliev and other members of the old BWSDP restored the party as the **Bulgarian Social Democratic**

Party (BSDP). On 2 February 1990, he succeeded the 87-year-old Atanas Moskov as the chair of the BSDP. In 1990–1991, he was the chair of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) Parliamentary Group in the GNA. In 1994, he became the first president of the newly founded **Democratic Alternative for the Republic** (DAR), in 1998, of the formation Social Democracy and, in 2000, of the oppositional Club 100. Dertliev was one of the main architects of the BSDP strategy and ideology; his attempts to create a major centrist party as an alternative to the BSP and the UDF, however, failed. He died in Sofia on 5 November 2001.

DEVSHIRME. Turkish word, derived from the infinitive *devşirmek*, “to collect,” “to enroll.” The *devshirme* consisted of forcibly collecting and enrolling young Christian boys for Ottoman service. It was introduced in the last quarter of the 14th century and was regularly applied until the 1640s; at the end of the 17th century, it was officially abolished. The *devshirme* was carried out at an average interval of five to seven years, or more often, depending on the needs of the state. The boys were taken away permanently to Istanbul where they were converted to Islam and were subjected to special training. According to their aptitudes, they were included in the court administration or in the crack troops, the janissary corps. The *devshirme* was one of the main means of forced Islamization in the Ottoman Empire.

DIMITROV CABINETS. **Filip Dimitrov** headed two cabinets in the post-communist period.

First Dimitrov cabinet (8 November 1991 to 20 May 1992): After the victory of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) in the October 1991 **elections**, a new cabinet was formed, headed by UDF chair Dimitrov. The cabinet, proposed to the **National Assembly** (NA) on 8 November 1991, consisted of 14 UDF members and was the first postwar government without communists or former communists. As the UDF majority at the elections was rather narrow, Dimitrov had to resort to an informal coalition with the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF) to secure a majority in the NA.

The Dimitrov cabinet attempted to reorganize the Bulgarian **economy** by implementing “shock therapy.” Laws on the restitution of nationalized properties, on the privatization of state enterprises, and on

foreign investments were initiated. Moreover, the parliament adopted bills that aimed at disposing of all remnants of communist power by prosecuting former communist leaders and confiscating the properties that the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) had inherited from the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BCP). The UDF leadership, which was made up nearly exclusively of anti-communist hardliners, had a radicalizing influence on the cabinet. Important former communist functionaries were prosecuted, and all reminders of the former regime were removed as much as possible. This witch hunt, although perhaps unavoidable, consumed much time and energy; moreover, the irreconcilable attitude polarized political forces and made parliamentary work nearly impossible given the narrow UDF majority in the NA. The cooperation of a loyal opposition was badly needed. Finally, the radical economic reforms and the land-restitution policy damaged the material and social interests of a considerable segment of the population. The Turks among the discontented were MRF voters, so the MRF representatives in the NA grew reluctant to support the UDF cabinet. The MRF insisted on the support of the labor union *Podkrepa*, which was necessary in order to avoid social unrest when implementing the highly unpopular economic reforms. Attempting to cope with the growing tensions, Dimitrov proposed a new cabinet to the NA on 20 May 1992.

See Appendix D for the composition of the first Filip Dimitrov government.

Second Filip Dimitrov government (20 May 1992 to 28 October 1992): In the second Filip Dimitrov government (20 May 1992 to 28 October 1992), seven ministers were replaced and a new ministry (of trade) was created. The main difficulty remained the support of the MRF, which backed the ousted Defense Minister Ludzhev because of his good relations with *Podkrepa*. Finally, the MRF was satisfied with the appointment of Rumen Bikov, who was considered able to perform the same role of mediator with *Podkrepa*. The pressure on the cabinet, however, was not eased. The MRF increasingly disapproved of the social consequences of the UDF's economic policy. By the end of September 1992, the MRF had begun to withdraw its support of the cabinet, as indicated by its insistence on **Stefan Savov's** resignation. When the cabinet finally was compromised by the **Mishev-gate affair**, Dimitrov asked for a vote of confidence. The MRF supported

the BSP against the cabinet. Dimitrov lost with 111 votes to 120; apparently, a number of the traditional UDF supporters of the cabinet now opposed it. Filip Dimitrov resigned on 28 October 1992. The UDF held President **Zhelyo Zhelev** responsible for the fall of the cabinet, especially after he charged the MRF with forming a new one.

See Appendix D for the composition of the second Filip Dimitrov cabinet.

**DIMITROV COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION (DCYU)/
DIMITROVSKI KOMUNISTICHESKI MLADEZHKI SŪYUZ
(DKMS).** Commonly known as *Komsomol*, the abbreviated name of the Soviet communist youth union, *Kommunisticheskiy Soyuz Molodyozhi*. It was founded in 1900 as the Union of the Workers' Social Democratic Youth, the youth organization of the **Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party** (BWSDP). When in 1919 the party changed its name into Bulgarian Communist Party-Narrow Socialists (BCP-NS), the party's youth organization was renamed the Bulgarian Communist Youth Union (BCYU). It was involved in the preparations for the **September 1923 Uprising**. When the uprising was crushed, the BCYU went underground and continued armed resistance to the **Democratic Alliance** (DA) government for some time. In 1928, the (illegal) BCP-NS founded the Workers' Youth Union (WYU) as the legal counterpart of the BCYU. After the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**, the WYU was outlawed but survived illegally. In 1938, the BCYU merged into the WYU. Members of the WYU participated in partisan actions against the **personal regime** of Tsar **Boris III** and were sentenced to imprisonment or were killed. After the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, which brought the communists to power, other youth organizations were banned or were forced to join the WYU, which was thus transformed into a state youth organization named the Union of the People's Youth. After the April 1956 Plenum it was given the name Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, after the late party leader **Georgi Dimitrov**—a name which it bore until February 1990 when the organization was renamed the Bulgarian Democratic Youth (BDY) and became the **Bulgarian Socialist Party's** (BSP) youth organization.

The DCYU was entrusted with the ideological and patriotic education of young people from 14 to 28 years of age. It also organized political meetings in the spirit of proletarian internationalism with

similar organizations from abroad. Membership in the DCYU was compulsory, and being expelled was considered a disgrace. Many communist politicians were prepared for leading BCP functions by the DCYU.

DIMITROV, FILIP (1955–). Politician. Born in Sofia on 31 March 1955. He studied law at University of **Sofia** and was known for his interest in psychoanalysis. He was a member of the leadership of the **Green Party** (GP), later the **Conservative Ecological Party** (CLB), and of the **Committee for Religious Rights** (CRR). On 11 December 1990, he succeeded **Petûr Beron** as the chair of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) National Coordinating Council. Dimitrov belonged to the “dark blue” radicals of the UDF-Movement, refusing any compromise with the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) and insisting on “shock therapy” economic reforms. On 4 November 1991, after the October 1991 **parliamentary elections** the UDF had won, Dimitrov was appointed prime minister by President **Zhelyo Zhelev**. On 8 November, he presented the first **Dimitrov cabinet** to the **National Assembly** (NA). During his term as prime minister, Dimitrov remained UDF chair. On 20 May 1992, he proposed a new cabinet to the NA. Dimitrov failed in his attempts to solve Bulgaria’s most urgent problems, such as the privatization of the state enterprises, the restitution of land, inflation, and unemployment. This was mainly due to BSP obstruction but also to Dimitrov’s lack of flexibility and his irreconcilable attitude toward the BSP. Moreover, he did not succeed in holding his party together. During his prime ministership, the UDF continued to suffer from divisiveness and kept splintering into factions. On 28 October 1992, Dimitrov announced the resignation of his cabinet after it was discredited by the **Mishev-gate** affair. On 20 November, Dimitrov proposed a new cabinet to the National Assembly, but it was not approved because of the three ministries that the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF) demanded.

A cabinet of experts—that is, people who were not elected but were chosen because of their expertise—under the leadership of **Lyuben Berov** was formed on 30 December 1992, supported by the BSP and the MRF. Dimitrov made frantic attempts to overthrow this government, subjecting it in vain to about half a dozen no-confidence motions and insisting on early elections. After the 18 December 1994

elections, however, the UDF was soundly defeated, and Dimitrov was replaced by **Ivan Kostov** as the UDF chair on 29 December 1994. In the following years, Dimitrov was a UDF member of Parliament. From May 1997 until January 2002, under the **Ivan Kostov cabinet**, Dimitrov served consecutively as Bulgarian permanent representative to the **United Nations** (UN) and ambassador to the **United States**.

DIMITROV, GEORGI (1882–1949). Real name: Georgi Dimitrov Mihaylov. Politician. Born on 18 June 1882 in Kovachevtsi. He left school at the age of 12 to become a printer's apprentice. He became involved in the labor union movement and entered the **Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party** (BWSDP) in 1902. One year later, when the party split, he opted for the **Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party-Narrow Socialists** (BWSDP-NS). In 1904, he was elected a member of the leadership of the **General Workers' Labor Union** (GWLU), and in 1909 he entered the BWSDP-Narrow Socialists Central Committee. In 1921, Dimitrov visited the **Soviet Union** (SU) and met Vladimir Lenin. From 1921 to 1922, he lived in Moscow as a member of the Red Labor Unions' International. In summer 1923, together with **Vasil Kolarov**, he organized the **September 1923 Uprising** in Bulgaria. After the uprising was crushed, Dimitrov fled to the SU. In Moscow he established the Foreign Committee of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), later renamed the Foreign Bureau of the BCP **Central Committee** (CC). From 1923 to 1926, he worked as a secretary of the Presidium of the **Balkan Communist Federation** (BCF), advocating a Balkan federation within the framework of which the **Macedonian Question** would be resolved by creating a separate Macedonian federal unit. From 1926 to 1933, he was a secretary of the Executive Committee of the **Comintern**, being the head of the West European section from 1929 on. In 1933, he was arrested in Berlin and charged with setting fire to the *Reichstag* building. Because of international protests, the Nazis released him in 1934.

Since the **People's Bloc** (PB) government had refused him access to Bulgaria, Dimitrov returned to Moscow, where he was welcomed as a hero and was awarded SU citizenship. Dimitrov resumed his activities in the Comintern, initiating in 1935 the creation of "popular

fronts” in Western Europe—coalitions of all (including bourgeois) anti-fascist political forces to urge their respective governments to oppose German expansionism and especially the German threat to the SU. In November 1945, one year after the communist **coup d’état of 9 September 1944**, he returned to Bulgaria and a year later became prime minister. Under Dimitrov’s rule, the old political parties were liquidated and the communist dictatorship, modeled after Stalinism, was consolidated. The nationalization of enterprises and the collectivization of **agriculture** were begun. As a first step to the creation of a Balkan federation, the Macedonians were officially recognized as a separate Slavic nation. Since Stalin opposed the idea of a Balkan federation, however, Dimitrov also renounced it. He died on 2 July 1949, in a sanatorium near Moscow—killed by the Soviets, rumor had it, although the reason why is unclear. Dimitrov’s body was embalmed and displayed in a mausoleum in the center of Sofia. On 18 July 1990, it was removed from the mausoleum and cremated at the Orlandovtsi cemetery in Sofia.

DIMITROV, GEORGI MIHOV *or* “GEMETO” (1903–1972).

Politician. Born in Yeni Çiftlik (now in Turkey) on 28 November 1903. He studied medical sciences in Zagreb. He was one of the leaders of the conservative wing of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU). He was opposed to the personal regime that Tsar **Boris III** established after the **coup d’état of 19 May 1934** and to Bulgaria’s overtures to Nazi **Germany**, but he equally disapproved of the pro-Soviet line advocated by the communists. During **World War II**, he lived abroad, heading the pro-British Bulgarian National Committee. After the communist **coup d’état of 9 September 1944**, he returned to Bulgaria. As BANU leader, he tried in vain to prevent the communists from dominating the **Fatherland Front** (FF) government and establishing a communist dictatorship. In May 1945, he was ousted from BANU and emigrated to the **United States**. There, in 1947, he founded the Green Front, which aimed at organizing and supporting the Eastern European agrarian resistance to communist rule. He died in Washington on 28 November 1972. In 1991; after the fall of the communist regime in 1989, his daughter **Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser** returned to Bulgaria and took the position of head of BANU that had once been her father’s.

DIMITROV, ILCHO (1931–2002). Historian and politician. Born in Sofia on 3 June 1931. He studied history at the University of Sofia from 1949 to 1953. He joined the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** in 1954. In 1959, he became a university teacher. From 1966 onward, he spent several periods in France, Great Britain, and Italy, preparing his Ph.D. thesis, which he defended in 1974. From 1972 to 1978, he was vice-director of the Center for History at the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS)**. In 1974, he was appointed professor of modern Bulgarian history at the University of Sofia and member of the Presidium of the BAS in 1976. From 1979 to 1981, he was the rector of the University of Sofia. In 1986–1990, he was a member of the **Central Committee (CC)** of the BCP and in 1986–1987 minister of education. In 1990, he was elected member of the leadership of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)**. From 1995 to 1997, he was minister of education, science, and technology in the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**.

Dimitrov was vice-editor-in-chief of the renowned *Bulgarian Historical Review*. He published articles and books on Bulgaria in the interwar period. As an historian and a politician, he held rather nationalist views. Dimitrov died in Sofia on 12 March 2002.

DIMITROV-MAYSTORA (“THE MASTER”), VLADIMIR (1882–1960). Painter. Born in Florosh on 1 February 1882. He studied with the Czech painter Ivan Mrkvička in Sofia and traveled through Europe, the **United States** and **Turkey**, visiting world-famous art galleries. His first major achievements consisted of scenes of soldiers’ life during the **Balkan Wars** and **World War I**. In the interwar period, he developed his remarkable decorative style that contained many references to Bulgarian folk art. His favorite subject matter was peasants, portrayed sitting or standing and often surrounded by an abundance of flowers or fruit. Thus, he contributed to the establishment of a “national style,” which was the aim of most painters, writers, and composers in that period. Dimitrov spent nearly all his life in his native region of Kyustendil, where most of his paintings can now be seen in the City Gallery bearing his name. He died in Sofia on 29 September 1960.

DIMITROV PIONEERS ORGANIZATION-SEPTEMVRIYCHE (DPO-SEPTEMVRIYCHE)/DIMITROVSKA PIONERSKA

ORGANIZATSIYA-SEPTEMVRIYCHE (DPO-SEPTEMVRIY-CHE). Official communist organization for children between 10 and 14 years old, functioning under the auspices of the **Dimitrov Communist Youth Union (DCYU)**. It was created in 1945 after other “progressive” children’s organizations were disbanded and their members were forced to enter the communist youth organization. *PO-Septemvriyche* (literally, “September boy” or “girl,” a reference to the **coup d’état of 9 September 1944**) was honored with the epithet “Dimitrov” after **Georgi Dimitrov** died in 1949. *DPO-Septemvriyche* pursued the same ideological and educational goals as the DCYU. After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, it merged with the Bulgarian Democratic Youth, the youth organization of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)**.

DIMITROVA, BLAGA (1922–2003). Writer. Born in Byala Slatina on January 2, 1922. She studied Slavic philology at the University of **Sofia** and literature at the Maksim Gorki Institute in Moscow, where she submitted a thesis on Mayakovski and Bulgarian poetry. In Bulgaria, she worked as an editor at several literary journals. Dimitrova was above all one of Bulgaria’s finest postwar poets. Her poetry is lyrical and intellectual, analyzing moral and social problems. She showed an increasing preference for more complex poetic forms and formal experiments. Dimitrova also wrote some remarkable novels, like *Traveling to Myself (Pûtavane kûm sebe si, 1965)*, *Deviation (Otklonenie, 1967)*, and *The Avalanche (Lavina, 1971)*, which were condemned because of their critical attitude toward some phenomena of socialist society. Critics also attacked the biography of Elizaveta Bagryana, which she wrote in cooperation with her (Dimitrova’s) husband, Yordan Vasilev, in the 1970s; the third volume was not published. The novel, *The Face (Litseto, 1981)*, was banned as well. In the mid-1980s, Dimitrova became one of Bulgaria’s most influential dissidents. In the essay *Name (Ime)* she defended the Turkish community in Bulgaria during the **regeneration process**. She cofounded the Sofia Club for Glasnost and Democracy. On 19 January 1992, she was elected vice-president, with **Zhelyo Zhelev** as president. After Zhelev was attacked by the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** for having overtly criticized the party, Dimitrova resigned on 30 June

1993, complaining of having too small a share in decision-making. No successor was appointed. Dimitrova died in Sofia on 2 May 2003.

DIMITROVA-MOSER, ANASTASIYA (1937–). Politician. Born in Sofia on 30 June 1937 as a daughter of **Georgi M. Dimitrov**, the former **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) leader who had emigrated to the **United States** in 1945. She studied at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., where she later had a job as a researcher at the World Bank. She is married to Charles Moser, a specialist in Russian and Bulgarian literature. Dimitrova-Moser returned to Bulgaria in 1991. At the 15–16 February 1992 congress, she was elected leader of the renewed **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Nikola Petkov** (BANU-Nikola Petkov) instead of **Milan Drenchev**. On 21 November 1992, she succeeded in having BANU leader Tsenko Barev dismissed and in uniting BANU and BANU-Nikola Petkov, becoming the chair of the renewed BANU. She has been the leader of BANU, called **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-People's Union** (BANU-PU) from 1996 onward, playing a considerable part in Bulgarian politics, without being able, however, to prevent the party from “peeling off,” let alone to restore the BANU to its prewar prominence.

DIRECTORATE ON RELIGIOUS FAITHS/DIREKTSIYA PO VEROIZPOVEDANIYA. Founded in 1991 by the **Dimitŭr Popov cabinet** as a department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to replace the communist Committee on the Problems of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and Religious Cults. All religious organizations had to be registered formally at the directorate. By registering “alternative” religious organizations, the directorate initiated a campaign to dismiss the Orthodox patriarch **Maksim** and the Islamic grand mufti **Nedim Gendzhev**, both appointed by the communist regime although they were supposed to be elected by their respective autonomous religious organizations. As a result, the directorate was criticized for state interference in religious affairs. It consequently refused to take a stand vis-à-vis the quarrels within the religious communities, which have continued until now. *See also* BULGARIAN PATRIARCHATE; SUPREME MUSLIM SPIRITUAL COUNCIL.

DISSIDENCE. Political dissidence in Bulgaria during the communist period was far less important than in other Central and Eastern European countries. Within the country, there were no informal organizations comparable to *Charta 77*, or individuals who had the moral authority of Václav Havel or Alexander Solzhenitsyn, although **Blaga Dimitrova** enjoyed considerable respect for her moral principles, especially among the young. The satirist **Radoy Ralin** was seen by the regime as a jester, but he accurately and wittily expressed the opinion of the people. The poet **Konstantin Pavlov** ridiculed the regime in a more sophisticated way, less accessible to a general readership. Another poet, **Nikolay Kûnchev**, stubbornly clung to his own rather hermetic aesthetic principles and was boycotted in many ways by the authorities. The best-known Bulgarian dissidents were **Georgi Markov**, a writer who emigrated to the West and worked for the BBC World Service and Radio Free Europe, and **Zhelyo Zhelev**, a sociologist who produced a penetrating analysis of the communist system in the guise of a study of fascism.

Political emigrants fought the communist regime from abroad but were virtually ignored by the media in the West and by the Bulgarians themselves. Tsenko Barev, a former **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) leader, published the journal *Future (Bûdashte)* in Paris. Andrey Gûrnevski edited the *Bulletin of the Bulgarian League for Human Rights* in The Hague. Blagoy Peev and Nikolay Pavlov ran the publishing house Peev & Pavlov, specializing in Bulgarian dissident literature in Paris and Stockholm. Peev was found dead in his store in Paris; the police concluded that his apparent suicide had been simulated. In Switzerland, Petûr Zagorski published an “alternative” biography of **Georgi Dimitrov** and the autobiography of Blagoy Popov, a Bulgarian communist political emigrant to the **Soviet Union** (SU) who was sent to a labor camp in Siberia. One of the most prominent Bulgarian dissident intellectuals abroad was **Atanas Slavov** in the **United States**.

In the late 1980s, as a result of the changing political climate in the Soviet Union, some young intellectuals (like Aleksandûr Kyosev and Vladimir Levchev), often connected with the University of **Sofia**, became more daring and began publishing such samizdat literary and cultural journals as *Alternative (Alternativa)*, *Bridge (Most)*, and *Voice (Glas)*, which were more symptomatic of the disintegration of

the system than a threat to it. More influential were the views expressed by older dissidents (such as the poets Blaga Dimitrova, **Petko Simeonov**, and Zhelyo Zhelev) in some Bulgarian mass media and through foreign radio stations.

DOBRUDJA. (Romanian: *Dobrogea*.) Region in the northeast of Bulgaria and the southeast of **Romania**, between the lower course of the **Danube** and the **Black Sea**, called Scythia Minor in antiquity. In the seventh century, it was populated by **Slavs** and **Proto-Bulgarians**. In the mid-14th century, the feudal lord Balik, nominally a vassal of the Bulgarian tsar in **Veliko Tŭrnovo**, established a semi-independent principality in that region. His son Dobrotitsa, after whom the whole region was eventually named, enlarged the principality and increased its independence. In 1387, Dobrotitsa established commercial relations with Genoa; his fleet operated along the Anatolian coast. The Orthodox dioceses in Dobrudja broke with the **Bulgarian Patriarchate** and recognized the authority of the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**. After Dobrotitsa's death at the end of the 14th century, Dobrudja was conquered by the **Ottoman Turks**. During the Ottoman period (end of the 14th century to 1878), the extraordinarily fertile area attracted many Turkish, **Tatar**, Cherkez, **Russian**, and even German colonists. By virtue of the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**, Northern Dobrudja became a part of Romania, while Southern Dobrudja was joined to the Principality of Bulgaria. After Bulgaria was defeated in **Balkan War I**, Romania was entitled by the 1913 **Treaty of Bucharest** to annex also the southern part of Dobrudja, as a compensation for the Bulgarian territorial expansion in Macedonia, although only 2.2% of the population in Southern Dobrudja was Romanian. Thousands of Bulgarians were forced to leave the region and to find refuge in Bulgaria, joining the large number of refugees from Macedonia.

During **World War I**, Bulgaria occupied the whole of Dobrudja. The 1918 Treaty of Bucharest stipulated that Southern Dobrudja be returned to Bulgaria, while Northern Dobrudja was to be administered by the Central Powers (**Germany**, Austria-Hungary), **Turkey**, and Bulgaria as a condominium; in fact, it was controlled by Germany. The 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** put an end to this situation and restored the Romanian domination over the whole of Dobrudja.

Through the 1940 **Treaty of Craiova**, Southern Dobrudja was returned to Bulgaria. At that moment only 70,000 of the 400,000 inhabitants were Romanian, and about half of them were Bulgarian. Although the treaty was the result of considerable pressure exerted by Nazi Germany on the Romanian government, it was not annulled after **World War II** and was never contested by the postwar Romanian communist regime. After the fall of the communist regime in Romania, however, some nationalist parties such as *România mare* (*Great Romania*) demanded that Southern Dobrudja be reincorporated into Romania. For the time being, the question has not come to a head, since the Romanian nationalists are more concerned with Moldova and Transylvania. Moreover, the **European Union** (EU) is opposed to border changes.

DOGAN, AHMED (1954–). Politician. Born on 30 March 1954 in Pchelarevo. Dogan studied philosophy and worked as a researcher in the Dialectic Materialism section of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS) Institute of Philosophy. In April 1985, together with other Turkish intellectuals who had become victims of the Bulgarian **regeneration process**, he founded the **Turkish National Liberation Movement** (TNLM), one of the first human rights groups in Bulgaria. He was arrested and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. At the beginning of 1989, he was released, although according to many Bulgarian Turcophobe party officials, he was a terrorist. In January 1990, Dogan was elected chair of the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), which he headed with great ability. In 1994, however, he was criticized by some MRF members because of his allegedly authoritarian way of leading the movement. Other, more radical Turkish leaders blamed him for being too indulgent. Consequently, the MRF like the other Bulgarian political parties started suffering from splintering into factions. As the MRF entered very different coalitions, other parties have blamed Dogan for a lack of consequence and loyalty. However, the considerable improvement in the situation of the Turkish community in Bulgaria and the peaceful way its rights were restored may be attributed largely to Dogan's personal qualities as a party leader. In the June 2005 **parliamentary elections**, Dogan and his MRF almost doubled their electorate.

DRENCEV, MILAN (1917–). Real name: Milan Drenchev Lazarov. Politician. Born on 12 March 1917 in Vinishte. He studied law and economics. In 1941, he became a member of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) youth organization *Pladne* (*Noon*). The same year, he was sentenced to a jail term for having participated in actions against Bulgaria's alliance with the Axis. After the communist takeover in September 1944, he was released. In 1948, however, Drenchev was accused of anti-communist activities and was condemned to 14 years' imprisonment. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, Drenchev worked at reestablishing the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Nikola Petkov** (BANU-Nikola Petkov). He cofounded the party on 12 December 1989 and was elected its chair. On 11 December 1990, he was elected vice-chair of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF), to which BANU-Nikola Petkov belonged as a constituent member party. BANU-Nikola Petkov, however, made a poor showing in the June 1990 elections. On 8 February 1992, Drenchev reached an agreement with the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-United (BANU-United) chair Tsenko Barev to merge the two parties. However, a large portion of the BANU-Nikola Petkov membership disapproved of this project. At the BANU-Nikola Petkov congress on 15–16 February 1992, Drenchev was replaced by **Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser**, but a number of BANU-Nikola Petkov members remained faithful to Drenchev, who continued to preside over (an independent) BANU-Nikola Petkov. On 8 April 1992, Drenchev founded the Center for Uniting the Agrarian Movements, which aimed to unite all agrarian parties and movements. From 1997 until June 1998, he was the president of the coalition **Union for National Salvation** (UNS).

DRINOV, MARIN (1838–1906). Historian. Born in Panagyurishte on 20 October 1838. He studied history in Kiev and Moscow and traveled extensively in Western Europe as a tutor of the aristocratic family Golitsyn. In 1869, he cofounded the **Bulgarian Literary Society** (BLS), which eventually became the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS), and became its first president. After he defended his Ph.D. thesis, he was appointed professor at the University of Harkov. During the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War** and after, he was governor of Sofia and minister of culture and education. In 1879, he returned to Harkov,

where he spent the rest of his life teaching and doing research. He died there on 28 February 1906.

Initially, Drinov published mainly on early Bulgarian history including the settling of the **Slavs** in the Balkans, their relations with the **Byzantine Empire**, and the emergence of the Bulgarian people, but he was also interested in ethnography and in **Bulgarian literature** from the Middle Ages and the **National Awakening** period (publications on **Paisiy of Hilendar** and **Sofroniy of Vratsa**). Drinov enjoyed a considerable international reputation as a historian and, though living abroad, laid the foundations of Bulgarian professional academic historiography.

DRUMEV, VASIL (ca. 1840–1901). Writer, politician, bishop. Born in 1840. He studied at the Theological Schools in Odessa, and—with an interruption in 1862, when he joined the **Bulgarian Legion** in Belgrade—in Kiev, **Russia**, from 1858 until 1869. From 1869 until 1873, he was the principal of the Bulgarian school in Brăila, **Romania**; during his stay in Brăila, he cofounded the **Bulgarian Literary Society** (BLS). In 1873, he became a cleric, adopting the monastic name Kliment, and eventually was ordained bishop of Ruse. After the liberation in 1878, he joined the **Conservative Party** (CP) and played an important role in politics, first as a member of the **Constituent National Assembly** in 1879, and in 1879–1880, as Bulgaria's second prime minister. From 1884 until his death, he was metropolitan bishop of **Veliko Tŭrnovo**. A convinced Russophile, he was opposed to the Russophobic policy of **Stefan Stambolov**; hence, he was persecuted and exiled. After the fall of Stambolov in 1894, he led a delegation to Saint Petersburg that was to restore the diplomatic relations with Bulgaria.

Drumev is the author of the first original Bulgarian novel, *The Unfortunate Family* (*Neshtastna familiya*, 1860), dealing with the cruel fate of a Bulgarian family during the period of the *kŭrdzhaliyas*, and of one of the first Bulgarian dramas, *Ivanko, the Murderer of Asen I* (*Ivanku, ubietsŭt na Asenya I*, 1872). See also BULGARIAN LITERATURE.

DŪNOV, PETŪR (1864–1944). Real name: Petŭr Konstantinov. Founder of an occult mystic movement. Known to his pupils as

Beinsa Douno or “the Teacher,” Dûnov was born in Nikolaevka near Varna on 11 July 1864 to the family of a priest. He studied medicine and theology in Boston in the **United States**. After his return to Bulgaria in 1895, he published *Science and Education. The Principles of Human Life* (*Nauka i vûzpitanië. Nachalata na choveshkiya zhivot*, 1896). From 1895 until 1900, he lived in solitude, meditating. In 1898, he began preaching in **Sofia**, **Varna**, and **Veliko Tûrnovo**. In 1922, he opened his Occult School, and, in 1929, he organized the first meeting of his disciples, the White Brotherhood, near the Seven Lakes in the **Rila Mountains**. From 1932 onward, he began practicing *paneurhythmy*—28 sets of collective rhythmic movements to an accompaniment of violin melodies composed by Dûnov himself, aimed at “harmonizing the energies of the human body and connecting them with the eternal rhythm of nature.” Dûnov’s teachings, based on a selection of elements borrowed from all major Eastern and Western religions, theosophical theories, and occultism, insist on brotherhood among people and a life in harmony with nature—which, according to “the Teacher,” can be best experienced on a high mountain top. Dûnov died on 27 December 1944 in Sofia. Under communist rule, his theories were forbidden in Bulgaria but gained a number of adherents abroad due to the translation of his writings into Esperanto and several other languages. Nowadays, the White Brotherhood has members all over the world, who annually gather in the Rila Mountains.

DUYCHEV, IVAN (1907–1986). Historian. Born in Sofia on 18 April 1907. He studied medieval history in Sofia and then specialized in Byzantine history and paleography in Rome. He was professor and head of the Institute of History of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAN). He published more than 400 books, articles, and reviews. His main publications deal with medieval Bulgarian history, Old **Bulgarian literature**, Bulgarian-Byzantine relations, and the history of **Catholicism** in Bulgaria. Duychev died in **Sofia** on 24 April 1986. The Center for Slavic-Byzantine Studies at University of Sofia was named after him.

DZHUROV, DOBRI (1916–2002). General and minister of defense. Born on 5 January 1916 in Vrabevo near Lovech, he studied commercial sciences in **Sofia** and became involved in the communist

workers' movement. During **World War II**, Dzhurov was interned in a labor camp; he later escaped and joined the **partisan** army. After the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, he studied at the Military Academy in Sofia and in Moscow. From 1962 to 1990, Dzhurov was minister of national defense; in 1977, he was elected a member of the **Politburo** of the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Central Committee (CC)**. As minister of defense, Dzhurov is thought to have played a decisive role in the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, which put an end to the regime of **Todor Zhivkov**, and to have had considerable influence on decision-making within the BCP after Zhivkov's dismissal. He was elected a member of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) Supreme Council** at its founding congress, 31 January to 2 February 1990, but was not included in the new **Andrey Lukanov cabinet** formed after the June 1990 elections. Dzhurov had become a controversial figure because he provided the communist labor camps with guards and because of the Bulgarian army's participation in the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia during his term as minister of defense. He was not reelected to the BSP Supreme Council at the 39th Congress in September 1990. He died in Sofia on 19 June 2002.

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EASTERN ACTION. *See* CHURCH STRUGGLE.

EASTERN RUMELIA. An Ottoman autonomous province created by the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**. Its name derives from the Turkish word *Rumeli*. Eastern Rumelia stretched over almost 36,000 square kilometers between the **Balkan** range to the north, the **Rhodope Mountains** to the west and the south, and the **Black Sea** to the east. Its population amounted to 815,946 people, 573,560 of whom were Christian Bulgarians, the others being mainly **Greeks**, **Pomaks**, and **Turks**—at least according to much disputed Bulgarian figures. The official language was Bulgarian; the capital, **Plovdiv**. The head of the autonomous province was a governor-general, nominated by the Great Powers and appointed by the sultan. The first to hold that post was **Aleksandûr Bogoridi**. The Organic Statutes, a sort of constitution,

were drawn up by an international committee. A “directorate” (council of ministers), consisting of five “directors” (ministers) and the head of the gendarmerie, and a legislative Provincial Assembly (parliament) were the main political institutions in the province. The first elections took place in 1879 and revealed strife between the **National (Unionist) Party** and the **Liberal**, or “**State Party**.” Of the 36 seats in the Provincial Assembly, 32 were occupied by Bulgarians.

Although Ottoman troops had access to the province and it had to pay an annual tribute to the Sublime Porte, Eastern Rumelia enjoyed a large degree of autonomy. Because its territory had been part of the Bulgarian state envisaged by the 3 March 1878 **Treaty of San Stefano**, its reinclusion (properly, its remaining within the **Ottoman Empire** as an autonomous province) was felt by Bulgarians to be an injustice. From the outset, the annexation of Eastern Rumelia was one of the main goals of the irredentist policy of the **Principality of Bulgaria**. The Bulgarians in Eastern Rumelia also pursued the incorporation of their autonomous province into Bulgaria. The **union** was finally achieved on 6/19 September 1885.

ECONOMY. As a rule, from the earliest times until the present, economic performance was poorer in the northern part of Bulgaria than in the south. Typical of economic development in Bulgaria in the Middle Ages is the steady feudalization, more specifically the emergence of large landownership and serfdom. Taxes were paid by the peasants in kind; handicrafts and commerce developed slower than in Western Europe; artisans were organized in guilds, which played a prominent role in society until far into the 19th century. An **Ottoman** innovation, though continuing in some aspects the Byzantine *pronoia*, was the *timar*, in some regions, from the 18th century on, replaced by the *chiftlik*. The *timar* system was conducive to conservatism and immobility. Beginning in the 18th century, Western countries began large-scale importing of agricultural products and furs from the Balkans. Capitalism, in the form of artisan production or home manufacture for the market, vigorously entered the Bulgarian lands at the beginning of the 19th century when Ottoman feudalism began to disintegrate; from the 1830s on, factories were also built. Economic activity was mainly involved with **agriculture** or with the processing of agricultural products. In spite of the delay and the low

technological level, Bulgaria soon developed into the most industrially advanced and prosperous part of the Ottoman Empire.

After the liberation in 1878, better conditions for the development of capitalism and especially industry were created. The economic infrastructure improved, thanks to loans from West European countries; foreign firms invested in Bulgaria and Bulgarian foreign trade was intensified. Under the prime ministership of **Stefan Stambolov** and then **Konstantin Stoilov** in particular, Bulgaria experienced considerable economic growth. Nevertheless, it remained a predominantly agrarian country. Agricultural products made up 50% of total exports; **tobacco** and cereals were the most important sources of foreign revenue. In 1939, the proportion between agrarian and industrial output was still 75:25. The production of consumer goods was limited to the internal market. Industrial products were imported, mainly from Austria and **Germany**.

After the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, the economy was reformed after the **Soviet** model. All private enterprises (including **cooperatives**), **banks**, and mines were nationalized at the end of 1947. The state also appropriated the monopoly of foreign trade. Economic development was projected in a number of so-called five-year plans which focused on heavy industry and were usually completed ahead of time (first, 1949–1953; second, 1953–1957; third, 1958–1962; fourth, 1961–1965; fifth, 1966–1970; sixth, 1971–1975; seventh, 1976–1980; eighth, 1980–1985). By 1957, the proportion of agriculture and industry within the total national product was 68:32, and was 83:17 in 1975. Accordingly, the share of industrial products exported also increased. Nearly all export products went to the **Council of Mutual Economic Assistance** (Comecon) member states, especially to the Soviet Union (SU).

After extensive growth in the 1950s, the economy began to slow in the 1960s. During the fourth and sixth five-year plans, there was a growth rate of 5.1% and 4.7%, respectively. During the seventh five-year plan, the growth rate was only 1.0%. The **New Economic Mechanism** (NEM) reform program could not change this state of affairs. Attempts to keep prices stable led to increasing budget subsidies, while the growth of wages accelerated the issuing of money and (suppressed) inflation. There was a constant budget deficit. In the late 1980s Bulgaria's main trade partners outside the Comecon—the Arab

countries—bought less in Bulgaria because of the decline of their hard-currency revenues after the fall of oil prices. Bulgaria's investment program was increasingly dependent on Western loans, which swelled the **foreign debt**. At the end of the 1980s, the general crisis was acutely aggravated by the compulsory **emigration** of the Turkish minority. The comprehensive Decree 56, issued by the government in January 1989, concerned a number of far-reaching economic reforms in the spirit of the **July Theses** and actually of Mikhail Gorbachev's restructuring policy. As a result, the first small private enterprises (mainly in the catering industry) emerged. However, these attempts to create a real private sector were unsuccessful.

The fatal shortcomings of Bulgarian economy became apparent by the end of the 1980s and greatly contributed to the fall of the communist regime on 10 November 1989. At the end of 1989, all of these half-hearted measures were superseded by legislation regulating the transition to a free-market economy. At the end of March 1990 then prime minister **Andrey Lukanov**, an economist himself, presenting the BSP economic reform plan to the **National Assembly** (NA), pointed out the shortsighted investment policy aimed at production development in regions with a shortage of raw materials; the number of unprofitable enterprises (45%) surviving only through state financial support (given to 25% of all enterprises); the huge financial resources that were wasted on unfinished industrial projects and on prestigious official buildings; and the creation of agro-industrial complexes replacing the older, more profitable cooperative farms. In addition, the collapse of the Comecon and especially the Soviet market, which was Bulgaria's main outlet, and the Soviet Union's growing reluctance to supply Bulgaria with low-priced crude oil, also had to be considered external causes of the critical economic situation. As a result, Bulgaria's foreign debt grew to US\$10.8 billion (in 1989). International events like the Gulf crisis and the war in **Yugoslavia**, both accompanied by trade embargoes, made the situation worse. Finally, the economy also suffered from measures taken in order to limit pollution.

In the spring of 1990, economic revival became one of the main topics at the **Roundtable Negotiations** between the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), later **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), and the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). A consensus was reached on the necessity of a free-market economy and the **privatization** of

state-owned enterprises. Farming land should be returned to its former owners or to cooperatives. The UDF was in favor of “shock therapy”—a rapid and radical transition to capitalism. The BSP took a more moderate stance, showing more concern for the social consequences of such a policy, and insisted on the normalization of the internal market and the curtailment of foreign debt. Therefore, hard-currency exports had to increase and hard-currency imports had to decrease. The *lev* was devalued and made internally convertible; 90% of prices, except for those of basic food products, were gradually freed; at the same time, measures were taken to keep inflation under control. The legislation was poor and hesitant, however, and caused even more chaos. The Program for the Further Democratization of Society and the Accelerated Transition to a Market Economy, which Lukanov submitted to the **Grand National Assembly** on 10 October 1990, resembled in many respects the economic shock therapy proposed by the UDF at the Roundtable negotiations, but it was rejected by the UDF opposition in the NA. After the **Andrey Lukanov cabinet** resigned in November 1990, the program was never implemented.

Although in the meantime about 30,000 small private companies with local spheres of action, and involved in trade rather than in production, had been established, the economic situation in the country continued to deteriorate. The black market flourished; food shortages occurred in **Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna**, and other cities with a predominantly UDF electorate, partly “organized” by provincial communist officials in order to put pressure on these cities. The restitution of nationalized private industrial and agricultural properties caused a number of unforeseen legal, economic, and social problems. The 1990 national production was about 10% lower than in 1989. From December 1990 to January 1991, fuel and energy shortages led to the rationing of electricity for heating and cooking. There was a decline of 9.1% in the gross domestic product (GDP) compared to 1989.

The new **Dimităr Popov cabinet**, which came to power at the end of December 1990, initiated a number of severe economic reforms to meet the requirements of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). As was agreed upon in January 1991, Bulgaria would receive economic aid in return. Little progress was made in privatizing the larger companies. The GDP decreased 11.7% compared to 1990.

In spite of the drop in industrial and agricultural output of about 25% compared with 1991 and an unemployment figure of 15%, 1992 brought some successes, which were due to the more radical reform policy applied by the **Filip Dimitrov cabinet**. Small, viable enterprises were created after the restitution of pre-communist properties. Composite companies (such as *Bulgarplod*, *Bulgartabak*, *Bûlgarsko Pivo*, and *Vinprom*) were divided into smaller firms. Legislation was introduced allowing **foreign investment** mainly through joint ventures, of which there were 837 in May 1993, primarily in housing construction, department stores, and engineering. The *lev* was stabilized, thanks to the strict monetary policy of the Bulgarian central bank, and attempts were made to bring foreign debt under control. Retail trade in consumer goods was expanding. The decline in the GDP was limited to 5.7%.

The economic shock therapy carried out by the Dimitrov cabinet was slowed down by the **Lyuben Berov cabinet** in 1993–1994. The sale of state companies was all but stopped. An ambitious privatization plan for medium-size and large enterprises, copied from the Czech voucher system, fell short of expectations. Transport and heavy industry went through a bad year, while **tourism** did well. Foreign investments remained rather rare. The budget deficit grew from 5% in 1992 to 8% in 1993. The GDP declined by 4.2%.

After a period of devaluation and inflation at the beginning of 1994, the Bulgarian economy recovered slightly. Industrial production grew 4.8% compared to 1993—due mainly to the electric power, nonferrous metals, and machine-building sectors. The service sector (**banking**, insurance, and communications) had been recovering for some years already. Tourism in particular did well. The budget deficit was limited to 6.7%. Privatization, however, made little progress.

In 1996, years of political instability, shilly-shallying legislation, the postponement of privatization, incompetence and **corruption** which reached rock-bottom during the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**, resulted in a deep economic crisis, bringing down the economic output to 70% of its pre-**transition** level and causing hyperinflation, the collapse of the **banking** system, and a flourishing of the black market. In December 1995, the budget deficit was 17% higher than anticipated; the inflation was increasing and the country was unable to repay its foreign debts. The VAT rate was raised from 18% to 25%; a

5% levy was made on all imports. The ensuing social hardships were particularly severe, the average monthly wage amounting to approximately US\$2.00.

Relief came after the establishment of a **currency** board on 1 July 1997. A comprehensive economic “shock therapy” reform plan, carried out by the new **Ivan Kostov cabinet**, induced strong economic growth and macroeconomic stabilization. The currency stabilized, taxes were collected more effectively, privatizations gained momentum, and the whole economy was thoroughly restructured after the free market model. However, deficits in the state budgets remained and could only be partially covered by the revenues from privatization. According to government figures, the war in Yugoslavia in 1999 had cost the Bulgarian economy more than US\$70 million.

However, the production of the private sector was probably underestimated. This would also explain why the standard of living in Bulgaria has been in fact higher than the figures would suggest. Bulgaria’s poor economic performance could be only partly explained by referring to problems inherent in the transition to a free-market economy. The dubious activities of large holdings, like *Multigrup* and *Tron*, controlled by former BCP *nomenklatura* members with strong connections with the political decision makers, may also be revealing.

Since negotiations with the **European Union** (EU) about accession started in March 2003 and initial agreements have been made, the Bulgarian economic reforms have consisted largely of implementing the *acquis communautaire* (the term most often used in connection with preparations by the 12 candidate countries to join the EU; they must adopt, implement, and enforce all of the *acquis* in order to be allowed to join). So far, the economic reforms during the Kostov and the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinets** have resulted in stabilization of the economy, reduction of foreign debt, and a reasonable balance in the state budget. The EU judged these reforms satisfactory. In 2005, there was economic growth of 5.6% and a significant increase in **foreign investment**; in addition, the private sector (without agriculture) employed 200,000 people more than in 2003. In February, there was a total of US\$1.025 billion budget revenues, 22.1% more than in February 2004. Progress has not, however, met the expectations of the bulk of the Bulgarian population, which is still profoundly dissatisfied with the low standard of living

and tends to blame the EU for this. *See also* ENERGY; FOREIGN AID; FOREIGN TRADE.

EDUCATION. In the Middle Ages and under **Ottoman** rule (1393–1878), education was limited to the preparation of priests. By the end of the 18th century, schools in Bulgaria were largely Hellenized, especially in the cities, due to the fact that within the framework of the *Rum milletî*, education was organized by the **Greek** clergy. In the villages and in the monastery schools, lessons were often given in Bulgarian, but secondary education was entirely in Greek. In the 19th century, the schools in Bulgaria were gradually Bulgarianized and secularized. In 1824, **Petър Beron** published the first Bulgarian primer. In 1835, the first Bulgarian secular high school was opened in **Gabrovo**. An important contribution to the development of schooling in Bulgaria was made by the introduction of the Bell-Lancaster instruction system, enabling one teacher to prepare a large number of pupils by including older and more advanced students in the teaching process. The number of Bulgarian schools rapidly increased in the 1860s and 1870s. During that period, **Protestant** schools run by American teachers played an important role in Bulgarian education (*see* UNITED STATES). The most famous of these was Robert College in **Istanbul**, founded in 1867, that focused on languages and the humanities. The majority of the pupils were of Bulgarian origin. On the eve of the liberation in 1878, there were three high schools and about 1,500 primary schools in the Bulgarian lands. There were also special schools for girls. A similar network of schools existed for the Turkish population as well.

After the liberation in 1878, public education became free of charge and compulsory, but private schools were allowed as well. In 1891, all schools were placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. No less than 30% of the national budget was allocated to education. Literacy levels were higher than in other Balkan countries. Attention was also paid to technology and engineering. The Turkish community had its own schools, which were autonomous until the 1930s when they were brought under the supervision of the Bulgarian Ministry of Education.

After the communist takeover in 1944, the Bulgarian educational system with its long and sound traditions was demolished and was

replaced by a new one that emulated the Soviet system. The most drastic reform was the nationalization of education, which implied that all schools were now financed, but also entirely controlled, by the state, specifically by the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP). Primary education began at the age of six and took eight years. After a strict selection process, pupils went to a high school (*gimnazium*), a technical college (*tehnikum*), or a vocational school. There were special high schools that prepared musicians, artists, and athletes on a high level. Subjects like ancient languages, ethics, and religion were banned; instead, historical materialism, political economy, and history of the Communist Party of the **Soviet Union** and the BCP were introduced. Great importance was attached to ideology and to vocational training. Education was plunged into a morass of indoctrination and disinformation. The **Dimitrov Communist Youth Union** (DCYU), membership in which was compulsory, was in charge with the ideological education of students in their spare time. In some fields, however (like mathematics, language training, and physical and artistic education), considerable results were achieved. During the **Lyudmila Zhivkova** period, special attention was paid to aesthetic education.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the organizational framework of the educational system was largely maintained, but all ideological subjects were abolished. Education is still free and compulsory at primary and secondary level (to 16 years of age), according to a 12-year model of schooling. The distinction between high schools and technical colleges was maintained. As a whole, Bulgarian education was de-ideologized, new manuals were written and published, and new subjects were taught. These reforms caused considerable disorientation, all the more so as the people available to teach these new subjects were often lacking in skills or were inadequately prepared. Moreover, since education was affected by the general economic crisis, funds were (and still are) insufficient. *See also* BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES; UNIVERSITIES.

EKOGLASNOST. Literally, “eco(logical) openness.” Three separate political organizations that incorporate Ekoglasnost in their names have existed since 1989.

1. **Independent Union-*Ekoglasnost*** (IU *Ekoglasnost*)/Независим Съюз-*Ekoglasnost* (NS-*Ekoglasnost*). Political party. Formerly an environmental political organization founded on 11 April 1989 in Sofia by a number of prominent intellectuals. **Petûr Beron** was elected chair. Continuing the **Ruse Committee**, it became the most important opposition group in Bulgaria before the fall of the communist regime in November 1989. During the Helsinki Conference on environmental cooperation in mid-October 1989 in Sofia, *Ekoglasnost* organized a protest demonstration, which was heavy-handedly dispersed by the police—an incident that was witnessed by many foreign journalists, which greatly contributed to the movement’s popularity. After the **coup d’état of 10 November 1989**, which put an end to the communist regime, *Ekoglasnost* was the first opposition political organization to be registered as a party and was one of the cofounders and most prominent constituent members of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). In May 1991, Petûr Slabakov was elected the new IU-*Ekoglasnost* chair and Petûr Beron the secretary. In August 1991, a part of *Ekoglasnost*, led by Slabakov, left the UDF and founded the **Political Club-*Ekoglasnost*** (PC-*Ekoglasnost*) In 1992, Dimitûr Korudzhiev became the new leader. The current chair is Edvin Sugarev.
2. **Political Club-*Ekoglasnost*** (PC-*Ekoglasnost*)/Politicheski Klub-*Ekoglasnost*. Founded in March 1990 as a political wing of the IU-*Ekoglasnost*. It was one of the most prominent founding members of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). In 1991, the PC-*Ekoglasnost* MPs (except for **Edvin Sugarev**) voted in favor of the new Bulgarian **Constitution** and were expelled from the UDF. They created a new party, which eventually took the name Political Club-*Ekoglasnost*. Their leader was Petûr Slabakov. In 1992, PC-*Ekoglasnost* joined the Bulgarian Democratic Center (BDC). In 1994, PC-*Ekoglasnost* entered a coalition with the **Union for the Fatherland** (UF) and through it with the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), which enabled them to get four seats in the 37th **National Assembly** (1995–1997). In March 1997, PC *Ekoglasnost* entered the coalition Democratic Left, together with the BSP.

3. **National Movement-*Ekoglasnost*** (NM-*Ekoglasnost*)/ Natsionalno Dvizhenie-*Ekoglasnost* (ND *Ekoglasnost*). Some members of the Independent Union-*Ekoglasnost*, who preferred to remain within the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF), also created a new formation, NM-*Ekoglasnost*, in 1991. In 1998, they became associated with the UDF. The chair is Angel Malinov.

ELECTIONS. See PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS; PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

ELIN PELIN (1877–1949). Writer. Real name: Dimitър Ivanov Stoyanov. Born in Byalovo on 18 July 1877. He worked as a teacher and a librarian. In 1926 he was appointed director of the **Ivan Vazov** Museum in Sofia. He died in Sofia on 3 December 1949.

Elin Pelin and **Yordan Yovkov** are Bulgaria's most prominent prose writers from the interwar period. In his short stories, Elin Pelin evokes in an expressive and catchy way the life of the poor peasants, who are facing the penetration of capitalism in their traditional patriarchal world. *Land (Zemja, 1928)* and *The Geraks (Geracite, 1943)* describe the loss of wealthy families as a result of greed, envy, and disagreement among their members. Elin Pelin pays particular attention to a meticulous realistic description of the rural *milieu*. Although there always is an implicit social commitment, Elin Pelin also displays a sense for the hilarious aspects of village life. Some of his comic characters, like Pizho and Pendo, have become particularly popular. The language that Elin Pelin uses is coloured by the dialect spoken in the neighbourhood of Sofia and gives to his stories a particular flavor of authenticity.

EMIGRATION. Under **Ottoman** rule, Bulgarians emigrated massively to neighboring countries, taking refuge from persecution or going in search of better living conditions. In the 17th and the 18th centuries, tens of thousands of Bulgarians moved to Banat, a large region in present-day **Romania**, which was ceded by the Ottomans to the Hapsburgs in 1718. At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, as a result of the chaos caused by the *kûrdzhaliyas*, a large number of Bulgarians emigrated to Bessarabia,

where their descendants—some 300,000 people—still live. *See also* BANAT BULGARIANS; BESSARABIAN BULGARIANS.

During the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**, about half of the Turkish population of the country, which numbered 1.5 million people, was killed or expelled. After the liberation in 1878, the Turks who had remained were “encouraged” by bureaucratic measures, expropriation, and other means to leave the country. In 1906, Greeks too fell victim to pogroms and preferred to leave. After **World War I**, the Greek population was drastically reduced as a result of the population exchanges agreed upon through the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly**. Bulgarian emigration in the period between 1878 and **World War II** was due mainly to the deterioration of social conditions. Hundreds of thousands of Bulgarians left for the **United States**, Canada, South America (especially Argentina), and Australia.

Under the communist regime (1944–1989) an estimated 200,000 to 300,000 Bulgarians left their homeland (mostly illegally) to escape from the dictatorship. They form a heterogeneous group, consisting of people who emigrated immediately after the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, and others, mostly intellectuals, who managed to travel abroad legally in the 1960s and 1970s and “forgot to go back.” Some of them have made academic or artistic careers in the West (such as **Tzvetan Todorov** and **Julia Kristeva** in Paris, Christo [Hristo Yavashev] in the **United States**, and Dimitûr Statkov in Germany). They did not create even a loose, informal intellectual opposition movement, able to attract Western media attention and to irritate the communist regime. Bulgarian **dissidence** in exile remained limited to individuals like **Georgi Markov**. Many emigrants during the communist period were women married to foreigners and allowed to join their husbands abroad. The bulk of the Bulgarian emigrants, however, consisted of citizens of Turkish origin—a special category that was given the opportunity, or was forced, to emigrate en masse to **Turkey** at the beginning of the 1950s. A special emigration agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey, signed in 1968, provided for the absorption of the Turkish ethnic population by Turkey. When Turkey refused to renew this agreement in the beginning of the 1980s, Bulgaria faced a sudden increase in its Turkish minority. In 1984–1985, the government resorted to the so-called **re-generation process** to “Bulgarize” these Turks. In May 1989, the

Bulgarian government expelled the leaders of the Turkish minority who had started a hunger strike in protest against the regeneration process and the continual suppression of minorities' rights in Bulgaria. After Turkish President Turgut Özal had declared in June 1989 that Turkey was prepared to give shelter to all Turks who wanted to leave Bulgaria, the Bulgarian authorities provided the Turkish population with passports and pressured them to emigrate. Although many Turks had waited for this opportunity, many others had to be forced to leave their native villages. Throughout the summer, Bulgarian armed forces organized transport to the border. About 350,000 Turks went to Turkey. As living conditions in the Turkish refugee camps were bad and hardly any prospect of getting a job was offered, about half of the emigrants returned to Bulgaria.

After the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, which put an end to **communism** in Bulgaria, a more liberal passport policy was introduced, tempting mainly young people to start a new life in Canada, Australia, or South Africa, the more so as **privatization** and the closing down of unprofitable enterprises caused massive unemployment. Especially after the June 1990 **elections**, won by the formerly communist **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)**, more than a hundred thousand young people, among them many with higher education, left the country, disappointed by the political developments. They thus accelerated the Bulgarian population decline and diminished not only the country's intellectual potential, but also the size of the potential **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** electorate. Later, the poor performance of the UDF **Filip Dimitrov cabinet** created new disappointments and causes for emigration. According to the 1992 census, about 406,000 Bulgarian citizens emigrated between 1986 and 1991, nearly 200,000 of whom were ethnic Turks. Since 1995, the gross annual emigration is at an average of 50,000. According to other figures, 700,000 people left the country between 1989 and 2005. Young, married, and well-educated males are especially inclined to emigrate for the long term, if not forever, to the United States, Canada, or the **European Union (EU)**. According to data from the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS)** collected in mid-2005, every second working person in Bulgaria was prepared to leave the country for good. People with no education, among whom are the **Roma**, prefer short-term emigration to **Greece**, Italy, and especially Spain, where in 2005

12,000 illegal Bulgarian immigrants submitted applications for legalizing their stay. The potential of Turkish emigrants to Turkey seems to be exhausted. On the positive side, the emigrants each year pour an estimated US\$1 billion into the country. *See also* DEMOGRAPHY; IMMIGRATION.

ENERGY. Bulgaria is poor in energy resources. Coal, which is mined in Bulgaria, is low-calorie lignite; the reserves of gas and oil meet only 10% of the need. Therefore, in the communist period energy (coal, gas, and oil) had to be imported (58% from the **Soviet Union**). Nevertheless, some particularly energy-intensive industries were established. The production of electric energy needed for the electrification of the country also demanded huge amounts of imported energy, at least as far as the thermoelectric power plants were concerned. Bulgaria has been largely relying on its own domestically produced coal. In order to become more independent of foreign energy supplies, a great number of hydroelectric power plants were brought into operation, although the geographic conditions—the lack of huge rivers—in the country were rather unfavorable for this. In 1977, there were 87 hydroelectric and 144 thermoelectric power plants and one nuclear power plant; together they produced close to 30 billion kilowatt hours. Part of this electric energy was exported to surrounding countries. The share of hydroelectric power plants in total production began to diminish in the 1960s; Bulgaria has increasingly been resorting to nuclear power, which provides about 40% of total electricity production.

In 1984–1985, Bulgaria was struck by an energy crisis, imposing serious restrictions on electricity consumption by households. A more general energy crisis broke out at the end of the 1980s, when the Soviet Union became reluctant to provide Bulgaria with low-price crude oil. Bulgaria now had to buy oil from OPEC at international market prices—a financial setback, which coincided with the general economic slump after the fall of the communist regime in November 1989. Moreover, the payment of Iraq's debts to Bulgaria—for earlier weapons deliveries—in oil supplies was canceled because of the Gulf War. In the winter of 1990–1991, fuel was rationed as well. After 1989, Bulgaria relied predominantly on energy imports from Russia at below-world prices in exchange for constructing a gas pipeline from Siberia to **Greece**. *Multigrup*, opposing government intervention in

the supply arrangements, complicated the negotiations on the issue. Since 1997, Bulgaria has been paying world prices, with the Bulgarian **economy** becoming highly dependent on the price fluctuations. In 1999, the *Neftohim* refinery in **Burgas** was purchased by the Russian *LuKoil*.

Finally, four of the six reactors of the Kozloduy **nuclear power plant** had to be closed down for safety reasons; the construction of a new nuclear power plant in Belene was postponed. *See also* ENVIRONMENT.

ENVIRONMENT. According to a statement by Minister of Environment Aleksandър Aleksandrov in the spring of 1990, 19 regions in Bulgaria suffered from serious air pollution, 54,000 hectares of farming land were polluted with heavy metals, and 900 hectares were unsuitable for cultivation because of the excessive use of pesticides and artificial fertilizers. Due to the chemical industry and the use of coal, about one-third of the forests are dying. The Kremikovtsi plant near **Sofia**, the **Georgi Dimitrov** lead and zinc complex near Kûrdzhali, and the chemical plant and the uranium factory near **Plovdiv** in particular were branded as extremely polluting and dangerous. The city of **Ruse** suffered from chlorine gas emissions from the chemical plant in Giurgiu, on the **Romanian** bank of the **Danube**. In addition, the after effects of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant catastrophe in 1986 are still felt. Reportedly, similar catastrophes had been avoided at the very last moment in Bulgaria's own **nuclear power plant** in Kozloduy in 1977, 1982, and 1983. Bulgaria's deplorable ecological situation provoked many protests and was the main point of discontent brought up publicly during the last years of the communist regime.

After the collapse of **communism** in November 1989, little more was done than bringing the facts to public knowledge. No money was available for measures to undo pollution; neither could the few remaining plants, which so far have survived the economic crisis, be forced to install expensive purification equipment. For many years, the response of the government (except in the case of the Kozloduy nuclear plant) has been limited to promises—improvements of the environmental situation being expensive and as yet seemingly incompatible with the new spirit of free enterprise. Nevertheless, the construction of a new nuclear power plant in Belene has been halted, and uranium

production was ended in 1996. Measures to improve the quality of the environment were imposed or at least guided and often paid for by the **European Union (EU)** and the World Bank. Thus, in 1999 Bulgaria received 9 million Euro to remove the pollution caused by the closed uranium mine in Eleshnitsa. The same year, the Danube was seriously polluted by a cyanide spill in the Tisa, a tributary of the Danube, in Romania. Many of the foreign investors that Bulgaria needs so badly are in fact attracted by the laxity or absence of sound legislation on environment. In summer 2004, serious environmental pollution was said to have resulted from the demolition of a number of SS-20 missiles in a military base near Stara Zagora. In summer 2005, Stara Zagora was polluted again by the nearby electric power plant Maritsa-Iztok.

Bulgaria is a member of the Danube Commission, the Joint Danube Fishery Commission, and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Reserves, based respectively in Hungary, Slovakia, and Switzerland. In 2002, it became a member of the EU Environment Agency. In addition to governmental control, a number of non-government organizations now guard against malpractices. *See also* ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS.

ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS. In general, Bulgarians are a very “green” people, fond of natural beauty and purity. This explains why the ecological groups, which were the first to oppose the communist regime in the late 1980s, were so successful. The pollution of the city of **Ruse** provoked especially great indignation, the more so as Romanian chemical plants caused it. The **Ruse Committee** was an inspiring example to many other **informal groups**, which started putting forward more than merely environmental demands. By the end of 1989, nearly 20 ecological groups existed; the most important among them were *Ekoglasnost* and the **Green Party (GP)**, both of which were among the founding members of the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)**. *See also* ENVIRONMENT.

ETHNIC COMMUNITIES. **Bulgarians** constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of Bulgaria; ethnic communities—**Armenians, Cherkez, Greeks, Jews, Karakachans, Roma, Russians, Tatars, Turks, and Vlachs** and some others—make up only 15% of the population. Some experts consider the **Pomaks** as a

separate ethnic community, and there is no reason to not treat those, who think of themselves as **Macedonians** as a separate ethnic community as well. Compared to some neighboring countries, like the former **Yugoslavia** and **Romania**, however, Bulgaria is ethnically quite homogeneous, although not as homogeneous as the Bulgarians would like. Since the Bulgarian pre-**World War II** censuses are quite reliable, it is worth quoting the most significant of them.

According to the 13 April 1881 census, the **Principality of Bulgaria** had a total population of 2,007,919 people, ethnically composed as follows: 1,345,507 Bulgarians (67%); 527,284 Turks (26%); 49,070 Romanians (2.4%); 37,600 Gypsies (1.8%); 14,020 Sephardic Jews—Ashkenazis were considered Germans—(0.6%); 12,376 Tatars (0.6%); 11,552 Greeks (0.5%); 3,837 Armenians (0.2%); and 6,671 others (0.3%).

In **Eastern Rumelia**, more or less reliable figures are provided by the 1 January 1885 census. There was a total population of 982,997 people, ethnically composed as follows: 681,734 Bulgarians (69.3%); 200,318 Turks (20.3%); 53,028 Greeks (5.3%); 27,190 Gypsies (2.7%); 6,982 Sephardic Jews (0.7%); 1,817 Armenians (0.2%); and 2,994 others (0.3%).

According to the 1 January 1888 census, the first carried out after the **union with Eastern Rumelia**, Bulgaria had a population of 3,154,375 people, ethnically composed as follows: 2,326,250 Bulgarians (73.74%); 607,331 Turks (19.25%); 58,326 Greeks (1.85%); 50,291 Gypsies (1.60%); 23,541 Sephardic Jews (0.75%); and 88,079 others (2.63%).

The censuses in the interwar period produced the following figures:

<i>Population Group</i>	<i>1920</i>		<i>1926</i>		<i>1934</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Bulgarians	4,041,276	84.4	4,585,620	83.7	5,274,854	86.8
Turks	542,904	11.2	607,763	11.1	618,268	10.2
Gypsies	61,555	1.3	81,996	1.5	80,532	1.3
Greeks	46,750	1.0	12,782	0.2	9,601	0.1
Jews	41,927	0.8	41,563	0.8	28,026	0.5
Russians	9,247	0.2	19,590	0.4	11,928	0.2
Germans	3,515	0.1	5,110	0.1	4,171	0.1
Serbs	1,259	0.0	647	0.0	172	0.0
Others	98,529	2.0	123,700	2.2	50,387	0.8
TOTAL	4,846,971	100.0	5,478,741	100.0	6,077,939	100.0

The results of the postwar censuses concerning the ethnic composition of the population are hard to find. Bulgaria had 7,029,349 citizens in 1946; 7,613,709 in 1956; 8,227,866 in 1965; 8,727,711 in 1975; and 8,942,976 in 1985. In 1956, there was a Turkish population of 656,028 people (8.6%). No later figures concerning the size of the Turkish minority were publicized. In the 1946, 1956, and 1965 censuses, a column was provided for the Macedonians; respectively, 252,908; 178,862; and 8,750 people declared themselves Macedonians.

These are the results of the 1992 and the 2001 censuses. In the 1992 census, no column headed "Macedonian" was provided; there was one in 2001.

<i>Population Group</i>	<i>1992</i>		<i>2001</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Bulgarians	7,271,185	85.67	6,655,210	83.9
Turks	800,052	9.43	746,664	9.4
Roma	313,396	3.69	370,908	4.6
Russians	17,139	0.20	15,595	0.2
Armenians	13,677	0.16	10,832	0.1
Vlachs	5,159	0.06	10,566	
Karakachans	5,144	0.06	4,107	
Macedonians			5,071	
Tatars	4,515	0.05	1,803	
Ukrainians	1,864	0.02	2,489	
Albanians	3,197	0.04	278	
Greeks	4,930	0.06	3,408	
Romanians	2,491	0.03	1,088	
Gagauz	1,478	0.02	540	
Jews	3,461	0.04	1,363	
Germans	879	0.01		
Cherkez			367	
Arabs			328	
Unknown	8,481	0.10	24,807	
No stated			62,108	
Others	30,269	0.36	18,792	
TOTAL	8,487,317	100.00	7,928,901	100.0

EURO-LEFT. *See* BULGARIAN EURO-LEFT.

EUROPEAN UNION (EU). Before 1 November 1993 known as the European Community (EC). Initially an economic, later also increasingly

a political and to a lesser extent social, cultural, and even military international association, consisting of a growing number of European states. Until the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, Bulgarian ideologists branded the EC as the straw at which European capitalism was clutching in order to survive the confrontation with the superior communist system. After the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)**, which continued the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, did its utmost to improve relations with the EU. On 8 May 1990, an agreement between Bulgaria and the EU on trade and economic cooperation was signed. Bulgaria was to be given free access to EU markets in 1995 for a period of 10 years. Cooperation in the fields of **agriculture, environment, banking**, technology, and communications was envisaged as well. In January 1991, President **Zhelyo Zhelev**, as a guest of the Council of Europe, reiterated Bulgaria's interest in entering the EU or establishing close links with all European institutions and the EU in particular. In order to advance these links, Lea Koen was appointed as a special ambassador to the EU in Brussels in April 1991. Although negotiations did not go smoothly, Bulgaria's joining the Council of Europe in May 1992 was encouraging. On 8 March 1993, an association agreement, which was the first serious step toward Bulgaria's integration into the EU, was signed; an interim trade deal was endorsed only on 31 December 1993, but it would take until 1 February 1995 before the agreement itself was ratified by the EU. Reportedly, Bulgaria lost US\$200 million by this delay.

Apart from the access given to the European market (with some limitations, however, concerning steel, textile, and agricultural products), Bulgaria would benefit from the agreement by adjusting its legislation on investments, taxes, and safety and quality standards to the European legislation. Moreover, considerable financial help was expected through the Poland Hungary Aid for Reconstruction of Economies (PHARE) and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) programs. On 29 March 1993, Bulgaria became a member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), but the expected investments failed to materialize. In March 1994, the EU granted a US\$125 million loan to Bulgaria; the International Monetary Fund (IMF), however, had insisted on a US\$342 million loan. On 15 June 1994, the EU temporarily enhanced its quotas, giving Bul-

garia easier access to the EU market. Through the **currency** board, established on 1 July 1997, Bulgaria unilaterally linked the *lev* to the Deutsche Mark and eventually to the Euro. In July 1998, Bulgaria joined the Central European Free Trade Area (CEFTA), founded in 1992 by Poland, (then still) Czechoslovakia, and Hungary—the next stage in the EU accession process.

In March 2000, negotiations with the EU with a view to accession in 2007 started. In April 2001, the EU abolished visa requirements for Bulgarian citizens visiting the EU. (The suggestion of some EU member state to reimpose the visa requirements because of the increasing number of robberies and car thefts in which Bulgarian citizens were involved was never seriously considered.) In 2002, an Action Plan was launched, followed in November 2002 by a road map, both of which were based on the expectation that Bulgaria would achieve an adequate level of administrative and judicial capability by the time of accession. In May 2003, a revised Accession Partnership for Bulgaria, covering in detail the implementation of the *acquis communautaire*, was adopted. The EU assessed that overall progress had been made but that substantial efforts remained necessary in order to complete the tasks foreseen for 2003–2004. PHARE was to provide financial assistance to meet the priorities. With regard to the political criteria, progress was reported to have been made, although Bulgaria was advised to keep its attention focused on the respect for human rights and the protection of minorities.

With regard to the economic criteria, the EU praised the progress made in structural reforms, including the reduction of state aid and the increasing role of the private sector, and the development of the banking sector. Sensitive issues were the Kozloduy **nuclear power plant**, the situation of the **Roma**, **corruption**, the reform of the **judiciary**, and continued organized **crime**. Efforts were considered necessary also in the areas of streamlining the regulatory procedures for the business sector, restructuring and liberalizing the network of industries, and improving the efficiency of the education system. In the internal market, the priorities of the Accession Partnership were assessed to have been largely met. In March 2003, Bulgaria had completed 23 of the 31 “chapters” of the *acquis communautaire*, but the remaining chapters—state budget, finances, **agriculture**, and regional policy—were the toughest. The **Simeon**

of **Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet** had still had high hopes that Bulgaria would be accepted in 2004, together with the Central European former communist countries. However, on 13 December 2003, the EU decided that Bulgaria might be accepted as a full member on 1 January 2007, together with **Romania**; in case Bulgaria and/or Romania were not completely prepared by that time, the accession might be postponed for one year. The accession negotiations were concluded on 14 June 2004. Bulgaria would receive about 204 million Euro in addition to the 4.4 billion Euro already allocated from the EU's 2007–2009 budget in order to further prepare itself.

On 25 April 2005, the accession agreements were signed by the European Parliament and the Bulgarian president **Georgi Pîrvanov** and were subsequently submitted to the parliaments of the EU member states for ratification. On 11 May 2005, the Bulgarian **National Assembly** (NA) ratified the EU Accession Treaty. Bulgaria supported Turkey's membership of the EU. The European and Bulgarian leaders considered that the French and Dutch "no" votes in the March 2005 referenda for the EU draft constitution would not lead to a suspension of the Bulgarian accession process. Bulgaria's lagging behind early 2006 in reforming the **judiciary** and in some other areas was more likely to result in a postponement of the accession, which would, by the way, cost Bulgaria more than 800 million Euro.

Although without a doubt economic and social conditions have improved since the **Ivan Kostov cabinet** introduced sound legislation in order to meet the requirements of the *acquis communautaire*—an effort continued by the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet—Bulgarians are inclined to blame the EU for the rising living costs. The average income of a Bulgarian citizen is still one quarter of the EU average, while he or she has to pay "European" prices for consumer goods and services. In Bulgaria too, Euro-skepticism was increasing, although in spring 2005 a large majority of the population still thought EU membership was a good thing. *See also* FOREIGN AID; FOREIGN INVESTMENT; FOREIGN TRADE.

EVROLEVITSA. *See* BULGARIAN EURO-LEFT.

EVRROROMA. *See* ROMA.

EVTIMIY OF TÛRNOVO (ca. 1325–1330 to ca. 1401–12). Patriarch of the Bulgarian church. He spent his formative years in his native city, the Bulgarian capital **Veliko TÛrnovo**, and the surrounding monasteries. During his stay in Constantinople and on **Mount Athos**, he was introduced to **hesychasm**, a Byzantine mystical doctrine, and to the new philological concepts then honored by the Constantinople intellectual elite. These concepts consisted of a return “to the sources” and were similar to those of the humanists in the West. Back in Veliko TÛrnovo, he was elected patriarch of Bulgaria in 1375. In that capacity, he contributed much to the development of Bulgarian spiritual and cultural life. Of great importance were his attempts to restore the Old or Church Slavonic orthographic and grammatical forms, established by **Cyril and Methodius**. On the eve of the **Ottoman** invasion, Evtimiy became the spiritual leader of his endangered people. After the fall of Veliko TÛrnovo in 1393, the Ottomans banished him, perhaps to the **Bachkovo Monastery** or to **Macedonia**. Due to the failing cultural circumstances in Ottoman Bulgaria, Evtimiy’s philological innovations were not granted a long life there; in Russia, however, where many of Evtimiy’s pupils took refuge, they resulted in the so-called second South Slavic wave (after the first wave in the ninth and 10th centuries).

– F –

FATHERLAND FRONT (FF)/OTECHESTVEN FRONT (OF).

Founded in 1942 by the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) as an organization uniting all anti-fascist and anti-monarchic political forces in the country. The FF demanded that Bulgaria break off relations with **Germany**, the Germans troops leave Bulgaria, fascist organizations be disbanded, workers’ political rights be restored, and Bulgaria side with the **Soviet Union** against **Germany**. To achieve these aims, the FF wanted to overthrow Tsar **Boris III**’s personal regime and establish an FF government. The FF gained momentum in 1943, when many anti-fascist political parties and organizations (**BANU-Pladne**, **Zveno**, and others) joined it. After the communist **coup d’état of 9 September 1944**, an FF government was formed consisting of representatives of all of the constituent parties and organizations but dominated by the

BCP. It was backed by the Soviet occupying forces. All parties that were not forbidden were pressured by the BCP to join the FF. During the second FF Congress in 1948, the multiparty character of the FF was abandoned and it became a unified sociopolitical organization, which obediently carried out BCP orders. Membership in the FF was almost compulsory for every Bulgarian citizen. In the 1980s, the FF had more than 4 million members. As a “national” organization, it often took rather nationalistic stands. Not accidentally, **Pencho Kubadinski**, who presided over the FF from 1974 to 1989, was one of the main engineers of the **regeneration process**. The FF published the daily *Fatherland Front* (*Otechestven Front*) and the monthly *Fatherland* (*Otechestvo*), both of which enjoyed some popularity.

In 1990, after the collapse of the communist regime in November 1989, the FF renamed itself Fatherland Union (FU) at an extraordinary congress and, in 1994, transformed itself into a political party, Union for the Fatherland (UF), which pleaded for social justice and parliamentary democracy. In the same year, the UF entered the coalition Patriotic Union (PU), together with five other small leftist parties, working together with the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), from 2001 onwards within the **Coalition for Bulgaria** (CFB).

FEDERATION OF CLUBS FOR GLASNOST AND DEMOCRACY. *See* CLUB FOR GLASNOST AND DEMOCRACY.

FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT STUDENTS' ASSOCIATIONS (FISA)/FEDERATSIYA NA NEZAVISIMITE STUDENTSKI DRUZHESTVA (FNSD). The first Independent Students' Union (ISU) was founded at University of **Sofia** on 13 November 1989, shortly after the dismissal of **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) leader **Todor Zhivkov**. On 27 November 1989, the ISU and a number of minor students' organizations (such as the Democracy Club, the Students' Social Democratic Society, the Macedonian Youth Brotherhood, and the Simeon II Royalist Club) federated, creating an organization with some 60,000 members by December 1989, led by **Emil Koshlukov**. On 5 January 1990, he founded FISA, together with Atanas Kirchev (who was elected chair) and Vasil Petrov. During the first months after the fall of the communist regime, FISA played an important role in the democratization

process, insisting on political and educational reforms, on the de-ideologization of **education**, on autonomy for the universities, and on the abolition of the leadership role of the BCP. As a rule, it sided with the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)**.

FISA organized the massive students' strike, which broke out at the University of Sofia immediately after the June 1990 elections, won by the BSP. The students had three main demands: an investigation into the electoral fraud of which local BSP officials were accused of; the removal of the director of Bulgarian Television, Pavel Pisarev; and the resignation of President **Petûr Mladenov**, if the allegation that he had been on the verge of using violence against demonstrators on 14 December 1989 proved to be correct. Their demands were met on 4 July 1990. Mladenov resigned two days later. In 1991, they forced the **Andrey Lukanov cabinet** to resign. Eventually, FISA's political role was taken over by the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)**.

FERDINAND OF SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA (1861–1948). King (1887–1908), later tsar (1908–1918) of Bulgaria. Born in Coburg on 14 February 1861, a grandson of the French king on his mother's side. At the beginning of his rule, he had to share power with his assertive prime minister, **Stefan Stambolov**, who had contributed decisively to his election. In 1893 he married the French princess Marie-Louise de Bourbon-Parma, with whom he had two sons—the future Tsar **Boris III** and **Kiril**—and two daughters. Marie-Louise died in 1899, and in 1908, Ferdinand married the German princess Eleonora von Reuss-Kostritz. After Stambolov's death in 1894, Ferdinand gradually expanded his “**personal regime**,” playing the Bulgarian ministers and party leaders against one another. In the same cunning way, he tried to achieve his goals in international politics: his recognition as the ruler of the Bulgarians (which had been opposed by Russia as long as Stambolov was in power) and the creation of a **Great Bulgaria**, which he and his subjects envisioned. In September 1908, using the political tensions in the **Ottoman Empire** that had resulted from the Young Turks' revolt, he succeeded in abolishing Ottoman suzerainty, making Bulgaria fully independent, and appropriating the old title of Tsar of the Bulgarians (which meant tsar of the Bulgarians in the *irredentas* as well). Now being able to act against

the Ottoman Empire, he began preparing for the annexation of **Macedonia** and **Thrace**, where Bulgarians constituted a large part, if not the relative majority, of the population. Ferdinand even dreamed of conquering **Istanbul** and becoming “emperor of Constantinople.” In 1911, he had the **Tŭrnovo constitution** amended so that he was entitled to make international agreements without consulting with the **National Assembly** (NA). In 1912, he participated in the creation of the **Balkan League**, a coalition of Christian Balkan states, which aimed at driving the Ottomans from the Balkan Peninsula. Ferdinand allowed the Bulgarian army to operate during the forthcoming war mainly in eastern Thrace, where the concentration of Ottoman forces was the greatest, leaving the occupation of coveted **Macedonia** largely to the Serbs and the Greeks. When after **Balkan War I** the allies refused to observe the agreements on the partition of Macedonia, referring to the military fait accompli, Ferdinand ordered the Bulgarian army to enter the territories they controlled in spite of the Bulgarian government’s reluctance. During **Balkan War II** Bulgaria was defeated and had to accept the unfavorable 1913 **Treaty of Bucharest**. During **World War I**, Ferdinand tried to undo this humiliating defeat, but failed once again, choosing the wrong allies—Germany and Austria—and leading his army into long and hopeless trench warfare in Macedonia. After the breakthrough of the French and British troops at the Macedonian front on 15 September 1918, the Bulgarian soldiers rose in mutiny and set off for Sofia (see **RADOMIR REBELLION**). On 29 September, Ferdinand accepted an armistice. Held responsible for the two “**national catastrophes**” (in 1913 and 1918), he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Boris. Ferdinand left Bulgaria on 3 October 1918. He spent the rest of his life in his residence in Coburg, where he died on 9 September 1948.

FICHEV, NIKOLA (1800–1881). Commonly called *Kolyo Ficheto*. Mason and self-made architect. Born in Dryanovo. He worked as a mason apprentice in Bulgaria, **Romania**, and **Istanbul**. He became a master mason in 1836. From then onward, he designed and built churches, based on the traditional model—a nave and two aisles—but with extraordinary inventiveness. Some of his innovations were the stone (instead of wooden) overarching of the naves, the use of blind arcades in the façade, and the decoration of the front cornice

with the “Fichev yoke.” Fichev also designed fountains, mansions, bridges, government buildings, bell towers, and other buildings. Particularly interesting was his covered bridge in Lovech, which burned down in 1923 and was restored in the 1970s. Most of his creations can be found in and round **Veliko Tŭrnovo**. *See also* ARCHITECTURE.

FILIPOV, GRISHA (1919–1994). Real name: Georgi Filipov. Politician. Born on 13 July 1919, in Kadievka, USSR, to a family of Bulgarian emigrants to the Soviet Union. After secondary school in Lovech, he studied physics and mathematics in Sofia. In 1936, he became a member of the Workers Youth Union, and in 1940 of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP). In 1942, he was sentenced to 15 years’ imprisonment because of illegal political activities. After the communist **coup d’état of 9 September 1944**, he was released. He studied economics in Moscow (1948–1950) and later held several positions in the party and state apparatus. In 1962, he became the de facto chair of the State Planning Committee. The same year, he was elected candidate-member of the BCP **Central Committee** (CC). Filipov was secretary of the CC from 1971 to 1974 and a member of the **Politburo** from 1974 to 1989. In 1971, he was included in the **Council of State**, reaching the peak of his career in 1981 when he was elected prime minister. As an “enlightened” economist, Filipov played an important role in the economic reform campaign known as the **New Economic Mechanism** (NEM), which was initiated in 1979. In 1986, he was removed from his position as prime minister, but he remained influential as a Politburo member and CC secretary, being considered generally as the right hand of party leader **Todor Zhivkov**. Filipov was ousted from the CC shortly after Zhivkov’s downfall; on 20 April 1990, the party’s Central Commission on Party Ethics expelled him from the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). On 14 July 1990, he was arrested on a charge of misappropriation of state funds and was sentenced to a prison term. He died on 2 November 1994.

FILOV, BOGDAN (1883–1945). Archaeologist and politician. Born in Stara Zagora on 28 February 1883. He studied classical philology and **archaeology** in Germany. In 1910, he was appointed director of

the Archaeological Museum in Sofia and in 1920 was named professor of archaeology at the University of **Sofia**. From 1937 to 1944, he headed the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS)**. His political career began in 1938 when he was appointed minister of education. As a prime minister from February 1940 to September 1943, during **World War II**, Filov was responsible for Bulgaria's entry into the Tripartite Pact (allying **Germany**, Italy, and Japan) and for a number of measures that turned Bulgaria into a semi-fascist state. He set up the youth organization *Defender (Brannik)*, fashioned after the Hitler Youth; he persecuted communists and other political opponents, interned thousands of them in jails and concentration camps; and he imposed some discriminatory civil rights restrictions on the **Jews**. Although he was a determined Germanophile and very much in favor of close economic, political, and cultural collaboration with the Nazis, he seemed to have wanted merely to placate Germany in order to ease its pressure on Bulgaria. Mainstream fascists like **Aleksandŭr Tsankov** were constrained as well, and knowing the Russophile feelings of the Bulgarian people, Filov never agreed to send Bulgarian troops to the Eastern Front. After the death of Tsar **Boris III**, Filov became one of the three regents governing in place of the minor heir to the throne, **Simeon**, which increased his responsibility for Bulgaria's internal and foreign policy. Shortly after the communist **coup d'état on 9 September 1944**, Filov was arrested, tried, and executed on 1 February 1945. The publication of his *Diary (Dnevnik)* in Sofia in 1990 caused a stir.

FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE. Name given to the Bulgarian state between its foundation in 681 and the (re)conquest of the territories belonging to that state by the **Byzantine Empire** in 1018. During that period, the two ethnic groups that had settled south of the **Danube** on Byzantine territory and that were the basis of the Bulgarian state—the nomadic **Proto-Bulgarians**, a Turkic tribe, and the sedentary **Slavic** tribes—merged into one new people, the **Bulgarians**, who spoke a Slavic language. This process was completed in the second half of the 10th century when both ethnic groups adopted the same religion, **Orthodox Christianity**. The capital of the Bulgarian state was initially **Pliska**, and from 893 onward, **Preslav** was the capital. The first Bulgarian state expanded dramatically, including within its

borders not only Bulgaria but also vast adjacent areas in present-day **Romania, Serbia, and Macedonia**. It reached its apogee under king, later tsar, **Simeon** (893–927), who even claimed the Byzantine throne. Of particular importance during Simeon's rule were the activities of Bulgarian translators (from Greek) and writers, who created a Bulgarian literary tradition that radiated throughout the Slavic Orthodox world.

The First Bulgarian Empire was a feudal state that suffered from social unrest—often in the guise of heretic movements such as that of the **Bogomils**. Whenever the central authority was weak, it disintegrated as a result of the insubordination of local lords. Weakened by such internal contradictions in the course of the 10th century, Bulgaria was invaded by the Byzantines and the **Russians**—Preslav fell in 971—and finally was completely subjugated by **Basil II** after the battle near Belasitsa in 1018. This defeat ushered in the Byzantine period in Bulgarian history, which lasted until 1085.

FIVE, THE. (*Petorkata*). Coalition of five parties—the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Vrabcha 1** (BANU-Vrabcha 1), the **Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party** (BWSDP), the **Radical Democratic Party** (RDP), the **Democratic Alliance** (DA), and the **National Liberal Party** (NLP)—formed in May 1936. Their main aim was the restoration of the suspended **Tŭrnovo constitution** through negotiations with Tsar **Boris**. The Five was the most prominent opposition group in the **National Assembly** (NA) in the late 1930s. Its impact, however, was limited. The Five fell apart in 1939.

FIVE-YEAR PLANS. *See* ECONOMY.

FOLKLORE. Bulgarian folklore, and especially musical folklore, is extremely rich and may be considered one of the most exciting aspects of Bulgarian culture. Typical of Bulgarian folk **music** are the asymmetrical rhythms (5/8, 5/16, 7/8, 7/16, 9/8), the use of Dorian and Phrygian modes, and diaphony. Among the most widespread musical instruments are the bagpipe (*gayda*), the shepherd's flute (*kaval*), and the rebec (*gŭdulka*). The bagpipe performs predominantly **dance** music; the other instruments, and especially the shepherd's flute, accompany songs. Popular dances are the *horo*, a chain

dance known all over the Balkans, and the very Bulgarian *rûchenitsa*.

Bulgarian folk songs are connected with annual feast days, weddings, funerals, and specific agricultural activities. A special category consists of heroic songs, singing the exploits of the *hayduks*. The heroic songs, known in the whole south Slavic area, about Marko Kraleviti (“Marko, the king’s son”), the legendary fighter of Turks, dragons, and wood nymphs, form an epic in the making.

The beautiful multicolored peasant dresses are as varied as the folk dances and songs. Each of them is typical of a specific region or even village. Ornaments, decorated pottery, and furniture show the same faultless taste of the Bulgarian popular genius.

Bulgarian folklore played an important role in the **National Awakening** period when the first collections of folk songs were compiled and the first descriptions of folk customs were published. Many 19th-century Bulgarian authors were inspired by folktales and songs in the same way that Bulgarian composers used melodies and rhythms borrowed from folk music. During the communist period, although the love of folklore was considered a patriotic duty, there was a certain disdain among the rapidly urbanizing population for the peasants’ traditional culture. The authorities’ concern with folk music too often revealed itself in festivals and competitions, which incited participants to make their performances unnecessarily stylized or sophisticated. The adaptations of Bulgarian folk music by Filip Kutev enjoyed considerable popularity, although ethnomusicologists unanimously disapproved of them. Nevertheless, this adapted Bulgarian folk music seems to find favor with the public abroad, as the worldwide success of *Le mystère des voix bulgares* proves. Since the fall of the communist regime in 1989, musical folklore was largely commercialized as well, with a mass production of rather trivial and often vulgar “pop folk” (*chalga*) as a result. *See also* ARTS; BULGARIAN LITERATURE.

FOREIGN AID. The economic crisis that began in the late 1980s deepened after the fall of the communist regime and during the ensuing period of political and administrative insecurity. In order to recover economically and build a democratic society and free-market economy, Bulgaria received considerable financial aid from several organizations in the form of loans. However, these loans were granted

only if a number of requirements were met. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) insisted on low inflation, limitation of the budget deficit, the accumulation of stable **currency** reserves, and the creation of an economic climate that would attract **foreign investments**. After introducing such an economic reform plan, the **Dimităr Popov cabinet** received a US\$400 million loan from the IMF. The “shock therapy” policy that the **Filip Dimitrov cabinet** imposed on the Bulgarian economy in 1992 was again rewarded by the IMF. The **Lyuben Berov cabinet**, however, considered the IMF requirements too severe, and loosened the controls and allowed the state budget deficit to increase. As a result, the IMF refused a new loan to Bulgaria. The cabinet performed better in 1994—limiting the budget deficit to 6.2% and the inflation rate to 30%—and consequently a US\$250 million loan was granted.

Along with the IMF, the World Bank has also financially supported Bulgaria (US\$443 million in 1993). The PHARE program (Poland-Hungary Aid for Reconstruction of Economies, founded in 1989 by the G-24 countries and extended to all Eastern European countries in July 1990) has been granting US\$170 million annually for projects concerning **banking**, communications and telecommunications, **education**, employment, **environment**, **privatization**, the **restitution** of farming land, and **social care**. Among other things, the PHARE program financed the improvement of the safety of the Kozloduy nuclear power plant. The PHARE democracy program is involved with **labor unions**, media, and minority rights. The Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies (TEMPUS) program is also a part of PHARE. The PHARE program is carried out in consultation with the **European Union (EU)**.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) has granted a US\$308 million loan for the renovation of the Maritsa-Istok electric power station and the improvement of roads, transport, and telecommunications. Financial aid given by the EU is based on the March 1993 association agreement between Bulgaria and the EU. The strict requirements of the IMF and the World Bank are also taken into account. In 1996, the IMF, confronted with the catastrophic economic policy of the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**, refused further assistance unless Bulgaria introduced a **currency** board. After the **Ivan Kostov cabinet** agreed to establish a currency board on 1 July 1997,

loans were more easily obtained. In April 1997, the IMF granted financial aid of US\$657 million; in May, the World Bank assigned US\$40 million for the purchase of medicine, wheat, and fuel; later that month the EBRD granted a US\$300 million loan for infrastructural improvement. On 31 October 1997, the World Bank issued a loan of US\$100 million. In November, Japan granted a loan of US\$180 million, and the EU a loan of US\$285 million. In 2001, the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet** was forced by the IMF to cancel an economic reform program because it would have laid too heavy a burden on the state budget. However, by the end of 2001, the IMF granted a US\$300 million loan, which enabled the government to cope with poverty and unemployment. In the following years, Bulgaria continued to receive extensive foreign aid enabling the country to meet the requirements imposed by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) and the EU. In April 2005, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) poured another US\$150 million in support of the country's payment balance. One month later, the EU gave 33 million Euro to improve regional cooperation in the Balkans.

FOREIGN DEBT. Until the 1980s, communist Bulgaria had been able to keep its foreign debt under control, thanks to its close economic relations with the **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance** (Comecon) member states and especially the **Soviet Union**. Then the foreign debt started increasing dramatically. Bulgaria had to resort to foreign (mainly Western) loans in order to carry out its investment program. When the communist regime was overthrown in November 1989, Bulgaria's foreign debt amounted to US\$10.8 billion (in 1984 it had been only US\$2.3 billion). On 1 April 1990, Prime Minister **Andrey Lukanov** announced that Bulgaria would stop repayment of its foreign debt, which made Western banks and financial organizations reluctant to grant new loans. In the following years, the foreign debt continued to increase due to the catastrophic economic situation and rampant inflation. In 1992, Bulgaria's foreign debt amounted to US\$12.2 billion. At the beginning of March, when it had increased to nearly US\$13 billion, the **Lyuben Berov cabinet** began negotiations with the Club of London and the Club of Paris (uniting, respectively, Western banks and Western governments that had granted loans to

Eastern European countries). It convinced the World Bank, the G-24 countries, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to grant a loan of US\$1.2 billion in order to repay the debts to the Club of London and the Club of Paris. In the summer of 1994, an agreement was reached; the moratorium on the foreign debt payment was lifted, a part of the debt was forgiven, and a new loan of US\$400 million was granted to settle immediate liabilities. The rescheduling of the foreign debt provided some fuel for the Bulgarian economy. However, the foreign debt, which the **Zhan Videnov cabinet** was unable to repay, considerably contributed to the economic crisis, which broke out in 1996. By the end of 1998, Bulgaria had US\$10 billion gross foreign debt; in May 2004 this amount had increased to Euro 11,322 billion, due mainly to private sector borrowing, which was half a billion less than by the end of 2003. In February 2005, more optimistic figures were publicized: the foreign debt was reduced to little more than US\$7 billion, while the domestic debt amounted to US\$1.66 billion. According to the government spokesperson, there was a monthly decline of 0.4%. *See also* ECONOMY; ENERGY; FOREIGN AID.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT. From the 1970s onward, the Bulgarian communist government had invited foreign companies to invest in Bulgaria. In the 1990s, when the communist system of nationalized and centrally planned **economy** was gradually eliminated, foreign investments became vitally important. Nevertheless, before 1997, the post-communist cabinets, except perhaps for the 1991–1992 **Filip Dimitrov cabinet**, did little to attract foreign investors. The earliest legislation, drafted in 1990, imposed several discouraging limitations. In January 1992, new laws on the economic activity of foreign persons and on the protection of foreign investments relaxed the requirements of the 1990 law by removing most of the legal barriers and creating a more favorable legal environment, comparable to that of other formerly communist East European countries such as Poland and Hungary. Foreign investors, however, were not allowed to have a share of more than 49%. By mid-1994 there were 2,000 joint ventures and as many small foreign (mainly Greek and Turkish) firms. Sixty enterprises were exempted from being privatized through the voucher system, as they were expected to be bought by foreign investors upon whom the 49% limitation would not be imposed. Bulgarians seemed

reluctant to have their enterprises owned by foreigners, especially when national pride was involved. Thus, the production of **rose attar** was proposed to remain in the hands of the state. Many Bulgarians were afraid Turks would buy Bulgarian enterprises en masse and subsequently gain control over much of the Bulgarian economy. In addition, foreign investors were restrained by inflation, low output, and political instability—the **Ivan Kostov cabinet**, which ruled from 1997 until 2001, was the first since 1989 to complete its term of office—which resulted in frequent changes to economic policy.

Total foreign investment in the years 1992–1998 accounted for US\$1,800 million only. Things began improving after the establishment of the **currency** board, which stabilized the currency rates, and due to the economic reform policy of the Kostov cabinet in general. On 4 September 1999, a law was passed allowing foreigners to own houses in Bulgaria and to import plant equipment without paying value-added tax (VAT). In spite of the bad international circumstances—the financial crisis in Russia and the wars in Yugoslavia in 1999 and in the **Republic of Macedonia** in 2001—foreign investment increased. It accounted for US\$2,400 million in 1999–2001 only. The main investors in Bulgaria are Cyprus, especially in the **banking** sector (13%), Italy (12%), and Belgium (11%). The **United States** is less prominent (5%). However, the American plants in Sevlievo, specializing in products for domestic plumbing, are almost legendary for the work ethics imposed on its employees and for having dramatically raised the standard of living of the population in the whole city.

On 18 October 2002, **Nikolay Vasilev**, minister of economy in the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**, announced a number of new measures to encourage foreign investors. In 2001–2004, Bulgaria attracted US\$6.3 billion of direct foreign investment, double as much as in 1992–2000. About 45% of the foreign investments in the period 1992–2004 originated from the EU. The government’s relatively unconditional support of United States policy concerning Afghanistan and **Iraq** was inspired by the hope that American companies as well would be more willing to invest in Bulgaria.

FOREIGN POLICY. After the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**, which resulted in Bulgaria’s independence, Russian influence in Bul-

garia was overwhelming. **Russia's** continual interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs soon caused irritation, however. When Russia rejected the **union with Eastern Rumelia** and engineered King **Alexander Battenberg's** dethronement, **Stefan Stambolov** resolutely defended Bulgaria's national interests against Russia. During the following decade, Bulgaria consequently followed a pro-Western, more precisely pro-Austrian line. After Stambolov was dismissed in 1894, relations with Russia were normalized, but the former Russian predominance in internal affairs was no longer allowed.

The aim of annexing **Macedonia** was the main reason behind the alliances formed on the eve of **Balkan War I** and behind the desperate attempt at enforcing a territorial arrangement during **Balkan War II**. Bulgaria sided with the Central Powers in World War I, in the hope of undoing the unfavorable 1913 **Treaty of Bucharest**, which had allotted only a small part of Macedonia to Bulgaria. When the Central Powers were defeated, the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** made little allowance for Bulgaria. As a result, the new territorial losses only heightened irredentist passions, while the policy of isolation that was applied by the victorious powers and their allies to the Balkans prevented Bulgaria from normalizing relations with its neighbors. The latter tendency was reinforced further by the 1934 **Balkan Pact**. Only on the eve of **World War II** did Bulgaria succeed in breaking its isolation through the 1937 **Bulgarian-Yugoslav Pact "For Eternal Friendship"** and the 1938 **Salonika Agreement**. As an alliance with Nazi **Germany** offered the opportunity for re-annexing Southern **Dobrudja**, **Western Thrace**, and Yugoslav Macedonia, Bulgaria again backed the wrong horse. The 1947 **Paris Peace Treaty**, however, which concluded World War II, was rather indulgent toward Bulgaria; occupied territories in **Greece** and **Yugoslavia** had to be evacuated, but Southern Dobrudja was not to be returned to Romania, and the compensations to be paid were limited to reasonable amounts.

After the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, which brought the Bulgarian communists to power, Bulgaria was willing to participate in creating a Balkan federation, recognizing to this end the existence of Macedonian nationhood. After the Yugoslav rupture with the Soviet Union in 1948, however, this project was abandoned. Bulgaria was gradually reduced to a Soviet satellite state with almost no foreign

policy of its own. Bulgaria was considered the Soviet Union's most faithful ally. Although it shared borders with two **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) member states, no Soviet troops were stationed on Bulgarian soil. In all international forums, Bulgaria took the same stances as the Soviet Union. Relations with **Yugoslavia**, **Greece**, and **Turkey**, however, were to a certain extent determined by Bulgaria's own real or perceived national interests. Particularly in regard to the **Macedonian question**, Bulgaria displayed some initiative of its own, but even here the vicissitudes of Soviet-Yugoslav relations often seem to have influenced the degree of (verbal) aggressiveness.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, a new foreign policy was pursued. Relations with former ideological, military, and economic adversaries—the **United States**, the NATO member states, and the **European Union** (EU)—were normalized. Bulgaria sought full integration into all European institutions. In May 1992, Bulgaria was accepted as a member of the Council of Europe, and in March 1993 it signed an association agreement with the EU. Special efforts were made to establish good relations with the neighboring Balkan states by initiating confidence-building measures. On 20 December 1991, President **Zhelyo Zhelev** proposed at a NATO conference in Brussels a dialogue among Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey in order to decrease tensions in the Eastern half of the Balkans. On 14 April 1992, during the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the representatives of all Balkan countries (except Macedonia) met in the Bulgarian embassy and declared their support of the agreement for a “Helsinki of the Balkans,” aimed at establishing good relations among themselves and with European institutions. Bulgaria made bilateral agreements on all-around cooperation with **Albania**, Greece, **Romania**, and Turkey, and far-reaching agreements with Macedonia. In the turmoil of Balkan politics, Bulgaria's role was generally appreciated as constructive and stabilizing. Günter Verheugen, EU commissioner in charge of the enlargement, called Bulgaria “an anchor of stability in a strategically very important region.” Relations with Russia were tightened during the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**. From 1997 onward, after the **Ivan Kostov cabinet** came to power, Bulgarian foreign policy has been increasingly attuned to that of the EU and the United States. This often runs counter to public opinion, for instance in the case of the Bulgar-

ian government's support for NATO military intervention in Yugoslavia. Dilemmas also emerge when the EU and the United States do not agree completely—as in the case of **Iraq**, when Bulgaria unconditionally supported the “coalition of the willing.” The risk that Bulgaria would jeopardize its relations with the EU by acting in this way was limited after all, since the EU itself was divided between “willing” and “unwilling” member states. *See also* BLACK SEA ECONOMIC COOPERATION ZONE; GERMANY; MACEDONIA, REPUBLIC OF.

FOREIGN TRADE. In antiquity, **Thrace** participated in the **Greek** trade in the eastern part of the Mediterranean and the **Black Sea**. During the Middle Ages Bulgaria had intensive foreign trade relations with the **Byzantine Empire**, Venice, Genoa, and Dubrovnik. The **Ottoman Empire**, stretching over three continents, offered excellent conditions for internal trade. In that period, foreign trade was dominated by **Greeks**, **Jews**, and **Armenians**. Trading partners were countries like France, England, and Holland, with which the Ottoman Empire had concluded so-called capitulations (diplomatic agreements with far-reaching trade and customs clauses, mostly at the expense of the Ottoman Empire). After the decline of Venice in the 18th century, Greeks (and Hellenized Bulgarians) increasingly engaged in international trade, especially with **Russia**, the **Romanian** lands, and the Hapsburg Empire. After the liberation in 1878, Bulgaria tried to overcome the foreign trade limitations and prescriptions imposed by the **Treaty of Berlin**, which continued the Ottoman capitulations.

The vast Ottoman internal market, however, was lost as soon as independence was obtained. Nevertheless, after an initial slump, Bulgarian foreign trade grew 3.5 times in the years between 1878 and the **Balkan Wars** in 1912–1913. The Bulgarian kingdom became more and more dependent on Austria-Hungary for its imports and exports. The main Bulgarian export products were cereals, vegetables, meat, and **tobacco**. Industrial products and consumer goods were imported, mainly from Central Europe. The **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) government of **Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski** aimed at establishing a state monopoly on the export of cereals. At the beginning of the 1930s, foreign trade declined about 40% as a result of the worldwide depression. It soon recovered, though not completely,

thanks to the intensive trade relations with Nazi **Germany** (65% of imports, 68% of exports). During **World War II**, Germany all but monopolized Bulgarian foreign trade.

After the communist takeover in 1944, foreign trade was turned into a state monopoly. The **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance** (Comecon) member states and particularly the **Soviet Union** became Bulgaria's most important trade partners. In 1988, 76.7% of Bulgaria's imports originated from Comecon member states (53.5% from the Soviet Union); 82.2% of Bulgaria's exports went to Comecon member states (62.5% to the Soviet Union). Other trade partners were Libya, **Iraq**, and a number of pro-Soviet Third World states to which long-term loans had been granted. In 1988, 6.1% of Bulgaria's exports went to Western Europe. **Tobacco**, vegetables, meat, wine, and other agricultural products remained important for export, but oil (originating in the Soviet Union and refined by Bulgaria), forklift trucks, and electronic components constituted an increasing share of total exports.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, Bulgaria's foreign trade suffered a dramatic setback caused by the disintegration of the Comecon and the "disappearance" of its former trade partners. Not until 1994 did Bulgaria's trade with Western and Central Europe (including the Soviet Union) and with the Arab countries cease declining. New markets proved difficult to conquer due to the low quality of Bulgarian products and the reluctance of most foreign countries to make their markets accessible to Bulgarian products. The arms trade was hit especially hard (*see* ARMS INDUSTRY). The ratification of an association agreement was delayed for years by the **European Union** (EU), and an interim trade deal was not endorsed until the last day of 1993. Easier access to the EU market was given in June 1994. Moreover, Bulgarian foreign trade was heavily damaged by the trade embargo against **Yugoslavia** and especially by the fact that goods could no longer be transported to Western Europe through Yugoslavia. In 1999, export revenues dropped 26% against 1998 due to the NATO military intervention in Yugoslavia, which had rendered roads and bridges unusable. The detour through **Romania** was too long for the transport of vegetables to Western and Central Europe. (Partly illegal) trade with Yugoslavia itself is said to have increased, in spite of the embargo.

Still, the balance of trade, which was falling in 1992 and 1993, began recovering in 1994. In 2001, exports constituted 39% of the gross domestic product (some US\$12,000 million), while imports were equivalent to 56%. The EU and Turkey were steadily replacing Russia and the former Comecon countries as Bulgaria's main trading partners, as far as exports were concerned. More than half of Bulgaria's exports now go to the EU; about 5% go to the former Comecon countries, Russia included. Bulgaria receives about half of its imports from the EU, but Russia has remained the most important supplier of **energy** (almost 20%). The deficit in the trade balance (difference between imports and exports) accounted for 12% in 2001. It had been growing in the previous years, due to the **currency** board. In the framework of the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe, the EU and the **United States** insisted on regional cooperation, especially in the field of trade. In May 2001, the Balkan states pledged to establish a Balkan free trade zone within seven years.

In 2002, Bulgaria exported goods for the equivalent of US\$7.337 billion and imported for the equivalent of US\$9.723 billion. The main agricultural exports are wine, **tobacco**, fresh and processed vegetables and fruit, clothing, footwear, iron and steel, machinery and equipment, fuel. Bulgaria's main export partners are Italy, Germany, Turkey, Greece, France, and the United States (4.8% in 2002). Its main import partners are Russia, Germany, Italy, Greece, France, and Turkey. In January–November 2004, Bulgaria's exports amounted to US\$8,954.7 billion, and its imports to US\$11,875.1 billion.

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GABROVO. A city in Central Bulgaria, on the northern slopes of the **Balkan** mountain range, it was probably founded at the beginning of the 14th century. Thanks to its location near to the **Shipka Pass**, on the road from Svishtov on the **Danube** to **Plovdiv** and further to **Istanbul**, Gabrovo developed into a prosperous center of commerce and manufacturing, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the 19th century, it was one of the first industrialized cities in Bulgaria. It remained so until the fall of the communist regime in November 1989. Gabrovo was famous throughout Bulgaria for its textiles and shoes.

In 1835, the first Bulgarian secular school opened its doors in Gabrovo. It was financed by the wealthy Odessan merchant **Vasil Aprilov**, a native of Gabrovo. In spite of Aprilov's generosity, the inhabitants of Gabrovo are often the butt of jokes, made about their frugality and miserliness. The city has a Museum of Humor and Satire and organizes a yearly Humor and Satire Festival.

GAGAUZ. The Gagauz are a people of Turkish origin professing Orthodox Christianity. Gagauz live in various areas in the Balkan Peninsula, but the greatest concentration (about 140,000) is to be found in Moldova and southeast Ukraine. In Bulgaria, Gagauz live in **Dobrudja** in the northeast of the country; their main center is the coastal town of Balchik. According to the 2001 census, 540 people declared themselves Gagauz (1,478 in 1991). In the past, they were famous vintners. They have preserved interesting folk songs and customs.

The ethnogenesis of the Gagauz is unclear. Their name may derive from the name of the Seljuk Turkish Khan Kaykaus, who was allowed by the Byzantine emperor to settle in Dobrudja in the middle of the 13th century; subsequently, his fellow countrymen were Christianized and their descendants remained faithful to Christianity throughout the Ottoman occupation. At the end of the 18th century and during the first decades of the 19th century, large numbers of Gagauz fled from the war-stricken **Ottoman Empire** and took refuge in Bessarabia (present-day Moldova), together with many thousands of Bulgarians (*See also* BESSARABIAN BULGARIANS).

In the **Soviet Union**, the language of the Gagauz, which is very similar to Anatolian Turkish, was codified. The script was Cyrillic during the Soviet period and is now Latin. In the 1960s, a modest literary tradition came into being. In Bulgaria, the Gagauz remained without education in their native tongue, nor have they had any access to Soviet publications in the Gagauz language. Although contacts between the government of the "Republic" of Gagauzia in Moldova and representatives of the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF) have been established, it is not clear whether the Gagauz in Bulgaria have any political or cultural demands. As Christians, they are not fully accepted by the Muslim Turks in Bulgaria; as Turks, they stand apart from the Bulgarian Christians. In

Bulgarian historiography and ethnography, they are generally considered a Turkicized part of the Bulgarian nation. *See also* ETHNIC COMMUNITIES.

GANCHEV, ZHORZH (1940–). Real name: Georgi Ganchev Petrushev. Politician. Former fencing champion and basketball player. Ganchev lived in Great Britain and the **United States** from the mid-1960s until early 1990, working in the film industry. Ganchev is married to an English woman and claims to have excellent relations in the British and American business world. In 1990, he founded the **Bulgarian Business Bloc** (BBB), and, counting on an electorate of Bulgarian yuppies, in January 1992 he ran for state president with **Petûr Beron** as his running mate. As Ganchev is a rather odd personality, his candidacy was not taken very seriously, the more so as his election campaign was something of a parody. Nevertheless, he got 16.8% of the vote and finished third in the first round. Apparently, those who disagreed with the political establishment—be it that of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) or that of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP)—had voted for him. At the December 1994 **parliamentary elections**, his BBB got 4.7% of the vote or 13 seats in the **National Assembly** (NA). On 13 April 1995, however, Ganchev himself was forced by the Supreme Court to resign as a BBB representative because of his dual citizenship (Bulgarian and US). In the first round of the presidential elections at the end of October 1996, in which he was allowed to participate, Ganchev obtained 21.7% of the vote. In 2000, a number of party members led by Hristo Ivanov defected, appropriating the name of the party. Ganchev then started a new party, the Bloc of Zhorzh Ganchev (BGG), which was renamed National Patriotic Movement (NPM) in July 2004 and joined the Coalition of the Rose (COR) at the eve of the June 2005 parliamentary elections. Ganchev ran again for president in November 2001 but again failed to be elected. He wrote an autobiography, a novel, and several poetry collections.

GANEV, GINYO (1928–). Politician. Born in Burgas on 2 March 1928. He studied law in Sofia, specializing in constitutional law. From 1953 until 1976, he was legal advisor at the Ministry of Energy. From 1976 until 1990 he had leadership functions (among which the

president's) in the National Council of the **Fatherland Front** (FF). In 1990, he was elected president of its successor, the Fatherland Union (FU), of the political party Union for the Fatherland (UF), which emerged from the FU in 1994, and of the coalition Patriotic Union (PU), of which the UF was one of the members. In addition, Ganev was chair of a plethora of organizations, councils, associations, etc., defending democracy and constitutionalism. Since 1997, he has been a member of Parliament for the PU, one of the partners within the **Coalition for Bulgaria** (CFB).

GANEV, STOYAN (1955–). Politician. Born in Pazardzhik on 23 July 1955. He studied law and was a cofounder and joint chair of the United Democratic Center (UDC), later renamed **United Christian Democratic Center** (UCDC), and was one of its representatives in the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) Coordinating Council. Ganev became the spokesperson of the UDF parliamentary group but was removed at the beginning of May 1991 after having expressed other than official UDF opinions. He was appointed minister of foreign affairs and vice-prime minister in the first **Filip Dimitrov cabinet** (November 1990–May 1991). In the second Dimitrov cabinet (May–October 1991), he was replaced as vice-prime minister so he could devote himself entirely to foreign affairs. After the resignation of the second Dimitrov cabinet, Ganev refused to blame President **Zhelyo Zhelev** and the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), but rather reproached Filip Dimitrov, which angered the UDF. In 1993, he was ousted from the UDF, after which he joined the **Bulgarian Business Bloc** (BBB). Afterward, he worked in the **United States** as a university teacher. In July 2001, he was appointed head of the chancellery of Prime Minister **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha**.

GENCHEV, NIKOLAY (1931–2000). Historian and culturologist. Born in Nikolaevo near Stara Zagora, on 2 November 1931. He was appointed professor of history at University of **Sofia** in 1974 and received a Ph.D. in history in 1978. One of the best Bulgarian historians of the **National Awakening** period, he is known also for his liberal and unconventional scientific and political opinions. His major publications concern 19th-century Bulgarian history, the life and work of **Vasil Levski**, Bulgarian-French relations, and the history of

Plovdiv. In the 1980s, he became interested in cultural history, being one of the initiators of culturology in Bulgaria. Increasingly defending nationalist opinions, he was president of the Sofia Discussion Club, of the Bulgarian National Democratic Union, of the nationalist republican Bulgarian Constitutional Forum, and of the Independent Committee on National Problems. Genchev was also a member of the **Democratic Alternative for the Republic (DAR)**, which he left shortly before the April 1997 elections. He died in Sofia on 20 November 2000.

GENDZHEV, NEDIM (1945–). Muslim spiritual leader. Born in Glodzhevo on 1 October 1940. Gendzhev was former chief mufti and head of the **Supreme Muslim Spiritual Council (SMSC)**. His appointment by the Bulgarian government was disputed, and Gendzhev was never accepted by the whole Islamic community in Bulgaria as its leader, especially since he had done little to oppose the notorious **regeneration process**. At the end of January 1992, students of the Islamic Institute in Sofia, supported by the imams of the Kûrdzhali region and two deputies of the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF)**, demanded his resignation, holding that he, according to his own words, had been a member of the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** and a Bulgarian secret service agent until 1981. The SMSC in Sofia defended him. On 10 February, he was dismissed by the **Directorate on Religious Faiths**, which had declared his appointment invalid. On 25 February 1992, a new grand mufti was appointed, and the SMSC was disbanded. Gendzhev and the Supreme Council refused to cede. In October 1997, Mustafa Alish Hadji, a compromise figure, was elected as the head of SMSC.

GENERAL WORKERS' LABOR UNION (GWLU) / Obsht Rabotnicheski Sindikalen Sûyuz (ORSS). See LABOR UNIONS.

GEORGI STOYKOV RAKOVSKI BULGARIAN OFFICERS' LEGION. Organization of career officers, initiated in April 1990 and named after **Georgi S. Rakovski**. It was officially founded on 9–10 November 1990 in Sofia. In 1991, The legion defended the professional interests of about 12,000 members. It promoted the democratization of Bulgarian society and supported **Union of Democratic**

Forces (UDF) Defense Minister **Dimitûr Ludzhev**'s reforms of the **army**. Concerning the "national questions," the legion held the traditional nationalistic opinions, rejecting the legitimacy of the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF) and the **United Macedonian Organization-Ilinden** (UMO-*Ilinden*). In February 1994, the legion organized a protest action against Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov's reform plans, which were likely to cause a further deterioration of the officers' living conditions and the efficiency of the armed forces. Since then, the Legion has been defending the interests of the military in a spirit of loyalty to the government and its national security policy. Especially with regard to Bulgaria's accession to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO), its attitude has been critical, but loyal and cooperative.

GEORGIEV BROTHERS: EVLOGIY (1819–1897) and HRISTO (1824–1872). Traders and philanthropists. Evlogiy was born in Karlovo on 3 October 1819, his brother Hristo in 1824 (the exact date is unknown). Both began their careers as traders in Galați in **Romania** and later they became established in **Bucharest**. They had commercial contacts with English and French firms, were engaged in banking, and accumulated an enormous fortune, which they used partly for philanthropic purposes. They were among the founders of the Bulgarian Charitable Institution, a pro-Russian organization of Bulgarian emigrants in Romania. Evlogiy's political career after 1878 in independent Bulgaria was less than successful.

The brothers Georgiev supported the publication of Bulgarian books and journals in Romania; they donated to churches and monasteries, and paid for the education of Bulgarian youngsters abroad. They financed a number of Bulgarian educational and humanitarian institutions: a girls' college in **Salonika**, a hospital in Istanbul, and especially the High School, later University of **Sofia**. Both died in Bucharest, Hristo on 6 March 1872, and Evlogiy on 5 July 1897. The monuments to the brothers are located at the main entrance to University of Sofia.

GEORGIEV, KIMON (1882–1969). Real name: Kimon Georgiev Stoyanov. Politician, born in Pazardzhik on 11 August 1882. After military training, Georgiev participated in both **Balkan Wars** as an

officer. After **World War I**, he became involved in politics and was one of the leaders of the **Military League**. In that capacity, he took part in the planning of the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**. He was minister of railways in the second **Democratic Alliance** (DA) government, from 1926 to 1928. In 1931, he joined *Zveno*. After the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**, he was appointed prime minister and remained in power until January 1935. After the establishment of Tsar **Boris III's personal regime** that same year, Georgiev became one of the main opposition leaders, which drew him closer to the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP). In 1943 he joined the **Fatherland Front** (FF) as a *Zveno* representative. After the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, he was appointed prime minister and retained his post until December 1949. He was minister of electrification and improvements from 1949 to 1959, vice-chair of the Ministers' Council and of the National Council of the FF until 1962, and member of the **Presidium** of the **National Assembly** (NA) from 1962 to 1969. He died in Sofia on 28 September 1969.

GERGYOV DEN. Alternative political party, founded in 1996 by the producers of a Bulgarian television program comparable to *Spitting Image*. Named after the Day of Saint George, during which folkloristic traditions are performed, *Gergyovden* organized a number of carnival-like demonstrations in Sofia. The party registered for the 1997 **parliamentary elections** but withdrew at the last moment. In May 1999, it founded a Social Committee for Fighting Corruption, *Gergyovden*. In 1999, *Gergyovden* and the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO) issued a declaration emphasizing their common ideological and political goals as patriotic organizations. *Gergyovden* formed a coalition with IMRO with a view to the June 2001 parliamentary elections, but failed to pass the electoral threshold. *Gergyovden* participated in the June 2005 parliamentary elections as a member of the coalition **United Democratic Forces** (Uddf). The (rather informal) leader of *Gergyovden* is Lyuben Dilov the Son. (His father was a popular science fiction writer who bore the same name.)

GERMANY (RELATIONS WITH). Bulgaria's relations with Germany date from the ninth century, when the Bulgarian khans and

kings made treaties with Germany against Great Moravia (now Czechia) and its ally—and Bulgaria’s traditional enemy—the Byzantine Empire. In the following centuries, the contacts became rarer, due to the distance between both countries and their being involved in regional affairs. During the **Ottoman period** (1393–1878), a number of German-speaking travelers crossed Bulgaria, enroute to **Istanbul**, leaving some exciting descriptions of the situation of the Bulgarians under Ottoman rule. In the **National Awakening** period, the “German” Hapsburg Empire determined the Bulgarians’ perception of Western Europe. After the liberation in 1878, relations between Bulgaria and Germany and Austria-Hungary grew closer. Under the government of **Stefan Stambolov**, when Bulgaria tried to escape Russian supremacy, Germany and Austria-Hungary developed into Bulgaria’s preferred political and economic partners. On the eve of **World War I**, given the international political constellation in Europe, Bulgaria’s territorial ambitions, especially in **Macedonia**, seemed more realizable with the support of the Central Powers. The Treaty of 24 August 1915 obliged Bulgaria to mobilize and attack Serbia within 35 days; in exchange, Bulgaria was entitled to annex Serbian Macedonia. After the Central Powers were defeated, the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** severely punished Bulgaria for allying with them.

In the interwar period, Bulgaria and Germany (and Hungary) were rightfully thought to be seeking a revision of the postwar border arrangements. They were distrusted and were diplomatically isolated. In addition to the feeling of solidarity that evolved from this shared situation, Bulgaria grew economically dependent on its commercial relations with Germany. Payments between both countries were based on the clearing principle, from which Bulgaria greatly benefited. On the eve of **World War II**, Germany again seemed to offer better perspectives with a view to the annexation of Macedonia and **Western Thrace**. After Germany convinced Romania to cede the Southern **Dobrudja** to Bulgaria by the 1940 **Treaty of Craiova** and promised Bulgaria to be entrusted with the administration of Macedonia and Western Thrace after the capitulation of **Yugoslavia** and **Greece**, Bulgaria finally decided to enter the war. In fact, both regions were annexed by Bulgaria. However, the alliance with Germany turned out to be a bad choice once again. Germany was de-

feated, and the **Soviet Union** seized the opportunity to occupy Bulgaria in September 1944 and to install a **communist** regime. The territories that Bulgaria had “administered” during the war had to be evacuated.

After World War II, Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic cooperated politically, economically, and militarily in the framework of the **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance** (Comecon) and the **Warsaw Pact**. German was the only Western language a Bulgarian youngster could learn with any hope of eventually visiting the country where the language was spoken—or at least a part of that country, as Western Germany was behind the Iron Curtain and was actually inaccessible. However, the German Federal Republic was among the first nations in Western Europe to tighten its relations with Bulgaria as soon as the *détente* allowed this. After the fall of the communist bloc in 1989, Germany became one of the major investors in Bulgaria. According to some estimates, there were close to 90,000 Bulgarians legally or illegally living or studying in Germany by the end of 2004. *See also* FOREIGN AID; FOREIGN POLICY; FOREIGN TRADE.

GEROV, NAYDEN (1823–1900). Teacher, writer, linguist, politician, and diplomat. Born in **Koprivshitsa** on 23 February 1823, he attended school in his native town and in **Plovdiv** and then studied in Odessa, **Russia**, where he obtained Russian citizenship. In 1850, after a short period as a teacher in Koprivshitsa, where he founded the first secular Bulgarian school, he settled in Plovdiv as a teacher. In that capacity, on 24 May 1851 he organized the first celebration of **Cyril and Methodius** by the teachers, pupils, and their parents—an initiative that was eventually followed in all Bulgarian schools and has become a tradition. During the Crimean War (1853–1856), as a Russian subject he was forced to leave the country and lived in St. Petersburg. Back in Plovdiv, he was accused by the **Greek** clergy of inciting the Bulgarian population against the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**. Gerov then settled in Istanbul. In 1857, he was appointed Russian vice-consul to Plovdiv. In that capacity, he played a leading role in the **church struggle** there, his diplomatic status offering him juridical immunity. At the outbreak of the **April 1876 Uprising**, Gerov left again for Russia. During the **Russo-Turkish War**

in 1877–1878, he served with the Russian general staff. After the liberation in 1878, he was appointed governor of Svishtov for a short time. He devoted the last decades of his life to scientific research. Gerov is the author of a number of textbooks. In 1845, he wrote the first Bulgarian poem in syllabic accentual verse, breaking with the 18th-century tradition of syllabic verse. His most famous work is his monumental *Dictionary of the Bulgarian Language*, five volumes (1895–1904), still an invaluable tool and source of information in spite of its complicated orthography and anti-Greek bias.

GESHOV, IVAN (1849–1924). Politician. Born in Plovdiv on 8 February 1849, he studied financial and political sciences in Manchester, England. After the liberation in 1878, he held several public posts in **Eastern Rumelia** and after 1883 in the **Principality of Bulgaria**. During the **Stefan Stambolov** regime (1887–1894), he sided with the opposition out of disagreement with the prime minister's anti-Russian stance. In the **Konstantin Stoilov** cabinet, he was appointed minister of finance. When Stoilov died in 1901, Geshov became the head of the **National Party** (NP). He was prime minister and minister of foreign affairs during the **Balkan Wars**. During **World War I**, he initially opposed an alliance with **Germany** and Austria but later followed Tsar **Ferdinand**'s foreign policy. When the NP and the **Progressive Liberal Party** (PLP) merged into the United National Progressive Party (UNPP) in 1920, Geshov was elected party leader again. In this capacity, he led the opposition against the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) government established by **Aleksandûr Stamboliyski**. As one of the founders of the **Constitutional Bloc** (CB), he was forced to emigrate in 1922. He returned after the **coup d'état on 9 June 1923**, and joined the **Democratic Alliance** (DA), together with the UNPP. He died on 11 March 1924. Geshov wrote several collections of memoirs.

GLAGOLITSA. First Slavic script, created by **Cyril and Methodius** to record their translations of the Holy Scriptures and the most important texts, used during the divine services. The rather bizarre glagolitic letters are probably symbolic representations (ideograms) of divine concepts; the names of the letters form an acrostic, expressing the basics of Christian faith. In Bulgaria, the glagolitic al-

phabet was soon replaced by another—the inappropriately named **Cyrillic alphabet**. *See also* ABECEDARIUM ACHROSTICHM.

GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (GNA)/Veliko Narodno Sûbranie (VNS). Unicameral collective and collegial political institution; actually the enlarged **National Assembly (NA)**. The 1879 **Tûrnovo Constitution** endowed the GNA with constituent power, and the Ordinary National Assembly/Obiknovenno Narodno Sûbranie, for short, **National Assembly (NA)** with legislative power.

The GNA has the power to amend the constitution, to alter the national borders, and used to elect the head of state (tsar, regent, president). It is constituted by twice as many members as the (Ordinary) NA—that is, two for every 20,000 Bulgarian citizens instead of one. Since the liberation in 1878, the GNA has been convened seven times:

1. From 17 April to 27 June 1879, to elect King **Alexander Battenberg**
2. On 1 July 1881, to suspend the Tûrnovo Constitution and give extraordinary powers to King Alexander
3. From 19 October 1886 to 3 August 1887, to elect a new king; **Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha** was elected
4. From 3 May 1893 to 17 May 1893, to amend Article 13 of the **constitution**, concerning the title of the monarch and to introduce some minor constitutional changes concerning the number of members of Parliament and the length of their terms of offices
5. On 9 June 1911, to amend Article 17 of the constitution so that the monarch was entitled to make secret agreements with foreign powers without prior consultation with the National Assembly
6. From 7 November 1946 to 21 October 21 1949, to draft and adopt a new “communist” constitution and a number of laws regulating the transformation of Bulgaria into a socialist society; the new constitution was adopted on 4 December 1947
7. From 10 June 1990 to 1 October 1991, to draft and adopt the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria and other major laws connected with the transition to a parliamentary democracy and

free-market economy; the new constitution was adopted on 12 July 1991.

GREAT BULGARIA. Two separate historical entities: (1) The name of a large federation of **Proto-Bulgarian** tribes on the steppes north of the **Black Sea** at the beginning of the seventh century. After the death of their ruler, Kubrat (after 651), the federation disintegrated. Some of the tribes, led by **Asparuh**, settled in the region north of the **Danube** delta, whence they made raids into the Balkan Peninsula.

(2) The unofficial name of the Bulgarian state as described by the 19 February/3 March 1878 **Treaty of San Stefano**, including all territories inhabited by Bulgarians (or people considered by the Bulgarians to be Bulgarians), **Macedonia**, Western **Thrace**, and **Dobrudja**. Great Bulgaria existed for four months—until the 1/13 July 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**—and only on paper. According to radical Bulgarian nationalists, Great Bulgaria should be “restored.”

The term is now used mainly outside Bulgaria to refer to Bulgarian irrendentism, while the Bulgarians themselves prefer “San Stefano Bulgaria.”

GREECE (RELATIONS WITH). Throughout the ages, Bulgarian relations with the successive states established by the **Greeks** have been intense and complicated. The Slavic and Proto-Bulgarian tribes who came from the north in the sixth through seventh centuries settled in territories south of the **Danube**, which were part of the Byzantine Empire. These tribes were Christianized by priests belonging to the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**. **Cyril and Methodius**, who translated the Scriptures into Old Bulgarian (or Old Church Slavonic), were working under the authority of the Byzantine emperor (*see* BULGARIAN LANGUAGE). From the establishment of the Bulgarian state in 681 throughout the Middle Ages, Bulgaria and the **Byzantine Empire** were involved in a struggle for ascendancy in the Balkans. From 1018 to 1185, the Bulgarian lands were reintegrated into the Byzantine Empire. Even when Bulgaria was an independent state, however, or when relations with Byzantium were hostile, Greek cultural influence remained dominant. Bulgarian medieval culture can be adequately described as a Slavitized Byzantine culture.

After Bulgaria was conquered by the Ottomans and integrated in the **Ottoman Empire**, the medieval Bulgarian Patriarchate was abolished and its dioceses incorporated into the *Rum millet*, or the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**. Worship and education in Bulgaria became gradually Hellenized. By the end of the 18th century, the Bulgarian social elite spoke Greek. During the 19th century, Greek cultural influence was diminished as the Bulgarians developed their own national consciousness and created a Bulgarian school system. After the establishment of the Greek kingdom in 1830, Bulgarian nationalist leaders began considering the Patriarchate as an instrument of Greek cultural and political expansionism and launched the so-called **church struggle** in order to establish an independent Bulgarian church. Although Bulgarians owed much to Greek education and culture, Greeks were disliked even more than Turks. After the **Bulgarian Exarchate**—an institution foreshadowing a Bulgarian state—was founded in 1872, a bitter conflict in the fields of education and culture between Bulgarians and Greeks broke out in **Macedonia**, an area coveted by both nations. Toward the turn of the century, there were clashes of Bulgarian and Greek *chetas* as well. The rivalry over Macedonia finally resulted in a war between the former anti-Ottoman allies during the 1913 **Balkan War II** since they were unable to agree on the partition of the occupied territories. Bulgaria was defeated, and Greece (and **Serbia**) took the lion's share of Macedonia. During **World War I**, Bulgaria and Greece again fought on different sides.

In the interwar period, relations between Bulgaria and Greece remained tense due to the allocation of Western Thrace to Greece in 1920, the population exchanges between Bulgaria and Greece, and the continual *cheta* actions of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO) on Greek soil. In October 1925, Greek armed units, pursuing Bulgarian *chetas*, penetrated into the Bulgarian Petrich region, provoking a crisis that was ultimately resolved by the League of Nations. The **Balkan Pact**, signed in 1934, allied Greece, **Romania**, **Turkey**, and **Yugoslavia** against Bulgaria, whose diplomatic isolation was thus reinforced. During **World War II**, Bulgaria occupied Western Thrace and part of Greek Macedonia, carrying out a policy of ethnic cleansing against the local Greek population and (re-)Bulgarianization of the region. After the war, the Bulgarian army was compelled to withdraw, and the old borders were restored.

The postwar relations between Bulgaria and Greece were determined by the Cold War for at least 25 years. Bulgaria was the **Soviet Union**'s most faithful ally, while in Greece, the **United States** was influential. After the Greek Civil War (1946–1949), many Greek communists sought refuge in Bulgaria. In the mid-1950s, however, after years of tension and border skirmishes over a few islands in the Maritsa River, several agreements on the borders and the payment of reciprocal debts were reached. Diplomatic relations were restored in 1953. On 9 June 1964, the two countries signed a far-reaching treaty on **transportation**, communication, and cooperation in the field of **tourism**. Relations improved even more during the military dictatorship in Greece (1967–1974). Diplomatic relations were raised to the ambassadorial level, and a common commission for economic cooperation was created in 1971. In 1974, a Bulgarian-Greek Declaration on Good Neighborliness, Understanding, and Cooperation was proclaimed. After the fall of the Greek military regime in 1974, and especially during the Andreas Papandreu government (1981–1989), Bulgarian-Greek relations continued to improve, mainly as the result of both countries' growing hostility toward Turkey. Bulgaria's 1984–1985 **regeneration process**, which provoked serious tensions with Ankara, was met with understanding in Greece. On 11 September 1986, **Todor Zhivkov** and Andreas Papandreu signed a new Treaty on Friendship, Good Neighborliness, and Cooperation, which prohibited the territory of either country from being used as a base for military operations against the other—an unusual agreement between two countries belonging to opposing military alliances. The treaty was regarded in Ankara (and in Belgrade, **Yugoslavia**) as an act threatening the stability of the Balkans. Greece was the only country in the world that tacitly consented to the expulsion of the Turkish community from Bulgaria in 1989.

After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, Bulgaria's relations with Turkey improved as a result of better treatment of the Turkish minority, which aroused suspicion in Greece. Nevertheless, on 7 October 1991, a 20-year Treaty on Friendship, Good Neighborliness, Cooperation, and Security was signed, including the exchange of military information. After Bulgaria's official recognition of the (former Yugoslav) **Republic of Macedonia** on 15 January 1992, Bulgarian-Greek relations went through a temporary though serious crisis, but neither

Greece (for strategic reasons), nor Bulgaria (for economic reasons) was willing to force the issue to a breaking point. The **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)** in particular, some members of which had lucrative ties with Greece dating from the communist period, strongly opposed every step that could spoil existing understandings. Bulgarian-Greek economic relations continued to improve in 1992 and 1993. On 12 March 1993, the foreign ministers of the two countries agreed not to allow their territories to be used for military intervention in the former Yugoslavia. On 11 November 1993, immediately after the reelection of Papandreu as Greece's prime minister, Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias visited Sofia. On that occasion, Bulgaria and Greece reaffirmed their common approach to most problems concerning both of them. They both insisted on receiving compensation for the losses resulting from the **United Nations** trade embargo against Yugoslavia. In February 1994, an agreement on military cooperation was signed. In the following years, Bulgarian and Greek ministers exchanged numerous working visits and have met during gatherings within the framework of various Southeast European and European conferences. Greek Prime Minister Kostas Simitis visited Sofia in mid-April 1998, urging the completion of infrastructural works such as the expressway from Burgas to Ormenio and the construction of a 285-kilometer pipeline to convey Russian gas from Burgas to Alexandroupolis, which was strongly promoted by **Russia** and Greece, while Bulgaria was rather reluctant. (A final agreement was reached in April 2005.) During a further visit to Sofia in late August 1998, Simitis also raised the issue of the obsolete Kozloduy **nuclear power plant**. Greece has also developed into one of the largest foreign investors in Bulgaria (**banking**, construction companies, dairy products, and cement industry). An estimated 100,000 Bulgarians reside legally or illegally in Greece and serve as cheap labor force. Their number has grown since the decision of the **European Union (EU)** to waive the visa requirements for Bulgarian citizens in April 2001. Subsequently, Bulgarian Prime Minister **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha**, Finance Minister Milen Velchev, and Minister of European Integration **Meglana Kuneva** visited Athens to discuss further bilateral, regional, and European cooperation.

After its initial rather embarrassing involvement in Balkan nationalist politics, more specifically with regard to the recognition of Macedonia in the 1990s, Greece has now realized that the Balkan

countries' roads to Europe pass through Athens and has chosen to play the more realistic and lucrative role of a political and economic regional power within the framework of the EU. The Greek Foreign Ministry has a special Directorate of Southeastern European Countries that deals with relations with Bulgaria and other neighboring countries. It also developed a Hellenic Plan for the Reconstruction of the Balkans and participates in the South-East Europe Cooperation Process, the **Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone (BSECZ)**, and the Trilateral Cooperation (Greece, Bulgaria, and **Romania**). *See also* FOREIGN INVESTMENT; FOREIGN POLICY; GREEKS.

GREEKS. Greeks have been living in the Balkan Peninsula since ancient times. In the sixth and fifth centuries BC, they established a number of “colonies” in the Bulgarian part of the **Black Sea** coast: Bizone (now Kavarna), Dionysoupolis (Balchik), Odessos (**Varna**), Naulochos (Obzor), Mesambria (**Nesebûr**), Anchialos (Pomorie), and Appolonia (Sozopol). There were other concentrations of Greeks in the regions of **Plovdiv** and Kalimaka (now Asenovgrad), of Elhovo near Yambol (where they are called **Kariots**), and of Melnik and Sandanski, in the southwest near the current Greek border.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, due to the influence of the Greek clergy and merchants, the Bulgarian urban upper class was Hellenized. Speaking Greek and behaving like a Greek was a social distinction feature, rather than an ethnic one, though. Greek urban culture was marked by European, especially French Enlightenment, more than by Greek ethnicity. However, Greeks and Hellenized Bulgarians controlled trade, worship, and **education** in the Bulgarian cities. Their position was challenged by Bulgarian nationalists during the so-called **church struggle**, which became acute in the 1860s. After the establishment of the **Bulgarian Exarchate** in 1870, the cities in Bulgarian lands were definitively Bulgarized.

After the liberation in 1878, Greeks were reduced to an ethnic minority in the new Bulgarian nation-state. In 1906, the Greek population in Bulgaria fell victim to pogroms carried out by the Bulgarians as retaliation for the slaughter of Bulgarians in Macedonia by Greek **chetas**. The town of Pomorie was partly destroyed. In the 1920s, pursuant to the population exchanges agreement stipulated by the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly**, the remaining Greeks were encouraged to leave

Bulgaria as well. As a result, the Greek share of the population of Bulgaria declined from 1.0% to 0.1%. Although their number was insignificant, Greeks in Bulgaria were continually pressured to Bulgarianize, to give up their mother tongue, and to take Bulgarian names. Exceptions were made for Greek communists who had found refuge in Sofia and other large Bulgarian cities after the Greek civil war (1946–1949). Most of them, however, returned to **Greece** in the 1980s. Now, only older people in the coastal towns and in the neighborhood of Asenovgrad still speak the Greek language. According to the 2002 census, there are 3,408 Greeks in Bulgaria. *See also* ETHNIC COMMUNITIES; KARAKACHANS.

GREEN PARTY (GP)/ZELENA PARTIYA (ZP). It was founded on 28 December 1989 in Sofia by Aleksandŭr Karakachanov, Lyubomir Ivanov, Solomon Pasi, and others who had left *Ekoglasnost*. The GP joined the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** in January 1990 and was one of its main constituents. In 1991, Karakachanov and the majority of the GP members left the UDF, but a faction headed by Hristo Biserov remained faithful and formed the **Conservative Ecological Party (CEP)**. In 1994, the GP joined the **Democratic Alternative for the Republic (DAR)** and in spring 1997 the **Union for National Salvation (UNS)**. In the June 2001 elections, the GP, allied with the **Political Club Ekoglasnost (PC Ekoglasnost)**, was crushed. The chair of the GP from the beginning has been **Aleksandŭr Karakachanov**.

GRIGORIY TSAMBLAK (ca. 1364–1420). Bishop and writer. He studied in **Veliko Tŭrnovo** with **Evtimiy of Tŭrnovo** and later in Mount **Athos** and in **Constantinople**. Evtimiy acquainted him with the requirements of the new literary style and philological principles, adopted from the **Byzantine Empire**. His plans to become bishop of Moscow failed, but in 1414, he was enthroned metropolitan bishop of Kiev. Grigoriy introduced the philological principles of the Tŭrnovo School in Russia, thus contributing to the so-called “second South-Slavic wave.” His influence was felt in **Romania** and **Serbia** as well. His most famous works are the life of the Serbian tsar Stefan Dečanski and of Evtimiy of Tŭrnovo. His style is rather “baroque”—emotional, richly ornamented, and highly artificial.

GRUEV, DAMYAN *or* DAME (1871–1906). National liberation fighter. Born in January 1871 in Smilevo near Bitola, now in the **Republic of Macedonia**. He studied history in Belgrade and from 1889 to 1891 in **Sofia** where he met members of the Macedonian liberation movement. From 1899 on, he worked as a teacher in Salonika, Shtip, Smilevo, Prilep, and other places. In 1893, he founded a kind of revolutionary central committee in Bitola, inspired by the **Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee (BRCC)**, but it soon folded. In 1893, he was among the initiators of the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)**, and was appointed its secretary-treasurer. Together with **Gotse Delchev**, he worked at the creation of a network of local conspiratorial organizations, which were to be coordinated by the **Supreme Macedonian Committee (SMC)** in Sofia. Gruev was responsible for the region of Bitola. In 1900, he was arrested and sent into exile in Asia Minor. When he was released in 1903, the decision to carry out the **Ilinden Uprising** had already been made. Although Gruev was skeptical about the readiness of the population to rise in arms, he participated in the preparation for the uprising as one of its main leaders and took part in several battles against the Ottoman army. After the insurrection was crushed, Gruev remained in Macedonia in order to rebuild the organization. During the Macedonian Congress in Rila in 1906, he was elected a member of the Central Committee and was generally recognized as the head of the Macedonian liberation movement. He was killed on 10 December 1906 during a clash with an Ottoman squad. *See also* MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

GRUEV, STEPHEN (1922–). Biographer. Born in Sofia in 1922, he was the son of Pavel Gruev, principal private secretary of Tsar **Boris III** during the last years of his rule. He studied law in Geneva. After the communist takeover in 1944, he was proclaimed an “enemy of the people” and was expelled. Gruev worked as a journalist with the French magazine *Paris Match* and later as the chief of *Paris Match*’s office in New York. He also worked for Radio Free Europe and for the BBC World Service and contributed to several Bulgarian emigrant publications. He was the first Bulgarian to visit Antarctica and the only one who ever was at the South Pole.

Gruev published several books on a broad range of subjects. *Crown of Thorns*, a biographic novel about Boris III, appeared in 1987. The tsar is represented as an intelligent and beloved ruler, dedicated to the well-being of his people, at variance with the picture that was drawn by communist historiography, according to which he was a semi-fascist dictator. *Crown of Thorns* was published in Bulgarian translation in 1991 and contributed considerably to the rise of monarchism in Bulgaria in the 1990s. In 2002, Gruev received a doctorate *honoris causa* from the American University in Bulgaria. The same year he published his autobiography, *My Odyssey*.

GYPSIES. *See* ROMA.

**GYURGEVO REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE (GRC)/
GYURGEVSKI REVOLYUTIONEN KOMITET (GRK).** Organization of Bulgarian emigrants in Romania working for the liberation of Bulgaria from Ottoman domination. Founded in Gyurgevo (now Giurgiu in **Romania**), it continued the activities of the **Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee** (BRCC), coordinating the activities of the national liberation movement in Bulgaria. The GRC played an important role in the planning of the **April 1976 Uprising**.

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HADJI DIMITÛR (1840–1868). Real name: DimitÛr Nikolov Asenov. National freedom fighter. Born in Sliven to an artisan's family, in 1860 he became involved in the *cheta* movement, fighting alongside such famous *cheta* leaders as **Panayot Hitov**. In 1863, he went to **Bucharest** and established contact with **Georgi S. Rakovski**. In 1864 he became a *cheta* leader himself, and, in the following years, he organized several expeditions into the **Balkan Mountains**, together with Stefan Karadzha. On 18 June 1868, he was killed by an Ottoman squad near Buzludzha Peak. Inspired by his death, **Hristo Botev** wrote the poem “Hadji DimitÛr,” making him a legend.

HATTI HÜMAYUN. *See* TANZIMAT.

HATTI ŞERIF OF GÜLHANE. *See TANZIMAT.*

HAYDUK. Originally, *hayduks* were outlaws and robbers, living in the mountains and operating in gangs, especially during the summer. Since their victims were understandably wealthy people, the *hayduks* were represented in folk songs as similar to the English Robin Hood—taking from the rich and giving to the poor. Moreover, since wealthy people belonged to the Ottoman upper class or to the *chorbadzhiyas*, the *hayduks* were regarded from the 19th century on as national freedom fighters who protected the poor peasants against Ottoman tyranny and exploitation.

In the 1860s **Georgi S. Rakovski** and others developed a *cheta* movement, which was based on *hayduk* methods of organizing and operating. However, many *chetas*, supposedly fighting for national liberation, were hard to distinguish from ordinary gangs of thugs, particularly those belonging to the **International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO) during the interwar period.

HAYTOV, NIKOLAY (1919–2002). Writer, born in Yavorovo on 15 September 1919. He studied forestry at the University of **Sofia** and worked as a forester in the **Rhodope Mountains**, where he was born. From 1955 onward, he was a professional journalist and writer. His finest work—and one of the pivotal books in postwar **Bulgarian literature**—was *Wild Tales* (*Divi razkazi*, 1967), dealing with the life of the **Pomaks** in the Rhodope Mountains, written in a very authentic language, close to everyday speech, and in a fascinating mix of irony and nostalgia. Its main theme is the conflict between the old patriarchal moral values and the new moral values that modernization and industrialization brought with them. *Wild Tales* has been translated into many languages, including English. Haytov's other books are less interesting. At the end of his life, he was president of the (ex-communist) **Union of Bulgarian Writers** (UBW) for some years. He died in Sofia on 30 June 2002.

HEALTH CARE. In the Middle Ages and the **Ottoman** period, health care was organized by the guilds and by religious foundations. The first hospitals were built in the 19th century. After the liberation in 1878, public health was taken care of by a special ministry. During the com-

munist period, it was organized and monopolized by the state. From 1951, medical treatment was free of charge; medicines were cheap or free (for children up to the age of six and for pregnant women). From 1972 to November 1989 private medical and dental practices were forbidden. Districts, large villages, plants, and vocational organizations had their own polyclinics where essential medical care was administered. Bulgaria had one of the lowest infant mortality rates in Eastern Europe (14.4 per 1,000). Although doctors generally were well prepared and dedicated, the technological level of medical care was low because of a shortage of foreign currency. Conditions in the overcrowded hospitals were often miserable. Political leaders and high-ranking army officers, however, were treated in special government hospitals where advanced technologies were applied.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the existing health care system went into a crisis. It appeared to be too expensive; there was no longer any foreign currency available to buy new medical technology or medicines abroad. The handicapped suffered especially from the crisis. Public health worsened rapidly; infant mortality rates increased to 17 per 1,000 in 1990. From 1990–1991 on, Bulgarian health care has been largely dependent on Western humanitarian aid, provided by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the **European Union (EU)**. The technological equipment in hospitals is in particular need of improvement. On 16 January 1991, the **National Assembly (NA)** passed a law allowing private medical practices. The former free public health-care system was not entirely abolished, but it had become unsustainable. In October 1993 a bill on compulsory health insurance for all citizens was passed, but it failed to be implemented adequately. The **Ivan Kostov cabinet** introduced legislation according to which every employed citizen had to pay a health care contribution in the amount of 6% of his or her salary. In summer 1999, new instructions, aiming to limit the costs of public health care, forbade general practitioners from sending more than 20% of their patients to specialists. All primary care facilities and hospitals were turned into commercial partnerships and were eventually privatized completely. Medical specialists were transferred to the commercial sector. All people, including the distressed, had to pay for their medicine. The new system is particularly harsh for elderly, retired people who make up the largest group of

health-care consumers. In mid-2005, there were still 1.2 million Bulgarians without proper health care documents, including some members of Parliament who were deprived of medical care except for emergency aid.

HESYCHASM. Orthodox mystic learning, developed by Gregorius Sinaiticus and Gregorius Palamas, according to which unification with God, that is the observation of the godly light as Christ's disciples experienced on Mount Tabor, can be achieved through ascetic living, practicing the "inner prayer," and full silence (whence the name *hesychasm*, from Greek *hesychazo*, "to be silent"). The main propagator of hesychasm in Bulgaria was Teodosiy of Tŭrnovo, who in the 14th century turned the monastery of Kilifarevo near **Veliko Tŭrnovo** into a center of hesychast monastic life. The hesychasts fought heresies like **Bogomilism** and were vehemently opposed to any reconciliation of the **Patriarchate of Constantinople** with the Church of Rome. They were diligent and innovative translators and writers, as the work of **Evtimiy of Tŭrnovo**, a disciple of Teodosiy shows.

HISTORICAL PLACES. Some localities in Bulgaria are considered by the Bulgarians to be "sacred" historical places. They have played a crucial role in Bulgarian history; events that have changed the course of Bulgarian history have taken place there. Such historical places are **Oborishte**, the **Rila Monastery**, the **Shipka Pass**, **Veliko Tŭrnovo**, and the surroundings of the **Vasil Levski Monument in Sofia**, where "the Apostle of Freedom" was hanged. During communist rule, the Buzludzha Peak, where the founding congress of the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP)** took place, was also regarded as a historical place. For many years, official ceremonies have been organized in places like Oborishte. The Rila Monastery is visited spontaneously by many hundreds of thousands of Bulgarians as a kind of yearly pilgrimage.

HITOV, PANAYOT (1830–1918). *Cheta* leader. Born in Sliven to a well-to-do family. He became involved in the *cheta* movement in 1858. In 1863, he tried to establish a *cheta* in **Serbia** but was expelled by the Serbian government. After spending some time in the Bulgar-

ian mountains, he moved to **Bucharest** in 1866 and became one of the associates of **Georgi S. Rakovski**. During the following years, he led several *cheta* operations on Bulgarian soil. Although the *cheta* movement had proved to be ineffective and had become greatly outdated after Rakovski's death, Hitov remained true to it even as a member of the **Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee** (BRCC), which tended to support **Vasil Levski's Internal Revolutionary Organization** (IRO). Hitov did not participate directly in the **April 1876 Uprising**, but he fought with the Russian army in the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**. After the liberation in 1878, he held several administrative positions in independent Bulgaria. He collected memories of his exciting life as a *cheta* leader in *My Travels through the Balkan Mountains* (*Moeto pûtavane po Stara planina*, 1872). He died on 22 February 1918.

HRABÛR, MONK (9TH–10TH CENTURY). Writer. *Hrabûr* means “courageous” and is apparently a pseudonym. Hrabûr probably belonged to the intellectual circle of Tsar **Simeon**. His only work that has come down to us is *About the Letters* (*O pismeněhu*)—a defense of the Old Church Slavonic and of the (most probably) **glagolitic** alphabet against the proponents of the use of Greek. In addition to a typically medieval religious argumentation, Hrabûr also refers to linguistic and historical facts. He points out that God wants His Word to be heard and read by all peoples, that the Slavic alphabet was devised by saints (**Cyril and Methodius**) and not by pagans, like the Greek alphabet was, and that the Greek alphabet was not appropriate to note the Slavic phonemes. *About the Letters* is one of the finest examples of Old Bulgarian polemic literature. (See also BULGARIAN LANGUAGE; BULGARIAN LITERATURE.)

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ILARION MAKARIOPOLSKI (1812–1875). Real name: Stoyan Stoyanov Mihaylovski. Church leader, born in Elena. He studied on Mount **Athos**, in Athens, and in **Istanbul**. In the early 1840s, he became involved in the Bulgarian **church struggle**. In 1845, at the request of the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**, the Ottoman authorities

exiled him to Mount Athos, whence he was released in 1850. In 1858 he was enthroned as a metropolitan. He became the spiritual and political leader of the Bulgarian community in Istanbul and, as such, was the spokesman of all the Bulgarians in the **Ottoman Empire**. On 3 April 1860, during the Easter Sunday liturgy, he rejected the supreme power of the patriarch of Constantinople, thus implicitly proclaiming the independence of the Bulgarian church and presenting the Ottoman government—the highest authority in ecclesiastical matters—with a *fait accompli*. In 1861, he was exiled again until 1864. After the establishment of the **Bulgarian Exarchate** in 1870, he was elected a member of the Exarchic Council and the Holy Synod. He died in Istanbul on 4 June 1875.

ILINDEN. See UNITED MACEDONIAN ORGANIZATION-*ILINDEN*.

ILINDEN-PREOBRAZHENIE UPRISING (1903). Uprising against Ottoman rule in **Macedonia** and in the region of **Adrianople** (Edirne, now in Turkey) in August 1903. By virtue of the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**, Macedonia and large parts of Eastern Thrace, that had been assigned to Bulgaria by the earlier 1878 **Treaty of San Stefano**, remained within the **Ottoman Empire**. This decision was contested by the local population and by irredentist organizations in Bulgaria, which were supported by most Bulgarians and by successive Bulgarian governments—although the latter often acted with caution in view of the international implications. The irredentist movement gained momentum in 1893 after the founding of the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO) in Salonika. A network of revolutionary cells was created; *chetas* operated throughout both regions in a more or less coordinated way. The main objective was the preparation of a massive popular uprising, comparable to the **April 1876 Uprising** in Bulgaria, and likely to provoke foreign military or diplomatic intervention, resulting in the liberation of the territories concerned. The repression by the Ottomans of the premature Gorna Dzhumaya uprising in 1902 was a serious setback in which many of the revolutionary cells and *chetas* were crushed. In January 1903, an incomplete IMARO leadership decided to call on the people to rise in the spring. **Gotse Delchev**, **Damyan Gruev**, and

other IMARO leaders who were absent and were opposed to the plan succeeded only in postponing the uprising to summer. A massive insurrection was to break out in the region of Bitola (now in the **Republic of Macedonia**), where IMARO had many supporters, and that of Adrianople; in other areas *chetas* would go into action in order to prevent the Ottoman forces from intervening.

The uprising began in the Bitola region on Saint Elias Day (*Ilinden*)—20 July/2 August 1903—and soon spread to the adjacent regions of Florina and Kastoria (now in **Greece**), Ohrid, and Kichevo. In Krushevo, populated predominantly with **Vlachs**, the “Republic of Krushevo” was proclaimed. On Transfiguration Day (*Preobrazhenie*)—6/19 August—the Bulgarian population of the Adrianople region rose in arms as well. The Ottoman government brought into action a large and well-equipped army to suppress the uprising. The rebels appealed to Sofia for help, but the Bulgarian government was pressured by the Great Powers to refrain from military intervention. After three months, the uprising was crushed. About 4,500 people were killed, 200 villages destroyed, and 30,000 people forced to emigrate. Liberation was not achieved. The Great Powers imposed on the Ottoman government only the so-called **Mürzsteg Reforms**. Through the Bulgarian-Ottoman Agreement, signed after the suppression of the uprising on 24 March 1904 in Istanbul, Bulgaria undertook to refrain from helping the guerrilla units in Macedonia, while the Ottoman Empire promised to implement the Mürzsteg Reforms. Neither happened. In Bulgaria and in the **Republic of Macedonia**, the *Ilinden* Uprising is commemorated each year on 2 August as a Bulgarian and a Macedonian historical event.

IMMIGRATION. After Bulgaria was liberated from the **Ottomans** in 1878, many thousands of Bulgarians—the so-called refugees (*bezhantsi*)—left **Macedonia** and **Thrace**, which had remained under Ottoman rule, and settled in Bulgaria. Their numbers increased considerably in times of trouble: after the 1878 **Kresna-Razlog Uprising** and the 1903 *Ilinden-Preobrazhenie* **Uprising** were crushed by the Ottoman army, the population tried to escape reprisals by emigrating to Bulgaria. By the eve of the 1912–1913 **Balkan Wars** about 120,000 Bulgarians from Macedonia and Thrace had already

moved to Bulgaria. During the Balkan Wars, the numbers of refugees in Bulgaria, especially from **Greece**, grew spectacularly due to the policy of ethnic cleansing pursued by all belligerents. As provided for in the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly**, Bulgaria and Greece carried out a population exchange, as a result of which about 35,000 Greeks left Bulgaria for Greece, and about 66,000 Bulgarians left Greece for Bulgaria. In addition, there was a steady influx of Bulgarians from Serbian/Yugoslav Macedonia and Romanian **Dobrudja**. In 1926, a government loan was granted to more than 250,000 refugees engaged in agriculture; however, the total number of refugees probably amounted to 700,000 and created a major economic problem for the country. In 1926, the **Andrey Lyapchev cabinet** obtained a loan from the American and the British governments to aid the refugees. In the same period, more than 10% of the population of Sofia was made up of immigrants. The “Macedonians” constituted a considerable economic burden on Bulgaria. While their social integration was accomplished smoothly, their nationalist organizations, and especially the **International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO), often had a rather baneful influence on Bulgarian political life. *See also* MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

After the end of the Greek Civil War in 1949, many thousands of Greek communists settled in Bulgaria as political refugees. Most of them returned to Greece in the 1980s, after the socialist Andreas Papandreou cabinet allowed them to do so legally (taking care, however, that no former Greek citizens of Slavic origin would enter). Under communist rule, many thousands of **Russians** moved to Bulgaria as consultants or as husbands or wives of Bulgarian citizens. They now constitute Bulgaria’s third largest ethnic community. Recently, retired citizens from Western European countries and even Japan have settled in Bulgaria, attracted by the pleasant climate and the low prices of houses and consumer goods. It is expected that in 2010 there will be more immigrants than emigrants.

INDEPENDENCE OF BULGARIA (1908). By virtue of the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**, Bulgaria—actually the **Principality of Bulgaria**—became an Ottoman vassal and tributary state. Although Bulgaria’s subjugation to the **Ottoman Empire** was to a large degree symbolic, it had a number of unpleasant consequences, mainly in the field of in-

ternational politics: Bulgaria had to pay an annual tribute; the king was to be appointed by the sultan; Bulgaria was not allowed to pursue its own **foreign policy** (though it actually did). After the empire's position had weakened as a result of the 1908 Young Turk's revolt, Bulgaria threw off Ottoman suzerainty on 20 September/5 October 1908. On that day, Bulgarian independence was officially proclaimed in the Forty Holy Martyrs' Church in **Veliko Tŕnovo**. On the same occasion, King **Ferdinand** became the tsar of the Bulgarians. The event took place after consultation with Austria-Hungary, which annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina the next day. An international crisis broke out, bringing Europe to the verge of a war. **Russia** mediated between Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire in order to find a solution to the problem of the huge compensation the sultan demanded for the financial losses that Bulgarian independence involved. Bulgaria also had to acknowledge the sultan's authority as a caliph over the Muslims in Bulgaria. The recognition of the independence of Bulgaria by the Great Powers amounted to the annulment of the **Treaty of Berlin**.

INDEPENDENT ASSOCIATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS (IADHR)/NEZAVISIMO DRUZHESTVO ZA ZASHTITA NA PRAVATA NA CHOVEKA (NDZPCh). Political organization founded on 16 January 1988 in Sofia. In the spring of 1989, when two of the leaders (Petŕr Manolov and Iliya Minev) were on a hunger strike, the IADHR was joined by **Rumen Vodenicharov**, who became the leader himself after Manolov and Minev were exiled. The IADHR is part of the founding and constituent core of the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)**. It was represented on the UDF National Coordinating Council by Vodenicharov, Metodi Nedyalkov, and Georgi Lund. The IADHR exposes violations of human rights, whether of the Turkish minority or of the former **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** leader **Todor Zhivkov**, arrested and awaiting trial. Internal differences of opinion on several topics taxed the association and caused the conservative faction (led by Minev and having its headquarters in the town of Septemvri) to break away. In August 1990, Vodenicharov was compelled to resign after being accused of ethnic intolerance; he was succeeded by three cochairs: Vasil Kostov, Nikolay Kolev-Bosiya (the "Barefooted"), and Stefan Vŕlev. On 26 October 1991, Kolev

proposed organizing the then much-discussed Roundtable on Ethnic Problems. The current chair is **Velko Vûlkanov**.

INDEPENDENT LABOR CONFEDERATION-PODKREPA (ILC-Podkrepa)/NEZAVISIMA KONFEDERACIJA NA TRUDA-PODKREPA (NKT-PODKREPA). Founded on 8 February 1989 in Plovdiv by **Konstantin Trenchev** and a number of artists and intellectuals as the Independent Labor Union-*Podkrepa* (“support”). It was modeled after the Polish *Solidarność* and had the same goals. On 28 October 1989, *Podkrepa*-Independent Labor Confederation was created. After the fall of the communist regime on 10 November 1989, *Podkrepa* gradually developed into a mass workers’ union, especially popular with the miners. It organized a great number of large-scale strikes, forcing the subsequent **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** and **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)** cabinets to grant far-reaching political concessions.

On 7 December 1989, *Podkrepa* joined the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** as one of its predominant constituents. It was represented in the Coordinating Council by Konstantin Trenchev, Plamen Darakchiev, and Oleg Chulev. In the spring of 1990, it participated in the Roundtable negotiations on the democratization of Bulgarian society. *Podkrepa* was in favor of radical economic reforms and blamed the BSP for shelving privatization. During its First Congress on 18 March 1990, the labor union renewed its statutes and political program and reelected Konstantin Trenchev as chair. *Podkrepa* demanded, among other things, that its members enjoy the same rights and advantages as the members of the **Confederation of Independent Labor Unions in Bulgaria (CILUB)**.

In order to be able to function as a real **labor union**, *Podkrepa* left the UDF in October 1990 but was given observer status two months later. In mid-August 1991 it was involved in an eight-day miners strike, prompted by dissatisfaction with the economic situation. On 25 October 1991, a split threatened the organization after Konstantin Trenchev was accused of being too closely connected with the UDF. On 6 December 1991, *Podkrepa* gave up its observer status to become fully independent of the UDF. At its Second Congress, on 8 February 1992, Chair Konstantin Trenchev and Vice-Chair Oleg Chulev were reelected. In June 1992, *Podkrepa* reportedly had more

than 600,000 members. As a rule, *Podkrepa* works closely with CILUB. Through this cooperation, the labor movement has developed into a considerable political force in contemporary Bulgaria. The current chair is Dimitŭr Manolov.

INDUSTRY. Industry, in the modern sense of the word, emerged in Bulgaria in the 19th century, after the Ottoman feudal system had disintegrated. By the second half of the 18th century, artisan manufacturing was introduced. The first real factory in Bulgaria (and in the European part of the **Ottoman Empire**) was opened in 1834 in Sliven; it produced textiles. In the course of the following decades, imported industrial products from Central and Western Europe destroyed Bulgarian crafts, but industrial growth in Bulgaria continued slowly.

After the liberation in 1878, low levies on imports, the lack of an internal market, and the poor economic infrastructure worked against the development of industrial enterprises. In 1894, there were only 501 factories and workshops in Bulgaria, employing 5,732 workers. By the end of the 19th century industrial development accelerated due to protectionist legislation, a better **banking** system, and the construction of new roads, railways, and harbors. By 1921, there were 1,544 industrial enterprises. In the 1920s, industrial output doubled, and even after the economic recession at the beginning of the 1930s, Bulgarian industry continued to grow. In 1941, there were 3,467 private enterprises, 130 state enterprises, and 275 **cooperatives**. Most enterprises were involved in coal **mining**, forestry, and food processing. In spite of the impressive growth rates, which were among the highest in the world, Bulgaria remained a predominantly agrarian and economically backward country compared to the rest of Europe. Although not very numerous, the workers were organized from the beginning into strong **labor unions** and were represented in the **National Assembly** (NA) by several workers' parties, like the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party** (BSDP) and the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), if legal.

After the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, all banks and private enterprises gradually came under the control of the workers and the labor unions, guided by the BCP. In December 1947, they were nationalized and a process of accelerated industrialization was

launched. The **Soviet Union** provided financial and technological support, while the collectivization of **agriculture** freed the necessary labor force. As a result, the share of industry in the gross national product (GNP) soon exceeded that of agriculture: in 1975 the proportion was 83:17, roughly the reverse of the situation in 1939 (25:75). Moreover, with in the whole of industrial production, which included the **arms industry**, the share of heavy industry increased at the expense of consumer goods (23:77 in 1939; 45:55 in 1957).

At the **April 1956 Plenum**, Stalinism was blamed for having retarded the industrial growth of the country during the previous five-year plan. Although one of the aims of the resulting April Line was to provide citizens with more and better consumer goods, heavy industry still represented 61.4% of total industrial production in 1982. About 90% of all state investments went to industry; agriculture received the remainder. The most important branches of Bulgarian industry were energy, heavy metallurgy, the **arms industry**, mining, electric machinery, the chemical industry, building materials, wood-working, paper, glass and china, textiles, leather goods, and food-stuffs. In the framework of the **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance** (Comecon), Bulgaria focused on a number of specific areas such as electronics and computers. The main industrial centers were located in or around **Sofia** (Kremikovtsi, Pernik), **Plovdiv**, **Varna**, and **Burgas**. Every major town had at least one factory providing employment to its citizens.

In spite of the impressive progress, Bulgarian industry had a number of serious shortcomings, apart from its neglect of the production of consumer goods. Industry was mainly dependent on state subsidies. Since more than half of the ore used in the metallurgic industry had to be imported, investments in that industry (in Pernik and Kremikovtsi) proved to be highly unprofitable. Although Bulgaria has hardly any energy resources of its own—close to 60% of its raw energy had to be imported from the Soviet Union—some particularly energy-intensive industries were established. Even successful endeavors, like machine building (*Balkankar*), actually lost money and wasted state resources. Due to their relatively low quality, products were fit only for the Comecon market and for some parts of the Third World. Moreover, most plants were extremely polluting (*see* ENVIRONMENT).

After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, Bulgaria faced a severe economic crisis. Heavy industry was especially hard hit, since it depended greatly on the import of raw materials, know-how, and energy. International agreements on the restriction of arms signed by Bulgaria dealt a fatal blow to the flourishing arms industry. In general, Bulgarian industry is awaiting Western investments in order to fully recover from the impact of the **transition**. Still, a new positive tendency is the increasingly dispersed character of industry due to the policy of foreign investors of breaking with the former inefficient centralism. *See also* ECONOMY; FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

INDZHOVA CABINET. After the resignation of the **Lyuben Berov cabinet** on 2 September 1994, President **Zhelyo Zhelev** entrusted **Dimitŭr Ludzhev** with forming a caretaker cabinet. After he failed, **Reneta Indzhova** was entrusted next. On 17 October, her cabinet was voted in by the **National Assembly (NA)**. On 25 January 1995, the Indzhova cabinet was succeeded by the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**.

See Appendix D for the composition of the Reneta Indzhova caretaker cabinet.

INDZHOVA, RENETA (1953–). Economist, politician. Born in Nova Zagora on 6 July 1953. She studied national and world economy in Sofia, and in 1990 she became an adviser to the **Grand National Assembly (GNA)** and later a consultant to the Agency for Economic Development and Planning. In 1992, she was appointed chair of the Department for Defaulted Credits and Privatization at the United Bulgarian Bank. From June 1992 on, Indzhova worked on the Supervision Council of the Privatization Agency, first as one of its members and from August 1993 on as its chair. On 28 September 1993, she was elected manager of the agency. In these capacities, she made—according to President **Zhelyo Zhelev**—a “heroic” contribution to the **privatization** process in Bulgaria. On 17 October 1994, President Zhelev appointed her prime minister of an interim cabinet, after **Lyuben Berov** had resigned on 2 September 1994. Although her term would last no longer than two months, she resolutely took measures to cope with resistance to her privatization policy and to deal with poverty and **crime**, which contributed to her rapidly growing popularity. However, her participation in the communal elections

in 1996, when she aspired to the post of mayor of Sofia, and in the presidential elections in November 2001, when she was supported by the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF) was not successful.

INFORMAL GROUPS. Informal organizations, such as environmental groups and political discussion clubs, emerged in 1988 after the **July Theses** had allowed (and to a certain extent even encouraged) their formation. Most of their members were critical of the way **communism** was implemented in Bulgaria but remained faithful to the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) and its ideology. Nevertheless, the authorities distrusted the informal groups, and on several occasions their members were arrested, beaten, fired, or otherwise harassed. The best-known informal groups were the **Ruse Committee** and the **Discussion Club for Glasnost and Democracy**.

INTERNAL MACEDONIAN-ADRIANOPOLITAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION (IMARO)/VÛTRESHNA MAKEDONO-ODRINSKA REVOLYUTIONNA ORGANIZATSIYA (VMORO). In October 1893, **Damyán Gruev** and others founded a Macedonian national liberation organization, modeled after **Vasil Levski's Internal Revolutionary Organization** (IRO). A central committee was elected in 1894, and a program was drafted. The main aim was autonomy for **Macedonia** and the implementation of the reforms promised by the **Ottoman** government through the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**. The attachment of Macedonia to Bulgaria was not demanded, probably for tactical reasons. Relations with the **Supreme Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Committee** (SMAC) became tense, however, as SMAC attempted to subordinate the liberation movement entirely to the Bulgarian government's interests. The following years **Damyán Gruev**, **Gotse Delchev**, and others worked at the creation of a network of revolutionary cells all over Macedonia, with **Salonika** as the center and a foreign agency in Sofia. In 1896, the organization held its first congress in Salonika. According to the new statutes, IMARO was renamed the **Bulgarian Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Committee** (BMARC). In 1902, **Gruev** and **Delchev** drafted a new program. In view of the non-Bulgarians in both regions being called upon to join the organization,

they changed the organization's name into **Secret Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (SMARO), replacing "Bulgarian" with "Secret." In 1902, SMARO suffered heavily from persecutions by the Ottoman armed forces after the suppression of the Gorna Dzhumaya Uprising, instigated by SMAC. In January 1903, a SMARO congress in Salonika decided to provoke an uprising in the spring of 1903. Delchev and Gruev did not approve of this decision, considering it premature, but nevertheless they loyally cooperated in the preparations, after having the uprising postponed until August. During the preparations, Delchev was killed in a clash with the Ottoman forces. The **Ilinden Uprising**, which broke out on 2 August 1903, was soon crushed.

After the defeat, SMARO split into a leftist and a rightist faction, headed, respectively, by **Yane Sandanski** and **Boris Sarafov**. At the Rila Congress in 1905, the leftist faction gained ascendancy. SMARO was renamed the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO), and under pressure by Sandanski a new uprising was planned for the distant future. The idea of a Balkan federation was adopted as a final solution to the issue of nationalism on the peninsula. The rightist wing, which in fact maintained the Sofia-controlled branch of the former SMAC, vehemently opposed the adopted strategy. Tensions increased and finally resulted in reciprocal terrorist attacks. Sarafov was murdered in 1907. After the Young Turks' revolt in 1908, the Ottoman authorities released political prisoners and allowed the Macedonian organizations to function legally. The leftist IMARO faction founded the National Federative Party; the rightist faction, the Union of Bulgarian Constitutional Clubs. When the Young Turk regime failed to satisfy these political organizations' desire for autonomy for Macedonia and the Adrianople region, IMARO reactivated itself and resumed its former violent actions. During the **Balkan Wars** and **World War I**, IMARO joined the Bulgarian army operating in Macedonia, and by the end of the war they formed a provisional government. In 1919, IMARO sections in the region of Edirne founded their own organization; those in Macedonia renamed themselves the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO), limiting their activities to Macedonia. *See also* MACEDONIAN QUESTION; MACEDONIANS.

INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION (IMRO)/VÛTRESHNA MAKEDONSKA REVOLYUTSIONNA ORGANIZATSIYA (VMRO). (1) National liberation organization, founded in 1919 by **Todor Aleksandrov**, **Aleksandûr Protogerov**, and others. IMRO continued the activities of IMARO, fighting no longer against **Ottoman rule** but for the liberation of those parts of **Macedonia** that had been annexed by **Greece** and **Serbia** during **Balkan War II**. Whether Macedonia was intended to be a part of Bulgaria, or a separate federal unit in a Balkan federation, or an independent state, was not always obvious. The aim was to be achieved by terrorist actions, not only in the aforementioned regions but also in Bulgaria in order to pressure Bulgarian politicians into taking a stronger line concerning the **Macedonian Question**. **Aleksandûr Stamboliyski** and other **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** leaders, who in 1923 had signed the Niš Agreement on border security measures with the Yugoslav government, especially incurred the wrath of IMRO. IMRO enjoyed the behind-the-scenes support of the royal palace and rightist political circles. It participated in crushing the **September 1923 Uprising**, seizing the opportunity to kill Stamboliyski. This conduct alienated the IMRO leadership from the organization's more leftist members, who insisted on cooperation with the **Macedonian Federalist Organization (MFO)**, in which the **Balkan Communist Federation (BCF)** was quite influential. In May 1924, the **May Manifesto**, an agreement between IMRO and the MFO, was signed in Vienna. After Aleksandrov and Protogerov, perhaps pressured by the **Democratic Alliance (DA)** government, had revoked their signatures, the former was assassinated. In the meantime, IMRO had established itself in **Pirin Macedonia**, as a state within a state, hardly distinguishable from a gang of bandits. It had close ties with DA leaders and with fascist organizations in Croatia, Hungary, and Italy. Two factions came into being: one was led by Protogerov and supported by **Aleksandûr Tsankov**; the other was led by **Ivan (Vanche) Mihaylov** and supported by **Andrey Lyapchev**. After Protogerov was murdered in 1928, Mihaylov proclaimed himself the IMRO leader. Terrorist activities continued until 1934 when the government of **Kimon Georgiev** disbanded IMRO and had the army clean up IMRO bases in Pirin—very much to the relief of the local population and the Bul-

garian people in general. Nevertheless, IMRO remained active until the end of **World War II**. Even the responsibility for some terrorist acts committed after World War II against diplomats, consulates, and so on has been claimed by groups calling themselves IMRO. *See also* MACEDONIAN QUESTION; MACEDONIANS.

(2) Contemporary political party, regarding itself as a continuation of the old **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO). It emerged from the Union of Macedonian Cultural-Educational Associations (UMCEA). At its First Congress in December, UMCEA, claiming the legacy of IMRO, renamed itself IMRO-Union of Macedonian Associations (IMRO-UMA). At the Fourth Congress in 1997, IMRO-UMA dropped the addition UMA, but in 2004 it added “Bulgarian National Movement.” It is known, however, as IMRO. IMRO is a nationalistic party, opposed to minority rights (especially for Turks and Roma), to “sects” (all religious denominations except for the **Bulgarian Patriarchate**), and to the abolition of the death penalty. It is fond of massive meetings with songs and flags and is particularly committed to the cause of the “Bulgarians” in Macedonia. In 1997, IMRO joined the **United Democratic Forces** (Uddf). The chair since 1997 has been the historian Krasimir Karakachanov; he was reelected during the 15th Party Congress in December 2001. With a view to the June 2001 **parliamentary elections**, IMRO formed a coalition with *Gergyovden*. On the eve of the June 2005 parliamentary elections, IMRO joined the coalition **Bulgarian People’s Union** (BPU), which was not particularly successful. IMRO has, by the way, a Macedonian nationalistic counterpart of the same name in the **Republic of Macedonia**.

INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION-BULGARIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT (IMRO-BNM)/VÛTRESHNA MAKEDONSKA REVOLYUTSIONNA ORGANIZATSIYA-BÛLGARSKO NATSIONALNO DVIZHENIE (VMRO-BND). *See* INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION (2).

INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION-UNITED (IMRO-UNITED)/VÛTRESHNA MAKEDONSKA REVOLYUTSIONNA ORGANIZATSIYA-OBEDINENA

(VMRO-OBEDINENA). Macedonian national liberation organization. Founded in Vienna in 1925 by leftist IMRO members and other Macedonian organizations including the Refugees' Communist Union. IMRO-United was in favor of a federal solution to the **Macedonian Question**, envisaging an autonomous **Macedonia** (encompassing Bulgarian, Greek, and Yugoslav Macedonia) within a Balkan federation. This idea was supported by Slavic Macedonians in **Greece** and **Serbia** as well. IMRO-United members were persecuted in all three parts of **Macedonia**, not only by the respective governments because of their separatist aims and their leftist sympathies, but also by the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** proper. In 1928, the headquarters of IMRO-United moved to Berlin. During the first IMRO-United congress in 1929, tensions surfaced concerning how far cooperation with the various (Bulgarian, Greek, Yugoslav) communist parties should extend. In 1935, IMRO-United adopted the so-called Popular Front strategy proclaimed by the **Comintern**, abandoning the idea of a Balkan federation and limiting its aims to equal rights for the Macedonian Slavs in the three countries concerned. In 1937, IMRO-United was disbanded. Many of its members in Bulgaria joined the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**. *See also* MACEDONIANS.

INTERNAL REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION (IRO)/ VÛTRESHNA REVOLYUTIONNA ORGANIZATSIYA (VRO).

National liberation organization created by **Vasil Levski** in the 1870s. Convinced of the futility of waiting for a foreign country (**Serbia** or **Russia**) to liberate Bulgaria from Ottoman domination, Levski decided to set up a network of revolutionary cells within Bulgaria itself that would be capable of raising the population when the day came. To this end, he traveled across the country, persuading the people and organizing committees. Levski was particularly successful in the northern part of central Bulgaria, where he chose Lovech as the center of the organization. In 1872, the **Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee (BRCC)**, which had initially been skeptical of his undertaking, gave him *carte blanche* and decided to support him by sending advisers, helpers, money, and arms. Levski then expanded IRO to southern Bulgaria and tried to make headway in **Macedonia**. Levski was arrested in 1872 and executed in 1873, causing a severe crisis in

IRO from which it had only partially recovered in 1875, when **Hristo Botev** became the driving force behind the BRCC. Nevertheless, the remnants of IRO served as a starting point for the preparation of the **April 1976 Uprising**. In the 1890s, the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO) took Levski's IRO as a model in planning the *Ilinden Uprising*.

IRAQ. In the communist period, Iraq was an important market for Bulgarian goods—food, construction know-how, and arms. After the Gulf War, which practically coincided with the implosion of the communist regime and the accompanying economic crisis, Iraq halted the repayment of its US\$2,000 billion debt to Bulgaria, which Bulgaria had expected to be settled in the form of oil supplies. Bulgaria's decision, taken in March 2003, to participate in the military operations in Iraq, was prompted by its desire to be a loyal partner of the **United States**, but also by the expectation that the Iraqi debt to Bulgaria would finally be repaid. In August 2003, Bulgaria sent 500 troops; they were placed under Polish command and encamped in Karbala. On 28 November 2003, five Bulgarian soldiers were killed by an Iraqi suicide squad; seven more would die in the months to come, some of them due to friendly fire. In January 2004, a parliamentary commission concluded that the Bulgarian soldiers in Iraq were ill-prepared for their tasks and that cooperation with the Polish and American command was inadequate. About 60 volunteers refused to go to Iraq and risk their lives for US\$64 a day. President **Georgi Pûrvanov** visited the Bulgarian troops in Karbala in April 2004 where he was attacked by Shiite militants but was unharmed. At the end of June 2004, two Bulgarian truck drivers were kidnapped and decapitated in July by fighters of the Unity and Jihad group after their demand—the withdrawal of American troops—was not complied with. This contributed even more to the Bulgarians' doubts about the Bulgarian military presence in Iraq. All Bulgarian soldiers in Iraq were supposed to return in 2005. The withdrawal of the Bulgarian troop was an important issue in the June 2005 election campaign. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

ISLAM. *See* MUSLIMS.

ISPERIH. *See* ASPARUH.

ISTANBUL (CONSTANTINOPLE). In Bulgarian: Tsarigrad (“the Emperor’s City”). Capital of the **Byzantine Empire** (330–1453) and later of the **Ottoman Empire** (1453–1922) and, as such, of the Bulgarians during the Byzantine (1018–1185) and Ottoman (1393–1878) periods in Bulgarian history. From the 18th century, Bulgarians were active in Istanbul as traders and artisans (mainly tailors for the Ottoman army). The rich and sizable Bulgarian community in Istanbul, which maintained contacts with towns and villages throughout the Bulgarian lands, became the Bulgarians’ main spokesman to the Ottoman government and the **Patriarchate of Constantinople** during the so-called **church struggle** in the 19th century. At that time, Istanbul was the center of Bulgarian cultural life within the borders of the empire; about a third of all Bulgarian newspapers and magazines were published here. On the eve of the liberation in 1878, more than 50,000 Bulgarians lived in the city and in the surrounding villages. After the liberation, most of them left for the **Principality of Bulgaria** or **Eastern Rumelia**. Their political role was taken over by the **Bulgarian Exarchate**. Some buildings in the city still recall the former Bulgarian presence: the (damaged) *Balkapan han*, the caravansary where the Bulgarian traders used to stay, and—more noteworthy—the rare cast-iron **Saint Stefan’s** Church on the banks of the Golden Horn, consecrated in 1898 and still used by the Bulgarian community in the city. The adjacent historically valuable although dilapidated *metoh* (cloister), the Bulgarian “headquarters” in 19th-century Istanbul, which housed the Bulgarian school and a *chitalishte*, was demolished in the 1980s when the Fener quarter was renovated. In the Şişli Quarter, there used to be a Bulgarian hospital.

ISTANBUL AMBASSADORS CONFERENCE OF 1876–1877. At

this conference, which started in December 1876 in **Istanbul** and was attended by the ambassadors of Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, France, **Germany**, Italy, **Russia** (the initiator), and a representative of the **Ottoman Empire**, a plan to grant autonomy to Bulgaria (and Bosnia-Herzegovina) within the Ottoman Empire was drafted. In both areas revolts had broken out during the preceding months—the **April 1876 Uprising** in Bulgaria—and had been cruelly suppressed. The borders of the Bulgarian autonomous region were based on the borders of the territory controlled by the **Bulgarian Exarchate** and

included almost the whole of **Macedonia** and the (now **Serbian**) region of Niš. The method of administration of the autonomous regions was elaborated on in great detail. A part of the representatives of the Bulgarian community in Istanbul, however, supported by the Ottoman government, declared that they were satisfied by the newly proclaimed Ottoman Constitution of 1876. Russia could not accept this solution and withdrew. The conference was reconvened in London and finally resulted in the March 1877 **Protocol of London**.

ISTANBUL, CONVENTION OF (1915). Agreement reached on 21 August/3 September 1915 between Bulgaria and the **Ottoman Empire**. The Ottoman Empire had rejected the Bulgarian claim to the territories west of the Midye-Enos line, but it agreed to cede to Bulgaria the districts of Dimotika and Soflu (now Didymoticho and Souphli in Greece)—about 2,587 square kilometers) on condition that Bulgaria declare war on Serbia. Bulgaria did so one month later. The acquired area was later attached to **Western Thrace** and allotted to **Greece**.

ISTANBUL, TREATY OF (1913). Peace treaty between Bulgaria and the **Ottoman Empire** on 16/29 September 1913 after the **Balkan War II**. Under this treaty, the Empire regained all of the territories in Eastern Thrace that had been ceded to the **Balkan League** through the 1913 **Treaty of London**, except the areas of Tsarevo (under communist rule: Michurin) on the **Black Sea** coast and Malko Tŭrnovo and Svilengrad, which remained—or rather became—Bulgarian. Bulgarian and Turkish populations in the regions involved were exchanged.

IVAN OF RILA (ca. 880–946). Monk, hermit, and saint, born in Skrino in **Macedonia**. At the beginning of the 930s, Ivan founded a monastery near the cave in the **Rila Mountains** where he had withdrawn to devote himself to contemplation and prayer. Ivan himself wrote the monastic rules. During his lifetime, he was treated with great consideration by the rulers of the country. He died in Rila and was canonized; he is commemorated on 18 August and 19 October. Ivan's relics are now preserved in the **Rila Monastery**. About 10 "Lives" (biographies) of Ivan of Rila have come down to us, dating from the 12th to the 19th centuries, which is an indication of his great

popularity. Ivan of Rila is venerated as a national saint and the protector of the Bulgarians. The Rila Monastery is one of Bulgaria's most sacred places.

IVAN ALEKSANDŪR (?–1371). Tsar from 1331 until his death. Ivan Aleksandŭr pursued a foreign policy of good relations with the Serbian and Wallachian rulers. Although his son was married to a Byzantine princess, his relations with the **Byzantine Empire** were less amicable. He attempted to enlarge his own realm at the expense of Byzantium through warfare and interference in Byzantine dynastic quarrels. At the same time, he did little to oppose the feudal dismemberment of Bulgaria. At the beginning of the 1360s he divided his possessions between his sons, Ivan Sratsimir (1371–1396) and **Ivan Shishman** (1371–1393): the former received eastern Bulgaria with the capital **Vidin**, the latter Bulgaria proper with the capital **Veliko Tŭrnovo**. Moreover, by entering into an alliance with the **Ottoman Turks** against Byzantium, he accelerated the Ottoman invasion and final subjugation of the Balkans by the Ottomans. Ivan Aleksandŭr is remembered mainly because of the magnificently illustrated gospels that the monk Simeon transcribed and illuminated at his request.

IVAN ASEN II (?–1241). Tsar from 1218 to 1241. Greatest Bulgarian tsar during the **Second Bulgarian Empire**. With the aid of the king of Volhynia, to whom he had fled in 1207 after a palace uprising, he conquered the Bulgarian throne in 1218. He established a strong central power and pursued an active foreign policy through diplomacy and warfare. He married the daughter of the Hungarian king, András II, who gave him the region of Belgrade and Branichevo (Kostolac). Relations with the Serbs and the Latin rulers were usually good. Due to his interference in **Byzantine** politics, he succeeded in enlarging his realm to Epirus after the battle of Klokotnitsa in 1230. In the following years, relations with the **Latin Empire** deteriorated. In 1233, Ivan Asen II broke off the union with the Catholic church established by Kaloyan, and in 1235, the **Bulgarian Patriarchate** was restored. After making an alliance with the Byzantine Empire of Nikaia, an abortive war against the Latin Empire was waged. Ivan Asen II died soon after, and feudal dismemberment set in. The reign of Ivan Asen II was also a period of economic and cultural revival.

IVAN SHISHMAN (? –1395). Last Bulgarian tsar (1371–1393) before the fall of the **Second Bulgarian Empire** in 1393. After the lost battle of Chernomen against the **Ottoman Turks** in 1371, Ivan Shishman became a vassal of sultan Murat I; his sister was given to Murat as a wife. In 1387, after the battle of Plochnik, he threw off Ottoman suzerainty, but in 1388 the Ottoman advance in north Bulgaria forced him to become a vassal again. After the fall of the Bulgarian capital **Veliko Tŭrnovo** in 1393, he resided in Nikopol on the Danube. In 1395 he was taken prisoner by the Ottomans and was decapitated. Ivan Shishman is known for his moral and financial support of the **Rila monastery**. His memory is cherished in a number of folk songs.

IVANOV-LUCHANO, VASIL (1964–). Businessman and politician. Born in Sofia on 8 June 1964, he worked as a driver and a buffet attendant while studying accountancy and tourism. In 1991 he opened his first pastry shop, *Luchano* (named after Ivanov's favorite singer Luciano Pavarotti) in a remote neighborhood of Sofia. He now owns a chain of pastry shops and fast-food restaurants, which is run by his wife. In the late 1990s he was also the president of a boxing club and of the Bulgarian boxing federation. In 2001 he cofounded the **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS). He subsequently became a member of the leadership of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee. On 11 October 2002, he was appointed minister of sports and youth in the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**, after having run the State Agency for Sports and Youth since August 2001.

IVAYLO (?–1280). Also called *Bŭrdokva* and *Lahana*. Tsar from 1278 to 1280. According to legend, he was a swineherd who became the leader of a peasant rebel army in 1277 and defeated the **Mongol** raiders as well as the army of Tsar Konstantin Tih Asen (1257–1277). In 1278, he took the Bulgarian capital, **Veliko Tŭrnovo**, and married the former tsar's widow, thus becoming tsar himself. More likely, he was a **boyar** who had taken the lead of the military campaign against the **Tatars**, disposing of the legitimate tsar. Attacked by the Byzantines and the Tatars and constantly thwarted by the boyars, who contested his right to the throne, Ivaylo took refuge with the Tatar khan, but he was killed soon after his arrival in 1280 at the request of the

Byzantines, who supported Ivan Asen III as claimant to the Bulgarian throne. However, Ivaylo was succeeded by Georgi I Terter.

– J –

JANISSARY. *See DEVSHIRME.*

JEWES. Romaniots (Greek-speaking Jews) had settled in what is now Bulgaria by the first centuries AD. Their migration to the Bulgarian lands continued after the establishment of the Bulgarian state in 681 whenever groups of them were persecuted and banished by the **Byzantines**. In the 14th century, Central European Ashkenazis found refuge in Nikopol and **Vidin** in northern Bulgaria. Many more Ashkenazis immigrated during the Ottoman period. The overwhelming majority of Bulgarian Jews, however, are descendants of Sephardic Jews who were expelled from Spain after the Edict of Alhambra in 1492 and came to the Ottoman Empire, where the Islamic Ottomans were more tolerant. Under their influence, the Romaniots adopted the Ladino language and acquired a Sephardic character, the Ashkenazi communities remaining separate. The main center of Sephardic Jews in Bulgaria was **Veliko Tŭrnovo**. On the eve of World War II, there were about 50,000 Jews in Bulgaria.

During **World War II**, discriminatory measures against the Jews, based on the German Nuremberg Laws, were enacted. The radical January 1941 **Law on the Defense of the State** introduced such humiliating practices as the confiscation of properties, employment restrictions, compulsory establishment in special quarters and villages, compulsory name changing (all Jews had to have identifiably Jewish names), curfews, and the wearing of the yellow star. The deportation of Bulgarian Jews to Nazi extermination camps was postponed after protests by members of the **National Assembly** (NA), the Bulgarian clergy, and such organizations as the **Union of Bulgarian Writers** (UBW), and finally never took place. The German defeat near Stalingrad might also have contributed to the postponement. However, in March 1943 about 11,400 Jews were deported from newly acquired **Macedonia** and **Thrace** with the full cooperation of the Bulgarian authorities.

After the communist takeover in September 1944, most of Bulgarian Jews, although well integrated into Bulgarian society, preferred to emigrate to Israel, “encouraged” by the Bulgarian government. By the 1950s, there were fewer than 6,000 left. As they were not discriminated against, Jews were well represented in Bulgarian artistic and academic life. Isak Pasi and Zhak Natan are well-known Bulgarian scholars of Jewish origin; Valeri Petrov (real name: Valeri Nisim Mevorah) is one of Bulgaria’s finest postwar poets. The most famous Jewish writer originating in Bulgaria is without a doubt Elias Canetti (1905–1994), who emigrated to Austria when he was eight and wrote his novels and essays in German. In his autobiography, *The Saved Tongue* (*Die Gerettete Zunge*, 1977), he recalled his childhood in **Ruse**.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, another 2,000 Jews emigrated to Israel and the West. According to the 2001 census, there were 1,363 Jews in Bulgaria, 653 of whom still confessed the Jewish faith. In 1992, these figures had been 3,461 and 2,580. In 1990, those who remained founded their own cultural organization, *Shalom*. Another Jewish organization is *Tsion*. The beautiful synagogue in Sofia, the largest in the Balkans, has been restored, and the Jewish Museum has reopened. The Jewish cultural center in Sofia organizes Hebrew language lectures. On 14 March 1992, the international Jewish society *B’nai B’rith* reopened its lodge in Sofia, which had been closed in 1941. Quite contradictory to traditional Bulgarian tolerance, a number of despicable anti-Semitic sites of Bulgarian origin have recently appeared on the Internet. *See also* ANTI-SEMITISM; ETHNIC COMMUNITIES.

JIREČEK, KONSTANTIN (1854–1918). Czech historian. Born in Vienna on 24 July 1854. He studied history of the Slavic peoples in Prague and in 1876 published his monumental *History of the Bulgarians* (*Geschichte der Bulgaren*) in German and Czech. In 1879, he was invited by **Marin Drinov** to head the Bulgarian Ministry of Education. Jireček remained in Bulgaria until 1884 as one of the many Czechs who stood at the cradle of the young Bulgarian state. During his stay, he traveled throughout the country and got to know the people and the country’s past and its culture. In 1884, he left Bulgaria and was appointed history professor in Prague and in 1893 in Vienna. In

1888 he published his *Journeys through Bulgaria (Cesty po Bulharsku)* and in 1888–1891, *The Kingdom of Bulgaria (Das Fürstentum Bulgarien)*, two extremely well documented books that are, in effect, encyclopedias of Bulgarian society in the early 1880s. Jireček also published extensively on Serbian history.

JUDICIARY. In the Middle Ages, Bulgarians applied customary law or appealed to their Orthodox ecclesiastical courts. Under **Ottoman** rule, the same practice prevailed whenever no **Muslims** were involved. When Muslims were involved, only the Islamic court had jurisdiction. At the beginning of the 19th century, mixed Muslim-Christian courts were established, but only the *Tanzimat* substantially improved the legal security of the Christian population of the empire.

After the liberation in 1878, the Western legal system, as laid down in the **Tŭrnovo Constitution**, was introduced. Lawyers and judges studied in France and Germany. After the communist takeover in 1944, the Bulgarian judicial system was reformed after the Soviet model. The administration of justice was neither independent nor impartial and was clearly slanted against the class enemies. In the first years after the war, real and supposed collaborators with the former “fascist” regime and potential political adversaries to the communist system were collectively sentenced to death by people’s courts. A special form of albeit informal communist jurisdiction, which became usable in Bulgaria in the late 1950s, was the so-called comrades’ courts, through which social control, guided by **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) functionaries, was institutionalized.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the judicial system was freed of BCP control and de-ideologized, though its basic structure was not changed. The **Filip Dimitrov cabinet** appointed a number of new, **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) jurists as prosecutor-general, president of the High Court, and members of the Constitutional Court. In 1993, the judicial system became the object of fierce parliamentary debates when the **Lyuben Berov cabinet** introduced a bill stipulating that members of the judicial councils must have served at least five years as judges or public prosecutors before being appointed. This bill, which allegedly aimed only at improving the quality of jurisprudence, would have resulted in judicial councils composed exclusively of people who had started their

careers during communist rule. Prosecutor-General Ivan Tatarchev and chair of the Supreme Court Ivan Grigorov, who were both hated by the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) because of their prosecution of former communist functionaries, would have been forced to resign. The bill was returned to the **National Assembly** (NA) by President **Zhelyo Zhelev**, but his objections were overruled and the bill was adopted. It was branded by the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) as one of the many forms of “creeping recommunization” that the Berov administration committed. Nevertheless, a number of the UDF appointees in the Constitutional Court remained and caused much trouble for the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**, whose recommunizing legislation was systematically challenged as unconstitutional.

The political bias and corruptibility of the judicial apparatus remained a major problem under subsequent cabinets and provoked international concern. In April 2003, all of the political forces in Bulgaria, pressured by the **European Union** (EU), signed a declaration on the basic guidelines to reform the Bulgarian judiciary in order to create fair, accessible, and transparent justice; an independent, impartial, and responsible judiciary; a true separation of powers; checks and balances between government mechanisms; and building trust in the judicial system. On 24 September 2003 the NA unanimously adopted the amendments to the **Constitution**, implementing the April Declaration.

However, even after the EU Accession Agreement was signed in April 2005, the judiciary remained one of the most sensitive areas threatening Bulgaria’s accession (on 1 January 2007) to be delayed with one year. The EU insisted that particularly the chaotic but powerful investigation bodies and the institution of the prosecutor general be thoroughly reformed.

JULY 1987 THESES. These proclaimed at a plenary session of the **Central Committee** (CC) of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) in July 1987. The party formulated the principles that had been and would continue to be the foundation of a series of economic and administrative reforms introduced between 1986 and 1989. In fact, they were a copy of Mikhail Gorbachev’s *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) policies. In the communist tradition, the July Theses were presented as a blueprint of “a new model of socialism.”

The July Plenum thus put an end to the April Line adopted at the **April 1956 Plenum** and adhered to during almost the entire period of **Todor Zhivkov's** BCP leadership.

A number of industrial branch ministries were abolished and were replaced by “voluntary” associations that would guide rather than plan economic development. As a result of decentralization, decisions would be made at a lower level. The **banking** system was also reformed along the same lines.

Since the reforms caused confusion and were distrusted by the general population, their results were disappointing, the most remarkable achievement being a Soviet-style campaign against non-existent mass alcoholism. The more concrete Decree 56, which loosened state control over the economy, encouraged joint ventures with foreign enterprises, and made room for commercial private initiatives by common Bulgarian citizens, came too late to have any effect. A number of intellectuals, however, seized the liberty that the July Plenum offered by organizing into so-called **informal groups**, which insisted on a sincere implementation of the reform policy. *See also* ECONOMY.

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KALOYAN (?–1207). Tsar of Bulgaria from 1198 to 1207; brother of Tsar Asen I. Kaloyan succeeded in foiling the separatism of the feudal lords and in consolidating the tsar's central power. At the same time, he restored the Bulgarian Empire to the size it had been before being subject to **Byzantine** domination in 1018, defeating the **Byzantine Empire, Serbia** and Hungary. In 1204 he entered a union with the Catholic Church, recognizing the supreme authority of the Roman pope. In 1205, he defeated Baldwin, count of Flanders and **Latin** emperor of **Constantinople**, and subsequently conquered vast portions of the Latin Kingdom of Salonika. He was killed by the **Kuman** leader Manastŭr, who had conspired with Bulgarian feudal lords against him.

KARAKACHANOV, ALEKSANDŪR (1960–). Politician. Born on 11 September 1960 in Sofia, he was the son of Panayot Karakachanov, a high-ranking military officer. He studied philosophy at the Univer-

sity of **Sofia**. In 1988, he was elected a member of the Sofia City Council. The same year, he joined the **Ruse Committee** and was among the cofounders of *Ekoglasnost* and the Sofia Discussion **Club for Glasnost and Democracy**. During a peaceful demonstration at the time of the Environmental Congress of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Sofia in mid-October 1989, he was beaten by the police, which gave him the aura of a martyr. On 28 December 1989, he founded the **Green Party** (GP) and was elected its chair. In that capacity, he has represented the party in the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) Coordinating Council. He was mayor of Sofia in 1990–1991. In 1991, Karakachanov and many other members of the GP left the UDF, protesting the authoritarian way it was led. He still holds the post of party chair.

KARAKACHANS. Greek-speaking **Vlachs**. The early Karakachans led semi-nomadic lives as shepherds in Thessaly (**Greece**) and **Macedonia**, where still today they are often referred to as Sarakatsans. They practiced transhumance, grazing their flocks in the **Rila** and **Rhodope Mountains** and in the **Balkan** range (and in several mountain ranges outside present-day Bulgaria). In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Karakachans became increasingly sedentary. As a result of the **collectivization**, they were deprived of their flocks and were finally forced to settle in villages and towns. According to the 2001 census, there was in Bulgaria a Karakachan population of 4,107 individuals (5,144 in 1991). About 3,500 Karakachans participate in the yearly gatherings of the Karakachans on the Karandila Ridge near Sliven. They live dispersed throughout the towns of Samokov, Berkovitsa, Montana, Karlovo, and others; their main center is Sliven. Although most of them are now city dwellers, some still earn a living breeding sheep and are employed as shepherds. They speak a curious kind of Greek with many Bulgarian loanwords. They have a cultural organization of their own, located in Sliven and endowed by the Greek government. *See also* ETHNIC COMMUNITIES.

KARAVELOV, LYUBEN (ca. 1834–1879). Writer and journalist. Born in **Koprivshitsa**. His father wanted him to be a tailor or a merchant, but Karavelov was more interested in **folklore** and **literature**. During

the years 1857–1867, which he spent in Moscow as a scholarship student, he became acquainted with the writings of the Russian revolutionary democrats. In 1867, he went to Belgrade as a war correspondent for a Russian newspaper. There he associated with Serbian intellectuals and Bulgarian emigrants. He published a Bulgarian newspaper and organized the Bulgarians in a “Bulgarian committee” to promote Bulgarian independence. Because of these activities, he was expelled from **Serbia**. Karavelov then moved to Novi Sad, the capital of the Austrian province of Vojvodina, but he was arrested on a charge of complicity in the murder of the Serbian prince Mihail Obrenović and spent nine months in prison. After he was released in 1869, he moved to **Bucharest**. He was one of the founders of the **Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee** (BRCC). In 1872, he was elected chair of the organization, which from then on supported **Vasil Levski** and the **Internal Revolutionary Organization** (IRO). Karavelov subsequently edited the BRCC’s newspapers *Freedom* (*Svoboda*) and *Independence* (*Nezavisimost*). The execution of Vasil Levski in 1874 made him doubt the efficacy of BRCC tactics. He left the BRCC, gave up *Independence*, and began publishing *Knowledge* (*Znanie*), a literary and cultural magazine, but he continued to closely follow the national liberation movement. In 1878 he returned to Bulgaria, where he died on 21 January 1879 of consumption.

Karavelov wrote articles on folklore, history, and political issues, not only in Bulgarian but also in Russian and Serbian. His literary criticism, short stories, and poems rank him among the most prominent Bulgarian **National Awakening** authors. The stories *Bulgarians of the Old Days* (*Bûlgari ot staro vreme*, 1867) and *Mamma’s Boy* (*Maminoto detentse*, 1874), in which he describes in a Gogolian way the habits of the Bulgarian peasant bourgeoisie, are still very enjoyable.

KARAVELOV, PETKO (1843–1903). Politician. Born in **Koprivshitsa** on 24 March 1843; younger brother of **Lyuben Karavelov**. He studied law in Moscow. After the liberation of Bulgaria in 1878, he returned to Bulgaria where he became involved in politics. In 1879, he was one of the members of the **Constituent Assembly** that drafted the **Tûrnovo Constitution**. In that capacity, he was in fa-

vor of a powerful parliament and limited monarchical powers. Karavelov became the leader of the **Liberal Party** (LP) and was elected minister of finance and prime minister in 1880. After King **Alexander Battenberg** suspended the constitution in 1881, Karavelov emigrated to **Eastern Rumelia** where he joined the **Liberal**, or “**State**,” **Party** and was elected mayor of **Plovdiv** in 1883. In December 1884, he returned to the **Principality of Bulgaria** and resumed his political activities there. He was again prime minister from 1884 to 1886. After the abdication of Alexander, Karavelov was included in the regency, but he resigned because he disagreed with **Stefan Stambolov** on breaking diplomatic relations with **Russia**. During the Stambolov regime, he was repeatedly arrested because of his Russophile convictions. From 1891 to the end of Stambolov’s rule in 1894, Karavelov was in prison on a charge of complicity in the murder of Finance Minister Hristo Velchev. In 1895, he made a comeback in politics as a member of Parliament. After a short term as prime minister in 1901—his third term—he withdrew from political life for health reasons. He died on 24 January 1903.

KARIOTS. Greek-speaking population in the neighborhood of Topolovgrad and Elhovo in southeast Bulgaria. The origin is unclear: either they are Hellenized Bulgarians, which is rather improbable, since they are a rural population, or Hellenized Thracians, like the **Karakachans**. The few Kariots left in Bulgaria now are the remnants of a larger group that emigrated to **Greece** in the 1920s.

KIRIL (1901–1971). Real name: Konstantin Markov Konstantinov. Patriarch of the Bulgarian church. Born in Sofia on 3 January 1901, he studied theology and philosophy in **Sofia**, Belgrade, and Berlin. In 1938 he was elected secretary of the Holy Synod and metropolitan bishop of **Plovdiv**. After the **Bulgarian Patriarchate** was restored in 1953, Kiril was elected metropolitan bishop of Sofia and patriarch of the Bulgarian church. He was a member of international pacifist organizations and wrote many books on Bulgarian church history. Although undoubtedly an extremely erudite man, he was treated by the communist government as a puppet. Kiril died on 7 March 1971, in Sofia. He was succeeded by Patriarch **Maksim**.

KIRIL OF SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA (1895–1945). Prince of Preslav, second son of Tsar **Ferdinand**. Born in Sofia on 5 October 1895, Kiril left Bulgaria with his father in October 1918 but returned after the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**. He was not involved in politics until his brother, Tsar **Boris III**, died unexpectedly on 28 August 1943. He then became a member of the three-man regency council, ruling instead of the minor heir to the throne, **Simeon**. Kiril continued the political line of Boris III, supporting the **Germans** but trying to stay out of the war. After the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, he was arrested by the communists and was executed on 1 February 1945 after being forced to dig his own grave.

KLIMENT OF OHRID (840–916). Pupil of **Cyril and Methodius**. After the collapse of the Great Moravian church founded by the two brothers, Kliment took refuge at the Bulgarian court. Prince **Boris I** sent him to the region of Kutmichevitsa in **Macedonia**. In Ohrid, Kliment opened a school; within a period of seven years, he allegedly taught approximately 3,500 pupils. He thus played a decisive role in the Christianization of the population in the whole region. Kliment also produced a number of translations from Greek (the Scriptures and several liturgical books) and original literary works of a religious nature. Around 895, Kliment was appointed the first Slavic bishop; all of his predecessors had been Byzantines. He died on 27 July 916 and was later canonized. In his honor, the university in **Sofia** was named Holy Kliment of Ohrid University.

KOLAROV, VASIL (1877–1950). Politician. Born in Shumen on 16 July 1877. Kolarov became interested in socialism as a high school student in **Varna**. After being dismissed as a teacher because of his political convictions, he studied law in Geneva (1897–1900). He then worked as a lawyer in Shumen, where he founded a **Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party** (BWSDP) section. In 1903, when the BWSDP split, he joined the BWSDP-Narrow Socialists and from 1904 to 1919 led the party section in **Plovdiv**. From 1911 to 1923, he was a BWSDP-Narrow Socialists representative in the **National Assembly** (NA). In 1921, he was elected a member of the executive committee of the **Comintern**. However, because he was one of the organizers of the abortive **September 1923 Uprising**, he was

forced to leave the country and emigrated to the **Soviet Union**, where he held several high posts in international communist organizations and worked closely with **Georgi Dimitrov**. He published articles on Marxist political economy and taught at several Soviet party schools. In 1935, he received a Ph.D. in economics. Although intellectually more gifted than Dimitrov, he was always overshadowed by the latter, who enjoyed increasing political authority after the 1933 Leipzig trial. Kolarov returned to Bulgaria on 9 September 1945 to become chair of the NA and provisional state president. In that capacity, he represented Bulgaria at the 1946–1947 **Paris Peace Conference**. In December 1947, he was appointed vice-prime minister and minister of internal affairs. When Dimitrov died on 2 July 1949, Kolarov succeeded him as prime minister. He died only six months later, on 23 January 1950 in Sofia.

KOMSOMOL. See DIMITROV COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION.

KONSTANTINOV, ALEKO (1863–1897). Writer. Born in Svishtov on 1 January 1863, to the family of a rich and sophisticated businessman. He studied law in Odessa and from 1885 to 1896, he held several positions in the Sofia courts but was repeatedly fired for not being compliant in political trials. As a columnist, he criticized and ridiculed the political morals of his time: the corruption, the cliquishness, and the intimidation and manipulation during elections. In his novel *Bay Ganyo: Incredible Stories about a Contemporary Bulgarian*, (*Bay Ganyo. Neveroyatni razkazi za edin sŭvremenen bŭlgarin*, 1895), Konstantinov created the comical character of Bay (an intimate, though respectful term of address for an older man) Ganyo, an incarnation of what he judged to be the most prominent Bulgarian vices: ignorance, suspicion, self-satisfaction, and opportunism. With a rare sense of self-mockery, the Bulgarians have turned Bay Ganyo into a kind of negative national hero, from whom they should try to be as different as possible, but whom they also cherish as “one of us.” Konstantinov also wrote an interesting travel account about the United States: *To Chicago and Back (Do Chikago nazad*, 1894). He died on 11 May 1897 after being struck by a bullet aimed at another adversary of the regime of **Konstantin Stoilov**.

KONSTANTINOVA, ELKA (1932–). Literary historian and politician. Born in Sofia on 25 May 1932. Her father was a well-known literary critic and an active member of the **Radical Democratic Party (RDP)**. After her studies at the University of **Sofia**, Konstantinova was appointed to a position at the Institute for Literature of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS)**. From 1978 to 1983 she taught Bulgarian at Krakow University in Poland, where she became acquainted with the ideas of *Solidarność*. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, she refounded the RDP and was elected RDP chair. In that capacity, she represented the RDP in the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** National Coordinating Council. She served as a minister of culture in the (first) **Filip Dimitrov cabinet**. She resigned on 7 May 1992, protesting the lack of funds. From 1993 until 1997 she was a diplomat in Warsaw, Poland. In the meantime, in October 1994 she left the RDP and joined the **People's Union (PU)**. Since her return from Poland, she has been working in the Institute for Literature again, preparing a 10-volume reference work on Bulgarian periodicals.

KOPRIVSHITSA. City in Central Bulgaria in the Middle Mountains, south of the **Balkan Range**. Founded near the end of the 14th century, it soon became a prosperous center of cattle breeding, economically closely connected with **Plovdiv**. A number of wealthy Koprivshitsa *beglikchiyas* (collectors of taxes on cattle) settled in Plovdiv; they or their descendants played an important role in the local **church struggle**. The famous symmetric style of the fancy Plovdiv mansions as well was partly adopted in Koprivshitsa, where some of the finest examples of Bulgarian **National Awakening** architecture can be found. The **April 1876 Uprising** broke out in Koprivshitsa. Because of its beautiful houses, its picturesque small streets with cobblestone pavements, and its location amidst the mountains, Koprivshitsa is now one of Bulgaria's most popular **tourist** attractions.

KOSHLUKOV, EMIL (1965–). Politician. Born in Pazardzhik on 26 October 1965, he studied English language and literature in **Plovdiv**. He organized a mutiny in the army for which he was sentenced to three years in prison (1985–1988). In 1989, he resumed his studies at the University of **Sofia**, and the same year, he founded the **Fed-**

eration of Independent Student Organizations (FISO) and was elected its first secretary. In 1990 he was one of the representatives of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) at the **Roundtable Negotiations**. In 1996, he graduated in political science from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Subsequently, he was active in a number of small political organizations and movements, among which was the pressure group **New Era** (NE). In 2001, he cofounded the **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS). On 11 July 2004, he was elected president of the newly founded political formation NE.

KOSTOV CABINET (21 MAY 1997 TO 24 JULY 2001). The cabinet, led by **Ivan Kostov**, consisted of members of the **United Democratic Forces** (Uddf), the **Democratic Party** (DM), and the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU), led by **Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser**. It came to power after a first **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) cabinet—led by **Filip Dimitrov**—had failed and a **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) cabinet, led by **Zhan Videnov**, had brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy. The Kostov cabinet finally ushered in the **transition** in Bulgaria. It promised to carry out, in a transparent way, “a rapid, complete and irreversible **privatization** of all industrial and commercial enterprises and of a large part of the infrastructure before the end of 1998” and to improve the tax system. In addition, it wanted to instill order in agriculture by returning the nationalized arable land to its owners and to fight **corruption** and organized **crime**. The **currency** board was introduced, linking the Bulgarian *lev* to the *Deutsche Mark*, which reduced inflation to 1.3%. The economic “shock therapy” of the cabinet was quite successful but inevitably resulted in unprofitable enterprises being closed or sold for an often symbolic price, rising unemployment, impoverishment, a shrinking internal market, and social unrest. Moreover, in spite of the cabinet’s pledges, Uddf politicians were increasingly compromised by allegations of bribery and other forms of corruption. As a result, the Uddf was defeated in the communal elections in summer 1999.

In **foreign policy**, the priority was joining the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) and the **European Union** (EU). Relations with the **United States** and its main partner on the Balkans,

Turkey, improved. The Kostov cabinet supported the NATO military intervention in **Yugoslavia** in 1999 in order not to be turned away as a candidate member, although public opinion largely sympathized with the Serbs (but not with Slobodan Milošević) and was opposed to giving NATO aircraft access to Bulgarian air space.

In general, the Kostov cabinet succeeded in stabilizing—at least on a macroeconomic level—the Bulgarian **economy** and Bulgaria's economic relations with other countries and international financial organizations. Bulgaria's reputation abroad improved, which was badly needed after the disastrous policy pursued by the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**. The Kostov cabinet was the first post-totalitarian cabinet to bring to a close an entire parliamentary term. Nevertheless, social discontent and indignation with financial scandals caused the electorate to vote for the competing **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS) during the June 2001 elections. See Appendix D for a list of members of the Kostov cabinet.

On 21 December 1999, the cabinet was thoroughly reshuffled. The three vice-prime ministers were removed; more than half of the ministers were replaced; a new Ministry of Economy was created; the competencies of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry were limited. See Appendix D for the composition of the reshuffled Kostov cabinet.

KOSTOV, IVAN (1949–). Politician. Born in Sofia on 23 December 1949. He studied economics at the Karl Marx Higher Institute of Economics and began his career as an assistant-professor at the Higher Institute for National and World Economics at the University of Sofia. He joined the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) and became minister of finance in the **Dimităr Popov** and **Filip Dimitrov cabinets**, from December 1990 to October 1992. In that capacity, he was responsible for the financial aspects of economic reforms, foreign debt arrangements, and inflation control. He was strongly criticized by the influential **Independent Labor Confederation-Podkrepa** (ICL-*Podkrepa*) because of the harsh social consequences of his policy. On 29 December 1994, he was elected chair of the UDF after the December 1994 UDF electoral defeat, for which the former chair **Filip Dimitrov** was blamed. After the catastrophic performance of the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**, the UDF convincingly won the April

1997 elections. Kostov formed a coalition cabinet, dominated by the UDF. As prime minister, he resumed Dimitrov's line of radical neo-liberal economic reforms, preparing Bulgaria's accession to the **European Union (EU)**. Although Kostov was without a doubt the greatest politician in post-totalitarian Bulgaria, he was not reelected in June 2001 because of allegations of corruption against several of his government's ministers and collaborators. Within the UDF, he was blamed for his rather authoritarian way of leading the party. After the election defeat, he resigned as party leader and was replaced by **Nadezhda Mihaylova**. On 26 May 2004, he was elected president of the **Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria (DSB)**, a new party that he founded along with a number of other UDF defectors.

KOSTOV, TRAYCHO (1897–1949). Real name: Traycho Kostov Dzhunev. Politician. Born in Sofia on 17 June 1897, he studied law at the University of **Sofia** for a while and in 1929, he joined the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** and started a career as a journalist. He participated in the preparations for the **September 1923 Uprising**. In 1924, he was arrested and sentenced to eight years in prison. Released in 1930, he resumed his activities as a journalist for some time. In 1931, he emigrated to the **Soviet Union**, where he worked as a secretary at the Balkan section of the **Comintern**. Except for some short stays in Bulgaria at party orders, he remained in Moscow until 1938. He then returned to Bulgaria as a secretary of the BCP **Central Committee (CC)** and helped organize the armed **partisan movement** against the pro-German Bulgarian government. After being arrested many times, Kostov was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1942. Released after the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, he was again elected secretary of the CC. He held several top positions in the BCP and the government, including vice-prime minister and minister of electrification. In 1949, because of his opposition to Stalin's intentions of totally subjugating Bulgaria to the interests of the Soviet Union, Kostov was accused of Titoist sympathies, dismissed from his political posts, and finally arrested. After a show trial, he was sentenced to death and was hanged on 17 December 1949. In 1956, during the de-Stalinization period, he was posthumously rehabilitated and in 1963 was posthumously awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

KOZLODUY NUCLEAR POWER PLANT. *See* NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS.

KOZMA (first half of 10th century). Presbyter and writer. He supposedly lived and worked in **Preslav**. He is the author of the famous *Discourse against the Newly Appeared Heresy of Bogomil* (*Besēda na novojavivshuyu sya eres Bogomilu*), a vehement tract against the **Bogomils**. The first part describes the customs and practices of the Bogomils and refutes their religious concepts; the second part gives a picture of the unworthy way of life of the Orthodox clergy, which is quoted to explain the success of Bogomilism. Kozma uses a fiery rhetorical style which is still compelling. His *Discourse* is one of the rare sources of information about Bogomilism in Bulgaria, albeit one provided by a biased eyewitness.

KRESNA-RAZLOG UPRISING (1878). After the **Treaty of Berlin**, signed in July 1878, **Macedonia** remained within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. In October 1878, the population in the region of Kresna and Razlog (now in southeastern Bulgaria), primed by the local cells of the **Internal Revolutionary Organization** (IRO) and supported by *chetas* which had infiltrated from the **Principality of Bulgaria**, rose in arms against the Ottomans. As a result of disagreement within the leadership, the uprising lost its momentum and was soon crushed by the Ottoman army; nevertheless, the region remained turbulent for many years. About 25,000 people were forced to leave Macedonia and take refuge in Bulgaria.

KRISTEVA, JULIA (1941–). French semiotician, linguist, literary theoretician, psychoanalyst, and author of Bulgarian origin. Born in Sliven on 25 June 1941. She studied literature at the University of **Sofia**. In 1965, she went to Paris for her doctoral studies. There, she worked with Roland Barthes and Lucien Goldmann and joined the group of intellectuals connected with the journal *Tel Quel*, led by Philippe Sollers. In 1970, she attended the seminars of Jacques Lacan, by whom she was deeply influenced. In 1973, she defended her Ph.D. thesis, published in English in 1984 as *Revolution in Poetic Language*. In 1974, she began teaching at the University of Paris. As a visiting professor at Columbia University, she shared the chair of

Literary Semiology with Umberto Eco and **Tzvetan Todorov**. Her first books deal with semiotics. By the end of the 1970s, she began a career as a psychoanalyst, extensively writing on “love-relation” and “love-object” and its expression in literary theory, on the relations between psychoanalysis and faith, and on melancholy and depression in their artistic manifestations. In 1980, her first novel, *The Samurais* (*Les Samourais*), appeared. Her book *Strangers to Ourselves*, (*Etrangers à nous-mêmes*, 1988) deals with racism. Kristeva is a world authority in her many fields. Her most important texts are collected in *The Kristeva Reader*, edited by Toril Moi.

KRUM (?–814). Proto-Bulgarian khan from 802 until 814. An excellent warrior, he defeated the **Avars**, annexing Transylvania, what was later called Banat, and eastern Serbia. The Byzantines were forced to cede parts of **Macedonia**, the region of **Adrianople** including the city itself, and the **Black Sea** coast area. After the battle at the Vûrbitsa pass in 811, he had a silver-clasped goblet made of the skull of the defeated Byzantine emperor Nikephoros I. Within his realm, he replaced customary law with written legislation. He died unexpectedly while preparing a campaign against Constantinople.

KRÛSTEVIČ, GAVRIL (1817–1898). Born in Kotel. He studied in Istanbul and Paris and then made a career in the Ottoman judiciary. After the establishment of the **Bulgarian Exarchate** in 1870, he was elected a member of its Exarchic Council. From 1879 to 1884, he held several important posts in the administration of **Eastern Rumelia**, and in 1884 he was appointed governor-general of Eastern Rumelia. On 6 September 1885, he was dismissed after a coup d'état that resulted in the **union of Eastern Rumelia** and the **Principality of Bulgaria**. Krûstevič had been kept informed of the preparations for the coup d'état but had not done anything to prevent it. Krûstevič is also known as the author of journalistic contributions to several Bulgarian periodicals and of a history of Bulgaria.

KUBADINSKI, PENCHO (1918–1995). Politician. Born on 27 July 1918 in Loznitsa. Participated in the **partisan movement** during **World War II**. He began his career in the **Workers' Youth Union** (WYU) and after 1948 in the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) in

the **Ruse** Provincial Committee; from 1957 on, he participated in the BCP **Central Committee** (CC) where he was responsible for transportation and communications (1962–1966) and construction (1966–1971). In 1974 he was elected chair of the **Fatherland Front** (FF). Kubadinski supposedly bears a great deal of responsibility for the so-called **regeneration process** that took place in the second half of the 1980s. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, he was removed from the CC, but he remained chair of the FF until 20 December 1989. He died in Sofia on 22 May 1995.

KÜÇÜK KAYNARCA, TREATY OF (1774). Peace treaty signed on 16 July 1774 by **Russia** and the **Ottoman Empire** after the 1768–1774 Russo-Turkish War. The Ottoman sultan recognized the independence of the Crimean khanate and ceded to the tsar a number of territories on the northern **Black Sea** coast. Russia acquired the right of free navigation on the Black Sea and through the Straits. Articles 7 and 14 of the treaty, which implicitly gave Russia the right to protect Orthodox Christians in the empire, provided Russian diplomats in Istanbul with an opportunity to constantly interfere in Ottoman affairs. The 1853–1856 Crimean War broke out as a result of a disagreement between Russia and the **Ottoman Empire** concerning the protection clauses in the Treaty of Küçük-Kaynarca. During the Bulgarian **church struggle**, Russia's mediation among the Bulgarian community in Istanbul, the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**, and the Sublime Porte was based on the same clauses.

KUMANS. Turkic nomadic tribes. In the ninth century, they settled in the south Russian steppes between the Volga and the **Danube**. From then until the 13th century, they frequently raided Russia. By the end of the 11th century, they had twice invaded Byzantine territory. With their help, **Asen** and Petûr succeeded in throwing off Byzantine dominance in 1185 and in restoring the Bulgarian Empire. At the beginning of the 13th century, the Kumans were defeated and driven away by the **Tatars**. Some of them settled in **Thrace**.

KÛNCHEV, NIKOLAY (1936–). Poet. Born in Byala voda on 25 November 1936. He studied Bulgarian philology and published his first poems and poetry translations in 1957. His first collection, *Presence*

(*Prisûstvie*) appeared in 1965, followed by *Not Bigger Than a Grain of Mustard* (*Kolkoto sinapenoto zûrno*) in 1968. Since 1990, he has published a new collection of poems nearly every year. Kûnchev writes a rather hermetic contemplative poetry, influenced by oriental philosophy and modernist Western, in particular French, poetry. He explores the semantic possibilities of the **Bulgarian language**, especially the lapidarian formulation of Bulgarian proverbs. Publication of his poems was forbidden between 1968 and 1980 because of his very personal poetic language and his resolute rejection of the prescriptions of socialist realism. He was one of the best and without a doubt the most original Bulgarian poet in the communist period. He greatly influenced the younger generation as an artist and an uncompromising intellectual. *See also* BULGARIAN LITERATURE.

KUNEVA, MEGLENA (1957–). Politician. Born on 22 June 1957 in **Sofia**. Kuneva studied law and received a Ph.D. in environmental law. Initially, she worked as a journalist at the Bulgarian Radio and eventually specialized in Finland, at Georgetown University in the **United States** and at Oxford Center in the United Kingdom. She was an assistant professor at the University of Sofia and a lecturer at the New Bulgarian University in Sofia. From 1991 to 2001, she worked in the legal department of the Council of Ministers. During the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**, she was entrusted with the accession negotiations with the **European Union** (EU); in May 2002, she was appointed minister of European affairs and was later appointed minister of European integration in the subsequent **Sergey Stanishev cabinet** as well.

KÛRDZHALIYA. Member of one of the many large armed gangs which roamed about Bulgaria and **Serbia** and looted villages and small towns at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. These gangs were, in fact, remnants of the Ottoman army, who after being defeated by the Austrians in the 1789–1792 war had been engaged by local feudal lords who opposed Ottoman central power. Most of the *kûrdzhaliyas* were of Muslim Turkish or Albanian origin, but there were also Bulgarian *kûrdzhaliyas*. In 1793 the Ottoman authorities officially allowed the Christian population to arm

themselves and resist the *kûrdzhaliyas*. The *kûrdzhaliyas* were finally eliminated in the second decade of the 19th century.

The “time of the *kûrdzhaliyas*” is considered to be the nadir of the history of Ottoman rule in the Balkans. Their appearance caused a massive migration of Bulgarians from villages to the less vulnerable towns. As a result of looting, thousands of Bulgarians—and **Gagauz**—left the **Ottoman Empire** and settled in southern **Russia**. Their descendants are known as the **Bessarabian Bulgarians**. The largely negative image of Ottoman rule which the Bulgarians created for themselves—and which is still generally accepted—was based mainly on the chaotic situation in the Bulgarian lands at the time of the *kûrdzhaliyas*.

KÛZÛLBASH. From Turkish *kızılbaş*, literally “red head.” Member of a community, formed at the basis of the Sufi order of the Kûzûlbash or Aliyans, from Ali, the name of Mohammed’s son-in-law. The Kûzûlbash order originated in Persia and penetrated Bulgaria in the 17th century. Predominantly, although not exclusively, Turks, they live in the region of Deli Orman in northeast Bulgaria. While the other Muslims in Bulgaria are Sunnis, the Kûzûlbash are Shiites; their creed recalls that of the Islamic Bektashi sect, representing a curious syncretism of Muslim and Christian elements. They venerate Christian saints (like Elias) whom they identify with their own spiritual leaders. The Kûzûlbash’s main spiritual center is the Demir Baba convent in the neighborhood of the village of Isperih. According to the 2001 census, there were 53,021 Kûzûlbash in Bulgaria (83,537 in 1991).

KYOSEIVANOV, GEORGI (1884–1960). Politician. Born in Peshtera on 19 January 1884. He studied law in Paris and made a career, first as a diplomat in Bucharest, and later in the 1930s as a secretary to the court of Tsar **Boris III**. On 21 April 1935, Boris appointed his confidant Kyoseivanov minister of the interior in the cabinet that Boris had brought to power. On 23 November 1935, Kyoseivanov became prime minister; a post he retained until 1940, sharing with the tsar the responsibility for political developments in Bulgaria during the immediate prewar years. Kyoseivanov’s main achievement was the normalization of Bulgaria’s **foreign relations** after years of isolation and suspicion as a result of the 1919 **Treaty**

of Neully. In 1940, he was replaced by the Germanophile **Bogdan Filov**. During **World War II**, Kyoseivanov served as Bulgarian ambassador to Bern, Switzerland. After the communist takeover in 1944 he was dismissed, but he refused to come back to Bulgaria. He died in Switzerland on 27 July 1960.

KYURANOV, CHAVDAR (1921–2004). Politician. Born in Sofia on 16 May 1921. He studied economics in Moscow and then made a career in the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**. For several years, he represented Bulgaria at the **United Nations (UN)** in Geneva and New York. From 1971 to 1982 he held a position in the **Council of State**. He worked in the Institute for Sociology at the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS)** and published a number of books and articles on the sociology of labor. Together with **Aleksandûr Lilov**, he cautiously tried to gradually democratize “real socialism,” which brought him to the brink of dissidence. In 1989, he became a member of the Sofia **Club for Glasnost and Democracy**. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, he took an independent reformist position within the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, later **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)**. On 3 February 1990, he was elected member of the BSP Supreme Council at the party’s founding congress and became a BSP vice-chair at the 39th Congress in September 1990. At the 40th BSP Congress in December 1991, he insisted that the BSP radically break with its communist past and defended a consistent social democratic line at variance with the conservative “modern left party” line proposed by Lilov. He was the chair of the influential **Alliance for Social Democracy (ASD)** faction in the BSP. He died in March 2004 in Sofia.

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LABOR UNIONS. The first Bulgarian labor unions appeared immediately after the liberation in 1878 among printers in **Sofia** and **Plovdiv** and some years later among teachers. The **General Workers’ Labor Union (GWLU)** was founded in 1904 by the **Bulgarian Workers’ Social Democratic Party (BWSDP)**. That same year, the reformist wing of the BWSDP created its own labor union, the Free General

Workers' Trade Union, which later joined the anarcho-liberal and reformist unions and merged into the Union of Unions. After the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**, most workers' organizations, including the labor unions, were banned. Nevertheless, in 1925 the (illegal) **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) managed to create the **Independent Workers' Labor Unions** (IWLU), which was especially successful among public servants, although its members risked being fired and persecuted. It organized a large number of impressive strikes in the late 1920s and in the 1930s. After the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**, the IWLU was banned but continued its activities underground. The government founded state labor unions, which were united in the **Bulgarian Workers' Union** (BWU), modeled after trade unions in fascist countries. In 1936, the IWLU was disbanded; some of its members went over to the BWU.

The BWU was abolished after the communist **coup d'état on 9 September 1944**, but various labor unions came into being. In 1945, they were all united in the General Workers' Labor Union (GWLU), commonly called the **Bulgarian Labor Unions** (BLU), which was a state labor union controlled by the BCP. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the opposition labor union *Podkrepa* came to the fore with considerable political clout, while the BLU was transformed into the **Confederation of Independent Labor Unions in Bulgaria** (CILUB). In 1990 a third labor organization, called Unity People's Labor Union (UPLU), was founded. However, CILUB was supported by a great many workers, and it often worked smoothly with *Podkrepa* to defend the threatened workers' interests and to correct parliamentary (in)activity. In August 1990, both labor unions signed an agreement with the **Andrey Lukanov cabinet** promising to refrain from strikes and to promote social peace during the initial stages of the economic reform program. In January 1991, a similar agreement was reached with the new **Dimităr Popov cabinet**. At the beginning of 1993, both labor unions agreed to support the **Lyuben Berov cabinet**, but in February 1993, *Podkrepa* accused CILUB of helping in "restoring the former communist *nomenklatura*." The Central Council of Labor Unions was eventually disbanded. In late 1996, the labor unions were among the organizers of the massive demonstrations leading to the fall of the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**. In fall 2001, they organized huge protest demonstrations

against the social policy of the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**, mobilizing representatives of a broad range of professions.

Labor unions now function in accordance with Bulgarian law and their own internal statutes. They are independent from the state, from employers' unions and from political parties. They aim at defending the rights and interests of their members and of employees in general, with regard to their employment, security on the shop floor, social security, and fringe benefits. In 2004, the labor unions called for a reduction in working hours.

LATIN EMPIRE. The Latin Empire was established by the Frankish (West-European) or Latin (Catholic) knights, participating in the Fourth Crusade, after they captured the **Byzantine** capital of **Constantinople** in April 1204. The emperor was Baldwin of Flanders, who was defeated by the Bulgarian tsar **Kaloyan** in 1205 near Adrianople. The Latin Empire consisted of a number of vassal states including the Kingdom of Salonika, the Duchy of Athens, and the Despotat of Achaia. Venice obtained the Pera quarter in Constantinople, a number of islands (Euboea, Crete, the Ionian islands), and all important harbors in the Adriatic and the Aegean seas. The remnants of the Byzantine Empire were the Empire of Nikaia and the Empire of Trebizond in Asia Minor and the Despotat of Epirus in the Western Balkans. To the Bulgarians, the Latin Empire was a far less formidable enemy than the Byzantine Empire; the czars of the **Asen** dynasty soon succeeded in annexing large parts of **Thrace** and **Macedonia**. The Byzantine Empire was restored in 1261, when Michael Palaiologos regained Constantinople, but the empire never recovered from the blow dealt by the knights.

LAW ON THE DEFENSE OF THE STATE. Extraordinary law introduced by the **Democratic Alliance** (DA) cabinet and adopted by the **National Assembly** on 2 January 1924. It aimed at eliminating the political forces that had supported the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) government and opposed the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923** during the **September 1923 Uprising**, more specifically the leftist BANU factions and the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP). The law resulted in and allowed police terror that earned Prime Minister **Aleksandŭr Tsankov** his nickname of "Bloody Professor." An

unknown number of people, amounting perhaps to several thousand, were arrested and sentenced to long prison terms or to death; others (like the poet **Geo Milev**) disappeared without a trace. The Law on the Defense of the State was amended several times, especially during **World War II**, in order to allow more effective measures against the partisan movement and the Jews. It was finally abolished on 16 October 1944, a month after the communist takeover, only to be replaced by similar and even harsher laws aimed at real and imagined enemies of the communist regime.

LEVCHEV, LYUBOMIR (1937–). Poet. Born in Troyan on 27 April 1937, he studied library science at the University of **Sofia** and then worked as an editor with several journals and publishing houses and made a career in the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** and state institutions. From 1979 to 1988 he was chairman of the **Union of Bulgarian Writers (UBW)**.

Levchev belonged to the so-called “April generation” in **Bulgarian literature**—a group of young writers who, benefiting from the relatively liberal intellectual climate after de-Stalinization, produced literary works in which more individual emotions and ideas were expressed in a more daring, innovative style. They nevertheless remained true to the ideals of communism, criticizing rather the lack of authentic social commitment than the aberrations of the system. Levchev is at best in his love poetry. He played a considerable role in liberalizing Bulgarian cultural life in the 1980s, for example, by encouraging literary contacts with leftist (though not always communist) writers abroad during prestigious Writers for Peace Meetings and publishing their works in Bulgarian. After the fall of the communist regime, he remained active as a poet and publisher.

LEVSKI, VASIL (1837–1873). Real name: Vasil Ivanov Kunchev. National liberation fighter. Born in Karlovo on 6 July 1837, he studied in Karlovo and in Stara Zagora with his uncle. He entered a monastery in 1858 and became a deacon in 1859, but eventually became involved in the national liberation movement. In Belgrade he served in the first of the **Bulgarian Legions** in 1862. After the legion was disbanded, he remained in Belgrade for a short time and then returned to Bulgaria through **Romania**, where many Bulgarian emi-

grants lived. In 1864, he cast off the cassock and became a teacher. He was repeatedly arrested by the **Ottoman** authorities because of his nationalist agitation. In 1867, Levski participated in the *cheta* of **Panayot Hitov** as a standard-bearer. In 1868, he took part in the second **Bulgarian Legion** in Belgrade. After he realized that *cheta* tactics were ineffective, he decided to create a network of revolutionary cells in Bulgaria that would prepare for a massive uprising against Ottoman rule. With this in view, he traveled throughout the country, preaching national liberation to young intellectuals, for which the Bulgarians often call him “Apostle of Freedom.” In October 1869, he participated in the founding of the **Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee** (BRCC). Levski’s plan to establish an **Internal Revolutionary Organization** (IRO) was supported by **Lyuben Karavelov** and the radical democrats in the BRCC, while the conservative liberals were skeptical. In May 1870, he returned to Bulgaria and resumed his activities. In 1872, Levski finally succeeded in convincing the entire BRCC of the advantageous prospects that his approach offered and received its wholehearted moral and financial support. IRO developed into a formidable conspiratorial organization, with branches all over the country and a Provisional Government in Lovech. Levski’s ideological concept—the creation of a Bulgarian democratic republic—was consolidated. In the fall of 1872, as a result of ill-considered action by one of Levski’s collaborators (the robbery of an Ottoman post office), the Ottoman authorities discovered IRO and succeeded in crushing it. In December 1872, Levski was arrested near Lovech and after a trial was hanged in Sofia on 6 February 1873. IRO was seriously hurt but proved to be still capable of establishing the base of preparations for the **April 1876 Uprising**.

Levski is considered by the Bulgarians to be not just the most prominent organizer and ideologue of the national liberation movement but a national hero of mythic proportions. At the end of the 19th century, a monument was erected on the place where he was executed.

LIBERAL PARTY (LP)/LIBERALNA PARTIYA (LP). (1) Political party in the **Principality of Bulgaria**. It came into being during the **Constituent Assembly** in **Veliko Tŭrnovo** in 1879. Its leaders were **Petko Slaveykov**, **Petko Karavelov**, and **Dragan Tsankov**. The LP

advocated limiting monarchical powers and opposed the conservative idea of a bicameral parliament. Not surprisingly, it was looked upon with suspicion by King **Alexander Battenberg**. Although the liberals had greater popular support, Alexander entrusted the formation of the first Bulgarian government to the conservatives. After the 1880 elections, the LP formed the new cabinet and introduced a number of economic and social reforms in the spirit of progressive Western liberalism. However, the government resigned and King Alexander suspended the **Tŭrnovo constitution** on 27 April 1881. Subsequently, the party divided into a right wing, headed by Dragan Tsankov, that developed into the Progressive Liberal Party (PLP) in 1899, and a left wing, led by Petko Karavelov, which actually continued the political line of the LP. The latter resolutely opposed the personal regime of the king and fought for the restoration of the constitution. It succeeded in 1883, and in 1884 the LP came to power again. In 1886, a faction of Karavelov's LP broke away and founded the **National Liberal Party (NLP)**, led by **Stefan Stambolov**; another faction developed into the **Liberal Party-Radoslavists (LP-Radoslavists)**. The original LP and the Tsankovist wing ceased to be politically active when Stambolov's NLP came to power in 1886. In 1894, after the fall of Stambolov, the old LP was renewed under the name of the **Democratic Party (DP)**.

(2) Eastern Rumelian counterpart of the Liberal Party (1). It was called "State Party" (*Kazionna Partiya*) by its opponents because it was supported by the **Eastern Rumelian** authorities. The party gained momentum after the establishment of the personal regime of King Alexander Battenberg, when many LP leaders from the principality emigrated to Eastern Rumelia. After the **union with Eastern Rumelia** of the principality, the LP members went over to the LP-Radoslavists or the NLP.

LIBERAL PARTY-RADOSLAVISTS (LP-RADOSLAVISTS)/LIBERNALA PARTIYA-RADOSLAVISTI (LP-RADOSLAVISTI). Created in 1886 as a faction by a group of discontented **Liberal Party (LP)** members around **Vasil Radoslavov**, It gained momentum after **Stefan Stambolov's** counter coup in 1886, when Radoslavov became prime minister. However, Radoslavov was dismissed in 1887 and his faction began organizing the opposition

against Stambolov, with whom Radoslavov disagreed on some internal problems. Having turned into a real party, the LP-Radoslavists, the party took the leadership of the so-called united legal opposition to the government. After the fall of Stambolov in 1894, the LP-Radoslavists participated in the cabinet of **Konstantin Stoilov** but soon resigned because of Stoilov's policy of normalizing Bulgaria's relations with Russia. The LP-Radoslavists held on until 1913 when it finally came to power and ruled the country until 1918, thus sharing with Tsar Ferdinand the responsibility for the "**national catastrophe**" after **World War I**. The LP-Radoslavists lost its support and merged with the National Liberal Party.

LIBRARIES. Libraries existed in medieval Bulgaria and in the Bulgarian monasteries during **Ottoman** rule, but libraries in the modern sense of the word were created during the **National Awakening** period in the 19th century. The oldest Bulgarian library was established by the **Bulgarian Literary Society (BLS)**, the forerunner of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS)**. The Bulgarian National Library was founded in 1878, immediately after the liberation. It contains the richest collection of books printed in Bulgaria and also foreign language books dealing with Bulgaria's place in the world; it also has an important Oriental Section. The library was renamed the **Cyril and Methodius National Library** in 1963, and subsequently Holy Cyril and Methodius National Library in 1991. In 1882, a National Library was also established in **Plovdiv**, the capital of **Eastern Rumelia**. It was renamed the **Ivan Vazov National Library** in 1950. The University of **Sofia**, created in 1903, has an old and important library as well. Other important libraries are the Library of the BAS, the Library of the National Center for Information and Documentation, and the New Bulgarian University Library.

The first public libraries were founded in the 19th century as an integral part of the *chitalishtes*. After the liberation in 1878, there were approximately 150 libraries in Bulgaria. On the eve of **World War II**, the number of public libraries had increased to more than 2,600. Under communist rule, there were about 10,300 public libraries throughout the country with total holdings of more than 92 million books. Since the downfall of the communist regime, the Bulgarian libraries have also suffered from the economic crisis, although in general only

small villages have to do without a public library. Sadly, budgetary constraints do not allow the lists to be updated regularly. Some of the libraries have been supported by foreign organizations that have provided financial support and technical know-how.

LILOV, ALEKSANDÛR (1933–). Politician. Born in Granichak, in the province of Vidin, on 31 August 1933. He studied Bulgarian philology in Sofia and the theory of literature and art in Moscow. He received his Ph.D. in 1981. From the early 1960s, he had an impressive career in the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, being in charge of ideological and cultural affairs. He was a secretary of the **Central Committee (CC)** of the BCP from 1972 to 1983; in 1974, he was elected member of the **Politburo** and from then on, Lilov developed into the BCP's chief ideologist, who allegedly attempted to democratize the socialist system. Under **Lyudmila Zhivkova's** leadership of the Committee for Culture in the years 1975–1981, Lilov became even more powerful. He was generally considered a potential successor to the aged party leader **Todor Zhivkov**. After Zhivkova's death in 1981, however, he was ousted from the Politburo and was removed as BCP secretary.

Although he received an enviable appointment as director of the Institute for Contemporary Social Theories at the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS)**, his dismissal gave him the aura of victim of the regime because of his liberal and reformist opinions. This allowed him to make a comeback after the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, which put an end to Zhivkov's dictatorship. At the 14th Congress of the BCP, which at the same time was the founding meeting of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)**—from 30 January to 2 February 1990—Lilov was elected chair of the Supreme Council of the “new” party. He insisted on the “unity” of the BSP, a view that was heavily criticized by radical reformists like **AleksandÛr Tomov**. Lilov's attempt to turn the BSP into a “modern leftist party” was aimed at limiting the restructuring of the party to a mere facelift, which would spare former BCP officials. His main opponent was the moderate reformist **Andrey Lukanov**. At the 40th BSP Congress on 16 December 1991, he renounced the party chair to become the president of a new BSP-sponsored Center for Strategic Studies. On 19 January 1993, he lost his immunity as a member of the **National As-**

sembly (NA) and was accused of having transferred huge amounts of money to pro-Soviet Third World countries under the guise of foreign aid. He was a member of Parliament under the **Ivan Kostov** and **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha** cabinets.

LITERATURE. *See* BULGARIAN LITERATURE; TURKISH LITERATURE.

LONDON, PROTOCOL OF (1877). Agreement signed in London on 19/31 March 1877 after the abortive 1876–1877 Istanbul Ambassadors Conference. The protocol imposed on the **Ottoman Empire** the implementation of a series of reforms. Bulgaria was to become an autonomous region consisting of the whole of Bulgaria, **Macedonia**, and the region of Niš (now in **Serbia**). The Ottoman Empire rejected the protocol; **Russia** then waged the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**.

LONDON, TREATY OF (1913). Peace treaty signed on 17/30 May 1913 by the **Balkan League** and the **Ottoman Empire**, ending **Balkan War I**. The empire was compelled to give up all of its European territories west of the line from Enos on the Aegean Sea to Midye on the **Black Sea**. The Balkan League had to accept the establishment of **Albania**, a new Balkan state whose independence had been recognized by the European powers (although the borders still remained to be fixed). The emergence of Albania seriously complicated negotiations on the division of the conquered lands left to the members of the Balkan League. Before the war, **Serbia** and **Greece** had agreed on ceding vast parts of **Macedonia** to Bulgaria, enlarging their own territories with north and south Albania, respectively. Now they claimed larger parts of Macedonia at the expense of Bulgaria. In spite of Russian diplomatic intervention, the tensions soon resulted in **Balkan War II**, the outcome of which partly undid the Treaty of London.

LUCHNIKOV, SVETOSLAV (1922–2002). Politician. Born in Ruse on 3 February 1922. He studied law and became an assistant professor in 1947. Expelled from the University of **Sofia** for political reasons, he became a general worker. After the fall of the communist

regime, he became a lawyer and lectured in trade law in 1991–1992. He was a member of the **Radical Democratic Party (RDP)** and chair of the Federation of **Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy**, a constituent member of the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)**. He then served as minister of justice in the first **Filip Dimitrov cabinet**, from November 1991 to May 1992. In the second Dimitrov cabinet, from May to October 1992, he was vice-prime minister. Luchnikov worked hard at reforming the Bulgarian judicial system but without much success. In the subsequent legislatures, he was a member of parliament. Luchnikov died in Sofia on 28 October 2002.

LUDZHEV, DIMITÛR (1950–). Politician. Born on 27 March 1950. He studied history and economics and published a number of sociological studies on the prewar Bulgarian petty bourgeois class. He was cofounder of the Federation of **Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy** and was a close collaborator of **Zhelyo Zhelev**. In December 1990, he was appointed vice-prime minister in the **DimitÛr Popov cabinet**. In the first **Filip Dimitrov cabinet**, from November 1991 to May 1992, he served as minister of defense. Accused of illegal arm sales and contacts with the secret service, he became the center of tensions within and around the cabinet. The **Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF)** and *Podkrepa* supported him since they wanted to get rid of a government that was showing poor results in dealing with economic and social issues. In the second Dimitrov cabinet, established on 20 May 1992, Ludzhev was replaced as minister of defense by AleksandÛr Staliyski. In the spring of 1993, he left the UDF and founded the Center for **New Politics (CNP)** and the liberal parliamentary group **New Choice (NC)**. At the beginning of 1994 Ludzhev and the CNP joined the New Union for Democracy (NUD). After the resignation of the **Lyuben Berov cabinet** on 9 September 1994, the NUD and **Ivan Pushkarov's** Union for Democracy (UD) insisted on Ludzhev's being nominated as prime minister, but finally **Reneta Indzhova** was appointed to head the caretaker cabinet. In the 38th **National Assembly (NA)**, Ludzhev was the vice-president of the **Union for National Salvation (UNS)**.

LUKANOV, ANDREY (1938–1996). Born in Moscow on 26 September 1938 to an old communist family. He studied economy and

international relations in Bulgaria, the **Soviet Union**, and the West. From 1963 to 1968, he held several important positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade, although he was not a Bulgarian citizen. From 1968 to 1972 he was Bulgaria's permanent representative to the **United Nations** in Geneva and from 1972 to 1976 was vice-minister of foreign trade. In 1976, Lukanov was appointed Bulgaria's representative to the **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance** (Comecon), and in 1980–1981 he presided over the Comecon's Executive Council. He promoted the idea of reforming the Comecon after the model of the European Community. From 1987 to 1989, he was the head of the important Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. In that capacity, he was one of the key figures during the Bulgarian restructuring period. Being among Bulgaria's most prominent communist technocrats, Lukanov was appreciated abroad for his intelligence, his knowledge of foreign languages, and his reform-mindedness. Although not a full member of the **Politburo**, Lukanov was considered the second man after party leader **Todor Zhivkov** and one of his possible successors.

As one of the main architects of the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, Lukanov played an important role in the early post-communist period. He was a member of the **Alliance for Social Democracy** (ASD), a radical reformist faction in the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP). At the 39th BSP Congress in September 1990 Lukanov was elected vice-chair. He was appointed prime minister and led two short-lived cabinets from February to November 1990. By the end of August 1991, he had resigned as a BSP vice-chair, blaming the BSP for its ambiguous stand on the August 1991 coup against Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union. He himself had been accused of having concealed the fact of his Soviet citizenship. He was not reelected at the 40th BSP Congress on 14–16 December 1991, neither as BSP chair nor as a member of the Supreme Council. On 9 July 1992, he was arrested on a charge of misappropriation of state funds, specifically having financially supported pro-Soviet Third World regimes with about US\$264 million and 56 million rubles. He was sentenced to a prison term but was released on New Year's Eve 1992, immediately after the **Lyuben Berov cabinet** was voted in by the **National Assembly** (NA). Lukanov remained very influential in the BSP as the

leader of the reformist and pro-Russian wing. On 2 October 1996, he was killed by gunmen in front of his house, presumably because he was about to expose the links between the BSP establishment and corrupt financial conglomerates.

LUKANOV CABINETS. Andrey Lukanov headed two cabinets in the post-communist period.

First Andrey Lukanov cabinet (8 February to 22 August 1990): On 8 February 1990, Lukanov succeeded **Georgi Atanasov** as prime minister and formed a new cabinet. Since the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) was not willing to participate in a coalition government, and even the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) had refused, the Lukanov cabinet consisted exclusively of **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) members. More than two months after the June 1990 elections, on 22 August 1990, Lukanov submitted the resignation of his cabinet. It remained in power as a caretaker government until 21 September 1990, when the **Grand National Assembly** (GNA) voted in Lukanov's new (incomplete) cabinet.

See Appendix D for the composition of the first Andrey Lukanov cabinet.

Second Andrey Lukanov cabinet (19 September to 29 November 1990): The second Lukanov cabinet was the first postwar communist government that resulted from free elections. Lukanov had tried to set up a coalition government with the UDF, which according to him would have better served the cause of national unity, but the UDF refused to cooperate with people they held responsible for the catastrophic political, economic, and social situation in the country. Lukanov then formed a government consisting of rather conservative BSP members and three ministers without party affiliation. In all, 234 members of the **National Assembly** (NA) voted for, 104 against, and 28 abstained. Lukanov and his cabinet lacked popular support and were thwarted by the UDF parliamentary opposition and the trade unions. The government's weakness and hesitation became conspicuous during the parliamentary debates on the interim budget, which was branded as inflationary by the opposition, and provoked discord within the BSP as well. The UDF, on the other hand, was eager to replace the BSP with a new cabinet that would be dominated by UDF ministers. On 23 November, the government barely survived a no-

confidence vote. On 26 November, a nationwide strike organized by *Podkrepa* paralyzed the country. On 29 November, Lukanov resigned. On 7 December, President **Zhelyo Zhelev** entrusted **Dimitŭr Popov** with forming a new national transition government.

See Appendix D for the composition of the second Andrey Lukanov cabinet.

LYAPCHEV, ANDREY (1866–1933). Politician. Born in Resen (now in the **Republic of Macedonia**) on 30 October 1866. He studied finance in Zurich, Berlin, and Paris. As a young man, he joined **Petko Karavelov's Liberal Party (LP)**, later the **Democratic Party (DP)**. During the DP government from 1908 to 1911 and in 1919, he held important ministerial posts. In September 1918, he signed the armistice with the Allied Forces in Salonika which concluded **World War I**, at least for Bulgaria. Lyapchev opposed **Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski** and his **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** government, which was in power from 1920 to 1923. He was arrested and interned in 1922. After the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**, Lyapchev, who had been released, headed the DP faction in favor of cooperation with the **Democratic Alliance (DA)**. After **Aleksandŭr Tsankov** was dismissed in January 1926, Lyapchev became prime minister and minister of internal affairs, continuing in a more moderate way the oppressive policy of his predecessor toward communist and BANU opponents. Lyapchev was in favor of good relations with Great Britain and the Western powers and encouraged Western investment in Bulgaria. After the DA split in 1932, Lyapchev became the leader of the anti-Tsankov faction. Soon after, he withdrew from political life for health reasons. He died in Sofia on 8 November 1933.

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MACEDONIA. Geographic area of about 65,036 square kilometers, bounded on the north by the Shar Mountains; on the east by the **Rhodope Mountains**; on the south by the Aegean Sea, Mount Olympus, and the Pindos Range; and on the west by Lake Ohrid and the Albanian mountain ranges. It includes the cities of Skopje, Tetovo, Prilep, Ohrid, and Bitola in the (former Yugoslav) Republic of **Macedonia**;

Blagoevgrad (formerly (Gorna Dzhumaya), Bansko, and Petrich in Bulgaria; and **Salonika**, Edhessa, Florina, Kastoria, and Serres in Greece. Ancient Macedonia, which did not include some of the northern regions that have been commonly considered Macedonian since the 19th century, was populated by Hellenized Illyrians, or **Thracians**, the most famous of whom was Alexander the Great. As a result of assimilation, migration, religious diversification, and territorial partitions, the ethnic composition of the population of Macedonia underwent a number of dramatic changes throughout the ages. Under Roman rule (second century BC—fourth century AD), the population of Macedonia was partly Latinized. In the sixth century, Macedonia, then a part of the **Byzantine Empire** was invaded by Slavic tribes which mixed with the indigenous **Greek** and **Vlach** population. In the **Ottoman** period, large groups of Turkish colonists from Anatolia settled in the area, especially in the fertile plains in the south. At the beginning of the 20th century, **Bulgarians**, Greeks, and **Turks** each made up about a quarter of the overall population of Macedonia, the remaining quarter consisting of **Albanians**, **Roma**, **Jews**, **Pomaks**, Serbs, and Vlachs. Actually, this ethnic situation—a “macédoine” of peoples—was complicated even more from the 1860s on when some of the Slavs in Macedonia, who had always considered themselves Bulgarians (and were considered such by most foreign experts), began developing a Macedonian national consciousness.

Macedonia has always been of paramount economic importance because of the port of Salonika. Due to its position in the very middle of the Balkan peninsula, it offers access to all of the Balkan countries. The 1913 **Treaty of Bucharest**, which concluded **Balkan War I**, divided Macedonia among Bulgaria (10% of the territory), **Greece** (50%), and **Serbia** (40%). These three parts are commonly called Pirin, Aegean, and Vardar Macedonia, respectively, after the mountain range, the sea, and the river which dominate them geographically. In 1918, Vardar Macedonia, as a part of Serbia, was incorporated into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, renamed Yugoslavia in 1929. In the interwar period, it was officially called South Serbia. After **World War II**, Vardar Macedonia became the **Republic of Macedonia**, one of the federal units of the Yugoslav federation. *See also* MACEDONIA, REPUBLIC OF; RELATIONS WITH; MACEDONIAN QUESTION; MACEDONIANS.

MACEDONIA, REPUBLIC OF (RELATIONS WITH). On 17 November 1991, the Yugoslav Federal **Republic of Macedonia** proclaimed its independence. Although it met all of the requirements to be recognized by the **European Union** (EU), recognition was deferred as a result of Greek opposition to the name “Macedonia,” which according to the **Greeks** belonged to their own cultural and historical heritage and implied territorial claims on Greek Macedonia. After long negotiations, the new state was internationally recognized under the provisional name of Former **Yugoslav** Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) in April 1993. In 2000, an **Albanian** National Liberation Army attempted to detach the predominantly Albanian-inhabited western part of the Republic of Macedonia with the aim of eventually joining it with Kosovo and/or Albania. However, it failed to gain international support and consequently limited its demands to equal rights for the Albanians in the Republic. The August 2001 Treaty of Ohrid largely satisfied the Albanian demands. In November 2004, the **United States** acknowledged FYROM under its constitutional name Republic of Macedonia.

Since most Bulgarians consider the **Macedonians** as part of the Bulgarian nation, the developments in the Republic of Macedonia have been followed in Sofia with extraordinary interest, though also with reserve. Bulgaria supported the attempts of the Republic to leave the Yugoslav federation, being the first country officially to recognize the independence of the new Balkan state on 15 January 1992. The existence of a separate Macedonian nation (in the sense of a national community) and a Macedonian language, however, continued to be denied. Although President **Zhelyo Zhelev** tried to minimize this stand by pointing out that only states (political entities) and not nations (national communities) are diplomatically recognized, some other Bulgarian political leaders—albeit of limited importance—quite overtly fostered irredentist ambitions, to be realized however in a nonviolent way, similar to German unification.

In February 1992, Bulgarian Foreign Minister **Stoyan Ganev** visited Skopje, and in May 1992 his Macedonian colleague Denko Maleski returned the visit. More important was the meeting of presidents of the two countries, Zhelyo Zhelev and Kiro Gligorov, in Burgas in 1994. Bulgaria has been helping the Republic of Macedonia economically and otherwise, perhaps hoping by doing so to increase

the pro-Bulgarian feelings supposedly held by the population of the republic. At the same time, it was on the alert for the Macedonian ultra-nationalists' territorial claims on **Pirin Macedonia** and insisted on changing Article 49 of the new Macedonian constitution, allegedly making such claims. Moreover, Bulgaria was careful not to irritate **Greece** or **Yugoslavia**. In October 1992, it was revealed that Bulgaria had negotiated an arms deal with the Republic of Macedonia despite the **United Nations** (UN) embargo. The political scandal that ensued led to the fall of the second **Filip Dimitrov cabinet** (see MISHEV-GATE). The question of how far Bulgaria should go in defending Macedonia, and Bulgaria's perceived national interests in Macedonia, again caused heated discussion in the **National Assembly** (NA) in April 1994, when the United States wanted its observer troops in Macedonia to be supplied through Bulgaria.

In the meantime, the old controversies had remained. On 6 February 1993, President Zhelev visited Skopje for the presentation of the translation of his book, *Fascism*, into Macedonian, thus implicitly acknowledging the existence of the **Macedonian language**. On 7 June 1993, an agreement on closer economic cooperation was signed. In the summer of 1994, however, Bulgaria refused to sign an agreement on educational and scientific exchanges because the Macedonian text of the agreement referred to the Macedonian language. Lyubcho Georgievski, the leader of the (Macedonian) **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity** (IMRO-DPMNU) that came to power in November 1998, had rather outspoken anti-Serbian feelings that were misinterpreted by some Bulgarian experts as pro-Bulgarian feelings. Thereafter, relations between both countries improved considerably. In February 1999, the existence of a separate Macedonian language—the official language of the Republic of Macedonia—was officially, though rather implicitly recognized. On 12 March 1999, with a military intervention by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) in Yugoslavia being imminent, both countries reached an agreement on military cooperation through which Bulgaria delivered the first of about 150 tanks and howitzers. In July 1999, the Macedonian government lifted the ban on Bulgarian books in Macedonia. (In practice, Macedonian publications are unavailable in Bulgaria.)

Although most Bulgarian media and all nationalistic parties and organizations openly sided with the Macedonians when a conflict broke out with **Albanian** rebels in spring 2001, the government in general maintained its self-control. Support to Macedonia was limited to the delivery of arms supplies and a number of obsolete tanks. In July 2001, future Bulgarian president **Georgi Pûrvanov**, then in his capacity of **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) leader, visited Skopje where he highlighted mainly some economic projects such as the railway connections between Bulgaria and Macedonia. On 31 July 2002, the future Macedonian president Branko Crvenkovski, chair of the Macedonian counterpart of the BSP, visited Sofia, also emphasizing economic projects such as the **Sofia-Skopje-Tirana** stretch of Corridor VIII—a highway linking Durrës on the Adriatic Coast in Albania to **Varna** on the **Black Sea** coast in Bulgaria. In June 2003, a Bulgarian-Macedonian economic forum was organized in Sofia under the patronage of Pûrvanov and Crvenkovski. Economic cooperation, however, had hardly progressed. On 30 August 2004, Crvenkovski made his first official visit to Sofia. In April 2005, Bulgaria and Macedonia agreed to open cultural centers in their respective capitals.

In 2005, there were approximately 3,500 Macedonian students in Bulgaria who benefit from bursaries offered by the Bulgarian state. They all had to pass tests in literature and history, making them acquainted with the Bulgarian point of view on the “Macedonian Question.” By making it easy and cheap to obtain a Bulgarian passport, Bulgaria also encourages Macedonian citizens (of Slavic origin) to apply for a Bulgarian citizenship, which in 2000–2005 more than 15,000 have done. However, Macedonians seem to be attracted mainly by the prospect of travelling in the **European Union** (EU) without a visa for 90 days if they have Bulgarian passports; Macedonian citizens still must meet the requirements for a Schengen visa.

Bulgarian nationalists continue to believe that the “Bulgarians” in the Republic of Macedonia will sooner or later throw off the pro-Serbian communist *nomenklatura* in Macedonia, renounce their imposed Macedonian national identity, and seek unification with Bulgaria. However, no important pro-Bulgarian organizations or parties have as yet emerged in the Republic of Macedonia.

MACEDONIAN COMMITTEE/MAKEDONSKI KOMITET. *See* SUPREME MACEDONIAN-ADRIANOPOLITAN COMMITTEE.

**MACEDONIAN FEDERALIST ORGANIZATION (MFO)/
MAKEDONSKA FEDERATIVNA ORGANIZACIJA (MFO).**

Founded in 1920 by refugees from **Macedonia**. The MFO aimed at establishing an independent Macedonian state that would be the pivot of a Balkan federation. Both Bulgarians and Serbs were influential in the MFO, which caused much tension and division. In 1924, the MFO, then headed by Todor Panitsa, reached an agreement with the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** that led to the **May Manifesto**. After IMRO leaders revoked the agreement and Panitsa was killed, most MFO members joined the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, which also advocated a federal solution to the **Macedonian Question**.

MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE. Official language of the **Republic of Macedonia**. Though references were made to a “Macedonian language” in the second half of the 19th century, Macedonian was standardized only in 1944, after the establishment of a Macedonian republic as one of the federal units of **Yugoslavia**. Bulgarian linguists, historians, and literary historians consider Macedonian to be an artificial language, forged on the basis of the Bulgarian dialects in Macedonia. Although the Bulgarian government in February 1999 recognized “the official language of the Republic of Macedonia, being Macedonian,” Bulgarian public opinion did not fundamentally change.

MACEDONIAN QUESTION. The Macedonian Question emerged after the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**, when Bulgaria, **Greece**, and **Serbia** each claimed the territory of **Macedonia**, which the treaty had left as part of the **Ottoman Empire**. The **Albanian** national movement claimed the western part of Macedonia, while a growing number of Bulgarian nationalists wanted Macedonia to be an autonomous region (within the Ottoman Empire), eventually to be included in the Bulgarian state, as happened with **Eastern Rumelia**. In addition, a growing number of Macedonian nationalists wanted Macedonia to become an independent state, possibly within the framework of a

Balkan federation. **Albanians, Greeks,** and Serbs had still other intentions, while the Turks wanted Macedonia to remain part of the Ottoman Empire. All claimants had their own arguments; this survey of the Macedonian Question focuses mainly on the Bulgarian point of view.

By the 1860s, a small number of the Slavs in Macedonia (who traditionally called themselves Bulgarians) began to develop a Macedonian national consciousness. However, after the foundation of the **Bulgarian Exarchate** in 1872, they voted overwhelmingly in favor of joining the Bulgarian church. Some of them preferred the restoration of the **Ohrid autocephalous archbishopric**, but continued administration by the **Patriarchate of Constantinople** was considered far less attractive. Referring to the results of the plebiscites, and on the basis of statistical and ethnological indications, the 1876 **Ambassadors Conference of Istanbul** included Macedonia in the Bulgarian ethnic area. The borders of independent Bulgaria, drawn by the 1878 **Treaty of San Stefano**, also included Macedonia—at least nominally, because the treaty was never put into effect. The **Treaty of Berlin**, which in July 1878 “returned” Macedonia to the Ottoman Empire, was considered by the Bulgarians to be a historical injustice. Ever since, the Macedonian Question has been dominating Bulgarian **foreign policy**—in one way or another and with varying intensity.

The Bulgarian Exarchate worked hard at spreading and reinforcing Bulgarian national consciousness in Macedonia through Bulgarian churches, schools, and *chitalishte*s. In the last decades of the 19th century, the Bulgarian government supported the pursuit of autonomy within the framework of the Ottoman Empire, expecting that Macedonia might eventually be annexed as easily as **Eastern Rumelia** was in 1885. Bulgarian *chetas* and armed organizations like the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO) were also active in Macedonia. It is, however, not obvious whether the final goal of these organizations was the union of Macedonia with Bulgaria or an independent Macedonia, while other organizations, like the **Secret Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Committee** (SMAC), were clearly in favor of the annexation of Macedonia by Bulgaria. In the meantime, the Greeks and the Serbs also tried to consolidate their influence, financing schools and cultural associations and backing their own armed organizations. All parties concerned

zealously spread often highly questionable statistical information concerning the ethnic composition of the area, hoping to persuade the Great Powers of the justice of their respective causes.

After Ottoman rule over Macedonia was overthrown by a Bulgarian-Greek-Montenegrin-Serbian military alliance during the 1912 **Balkan War I**, the former allies turned to fighting one another during the 1913 **Balkan War II** in order to obtain (or retain) as much of Macedonia as possible. Defeated Bulgaria was assigned only 10% of the entire area by the 1913 **Treaty of Bucharest**; the remaining part of Macedonia was divided between Greece and Serbia. During **World War I**, Bulgaria tried to (re)conquer Macedonia—and did occupy Serbian Macedonia—but after the defeat of Bulgaria’s main allies (**Germany** and **Austria**), the prewar situation was restored. Moreover, the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** compelled Bulgaria to cede four small territories—the so-called **Western Districts**—to Serbia, the largest of which (the region of Strumitsa) was located in Macedonia. The same treaty also provided for a population exchange between Bulgaria and Greece, urging Bulgarians to leave Greek territory and settle in Bulgaria. The Slavs who preferred to remain have been referred to in Greece as “Slavophone Greeks” and have been denied all minority rights. In 1924, the Greek government, implementing the **Politis-Kalfov agreement** and pressured by the League of Nations, consented to recognizing a Bulgarian minority and even prepared the publication of a primer in the local Slavic dialect (not in standard Bulgarian). As a result of Serbian protests, however, the Greeks soon and with relief abandoned this new approach.

In the interwar period, the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO) and other terrorist organizations remained active in Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia. The Bulgarian government was unable to stop them. The 1923 Niš agreement on the security of the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border, which **Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski** reached with Belgrade, had few results. In 1925, the Greek army penetrated Bulgarian territory in the region of Petrich in order to render IMRO harmless, thus provoking an international incident that had to be settled by the League of Nations.

In the meantime, the **Balkan Communist Federation** (BCF) at its sixth session, in March 1924, and the **Comintern** proposed that the Macedonian Question be resolved by creating a Balkan federation,

within the framework of which the whole of Macedonia was to become a separate federal unit. A short-lived agreement, laid down in 1924 in the **May Manifesto**, was reached between the **Macedonian Federalist Organization** (MFO) and IMRO. The idea was adopted by Bulgarian and Yugoslav communists; Greek communists were less enthusiastic. In 1934, the Comintern “officially” recognized the existence of a Macedonian nation, thus considerably stimulating the crystallization of a Macedonian national consciousness among leftist Macedonian Slavs.

In 1941, during **World War II**, Bulgaria was allowed by the Nazis to occupy and administer Yugoslav Macedonia and parts of Greek Macedonia; these territories were actually annexed by Bulgaria. The struggle between the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav communist parties for control of the party cells and of the partisan movement in Macedonia was finally won by the Yugoslavs. At the end of 1944, after Bulgaria had capitulated, the occupied territories were returned to Yugoslavia (and Greece). With a view to the creation of a Balkan federation, the Bulgarian communist government officially recognized the existence of a Macedonian nation, distinct from the Bulgarian, and was even prepared to cede **Pirin Macedonia** in order to restore the unity of Macedonia. However, after Stalin changed his mind and opposed the idea of a Balkan federation and especially after Tito’s Yugoslavia broke away (or was expelled) from the Soviet Bloc in 1948, the project was abandoned. A Macedonian republic was then established within the framework of the Yugoslav federation. There, a standard **Macedonian language**, based on local Slavic Macedonian (or “Bulgarian”) dialects, came into being and has been used ever since in education, legislation, media, literature, and other areas of endeavor.

In 1956, Bulgaria revoked its official recognition of Macedonian nationhood and resumed, though implicitly, its prewar “**Great Bulgarian**” line. The Yugoslav government was accused of denationalizing the Bulgarians in Macedonia. The Macedonian and Yugoslav governments, on the other hand, accused the Bulgarian government of forcibly assimilating the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria. Although Bulgaria on the one hand, and the Yugoslav—later the (independent)—**Republic of Macedonia** on the other, have always denied having any claims on each other’s territory, and many other crucial

questions have been resolved by the February 1999 agreement, they are still involved in a permanent academic, journalistic, and sometimes diplomatic controversy about whether there is a Macedonian nation, language, history, or literature. The point of view, shared by a large number of nationalistic hardliners (especially among historians and literary historians) still is that Macedonians are Bulgarians, that there has never been anything like a Macedonian nationalism except as a result of external—especially Comintern or Yugoslav—pressure. More realistic Bulgarians now accept the existence of a Macedonian nation, albeit one that results from an “artificial” process of nation building at the expense of the Bulgarian nation. Finally, some young scholars who have adopted a modern, sociological approach to the emergence of nations and nationalism except that in specific circumstances new national identities may emerge and separate from older ones. It should be added that historiography in Macedonia concerning the Macedonian Question is mostly just as obsolete and dogmatic as in Bulgaria—with similar exceptions. Their tracing the existence of the Macedonian nation back to the Middle Ages and even to antiquity also lacks any scientific foundation.

MACEDONIANS. The word “Macedonians” can refer to (1) the ancient people who produced Alexander the Great; (2) the inhabitants of **Macedonia** of whatever ethnic origin they may be; (3) Bulgarians from Macedonia; or (4) Slavic people living in Macedonia and nowadays considered by most experts (outside Bulgaria and Greece) to be a distinct South Slavic people.

Until the 1860s, all Slavs in Macedonia used to call themselves Bulgarians, referring rather to a vague ethnic group than to a national community with a developed awareness of its national identity. From then on, however, a number of Macedonian Bulgarians, among them writers like Georgi Pulevski (1838–1894) and Veneamin Machukovski (1847–1878), became aware of some real or imagined economic, social, political, and cultural differences between them and the Bulgarians in Bulgaria proper. More specifically, they grew increasingly dissatisfied with the ascendancy of Bulgarians from Bulgaria proper over the common national liberation movement, with the minor contribution of southwestern (Macedonian) dialects to the standard **Bulgarian language**, with the decision of the Bulgarians to establish a **Bulgarian**

Exarchate instead of restoring the **Ohrid autocephalous archbishopric**, and with the paternalistic attitude of the **Bulgarian Exarchate** and (after the liberation in 1878) of the Bulgarian government toward them. In general, after the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**, which made Bulgaria an independent state but kept Macedonia within the borders of the **Ottoman Empire**, the population in both entities lived under quite different circumstances, facing different problems and cherishing different ambitions. What was seen as a question of civil rights and national liberation in Macedonia was perceived in Bulgaria as territorial expansion, justified as irredentism.

Incited to a certain extent by **Serbian** and **Greek** propaganda, some of the Macedonian Bulgarians developed a distinct concept of regional and community interests and began considering the idea of the existence of a separate Slavic national community, called Macedonians after the historical area where they lived. Independent Bulgaria unintentionally supported them, pleading with the Ottoman government for autonomy for Macedonia and the Macedonians (as “autonomy for the Bulgarians” would have had little chance immediately after the Bulgarians had exacted their independence). To the Serbs and the Greeks, the promotion of a Macedonian nationhood was a means of sowing discord among the Slavic population in Macedonia and diminishing Bulgarian influence. All these circumstances contributed to the emergence of Macedonian particularism and eventually a Macedonian national consciousness among some of the Slavic population in Macedonia. In 1903, Krste Misirkov laid down the ideological foundations of Macedonian nationalism in his book *About the Macedonian Affairs* (*Za makedontskite raboti*), published in Sofia and immediately banned.

After the **Balkans Wars**, Macedonia was divided among Bulgaria, **Greece**, and **Serbia** (later Yugoslavia). In Greek Macedonia, the Bulgarians/Macedonians were considered to be “Slavophone Greeks” and were forcibly Hellenized. In the Serbian (Yugoslav) part, they were considered to be Serbs and were Serbicized. In Bulgaria, the situation is difficult to describe adequately. To those Slavs in Bulgarian Macedonia who believed themselves to be Macedonians—206,814, according to the 1934 census—Bulgarian policy might have amounted to forced assimilation; to those who believed themselves to be Bulgarian, there was nothing wrong with their being treated as

Bulgarians. The Bulgarian refugees from Greek and Serbian Macedonia often felt more Bulgarian than the Bulgarians themselves (*see* IMMIGRATION). However, each considered itself a distinct group, and even the fiercest defenders of the Bulgarian cause among the Macedonian Bulgarians always referred to themselves as Macedonians, just as those Bulgarians who are absolutely convinced of the Bulgarianness of the Slavs in Macedonia have always called them “Macedonians” in everyday speech. A similar ambiguity existed concerning the aims of the Macedonian national liberation movement from the very outset in the 1880s until **World War II**. It is not always clear whether Bulgarians for tactical reasons posed as Macedonians or whether Macedonians posed as Bulgarians, and consequently whether the final goal was the union of Macedonia with Bulgaria or an independent Macedonia, possibly within the framework of a federation. Many of the sources can be interpreted in various ways.

In the interwar period, the **Comintern**, in which Bulgarian communists were quite influential, also contributed to the development of a Macedonian nationalism by promoting the idea of a Balkan federation, with Macedonia as a separate federal unit, as a solution to the **Macedonian Question**. On the eve of World War II, many Slavs, especially in Yugoslav Macedonia, still felt Bulgarian. The Bulgarian troops who occupied Yugoslav Macedonia in 1941 were welcomed as liberators by a population that had been subjected to forcible Serbization for more than two decades. Soon, however, the authoritarian Bulgarian centralism and the neglect of local interests and sensitivities began to reinforce Macedonian particularism. On the other hand, it appears that a Macedonian national consciousness was already deeply rooted, although maybe more in Greece, where ethnic distinctions were more clear-cut, than in Yugoslavia. The many Slavs who participated in the Greek communist resistance during World War II felt Macedonian and not Bulgarian. At variance with what happened after **World War I**, those among them who were forced to leave Greece after the war preferred to go to the Republic of Macedonia in Yugoslavia, not to Bulgaria.

In 1944, the Macedonians were given their own nation-state in the form of a Yugoslav federal unit. National political and cultural institutions were created. The Macedonian language was standardized,

and the foundations of a Macedonian national historiography were laid, both aimed at consolidating a Macedonian national consciousness as different as possible from Bulgarianness. Pro-Bulgarian feelings were suppressed, and people who overtly professed their Bulgarian national consciousness were persecuted as collaborators with the Bulgarian fascist occupiers. In the course of the following decades, the formation of a Macedonian national consciousness was completed. The Macedonian censuses reveal 920 Bulgarians in 1953; 3,087 in 1961; 3,334 in 1971; 1,980 in 1981; 1,370 in 1991; and 1,682 in 1994. (More recent figures were not available.)

In the first postwar years, the Bulgarian government itself, dominated by the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) and by **Georgi Dimitrov**, supported the idea of the existence of a Macedonian nationality. The idea behind this was the creation of a Macedonian state, consisting of Bulgarian, Greek, and Yugoslav Macedonia, which would eventually become a federal unit within a large Balkan federation. Teachers from Macedonia were invited to teach the Macedonian language to the population in **Pirin Macedonia**. After Tito's rupture with Stalin in 1948, the idea of a Balkan federation was abandoned, and Bulgaria increasingly regretted its recognition of the Macedonian nation. Macedonian nationalists were persecuted as Titoists and/or as Yugoslav spies. After the **April 1956 Plenum**, Bulgaria renounced its former stance, blaming Stalinism for the deviation.

The 1946 Bulgarian census revealed the presence of 252,908 Macedonians in Bulgarian Macedonia. The Macedonian authorities in Skopje have always referred to that figure as evidence of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria whenever they are demanding minority rights for it. According to later Bulgarian statements, the Bulgarians in Pirin Macedonia had been pressured to declare themselves Macedonians. This might not be completely untrue. In the 1956 census, however, when they were pressured to declare themselves Bulgarians, 178,862 people still signed up as Macedonians. Later, the number of Macedonians in Bulgaria rapidly diminished: there were only 8,750 of them remaining in 1965 and none in 1975. In Skopje this decline was branded "statistical genocide." According to Amnesty International reports, Macedonian activists in Bulgaria were persecuted and imprisoned.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, some Macedonian organizations emerged in Bulgaria, demanding recognition of the Macedonian minority's national rights. They united their forces in the **United Macedonian Organization-Ilinden** (UMO-*Ilinden*). Suspected of pursuing autonomy for Pirin Macedonia or even separation of this region from Bulgaria, Bulgarian authorities would not allow the organization, whose membership is very small, to be registered as a political party. Meetings of UMO-*Ilinden* have been foiled by the police. The **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO) and other nationalistic parties in Bulgaria insist upon the Bulgarian nationhood of the population in Pirin Macedonia, and in the Republic of Macedonia. Some Bulgarian experts, including a number of President **Petûr Stoyanov**'s advisers, have recommended that Bulgaria accept the fact that the Slavic population in the **Republic of Macedonia** has acquired a Macedonian national consciousness and recognize it as a separate nation. Those with a Macedonian national identity in Bulgaria, however, continue to be considered Bulgarians. Every intervention by the government of the Republic of Macedonia is rejected as a manifestation of irredentism. After the Bulgaro-Macedonian agreement of February 1999, Macedonia has refrained from too openly supporting the Macedonian organizations in Bulgaria.

In the 1992 census, the Macedonians in Bulgaria were not given the opportunity to declare themselves Macedonians except under the heading "Others," since "Nationality: Macedonian" was not mentioned on the form. According to the census results, there were 10,769 "Others" in Pirin, most of whom might be people with a Macedonian national identity. Unofficial sources revealed that only 6,700 "Others" in the whole of Bulgaria declared themselves to be Macedonians. According to the March 2001 census, which allowed people freely to declare their Macedonian self-awareness, there were 5,071 Macedonians in Bulgaria.

No sizable Bulgarian organizations have emerged in Macedonia so far. The best known, *Radko* (named after one of the secret names of **Ivan Mihaylov**), has a limited membership. The many thousands of Macedonian citizens who have applied for Bulgarian citizenship since 2001 have been motivated by the fact that a Bulgarian passport allows free travel through the **European Union** (EU), rather than by

considerations of national identity. The majority of them were refused Bulgarian citizenship because their Bulgarian awareness was judged insufficient; besides, Albanians from Macedonia applied for Bulgarian citizenship as well, but they have been systematically refused. It may be expected that in the future Macedonians will become more aware of their cultural affinities with the Bulgarians and that some of the anti-Bulgarian components of Macedonian national identity will be revised. It is unlikely, however, that the Macedonians will give up their Macedonian national identity.

MADARA HORSEMAN. Heavily damaged **Proto-Bulgarian** stone low relief, 2.60 meters high and 3.10 meters wide, sculptured 23 meters above ground on a mountain wall near Madara, and representing a life-size horseman—probably Khan Tervel—a lion pierced with a spear at the front feet of the horse, and a dog following the horse. The whole composition symbolizes victory and is reminiscent of similar representations in Iran. The Madara horseman is protected by UNESCO.

MAKSIM (1914–). Bulgarian patriarch. Born on 29 October 1914 in Oreshak near Troyan. He studied theology in Sofia during in the early 1940s. In 1960, he was elected metropolitan bishop of Lovech and in 1971 was appointed Bulgarian patriarch and metropolitan bishop of Sofia. Although a pawn of the communist government, he enjoyed a certain popularity and general respect. In March 1991, his position as the Bulgarian patriarch was declared invalid by the **Directorate of Religious Faiths** because he had been appointed by government decree and not duly elected by a national church council. On 31 May 1992, Maksim was dismissed and was replaced by Pimen. Maksim, however, refused to resign. Consequently, the **Bulgarian Patriarchate** was faced with a schism (and a fight for church properties) in which Maksim maintained his dominant position.

MALINOV, ALEKSANDÛR (1867–1938). Politician. Born in Pandükli in Bessarabia on 21 April 1867. He made a career as a lawyer and a judge. In 1902, he became involved in party politics. In 1908, Malinov headed the government of the **Democratic Party (DP)**. Originally, he did not approve of **Ferdinand**'s alliance with the

Central Powers during **World War I**, but he remained loyal to the monarch's policy. After the war, he led the legal opposition against the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** government of **Aleksandър Stamboliyski**. After the foiled actions of the **Constitutional Bloc (CB)** against Stamboliyski, Malinov was arrested and was threatened with a trial on charges of being responsible for the second "**national catastrophe**." Released in 1923 after the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**, he joined the **Democratic Alliance (DA)** but soon broke away and renewed the DP, which opposed the DA. After the **People's Bloc (PB)** won the elections in 1931, Malinov became prime minister. In October 1931 he resigned and served further as a chairman of the **National Assembly (NA)** until the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**. Malinov then withdrew from political life but did not stop publicly protesting against Tsar **Boris III's** personal regime. He died in Sofia on 20 March 1938.

MANOLOV, PETÛR (1939–). Poet, playwright, and essayist. Born in Sandovo on 28 August 1939. He was known to the authorities as a dissident from 1968 on, and in the late 1980s, he participated in the demonstrations for cultural liberalization that the students organized at the University of **Sofia**. He became a secretary of the **Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights (IADHR)** and cooperated with many foreign journals and radio stations. In January 1989 he staged a one-month hunger strike in protest against the treatment of the Turkish minority and the communist repression of **dissidents**. This action attracted international attention and raised Bulgarian political consciousness during the last months of the communist dictatorship. Manolov's personal documents, which had been confiscated by the police, were returned to him in mid-February, but he remained the target of harassment organized by the secret service. In May 1989, he and his family were expelled to France. Manolov returned to Bulgaria in 1991 and ran unsuccessfully for president in the January 1992 elections.

MARITSA. (Greek: Evros; Turkish: Meriç). River. The Maritsa springs in the **Rila Mountains** flows through the **Thracian** plane and discharges into the Aegean Sea. It leaves Bulgaria near Edirne (Adrianople) and further forms the border between Greece in the west and

Turkey in the east. Its total length is 524.6 kilometers, 321.6 of which are within Bulgaria. Typical of the Maritsa is the very unstable regime: floods alternate with periods of desiccation. In spring and early summer and in winter the Maritsa used to be navigable by raft from **Plovdiv** to the Aegean Sea until the mid-19th century, when its water began to be used for irrigation.

MARKOV, GEORGI (1929–1978). Bulgarian writer and **dissident**. Born on 1 March 1929. He studied chemical engineering. In the 1960s, he became one of Bulgaria's most highly praised writers, having access to the inner circles of **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** leader **Todor Zhivkov** himself. His novel *Men* (*Mûzhe*, 1962) received the highest Bulgarian literary award; it was filmed in Bulgaria and translated into all East European languages. After the political events in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the cultural climate in Bulgaria grew harsher, and some of Markov's manuscripts were denied publication. In 1969, he went into exile in Italy, and in 1971, he was granted asylum in London, where he worked for the BBC Bulgarian Service. His memoirs, which give an incriminating picture of everyday life in communist Bulgaria, of Bulgaria's literary elite, and of the party aristocracy around Zhivkov, were broadcast by Radio Free Europe in Munich under the title *Extramural Reports about Bulgaria* (*Zadochni reportazhi za Bulgariya*), also translated into English and one of the first dissident books to be published in Bulgaria after the fall of the communist regime). On 7 September 1978, shortly after the series began, Markov was attacked in London, supposedly by the Bulgarian secret service, with a poison-tipped microscopic bullet introduced into his body by means of a mechanism hidden in an umbrella, leading to the tabloid term "umbrella murder." He died on 11 September 1978. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, it was revealed that the police files concerning the affair had been destroyed. In mid-1991, Bulgarian government representatives declared that they were convinced that Markov had been killed by order of BCP officials. The possibility of Soviet complicity was not excluded.

MAY MANIFESTO (1924). Agreement between the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** and the **Macedonian**

Federalist Organization (MFO), signed in Vienna on 6 May 1924. Both organizations proclaimed their willingness to coordinate their forces in order to solve the **Macedonian Question** by establishing a Balkan federation with **Macedonia** as one of the federal units. IMRO leaders **Todor Aleksandrov** and **Aleksandûr Protogerov** thus wanted to regain the support of the leftist faction in IMRO, which did not accept IMRO's support of the **Democratic Alliance** (DA) in suppressing the **September 1923 Uprising**. In June, IMRO leaders revoked the agreement. Shortly thereafter, they were killed under mysterious circumstances.

MEDIA. See PRESS; RADIO AND TELEVISION.

MIDHAT PASHA (1822–1884). Politician. Real name: Ahmed Şefik Midhat. Born in Istanbul on 18 November 1822. In 1840, he entered the Ottoman imperial administration; for five years, he accumulated expertise in provincial administration. From 1846 to 1861, he worked on the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances in **Istanbul**, making both friends and enemies due to his incorruptibility. In 1861, he was appointed governor of Niš (now in **Serbia**) and later, from 1864 to 1868, of the **Danube** Province, which included the whole of northern Bulgaria. In this capacity, he was in charge of implementing the 1864 provincial reform law that he himself had drafted within the framework of the *Tanzimat*. A number of important economic and educational reforms were carried out, resulting in a tangible improvement in living conditions. Midhat Pasha's attempts to bring about an Ottoman civil national consciousness—for instance, by creating common schools for Christian Bulgarians and **Turks**—were vehemently opposed by Bulgarian nationalists for fear of losing their autonomy in educational affairs and being denationalized. Although he repeatedly pointed to the Bulgarians as being ill-treated by the Greek clergy during the **church struggle**, Midhat was opposed to the establishment of an independent **Bulgarian Exarchate**, which he considered preliminary to political independence. For the same reason, he tried to suppress the *cheta* movement. In 1868, Midhat was appointed chair of the newly created Council of State in Istanbul, but continued to be consulted on Bulgarian affairs, as during the suppression of the **April 1876 Uprising** and the 1876–1877 **Istanbul Ambassadors**

Conference. Midhat Pasha was one of the authors of the 1876 Ottoman constitution. He was ousted from the empire because of his opposition to the autocratic regime of Sultan Abdulhamitbut was rehabilitated in 1878 under an amnesty and was appointed governor of Syria and Izmir. Eventually, he was sent into permanent exile to Yemen and was murdered on 8 May 1884.

MIGRATIONS. *See* EMIGRATION; IMMIGRATION.

MIHAYLOV, IVAN or VANCHE or VANCHO (1896–1990). National freedom fighter. Born on 26 August 1896, in Shtip (now in the **Republic of Macedonia**). He studied in Sofia, Salonika, and in Skopje and joined the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO) as a schoolboy. As a confidant of **Todor Aleksandrov**, he was entrusted with the secretariat of the Foreign Office of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO) after **World War I**. After Aleksandrov was killed in 1924, Mihaylov became the leader of the right wing within IMRO. He advocated individual terrorism as a means of achieving political aims, eliminating not only the real and imagined adversaries of the Bulgarian nations in all parts of Macedonia but also his own opponents within the Macedonian liberation movement. Mihaylov cooperated with Croatian and Italian fascists. He is alleged to have been an accessory to the murder of **Yugoslav** King Aleksander in 1934. After the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**, he was forced to leave Bulgaria. From 1935 to 1945 he lived in Italy. Later, he helped establish pro-Bulgarian Macedonian organizations in the **United States** and Canada. Mihaylov died in Rome on 5 September 1990. His *Memoirs* (*Spomeni*, 1958–1973) were published in Louvain, Belgium.

MIHAYLOVA, NADEZHDA (1962–). Politician. Born in Sofia on 9 August 1962. She graduated in Bulgarian philology in 1985 and worked as a freelance journalist and translator. In 1990, she was appointed head of department in the **Radical Democratic Party** (RDP). In 1991–1992, she studied foreign policy and public relations at Harvard University in the **United States**. In 1992, she was head of the press center and spokeswoman of the **Filip Dimitrov cabinet**. In 1996, she became vice-president of the **Union of Democratic Forces**

(UDF), and from 1997 until 2001 served as a minister of foreign affairs in the **Ivan Kostov cabinet**. According to many Bulgarians, her successes as a foreign minister were due to her beauty and female charms, which is underestimating her political expertise and diplomatic skills. After the June 2001 electoral defeat of the UDF, tensions between Mihaylova and party leader Kostov surfaced, and on 8–9 March 2002, she was elected chair of the UDF.

MILADINOV BROTHERS: DIMITÛR (1810–1862) and KONSTANTIN (1830–1862). Born in Struga, now in the **Republic of Macedonia**. Both studied in Ohrid and Yoannina. DimitÛr taught Greek in a number of schools in **Macedonia**. After a stay in the Hapsburg South Slavic lands during the Crimean War (1853–1856), he became aware of its Bulgarian nationhood and began fighting against Greek domination in ecclesiastical and educational matters. He was arrested in 1861 and sent to Istanbul.

Konstantin Miladinov continued his education in Athens and Moscow and became a philologist. Influenced by the Russian Slavophiles, he became particularly interested in oral literature and began collecting folk songs from Macedonia, aided by his brother, DimitÛr, who sent them to him. Encouraged by the Croat bishop Josip Strossmayer, Konstantin and DimitÛr compiled a book entitled *Bulgarian Folksongs* (*Bûlgarski narodni pesni* (1861), which was published in Zagreb. After he learned of the arrest of his brother, Konstantin traveled to Istanbul to free him, but he was also arrested. Both brothers died in prison, Konstantin on 7 January and DimitÛr on 11 January 1862. They were allegedly poisoned by the Phanariots, but they died probably of typhus.

The Miladinovs' collection of folk songs and especially its title is evidence of the Bulgarian national consciousness of the Slavic population in Macedonia in the 1860s. In postwar Yugoslav Macedonia the book was published as *The Collection of the Miladinovs*, omitting the original title. *See also* CHURCH STRUGGLE; MACEDONIAN QUESTION; MACEDONIANS.

MILEV, GEO (1895–1925). Real name: Georgi Milev Kasabov. Poet. Born in Radnevo on 15 January 1895, he studied philology in Sofia and Leipzig. After returning to Bulgaria in 1915 because of **World**

War I, he was sent to the front near Doyran and sustained a head wound. After the war, he underwent surgery in Berlin, where he came under the spell of German leftist expressionism. Back in Bulgaria, Milev developed into the founder of Bulgarian modernism. He translated European poetry, reviewed books and plays, and edited the literary journals *The Scales* (*Vežni*) and *Flame* (*Plamûk*). After the **September 1923 Uprising**, he published in *Flame* the long poem “September” (“Septemvri”) rendering the outbreak and the suppression of the uprising in an evocative, penetrating way, recalling the poetry of Aleksandr Blok and Vladimir Mayakovski. “September” is the most remarkable achievement of Bulgarian literary modernism. Milev disappeared in May 1925, a victim of **Aleksandûr Tsankov’s Law on the Defense of the State**.

MILITARY LEAGUE (ML). Conspiratorial military union founded in 1919 by active-duty officers and reservists who were dissatisfied with the situation of **army** officers after **World War I** and especially with the limitations imposed on the Bulgarian army by the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly**. Among the principal leaders were **Kimon Georgiev** and **Damyan Velchev**. The ML was banned in 1920 by **Aleksandûr Stamboliyski**, but it was clandestinely reactivated in 1921. Backed by Tsar **Boris III**, the **National Alliance** (NA), and representatives of the main conservative parties, the ML staged the **coup d’état of 9 June 1923**, which put an end to the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) government of Stamboliyski. The ML was responsible for the suppression of resistance to the coup d’état offered by the **Orange Guard** immediately after the coup and by communists and agrarians during the **September 1923 Uprising**. It also organized the persecution of political opponents during the **Aleksandûr Tsankov** government, from June 1923 to January 1926. After Tsankov resigned, the organization’s importance diminished and it split up. Ivan Vûlkov, then minister of defense, insisted on disbanding the organization and submitting the officers to the tsar; others like **Damyan Velchev** wanted its independent role in Bulgarian politics to continue.

By the end of the 1930s, after Vûlkov had resigned, the ML changed its name to Secret Military Union and became prominent again under the leadership of Velchev. Divisiveness was not overcome, however.

Although many ML members remained favorable to the tsar, the majority opposed Boris's personal regime. They rejected both the **Democratic Alliance** (DA) and the **People's Bloc** (PB) governments. Together with *Zveno*, the Secret Military Union carried out the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**, establishing a military dictatorship. Initially, rightist and antimonarchist forces tending toward fascism dominated. After the government of **Kimon Georgiev** submitted its resignation in January 1935, however, moderate and pro-monarchist forces gained ground. After the abortive coup d'état provoked by Velchev on 3 October 1935, Tsar Boris disbanded the league on 3 March 1936. Some of its members resumed their opposition to the personal regime of the tsar by allying with the (illegal) **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), **BANU-Pladne**, or *Zveno* under the umbrella of the popular front movement and later even participated in the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**.

MILLET SYSTEM. See *RUM MILLETI*.

MINING. Since antiquity, mining has been an important aspect of economic activity in Bulgaria. The **Thracians** were known for their iron, bronze, and golden artifacts. During the Middle Ages and under **Ottoman** rule, the operation of mines continued on a large scale, as many toponyms witness. By the 18th century, metallurgy stagnated due to exhaustion. There was a revival at the beginning of the 19th century, when new technology was being applied. After **World War II**, the accelerated industrialization of the country by the communist regime resulted in extensive mining of metallic (iron, manganese, lead, zinc, copper, gold) and non-metallic (cement, marble, clay, gypsum) ores. The Kremikovtsi ferrous metallurgy combine was more a source of national pride than of revenues. Many mines began languishing on after 1989; unprofitable ones were closed; profitable ones were sold, some to foreign companies (for example, the Chelepech gold deposits to the Irish *Navan* Company; the Devnya cement plant and the Pernik coal mines to the Belgian *Solvay* and *Union Minière*, respectively). In 1992, it was decided to definitively stop uranium mining in the **Rhodope Mountains**—at a cost to the Bulgarian state of an estimated US\$43 million (US\$280 million according to some specialists).

MINORITIES POLICY. Until recently, Bulgaria's minorities policy did not differ essentially from that of other Balkan states (except for Yugoslavia). It aimed to homogenize the nation ethnically and to eliminate ethnic and cultural diversity. In the past, **Turks, Greeks, Vlachs, Roma**, and members of other ethnic communities were subjected to forced assimilation, forced **emigration**, and **population exchanges**. The **Macedonians** shared the fate of the other minorities in many respects, although their case is actually unique. Only the **Armenians** have always been treated decently. The **Pomaks**, who are a Bulgarian **Muslim** minority, were pressured to renounce Islam. No ethnic community was ever given cultural, let alone political, autonomy.

Immediately after the liberation in 1878 Bulgarian Turks were "encouraged" to emigrate and many actually did. In 1906, pogroms were organized against Greeks. The 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** provided for the "voluntary" exchange of the Greek and Slavic minorities in Bulgaria and Greece. After **World War II**, the communist government, opposing "Great Bulgarian chauvinism" and following the principles of proletarian internationalism, showed more tolerance of ethnocultural diversity. Until the 1970s, the Bulgarian government provided the Turkish community with schools and other cultural institutions. A policy of social integration was applied to the Roma community. In the early 1950s, however, after the collectivization of **agriculture** had created a surplus of workers in that sector, about 150,000 Turks (many of whom were actually Roma) were forced to leave for Turkey. From 1968 on, a special agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey existed, regulating the drain on the Turkish population. The 1971 "**Zhivkov** Constitution" made no mention of any collective rights for ethnic minorities and seems to have given the go-ahead for repressive measures against the Roma and the Pomak communities and for cutting back on the Turks' cultural rights. Turkey's refusal to renew the emigration agreement allegedly compelled the Bulgarian government to resort to such radical measures as the notorious 1984–1985 **regeneration process** and the abortive 1989 attempt to expel the Turkish community from the country (*see* EMIGRATION).

After the communist regime was overthrown in November 1989, the measures against the Turks were revoked and guarantees were

made concerning the reversal of their effects. The situation of the Turks has considerably improved, thanks to the pressure exerted by the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF). Other ethnic communities—such as the Armenians, the Vlachs, the **Jews**, and the Roma—have organized cultural or semi-political societies in order to develop their identities and defend their rights. Although the organizations of the Roma are the largest and most numerous, their situation in particular has dramatically deteriorated. The 1991 **Constitution** of the Republic of Bulgaria does not provide any collective rights to ethnic minorities. In principle, political parties based on religion, race, or ethnicity are prohibited. However, the “Turkish” MRF was, after a long tug-of-war, finally registered and was allowed to participate in the elections and in forming cabinets, and so were later many Roma organizations. The situation of ethnic minorities in Bulgaria (except for the Roma community) have since improved to an extent that some commentators have used the term “Bulgarian ethnic model.” However, the frequent clashes with the Roma population and the success of a political party like *Attack* demonstrate the fragility of this “ethnic model.”

MISHEV-GATE. In the fall of 1992, it was revealed that Bulgaria had negotiated an arms deal with the **Republic of Macedonia**, in spite of the **United Nations** (UN) embargo. According to the revelations by the head of the National Intelligence Service, Brigadir Asparuhov, a confidant of President **Zhelyo Zhelev**, a certain Konstantin Mishev, an emigrant who had returned from the **United States** and had been appointed an adviser to **Filip Dimitrov**, reportedly had played a key role in the affair—whence it was called “Mishev-gate.” Finally, the political scandal contributed to the fall of the second Filip **Dimitrov cabinet**. Mishev returned to the United States. *See also* ARMS INDUSTRY.

MLADENOV, PETÛR (1936–2000). Politician. Born on 22 August 1936 in Toshevtsi near Vidin, he studied philosophy at the University of **Sofia** and international relations in Moscow. From 1966 on, he was responsible for the international relations department of the **Central Committee** (CC) of the **Dimitrov Communist Youth Union** (DCYU). In 1971, he was appointed minister of foreign affairs—a

position he held until 1989. In 1977, he was elected a full member of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) CC. Rumor has it that tensions between Mladenov and **Todor Zhivkov** in the late 1970s were a result of **Lyudmila Zhivkova**'s repeated interference in foreign affairs. Mladenov is said to have also disagreed with the government's treatment of the Turkish minority, which had badly damaged Bulgaria's image abroad. On 24 October 1989, Mladenov submitted his resignation in a letter which was later made public.

Mladenov reportedly was one of the main engineers of the **coup d'état on 10 November 1989**, which put an end to the 35-year party leadership of Zhivkov. He replaced Zhivkov as the BCP first secretary. Mladenov resigned as minister of foreign affairs on 17 November 1989—replaced by Boyko Dimitrov—and succeeded Zhivkov as president (chair of the **Council of State**). He was elected to the presidency of the party's Supreme Council on 3 February 1990, at the **Bulgarian Socialist Party's** (BSP) founding congress. On 3 April, he resigned from the BSP presidency and was elected state president. Soon afterward Mladenov was accused, on the basis of a video recording, of having been on the verge of using tanks against demonstrators on 14 December 1989. An ongoing students' strike, supported by the main opposition parties, forced him to resign on 6 July 1990. He was not reelected to the BSP Supreme Council at the 39th BSP Congress on 22–25 September 1990. He died in Sofia on 31 May 2000.

MOLLOV-KAFANDARIS AGREEMENT (1927). Agreement signed on 9 December 1927 in Geneva by the ministers of finances of Bulgaria and **Greece**, Vladimir Mollov and Yorgos Kafandaris, regulating the compensation to be received by Bulgarians leaving Greece and Greeks leaving Bulgaria as provided for by the Convention for Mutual and Voluntary **Emigration** added to the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly**. The term of obligations by both countries was extended to 30 years. As an unforeseen and unwanted result, more than 30,000 people immigrated to Bulgaria, pressured by the Greek authorities, thus increasing Bulgaria's "refugee problem." *See also* POPULATION EXCHANGES.

MONASTERIES. The first monasteries in Bulgaria were built immediately after Christianization in the ninth century. They were endowed

by the Bulgarian rulers and soon acquired considerable property. Through their educational, literary, and artistic activities, they developed into important centers of medieval spiritual and cultural life. (*See also* ARCHITECTURE; ARTS; BULGARIAN LITERATURE, BULGARIAN.)

Monasticism reached its peak during the **Second Bulgarian Empire** (1186–1396). During that period, a considerable number of monasteries were built or renewed, mostly in the neighborhood of the capital, **Veliko Tŭrnovo** but also in remote areas all over the country. In the 14th century, monastic culture, especially philology and mysticism, flourished due to the impressive figure of **Evtimiy of Tŭrnovo** and other monks.

As a result of the **Ottoman** invasion at the end of the 14th century, numerous monasteries were looted or destroyed and the monks were expelled. After the situation had normalized in the 15th century, many monasteries recovered, and new monasteries were built, thanks to the Ottomans' relative tolerance in religious affairs. The monasteries again turned into spiritual centers of Christianity, where medieval Bulgarian culture could be preserved, although in a rather fossilized form. Nevertheless, during the **National Awakening** in the 19th century, monasteries developed into focuses of increasing national awareness, since they were not only seen as symbols of Bulgarian-ness, but also actively supported the national liberation movement. The **Rila Monastery** played the most prominent role in this respect.

After the liberation in 1878, Bulgarian monasteries retained their aura of national—not just religious—institutions, the more so as Orthodox Christianity was considered to be one of the basic components of Bulgarian national identity. At the same time, the monasteries continued being centers of popular devotion.

The **communist** regime probably had an even more destructive effect on monasticism in Bulgaria than the Ottomans did. The monasteries' properties (buildings, arable land, woods, factories, etc.) were confiscated. Atheist propaganda and police harassment discouraged people from visiting churches and monasteries, let alone becoming monks or nuns. In 1961, the Rila Monastery was turned into a national museum and the few monks still there were transferred to other monasteries. By the end of the 1980s, most monasteries were deserted and were falling into ruin. Only a few monasteries—among which the

monasteries of **Bachkovo**, **Troyan** and Rozhen and the nunneries in Dragalevtsi, Kalofer, and Samokov are the most important—had somehow managed to maintain themselves.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, religious freedom was restored. The monasteries are now self-supporting and have again become the centers of religious life. They still have to contend with enormous difficulties, however. The restitution of nationalized properties is a difficult process, and the monasteries have not yet gotten back their lands and are badly in need of revenue. Moreover, only a small number of young people are interested in entering a monastery. Orthodoxy and monasticism somehow recovered from the damage caused by the communist regime, but it is doubtful whether all of the more than a hundred Bulgarian monasteries will be saved.

MONGOLS. *See* TATARS.

MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL REVIVAL-OBORISHTE (MNR-OBORISHTE)/DVIZHENIE ZA NATSIONALNO VŪZRAZHDANE-OBORISHTE (DNR-OBORISHTE). Founded on 3 and 4 June 2000 in Sofia, aiming the spiritual and patriotic elevation of the Bulgarians. It was led by Tosho Peykov, a defector from the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)**. MNR *Oborishte* enabled the **National Movement Simeon the Second (NMSS)** to participate in the 2001 election by offering the NMSS candidates places on their list. Tosho Peykov is still the current leader.

MOVEMENT FOR RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS (MRF)/DVIZHENIE ZA PRAVA I SVOBODI (DPS). Turkish: *Hak ve Özgürlükler Hareketi*. Political party that defends human rights and civil liberties in general and more specifically the rights of ethnic and religious minorities. In practice, it is concerned mainly with the situation of the ethnic **Turks**, thus it is often labeled the “Turkish party.” The MRF continues the **Turkish National Liberation Movement (TNLM)**, which had been created in December 1985, and was active during the years of the **regeneration process** and compulsory **emigration** of the Turkish minority. The MRF was founded in Drûndar near Varna on 4 January 1990 at a local gathering of TNLM members,

at which Ahmed Dogan was elected chair. The MRF was officially established in Sofia at a national congress on 26–27 March, in the presence of Turks and **Pomaks** from all over the country and was officially recorded on 26 April 1990. Although parties based on religious, ethnic, or racial groups are prohibited by the Bulgarian law on elections, the MRF, “disguised” as a general human rights movement, was nevertheless registered on 20 September 1990 and was allowed to participate in the first free elections after the fall of the communist regime, in June 1990. This permission was generally regarded as a move by the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) against the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). If the Turks had been banned from running on their own ticket, their votes would have gone to the UDF, which had always defended the Turks’ minority rights, whereas the BSP was associated with the previous communist regime’s policy of forced assimilation. The MRF called on its electorate to vote for the UDF candidates in areas with no MRF candidates. It received 23 of the 400 seats in the **Grand National Assembly** (GNA). The entrance of Turks into the parliament caused vehement resistance among Bulgarian nationalists. Only after protests from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the **European Union** (EU) was the MRF allowed to function as a normal party. Although the MRF’s aims have always been moderate and the party has on several occasions contributed considerably to reducing ethnic tensions between Bulgarians and Turks, most Bulgarians are distrustful of the MRF, considering it almost an instrument of Turkish expansionism.

The main goals of the MRF were the restoration of Turkish names that had been “Bulgarized” during the regeneration process in 1984–1985, the return of rights and property to Turks who had been compelled to leave the country in 1989, optional teaching of the Turkish language and Islamic theology in areas of a Turkish population, the freedom to profess **Islam** and to observe Islamic holy days, the restoration of Turkish cultural institutions (theaters, cultural clubs, radio and television programs), the rebuilding of destroyed mosques and the right to build new ones, permission to publish and distribute Turkish and Islamic literature, and the punishment of officials and functionaries who had mistreated **Turks** during the regeneration process and the compulsory **emigration** campaign in 1989. A great many of these aims were achieved. In areas with a Turkish ma-

majority, the MRF succeeded in being properly represented in the local administration. It was, however, not always successful. In 1991, the MRF opposed in vain the new **constitution**, which not only stipulated that Bulgarian be the only official language and Orthodox Christianity the “traditional” religion in Bulgaria, but also maintained the prohibition of political parties with an ethnic or religious basis and failed to guarantee collective minorities rights. In September 1991 the MRF was again—now on the basis of Article 11 (4) of the new constitution—prohibited from participating in the upcoming 13 October elections, being an ethnically based political party. Again the EU and the OSCE had to pressure the Bulgarian government in order to compel the Supreme Court to revise the election commission’s decision. Protests from the Turkish government were counterproductive, the more so as in Turkey ethnically and religiously based parties are also prohibited. Finally on 21 April 1992, six of the twelve judges of the court voted in favor of the MRF; five voted against, and one was absent for health reasons. The MRF was allowed to participate in the elections.

The MRF had for a long time been ignored and isolated by the other political parties in the country, especially by the BSP. Initially, the UDF leadership (and the UDF followers, albeit to a much lesser extent) were sympathetic to the MRF but feared the electorate’s nationalist reaction. As the third largest party in the country, however, the MRF proved to be an indispensable coalition partner. This enabled party leader Dogan to achieve many of his political goals. Originally any cooperation with the former communist BSP was rejected; at the same time, the MRF did not enter into a formal coalition with the UDF since both sides were conscious of the ethnic tensions that this could have provoked with the Turcophobe Bulgarian population. The MRF limited itself to supporting the UDF in the **National Assembly (NA)**. Although the party’s influence increased visibly during the first **Filip Dimitrov cabinet** (November 1991 to May 1992) and was in a way consolidated by an informal political agreement during the second Dimitrov cabinet (May 1991 to October 1992), the MRF became increasingly dissatisfied with the UDF’s economic program, which was likely to have negative social consequences in the underdeveloped Turkish areas where the bulk of the MRF electorate lived. Since its demand to have a greater influence on decision-making was ignored by

the UDF, the MRF on 28 October 1991 backed a no-confidence motion proposed by the BSP and thereby caused the fall of the second Dimitrov cabinet. Any gain was rather dubious, as the UDF felt betrayed and grew suspicious of further cooperation with the MRF, while even moderate Bulgarians felt that Bulgarian politics was dominated by the Turks. Nevertheless, on 15 December 1992, President **Zhelyo Zhelev** asked the MRF to form a new government. The UDF blamed the MRF for its willingness to negotiate with the BSP. In the new **Lyuben Berov cabinet** (December 1992–September 1994), Minister of Public Health and Vice-Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev was an MRF member although an ethnic Bulgarian. (Another ethnic Bulgarian MRF representative in the NA, Emil Buchkov, resigned on 15 June 1993, because he felt discriminated against by the Turkish leadership.)

For a long time, the MRF was the only Bulgarian political party that did not suffer from splintering into factions. Since the beginning of 1994, however, the MRF leadership has been criticized by Turkish politicians from various sides. In February 1994, Mehmed Hodzha, Redzheb Chinar, and Ismail Ismail left the MRF because the Berov cabinet ran counter to the interests of the overwhelmingly Turkish **to-bacco** workers in the Kûrdzhali region. They founded the Party for Democratic Change (PDC), which rejected the MRF's overtly close cooperation with the BSP and pleaded for an approach to be made to the UDF. More radical Turkish nationalists organized in the Turkish Democratic Party (TDP), led by Adem Kenan, who blamed the MRF for being too soft. These allegations paradoxically helped the MRF to become a more acceptable partner of the "Bulgarian" parties. Since the Turkish electorate was constantly shrinking as a result of persistent Turkish **emigration**, the MRF was less successful than before in the 18 December 1994 elections.

In June 1996, with a view to the presidential elections in October–November of the same year, the MRF joined the coalition **United Democratic Forces** (Uddf). In February 1997, however, the MRF refused to renew its agreement with the Uddf and entered the coalition **Union of National Salvation** (UNS); part of the membership, led by Gyuner Tahir, preferred to remain loyal to the Uddf. In March 1997, Tahir founded a new "Turkish" party, the **National Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (NMRF).

In January 2000, the MRF demanded through its reelected chair, Dogan, that the Turks in Bulgaria be recognized as a constituent nation (instead of a minority)—a proposal not surprisingly rejected by all Bulgarian parties. The MRF was a coalition partner in the cabinet formed by **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha** after the election victory of the **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS) in June 2001. MRF members Mehmed Dikme and Nedzhet Mollov were appointed minister of **agriculture** and forestry and minister without portfolio, respectively, the latter to be replaced by Filiz Hyusmenova on 17 July 2003. Minister Dikme had to deal with the controversial issue of the **privatization** of *Bulgartabak*—the Bulgarian state-run tobacco industry, employing mainly **Turks** and **Pomaks**. In February 2005, the MRF opposed the privatization of *Bulgartabak*, allegedly because *British American Tobacco* refused to buy the loss-making factories in the densely Turkish populated cities of Haskovo and Shumen, thus causing a government crisis.

In the June 2005 **parliamentary elections**, the MRF had to cope with some rival “Turkish” parties such as the Movement of the Democratic Wing, led by Osman Oktay, the Party for Democracy and Justice, led by **Nedim Gendzhev**, the Union of the Bulgarian Turks, led by Seyhan Tyurkan, and the NMRF of Gyuner Tahir which was the most threatening. Nevertheless, the MRF was very successful, doubling the number of its voters in comparison with the June 2001 elections. Reportedly, it succeeded in attracting a considerable amount of **Roma** votes, and votes of Bulgarian Turks living in Turkey.

MULTIGRUP. The most powerful of about 30 corporations in Bulgaria, created with laundered money (estimated at US\$3 billion), originating from bank accounts that former **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) *nomenklatura* members had abroad. Until mid-1994, the 13 most important of these corporations, including *Multigrup*, were united in Group 13 (G-13); by mid-1994, seven of them had left. *Multigrup*, and its main rival, *Tron*, controlled the major part of the Bulgarian economy.

Allegedly, the leaders originated from the former communist **State Security**’s first, second, and sixth directorates, dealing with espionage and counterintelligence. *Multigrup*, founded and run by **Iliya Pavlov**, has close connections with **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP)

politicians. They financially supported the campaign of BSP ally **Union for the Fatherland** (UF). The minister of trade in the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**, Kiril Tsochev, was said to have acted as the liaison between the BSP and *Multigrup*.

Although *Multigrup* depicts itself as a proper company, laying the foundation for a future prosperous capitalist Bulgaria, commentators have pointed out that the corporation was (and is) mainly involved in import and export and is not particularly interested in producing goods. State enterprise managers who are in league used to buy raw materials from *Multigrup* at exorbitant prices and then sell their products to *Multigrup* at low prices. The enterprises were forced into debts that were ultimately paid off by the state. This practice explains the collapse of the Bulgarian **banking** system, the reluctance of the BSP-controlled cabinets to hasten the **privatization** of state enterprises and to allow foreign investment, and to a certain extent also the state budget deficit. Besides, *Multigrup* was alleged to be involved in racketeering and other criminal practices, engaging former wrestling champions as bodyguards and for the dirty jobs.

Multigrup was often restructured and renamed—MG Corporation in 2000—in order to put up smoke screens. It controlled gas and petroleum imports, construction industry, sugar plants, lead mines, textile plants, the **tobacco** industry, electric energy plants, the chemical industry, and so on. *Balkanturist*, Bulgaria's biggest tourist agency, is owned by *Multigrup*. After the violent death of chairman Pavlov in 2003, the conglomerate began to fall apart into new, equally opaque smaller organizations. Nevertheless, in spring 2004, a US State Department report still called *Multigrup* “the biggest criminal organization in Bulgaria.” *Multigrup* and similar enterprises illustrate the extent to which the former BCP *nomenklatura* turned into a new capitalist class and succeeded in maintaining its control over the country's economy and, simultaneously, its position of power in Bulgarian political life.

MURAVIEV, KONSTANTIN (1893–1965). Politician. Born in Pazardzhik on 21 February 1893. He studied at the military school in Sofia. Muraviev joined the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) and became a confidant of **Aleksandûr Stamboliyski**. Af-

ter **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**, he was arrested and imprisoned. In 1926, he was released and resumed his former political activities, editing the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Vrabcha 1** (BANU-Vrabcha 1) newspaper. In the **People's Bloc** (PB) cabinet, which ruled from 1931 to 1934, Muraviev subsequently held the posts of minister of education and minister of agriculture and state properties. After the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**, Muraviev kept a low profile but clandestinely resumed his political activities. On 2 September 1944, he was entrusted with the formation of a new cabinet, which was expected to avert the impending invasion of Bulgaria by the Red Army. Muraviev and his ministers were dismissed by the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, and Muraviev was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was released at the beginning of the 1960s. He died on 31 January 1965.

MÜRZSTEG REFORMS. Reform program for the administration of **Macedonia**, imposed on the **Ottoman Empire** by the Great Powers in September 1903 after the **Ilinden Uprising**, and consisting of: the head inspector of Macedonia, Hilmi Pasha, assisted by two civilians, one each from Russia and Austria-Hungary, who would supervise implementation of the reforms; the restructuring of the Ottoman gendarmerie after a Western model; the reorganization of the administration and the judiciary; and aid the population and especially refugees wanting to settle in Macedonia and the region of Edirne. The Mürzsteg Reforms had little effect, hindered as they were by the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO) and by the Ottoman authorities who were unwilling to implement the reforms. They were finally revoked after the Young Turks' revolt in 1908.

MUSEUMS. The first Bulgarian museum was established in 1856 in the *chitalishte* in Svishtov. In 1879, the **Bulgarian Literary Society** (BLS), the forerunner of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS), founded an **archaeological** museum in Sofia. Smaller museum collections were set up in Lovech, Ruse, Shumen, **Varna**, **Vidin**, and elsewhere. A historical and military museum was opened in Pleven in 1903. On the eve of **World War II** there were only 13 museums in the whole of Bulgaria. After the communist takeover in

1944, the number of museums in Bulgaria increased rapidly. In the 1980s, there were more than 200 museums. Many of them, however, were “museum houses” of limited interest: small collections devoted to heroes of the communist or the partisan movement or national liberation fighters, located in their actual or restored houses. Among the finest museums in Bulgaria are the National Gallery and the National Historical Museum in Sofia (housed in the former residence of **Todor Zhivkov** in Boyana), the Sofia Archaeological Museum, the collections in the 19th-century mansions in Plovdiv, the historical museums in Kûrdzhali and Pleven, and the Etûra Ethnological Museum near Gabrovo. As a rule, postwar Bulgarian museums very emphatically aimed at educating the people ideologically and patriotically. The latter goal has survived the fall of communism.

MUSHANOV, NIKOLA (1872–1951). Politician. Born in Dryanovo on 4 April 1872. He studied law in Aix-en-Provence, France, and upon his return to Bulgaria in 1893, he was appointed a judge. In 1896 Mushanov joined the **Democratic Party (DP)**. From 1908 to 1911, and again from 1917 to 1919, when the DP was in power, he held several important ministerial posts. Mushanov openly opposed the 1919–1923 **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** government of **Aleksandûr Stamboliyski**, which led to his arrest. He was released after the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**. He disapproved of the DP's participation in the **Democratic Alliance (DA)** government, but he could not prevent it. After the election victory of the **People's Bloc (PB)** in April 1931, Mushanov became minister of internal affairs. When **Aleksandûr Malinov** resigned as prime minister on 12 October 1931, Mushanov succeeded him. After the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**, as a result of which political parties were formally banned, Mushanov joined the democratic opposition against Tsar **Boris III's personal regime** and his foreign policy. From 2 to 8 September 1944, he was included in the cabinet of **Konstantin Muraviev** as a minister without portfolio. Because of Mushanov's opposition to the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, he was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment. Released after a short time, he revived the DP and resumed his opposition to the **Fatherland Front (FF)** government, for which he was exiled to a provincial town. He died in Sofia on 12 April 1951.

MUSIC. Music is undoubtedly the most impressive aspect of the Bulgarian popular artistic genius. Bulgarians like to connect their musicality with the **Greek** god Orpheus, who according to ancient mythology lived in the **Rhodope Mountains**. Bulgarian folk music is one of the richest and most intriguing in the world due to the complicated asymmetric rhythms and the very typical diaphony. Penetrating research on Bulgarian folk music was done by Stefan Dzhudzhev (1902–1997), Rayna Katsarova (1901–1984), and Nikolay Kaufman (1925–).

After the Christianization of Bulgaria in the ninth century, the combination of **Byzantine** church chant and Bulgarian ethnic music resulted in the emergence of the famous Old Bulgarian chant (*starobûlgarskiyat napev*), which has been reconstructed thanks to a number of preserved manuscripts from the 12th and the 13th centuries.

Bulgarian opera singers such as Ghena Dimitrova (1941–2005), Nikolay Gyaurov (1929–), Boris Hristov (1914–1995), and Rayna Kabaivanska (1934–) belong to the world’s top class. Many Bulgarian instrumentalists are world famous, too: violinist Mincho Minchev (1950–); cellist Ventsislav Nikolov (1943–); pianists Marta Deyanova (1948–), Milena Mollova (1940–), and Alexis Weisenberg (1929–); flutist Lidiya Oshavkova (1942–); and many others.

Bulgarian composers, however, are less celebrated. Except for the 14th-century **Yoan Kukuzel** (ca. 1280–1360), born in Durrës, Albania, who revived Byzantine church choral music in the spirit of the Old Bulgarian chant (and whose mother might have been Bulgarian), no other Bulgarian composer occupies a prominent place in the history of world music. By the end of the 19th century, when a genuine music life in Bulgaria started developing, the approach was rather utilitarian as music was expected to help build a national culture. Composers followed the models provided by (rather conventional) Western classical music, attempting to develop a “national” style by borrowing elements from folk music. In the years after the liberation in 1878, mainly vocal music was written by Georgi Atanasov-Maestro (1882–1931), considered the founder of Bulgarian opera, Angel Bukoreshtliev (1870–1950), Dobri Hristov (1875–1941), Emil Manolov (1858 or 1860–1902), Aleksandûr Morfov (1880–1934), and others. The first music school in **Sofia** was opened in 1904; in 1908 the Bulgarian Opera Company was founded, renamed the National

Opera in 1921. In the same year the Bulgarian Musical Academy, which later became the State Musical Conservatory, started its activities. In 1928 a ballet school was established. In the interwar period, Bulgarian music was influenced by folk melodies and rhythms in the same way that other **arts** and **literature** were affected by folklorism.

Among the composers who made their debuts on the eve of **World War II** are Marin Goleminov (1908–), Filip Kutev (1903–1982), known for his adaptations of folk songs, Svetoslav Obretenov (1909–1955); Lyubomir Pipkov (1904–1974); Petko Staynov (1890–1972); Veselin Stoyanov (1902–1969); and Pancho Vladigerov (1899–1978). Aleksandŭr Raychev (1922–2003) belongs to the post-war generation. Such modern trends as 12-tone composition seem to have influenced the work of Parashkev Hadzhiev (1912–1992), Konstantin Iliev (1924–1988), Vasil Kazandzhiev (1934–), and Simeon Pironkov (1927–2000). Although less concerned with ideological requirements than literature and plastic arts, Bulgarian music as well had to be “accessible to the workers” and show a “national spirit.” The influence of Bulgarian folk music and Byzantine church chanting was therefore more important than that of the Western avant-garde, even in most of the compositions of the youngest generation, represented by Stefan Dragostinov (1948–) and Emil Tabakov (1947–), among others. Even jazz and pop musicians, like Ivo Papazov (1952–) and Teodosi Spasov (1961–), use Bulgarian folk melodies, often with fascinating results. *See also* FOLKLORE.

MUSLIMS. Islam is the second largest religion in Bulgaria. All Turks (except for the **Gagauz**), **Tatars**, and **Pomaks**, in all 966,978 people (according to the 2001 census) are Muslims. Most are Sunni Muslims, belonging to the Hanafi law school. In the region of Razgrad, Burgas, and Haskovo, there are about 50,000 Shiite Muslims, called **Kŭzŭlbash**. The majority of the **Roma** also confess Islam. As elsewhere in the Balkans, Islam in Bulgaria has never tended toward fundamentalism; it has always been relatively tolerant of other faiths and open to modernity.

Islam was spread among the Bulgarians by the Turkish colonists who had settled in **Dobrudja** and **Thrace** in the 15th and 16th centuries. Massive and forced Islamizations have occurred but were incidental. Muslim missionaries from the Sufi brotherhoods contributed much more to the Bulgarians’ embrace of Islam. Although

Christian Bulgarians, in exchange for submission, were offered protection against Islamization through the *Rum milleti*, religious and social discrimination have made Bulgarians yield to conversion, too.

After the liberation in 1878, Muslims in Bulgaria were, in turn, treated as second-class citizens. Turks were often encouraged to leave the country through a variety of administrative measures, whereas Pomaks were encouraged to become Christians and thus “real” Bulgarians. On the eve of World War II, Muslims suffered from the attempts by fascist organizations to create an ethnically and religiously homogeneous Bulgarian nation. After the communist takeover in September 1944, religious freedom was limited in the name of the communist ideal of social progress. The Sofia Islamic Institute was closed in 1948. Although the communist regime was opposed to all kinds of “religious prejudices,” Islam—considered a conservative and backward faith—was subject to harsher treatment than Orthodox Christianity, which was identified with Bulgarian nationhood. In 1951, all Muslims in Bulgaria were subordinated to the **Supreme Muslim Spiritual Council**, headed by the chief mufti. In the 1960s there were about 500 Turkish and 100 Pomak imams left. According to official figures, there were about 1,300 mosques, of which 120 were used by Pomaks. During the 1984–1985 **regeneration process**, Turkish Islamic names had to be replaced by Bulgarian, mostly Christian, ones. Many mosques were closed or demolished, and Muslim graveyards were destroyed. At the same time, the government did its utmost not to alienate its Arab political and commercial partners, contending that the measures were not directed against Islam.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, religious freedom was restored and Muslim worship was no longer restricted. The **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), the so-called Turkish party, contributed greatly to the restoration of Muslim religious rights. In April 1990, the first issue of the journal *Myusyulmanin* (*Muslim*) was published. In October 1990 an Islamic Institute in **Sofia**, a secondary school in Shumen, and a Muslim cultural center in **Varna** were opened. Since then, the number of Muslim cultural and educational institutions has increased, although Orthodox Christianity was proclaimed Bulgaria’s “traditional religion” by the 1991 constitution. The need for a clear-cut national identity, with Orthodox Christianity as one of its basic components, pushes Bulgarians to treat Muslims with contempt, which is at odds with a fully secularized

state. This attitude has contributed considerably to alienating a great number of Pomaks from their Christian compatriots and has made them look to the Turks for protection and sympathy. Recently a few Pomak villages were converted to Orthodoxy by Father Stoyan Sarŕev, whose activities, though aimed at reinforcing national unity, are more of a threat to good relations between the Christian and Muslim communities. *See also* RELIGION.

MUTAFCHIEVA, VERA (1929–). Historian and writer. Born in Sofia on 28 March 1929 to the family of the historian Petŕr Mutafchiev. She studied history and worked in the Oriental Department of the National Library in Sofia and later in various specialized institutes of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS). Her internationally renowned historical research focuses on the **Ottoman** period, more specifically on the *timar* system and the time of the *kŕrdzhaliyas*. In the 1960s and the 1970s, Mutafchieva wrote a number of historical novels, which can be read as astute commentaries on situations and events in contemporary Bulgaria. She is also known for her courageous and well-founded criticism of some aspects of official Bulgarian historiography, in particular as far the Ottoman period is concerned, and for her pioneering defense of **women's** rights.

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NAME LIST OF THE BULGARIAN KHANS. **Proto-Bulgarian** annals, the first of their kind in Bulgarian history, consist of two lists of Proto-Bulgarian khans who ruled “from the beginning” until the eighth century. The first list contains the names of five khans who ruled during 515 years (sic) and concludes with Khan Bezmer. The second list begins with the government of Khan **Asparuh**, the founder of the **First Bulgarian Empire**, and enumerates all of the successive khans until 767. The names of the respective clans from which the khans originated are also mentioned. The chronology corresponds to the Proto-Bulgarian **calendar**, based on a 12-year cycle. The original list was written on stone in Greek and eventually translated into Old Bulgarian. It is the main source of information about the dynastic history of the Proto-Bulgarians.

NATIONAL ALLIANCE (NA)/Naroden Sgovor (NS). Rightist conspiratorial organization founded in March 1922, uniting conservative politicians and reservists who were discontented with **Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski** and his **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** government. The NA leader was **Aleksandŭr Tsankov**. Together with the **Military League**, the NA carried out the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**, putting an end to the BANU regime. In spite of the leadership's intentions, the NA never developed into a mass organization. On 10 August 1923, the NA joined the **Democratic Alliance (DA)**.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (NA)/Narodno Sŭbranie (NS). Unicameral collective and collegial political institution; the parliament. The 1879 **Tŭrnovo Constitution** granted the **Grand National Assembly (GNA)** constituent power, and the Ordinary National Assembly (NA), commonly National Assembly (NA), legislative power.

The NA is convened by the head of state. It passes bills, votes on new governments, approves state taxes and government loans, and controls the state budget. Ministers are responsible to the NA. Although officially the highest political authority in the country, throughout the communist period its function was symbolic, since nearly all representatives in the NA were members of the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** or the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** who executed decisions made preliminarily by the **BCP Politburo**. After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, the NA recovered its original legislative functions, which were further defined by the 1991 **constitution** of Bulgaria as the highest legislative body in the state. The NA can dismiss a cabinet after a no-confidence motion supported by the plenary NA. If the cabinet itself introduces a motion of no confidence, a majority of the NA members present suffices. The first NA was formed immediately after independence in 1878.

The 36th NA, which resulted from the 13 October 1991 **parliamentary elections**, met for the first time on 4 November 1991 and consisted of 240 representatives spread over five factions: the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)** faction, led by Nora Ananieva, with 106 seats, reduced to 100 by the end of the term; the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** faction, led by Stefan Savov, which had lost 84 of its 110 representatives by the end of the term; the **Movement**

for Rights and Freedoms (MRF), led by Ahmed Dogan, which had declined from 24 to 19; the New Union for Democracy (NUD), which emerged only at the beginning of 1994 and had 17 representatives, the leadership changing repeatedly; and the Parliamentary Union of Independents (PUI), led by Ivan Pushkarov. It ended on 11 October 1994.

The 37th NA was established after the 18 December 1994 elections and began its activities on 12 January 1995. The seats were distributed as follows. The BSP had 125 seats, 12 of which were occupied by the Alliance for Social Democracy (ASD), 5 by the Political Club-Ekoglasnost (PC-Ekoglasnost), 5 by the **Provincial Committees for the Defense of the National Interests** (PCDNI), 5 by the nonaffiliated led by **Blagovest Sendov**, and 4 by the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Aleksandûr Stamboliyski** (BANU-Aleksandûr Stamboliyski). The UDF had 69 seats, 9 of which were occupied by the **Radical Democratic Party**, (RDP) 8 by the Conservative Ecological Party, 6 by the **National Club for Democracy** (NCDN), 5 by the **Social Democratic Party** (SDP), 5 by the Bulgarian Democratic Forum (BDF), 4 by the Independent Union-Ekoglasnost (IU-Ekoglasnost), 4 by the United Christian Democratic Center, 3 by the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Nikola Petkov** (BANU-Nikola Petkov), 2 by the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Associations** (IMRO-UMA); and a number of less important, smaller UDF constituent members with 1 seat each. The National Union (NU) had 18 seats, 13 of which were occupied by the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU), 2 by the **Democratic Party** (DP), 2 by the **Radical Democratic Party** (RDP) defectors, and 1 by a **United Christian Democratic Center** (UCDC) defector. The **Bulgarian Business Bloc** (BBB) obtained 13 seats. In the 37th NA, 148 members were new; the others had served before. It resigned on 13 February 1997.

The 38th NA was established on May 7 1997 after the early parliamentary elections on 19 April 1997. It ceased activities on 5 July 2001. The **United Democratic Forces** (Uddf) gained 137 seats, the BSP 58, the MRF 19, Bulgarian Euro-Left 14, and the BBB 12.

The 39th NA, resulting from the 17 June 2001 parliamentary elections, began activities on 5 July 2001. The **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS) obtained 120 seats, the Uddf 49, the

Coalition for Bulgaria (CB) 48, the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF) 20; and the remaining parties 15.

The 40th NA began on 11 July 2005, after the 25 June parliamentary elections. The CFB had 82 seats, the NMSS 53, the MRF 34, the newcomer *Attack* 21 (but lost one seat by the end of July 2005 due to the defection of one of its MPs), the UdDF 20, **Ivan Kostov's Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria** (DBS) 17, **Stefan Sofiyanski's Union of Free Democrats** (UFD) 13. The other parties did not pass the electoral threshold.

NATIONAL AWAKENING. In Bulgaria usually called—with an even more inappropriate term—“Renaissance” (*vûzrazhdane*), suggesting some kind of similarity with the Renaissance in Western Europe. In fact, during the **National Awakening** period the Bulgarian ethnic community was neither awakened nor reborn (after having been “clinically dead” during the **Ottoman** period), but it emerged for the first time in history as a modern, ethnic nation, striving for national independence. This was due to a complex of economic, social, political and cultural factors that was more or less common to the whole of the Balkans: increased commercial contacts with Western Europe, in which Bulgarians took an ever-increasing larger part; burgeoning economic activity, resulting in the emergence of a Bulgarian petty bourgeoisie; growing political assertiveness of this new class, boosted by the *Tanzimat* (democratization process), which the Ottoman Empire had carried out under Western pressure; the influence of novel Western political ideas, more specifically the idea of the nation state, penetrating Bulgaria mainly via **Greece** and **Serbia** and later via **Russia**; Westernization of Ottoman society, which involved not only adopting Western lifestyle (*alafranga*) and artistic genres but also a radical mental shift from a medieval, religious perception of the world to a modern positivist, pragmatic approach.

By far the most important role in this process was played by the Bulgarian middle class—manufacturers and merchants, teachers, and journalists who in general were in favor of a reformist strategy: passing through economic development and cultural elevation to a negotiated, democratic solution of the political problems. Typical of this strategy was the so-called **church struggle**, which dominated the national liberation movement for many decades. Violent methods like

the *cheta* movement and (the preparation of) massive uprisings (the **April 1876 Uprising**), resorted to by a small minority of extremists—although highly focused on in Bulgarian historiography—accelerated the achievement of the final political goal—national independence. However, their strategy of provoking Ottoman retaliations with a view to a foreign (Russian) military intervention endangered if not deliberately sacrificed the lives of many thousands.

NATIONAL CATASTROPHES. Some Bulgarian historians conceive the history of modern Bulgaria as a series of “national catastrophes.” Some of them consider the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**, which “dismembered” Bulgaria, as a first national catastrophe. It is, however, generally accepted that the first real national catastrophe occurred after the **Balkan Wars** when the 1913 **Treaty of Bucharest** assigned only a small part of **Macedonia** to Bulgaria. Moreover, according to the same treaty, Bulgaria was forced to cede Southern **Dobrudja** to **Romania**. The 1913 **Treaty of Istanbul** restored the Ottoman domination over the **Adrianople region**. As a result of these territorial changes, many thousands of Bulgarian refugees fled into Bulgaria.

A second national catastrophe struck Bulgaria after **World War I** as a result of the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly**. Bulgaria had to cede the **Western Districts** to **Yugoslavia**; Western **Thrace**, Bulgaria’s outlet to the Aegean Sea, was transferred to **Greece** at the Conference of San Remo in 1920. In addition to these territorial losses, Bulgaria had to pay enormous reparations to its neighbors, and to Yugoslavia in particular: 2.25 billion gold francs (the amount was reduced considerably later), thousands of tons of raw materials, and tens of thousands of head of cattle. However, the fact that Macedonia, which had been occupied during the war, was lost again was considered by Bulgarian nationalists to be the greatest catastrophe. The outcome of **World War II** is not considered a catastrophe, although all of territories in Macedonia and Thrace that had been occupied during the war had to be returned. Actually, the Bulgarians had expected worse after having supported the Germans. On the other hand, communist rule, established in September 1944 and lauded as the apogee in Bulgarian history by the communist leaders, has since the fall of that regime in November 1989 been branded by anti-communist publicists as the latest national catastrophe.

NATIONAL CLUB FOR DEMOCRACY. *See* CLUB FOR GLASSNOST AND DEMOCRACY.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF NATIONAL INTERESTS (NCDNI). *See* PROVINCIAL COMMITTEES FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE NATIONAL INTERESTS.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP. Consultative body established in 1990 under the name of National Tripartite Council for Coordinating the Social Interests. Its task was to maintain social peace through negotiations on economic and social issues among the government, the **labor unions**, and representatives of state and private enterprises. Considered to be “corporatist” and illegitimately influencing government decision-making, it was actually disbanded by the **Filip Dimitrov cabinet** in 1992 after both major labor unions—*Podkrepa* and the **Confederation of Independent Labor Unions in Bulgaria** (CILUB)—were excluded. The **Lyuben Berov cabinet** restored it in 1993, though with limited powers, under the name of National Council on Social Partnership.

NATIONAL HOLIDAY. During the communist period, 9 September, the anniversary of the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, was Bulgaria's national holiday. From 1990 on, the national holiday has been celebrated on 3 March, the anniversary of the 1878 **Treaty of San Stefano**, as it was before the communists seized power.

NATIONAL LIBERAL PARTY (NLP)/NATSIONALLIBERALNA PARTIYA (NLP). Founded on 29 November 1920 when the Liberal Party-Radoslavists, the **People's Liberal Party-Stambolovists**, and the small Young Liberal Party merged. It defended the interests of wealthy landowners, industrialists, and bankers. During **World War I**, the formerly independent parties constituting the NLP had been overtly pro-German, which rendered cooperation with the newly formed NLP distasteful to the other parties. Nevertheless, they worked together to oppose and finally overthrow the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) government of **Aleksandûr Stamboliyski** by means of the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**. During the **September 1923 Uprising**, the NLP blamed **Aleksandûr**

Tsankov for his leniency toward the rebels. In the 23 November 1923 elections, the NLP recovered, gaining 11% of the vote. Later, the NLP splintered into a number of smaller parties and factions.

NATIONAL MOVEMENT *EKOGLASNOST*. *See EKOGLASNOST.*

NATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS (NMRF)/NATSIONALNO DVIZHENIE ZA PRAVA I SVOBODI (NDPS). “Turkish” party founded by **Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF)** defector Gyuner Tahir after a disagreement about the MRF’s cooperation with the **Union for Democratic Forces (UDF)**. On the eve of the June 2005 **parliamentary elections**, the NMRF joined the **Coalition of the Rose (COR)**. Although the NMRF set itself up as an alternative to the MRF, it performed poorly, while the MRF was particularly successful.

NATIONAL MOVEMENT SIMEON THE SECOND (NMSS)/NATSIONALNO DVIZHENIE SIMEON VTORI (NDSV). Founded on 6 April 2001 by supporters of the former Bulgarian tsar **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha**, with Simeon himself participating. The NMSS was in favor of the monarchy but counted in particular on the supposed international contacts that Simeon reportedly had that might help attract foreign investors. In general, the emergence of a centrist party, which could put an end to the paralyzing polarization between the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)** and the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** was welcomed by many observers. Due to some problems with the movement’s registration forms, the NMSS could not participate in the June 2001 elections as a separate party, and the candidates ran on tickets of the small and insignificant Movement of the Bulgarian Women (MBW) or the **Movement for National Revival-Oborishte (MNR-Oborishte)**. In addition, most of the NMSS candidates were political newcomers, largely unknown to the electorate and lacking experience. In spite of all this, the NMSS won nearly 43% of the vote and formed the core of a new coalition government, which came to power on 24 July 2001. In summer 2004, it lost 23 of its 120 seats in the **National Assembly (NA)** when the faction **New Era** broke away. In the June 2005 parliamentary elections, the NMSS was de-

feated by the BSP, although it succeeded in winning more than 20% of the vote.

NATIONAL PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT (NPM)/NATSIONALNO PATRIOTICHNO DVIZHENIE (NPD). *See* ZHORZH GANCHEV.

NATIONAL PARTY (NP)/NARODNA PARTIYA (NP). (1) Also called Populist Party (Narodnyashka Partiya). Founded in 1894 by **Konstantin Stoilov** and consisting of members of the former **Conservative Party** (CP) and the **Eastern Rumelian National Party**. *See* (2), *below*. The NP was in favor of accelerating the economic development of Bulgaria, establishing good relations with Balkan neighbors, and restoring diplomatic relations with Russia. It supported the **foreign policy** of Tsar **Ferdinand** during **World War I** and consequently was held responsible for the second **national catastrophe**. As a result, the role of the NP was played out in 1919.

(2) The counterpart of the National Party (1) in Eastern Rumelia; more commonly called Unionist Party (UP). The UP advocated the **union of Eastern Rumelia** with the **Principality of Bulgaria** but was hesitant and thus was branded by the more decisive Liberal Party (LP) the “pseudo-unionist Party.” After the union was completed in 1885, the UP was dissolved; its members joined the NP (1) in the Principality.

NATIONAL SOCIAL MOVEMENT (NSM)/Narodno Sotsialno Dvizhenie (NSD). Political organization, founded on 15 May 1932 by rightist defectors of the **Democratic Alliance** (DA), led by **Aleksandŭr Tsankov**. The NSM was modeled after the Italian and later German fascist mass organizations; they were in favor of an authoritarian regime, state control over the labor unions and the media, and state intervention in the economy. Unlike the German Nazis, they were not anti-Semitic. In 1934, the NSM was joined by members of **Zveno** and rightist **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) members. At the communal elections in January 1934, the NSM gained 11% of the votes, which marked the peak of its success. After the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**, the NSM was forbidden, as were all other political parties. Some of its members—Tsankov in particular—remained influential and played important roles in the establishment

of Tsar **Boris III's personal regime**. In 1936, former NSM politicians attempted to create a kind of rightist coalition that was opposed to the democratic and communist anti-government forces. After the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, all of the leading NSM members who did not manage to leave the country were arrested and executed.

NEDELICHEV, MIHAIL (1942–). Born in Sofia on 14 July 1942. Literary critic, editor, university teacher, and author of a number of books on Bulgarian history and **literature**. He was the cofounder of the renewed **Radical Democratic Party (RDP)** and one of its representatives in the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** National Coordinating Council. In 1991–1992, he was UDF spokesperson. As a discerning and eloquent speaker, defending strongly anti-communist and nationalist positions, he gained considerable popularity and influence, especially among the urban intelligentsia. He left the UDF in 1993 and is currently a member of the **Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)** and editor-in-chief of the *Democratic Review (Demokraticheski pregled)*.

NEOFIT OF HILENDAR (ABOUT 1785–1848). Nicknamed *Bozveli*, the “fierce.” Writer and prominent participant in the **church struggle**. He was born in Kotel, where he probably received his first education with **Sofroniy of Vratsa**. At the age of 20, he moved to the Hilendar Monastery on Mount **Athos** (now in **Greece**). In 1813–1814 he went to Svishtov as a mendicant friar, where he worked as a teacher for 20 years. During a journey in **Serbia**, he was influenced by the ideas of the famous Serbian Enlightenment activist Dositej Obradović. In 1835, he published, together with Emanuil Vaskidovich, one of the first Bulgarian primers. In 1839, he moved to **Istanbul**, where he engaged in the struggle for a Bulgarian church, independent of the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**. Because of these activities, he was exiled to Mount Athos in 1841 and escaped in 1844. He then returned to Istanbul to resume his former political work, writing petitions and pamphlets against the Greek clergy. In 1845, he was again exiled to Mount Athos, where he died on 4 June 1848.

During his exiles, he wrote a number of “dialogues,” the best known of which is *Lament of Poor Mother Bulgaria (Plach bednyja Mati Bolgarija)*—a verbose and dreary complaint about the **Greek**

ecclesiastic dominance and a plea for intellectual freedom. As Neofit of Hilendar wrote in an odd and archaic Bulgarian and had no literary talent whatsoever, his work is now of historical interest only.

NEOFIT OF RILA (ca 1793–1881). Real name: Nikola Poppetrov Benin. Grammarian and teacher. Born in Bansko, he received his early education from his father and then in the **Rila Monastery**, where he became a monk and an icon painter. He completed his education in the **Greek** school in Melnik. In 1834, he went to **Bucharest** to prepare as a teacher at the first Bulgarian secular school in **Gabrovo**, which was to open its doors in 1835. Neofit became acquainted with the Bell-Lancaster system of teaching, wrote a *Bûlgarska gramatika* (*Bulgarian grammar*, 1835) and devised didactic tools for his future pupils. In 1835, he was appointed head teacher of the Gabrovo gymnasium. He introduced the Bell-Lancaster system and Bulgarian as the **language** of instruction (and not Greek, which was still common in Bulgaria then). In 1837–1839, he taught in **Koprivshitsa**, applying the same method; he then returned to the Rila Monastery. In 1848–1852, he lectured on Church Slavonic at the famous Theological High School on the isle of Halki near **Istanbul**. He wrote a large number of primers, manuals, hagiographies, and services, and translated the New Testament. His major achievements are his *Bulgarian Grammar*, *Hristomatiya slavyanskogo yazika* (*Anthology of the Slavic Language*, 1852), and a Bulgarian-Church Slavonic-Greek dictionary (1875). Curiously, he defended a rather archaic form of Bulgarian as a standard language and kept aside from the **church struggle**.

NESEBÛR. City on the **Black Sea** coast, founded by **Greek** colonists in the sixth century BC, and located on a small peninsula where earlier **Thracians** had settled. Nesebûr was one of the main Black Sea harbors in antiquity, when it was called Mesembria. In the Middle Ages, it was repeatedly and alternately conquered and lost by the **Byzantines** and the Bulgarians. In 1366, it was destroyed by the Crusaders, led by Amadeus VI of Savoy. About 1453, it was taken by the **Ottomans**, who demolished the city walls. It had a Greek population until the beginning of the 20th century.

In Nesebûr, there are at least seven extraordinarily beautiful small Byzantine churches, some of which have been carefully restored and

serve as icon museums or exhibition halls; the others are picturesque ruins. Of particular interest is the decoration of the outer walls with red bricks of different shades, forming blind niches or geometrical figures, and with small enamel bowls. Nesebûr is known as one of the most charming cities in Bulgaria and is one of the major Bulgarian **tourist** attractions.

NEUILLY, TREATY OF (1919). Signed on 27 November 1919 in the Paris suburb of Neuilly, the Treaty of Neuilly is one of the agreements made during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919–1920 after **World War I**. These agreements established the new borders of the European states, some of which were newly established (**Yugoslavia**, Czechoslovakia, Poland). In addition, they defined the amount of reparations to be paid by the defeated Central Powers and their allies and the size of their future armed forces among other issues. The Treaty of Neuilly related to the borders and liabilities of Bulgaria. **Western Thrace**, with its profitable tobacco fields, provisionally became a protectorate of the Entente Powers; when it was finally allotted to **Greece** in 1920 by the Conference of San Remo, Bulgaria lost its economically important access to the Aegean. Four small areas, the so-called **Western Districts**, were ceded to Yugoslavia. The fertile Southern **Dobrudja**, re-annexed by Bulgaria during the war, was returned to its former possessor, **Romania**. Bulgaria lost 8,690 square kilometers of its 1912 territory and had to pay reparations in the amount of 2.250 billion gold francs to the Entente members within 37 years—an absurd sum that wisely was reduced in the following years. In addition, Greece, Romania, and **Serbia** had demanded and received huge amounts of raw materials and tens of thousands of head of cattle to compensate for their losses during the war. Bulgaria was not allowed to have an **army**; the voluntary police force was limited to 33,000 members, consisting of 20,000 troops, 10,000 gendarmes, and 3,000 border police. The Treaty of Neuilly was supplemented by an agreement on the voluntary exchange of minorities, which enabled Greece to fob off at least a part of its Slavic minority onto Bulgaria. The Treaty of Neuilly coupled with the demographic and economic losses suffered during the war itself is regarded by Bulgarian historians as the second “**national catastrophe**.” *See also* POPULATION EXCHANGES; MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

NEW CHOICE (NC)/Nov Izbor (NI). Parliamentary group, consisting of 10 members of Parliament, which emerged during the **Lyuben Berov cabinet** around **Dimităr Ludzhev** and **Ivan Pushkarov**. The group worked closely with the **Center for New Politics** and later with **New Politics (NP)**. It considers itself to be a liberal formation. After the resignation of the Berov cabinet in September 1994, its political importance has been largely limited to the performances of its leader Ludzhev. In 1997, it joined the **Union for National Salvation (UNS)**.

NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM (NEM). Communist economic reform program, which started in 1979 and went on until the mid-1980s, when it finally proved to be ineffective and was succeeded by a new economic reform plan adopted by the 1987 July plenum. The NEM was first applied to **agriculture** and **foreign trade** and later to **industry**. It introduced some free-market mechanisms—prices, profits, interest rates, and credit—into an **economy** that remained centrally planned, mainly by providing financial accountability not only on the level of the enterprises (with a view to creating a certain degree of self-regulation) but also on the level of the so-called brigades, the smallest workers' units. The regulating role of the State Planning Commission was limited and was partly transferred to the National Bank, which granted credits to the self-financing enterprises. A minimum of targets were imposed on the enterprises. Wages and salaries were to depend on the earnings of the enterprise or on the productivity of the brigade.

With the NEM, small enterprises in particular performed well. The larger enterprises, however, did not succeed in shaking off the burden of state bureaucracy. Moreover, the NEM had to cope with a worldwide economic recession and the rise in energy costs in the 1980s. The linkage of profits and wages made the NEM extremely unpopular with the workers, since in reality profits depended on many factors other than productivity alone, and productivity was often thwarted by bureaucratic procedures.

NEW ERA (NE)/NOVO VREME (NV). Founded on 1 October 1999 as a pressure group of “angry young people,” aiming at “liberating the potential of civil society from the hold of the state.” On 10 April

2003, the NE created a discussion club, consisting of 11 of the members from the **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS). Among the issues on which the NE focused were transparency of the state institutions, control over the state budget, and changes in the electoral system. On 10 March 2004, the NE parliamentary group was formed, which was transformed into an independent political party on 10 July 2004. **Emil Koshlukov** was elected chair. The NE was supposed to become a serious threat to the NMSS in the June 2005 **parliamentary elections**; however, it performed poorly.

NEW LEFT/NOVA LEVICA. *See* COALITION FOR BULGARIA.

NEW MARTYRS. Christians, killed by the Turks because of their faith, were sometimes canonized and venerated as “new martyrs” or “new saints”—to distinguish them from the older, canonical and ecumenical saints. Pope Peyo wrote a hagiography and a mass for the New (martyr) Georgi of Sofia—a goldsmith from Kratovo who at the beginning of the 16th century settled in **Sofia** to escape *devshirme*. There the local **Turks** wanted to convert him to **Islam**; when he refused, he was sentenced to death and was burned at the stake. The story of his heroic death reached even Novgorod and Pskov in Russia, where another hagiography and a mass for Georgi of Sofia were written. About the same time, the Newest (martyr) Georgi of Sofia was hanged by the Turks for the same reason, and the New Nikola of Sofia was stoned to death, as can be read in his hagiography, written by Matey the Secretary. The hagiographies of the new martyrs contain interesting information about daily life under **Ottoman** rule.

NEW POLITICS (NP)/NOVA POLITIKA (NP). After leaving the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) in mid-1993, **Dimitŭr Ludzhev** founded the Center for New Politics (CNP), which was intended to be a political research institute that would be accessible to members of all parties. However, at the CNP National Conference on 11–12 December 1993, it was decided to found a new political party, named **New Politics** (NP). The NP was in favor of reforming the parliamentary and electoral systems, and of increasing presidential power, in order to establish a more stable political system. As a party, it aimed at developing into a large centrist political bloc that could fill

the gap between the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) and the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). The NP was expected to be an attractive alternative for the many discontented UDF members and for reformist BSP dissidents. The NP was said to be supported by President **Zhelyo Zhelev** himself. The CNP joined the New Union for Democracy (NUD) at the beginning of 1993; the NP left the NUD in 1994 for **Ivan Pushkarov's** Union for Democracy (UD). The 18 December 1994 election results fell short of expectations.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO). After the dissolution of the **Warsaw Pact**, Bulgaria needed to look for a new national security policy. One option appeared to be joining NATO. Not only the Atlantic Club (an organization of pro-NATO Bulgarian politicians, among whom was **Solomon Pasi**), but even Minister of Defense **Dobri Dzhurov** were in favor of this solution. The question was repeatedly discussed by several Bulgarian government representatives and NATO officials in the course of 1990 and 1991. In mid-June 1991, NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner visited Bulgaria and conveyed NATO's readiness to establish close relations and to cooperate militarily with Bulgaria. However, the question of Bulgaria's membership in NATO was not raised at that time since NATO had not accepted new members recently. On 14 February 1994, President **Zhelyo Zhelev** signed the Partnership for Peace agreement, which provided for the close military cooperation of several East European countries with NATO without their being formal members. On that occasion, he pointed out that Bulgaria's joining the Partnership for Peace was not aimed against Russia but was nevertheless considered as a transitional stage to full NATO membership in the future. On 9 May 1994, Bulgaria was granted the status of observer and security partner in the West European Union (WEU).

The NATO military intervention in the former **Yugoslavia** in 1999 offered an opportunity for the Bulgarian government to demonstrate its readiness to cooperate. On 4 May, the **National Assembly** (NA) approved the request by NATO to allow limited use of the country's airspace for the campaign—despite the fact that public opinion, supported by the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), was opposed to it, especially after five NATO missiles landed by mistake on Bulgarian

territory, the last on a house in a Sofia suburb. In June, Bulgaria and NATO reached an agreement on the unlimited access of NATO troops in the framework of operation *Joint Guardian*.

Among the requirements that Bulgaria had to meet to be accepted as a NATO member state was the demolition of its SS-23 Scud missiles, which was completed in October 2002 with the financial support and technical assistance of the **United States**. On 21 November 2002, NATO finally invited Bulgaria to begin negotiations with a view to joining the organization, even after the discovery of Bulgarian arms deliveries to **Iraq** had risked upsetting the deal at the very last moment. On 2 April 2004, Bulgaria was accepted as a new NATO member. Although the adjustment of the Bulgarian **army** and armaments would be a huge burden on the state budget, it was expected that Bulgaria's membership in NATO would enhance foreign confidence and attract investors.

NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS. The first Bulgarian nuclear plant was built in the neighborhood of the town of Kozloduy on the **Danube**, close to the **Romanian** border. The construction of the plant began in 1969; the first reactor was started up in 1974, followed a year later by the second one. By the end of the 1980s, two more reactors were put into operation. With its annual production of 2.6 billion kilowatt-hours, the Kozloduy nuclear plant provided Bulgaria with 40% of its electric energy and employed 6,500 people in the impoverished Danube region. However, the plant has proved to be very unsafe; in 1977, 1982, and 1983, nuclear catastrophes were avoided at the very last moment. On 28 June 1990, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna insisted that the power plant be closed down because of its deplorable state. In the following years, the reactors were repeatedly put out of operation because of leakages and other accidents. The danger of the plant generated serious diplomatic problems with Romania and weakened the position of Bulgaria in protesting against the air pollution in the region of **Ruse** that was caused by Romanian chemical plants. In 1992, the Kozloduy plant was again criticized by the IAEA for its inadequate management and maintenance, and the G-7 demanded that it be closed.

In 1999, the Bulgarian government reached agreement with the **European Union (EU)** that two of the reactors would be shut down

in 2003 and two more by the end of 2006. Reactors one and two were closed by the end of 2002. Having invested US\$200 million to eliminate the shortcomings of reactors three and four, the Bulgarian government announced in September 2002 that it would not shut them down before an EU commission had inspected them, especially since an IAEA inspection team had approved of the level of improvements made and judged that “the safety measures . . . exceed those required to ensure the operation and the seismic safety of the power station.” The **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), a Civic Committee in Defense of the Kozloduy Power Plant, and the powerful Bulgarian nuclear engineering lobby have vehemently protested the decommissioning of the plant, considering it a question of national interest. Since Bulgaria produces 45% of all electricity consumed in the Balkans, it was assumed that other electricity exporters like France and Germany might have an interest in closing down the Kozloduy plant. EU Enlargement Commissioner Günter Verheugen warned that Bulgaria’s stance might delay its accession to the EU. Finally, on 19 November 2002, it was agreed that reactors three and four would be closed by the end of 2006—a decision that was declared illegal by the Bulgarian Supreme Court in January 2003.

The construction of a second nuclear power plant in the vicinity of the village of Belene on the Danube was started in the 1980s. Due to public protests against a second Chernobyl-type nuclear plant in Bulgaria (with the one in Kozloduy already causing continual problems), it was decided in July 1991 to convert the Belene power plant to natural gas. However, in April 2005, the cabinet adopted the final decision to resume construction of a nuclear power plant, using light water technology, to be completed by 2010.

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OBORISHTE. Literally: Place for cattle-sheds. Area in the forest near Panagyurishte. From 13 to 16 April 1876, about 65 leaders of local revolutionary committees from throughout central Bulgaria gathered there to discuss preparations for the imminent anti-Ottoman rebellion known as the **April 1876 Uprising**. The aims, strategy, and program of the national liberation movement were defined; the commanders

of the military operations were chosen; and the date on which the insurrection should occur (1 May) was agreed upon. **Georgi Benkovski** imposed himself as the leader of the uprising. *Oborishte* is now a sacred place where patriotic Bulgarians go on pilgrimage, and it is often referred to in order to boost patriotic feelings. *See also* MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL REVIVAL-*OBORISHTE*.

OHRID AUTOCEPHALOUS ARCHBISHOPRIC. Ohrid is a city in the south of the **Republic of Macedonia**. Created by the Byzantine emperor **Basil II** in 1018, the Ohrid archbishopric was formally subordinate to the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**; in fact it was independent (autocephalous) and responsible only to the emperor. It contained dioceses in central and northern **Macedonia**. Because of its independence and the prestige it enjoyed, it was often illegitimately called the Patriarchate of Ohrid. After the **Ottomans** created the *Rum milleti* in 1453, bringing all of the Balkan “national” Orthodox churches together under the rule of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Ohrid archbishopric not only retained its autonomy but even expanded territorially, encompassing some of the Bulgarian and all of the Serb dioceses as well. This, however, did not prevent it from being Hellenized, as were the bishoprics under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. In 1557, the Serb dioceses were detached and were incorporated into the restored **Serbian** Patriarchate of Peć. In 1767, the Ohrid autocephalous archbishopric was abolished and was incorporated into the Patriarchate of Constantinople. During the **church struggle**, some Bulgarians in Macedonia demanded that the Ohrid archbishopric be restored as a Bulgarian national church. The Bulgarian community in Istanbul preferred the establishment of a **Bulgarian Exarchate** with its seat in the capital of the **Ottoman Empire, Istanbul**, however, taking into account **Greek** opposition to this proposal and having its own reasons as well.

OMURTAG (? –831). **Proto-Bulgarian** khan from 816 until his death. Son and successor of **Krum**. He succeeded in consolidating his father’s conquests in **Thrace**, pursuing of policy of good neighborliness with the **Byzantine Empire**. In 821, he even helped the Byzantines suppress the uprising of Thomas the Slave in Asia Minor. In the west, he crushed the uprising of the Slavic tribes that wanted to sep-

arate from the Bulgarian Empire. His most important achievement is the centralization of the Bulgarian state institutions, merging Proto-Bulgarians and **Slavs** and involving the aristocracy in the administration of his realm. During his rule, the capital city of Pliska, which had been burned down by the Byzantines in 811, was reconstructed and embellished with a palace, a temple, and other buildings. Omurtag also erected a number of fortresses along the Tisa and the **Danube** Rivers. Inscriptions in stone pillars are witnesses of his building activities.

ORANGE GUARD. Official name: Agrarian National Guard. Military wing of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU). It was called the Orange Guard since orange was the identifying color of BANU. It was founded on 31 October 1922 by Rayko Daskalov. Consisting of armed units, it was originally intended to defend BANU meetings against similar armed units of other, mainly rightist or leftist, parties and to disturb the meetings organized by those parties. After **World War I**, the Orange Guard partly substituted for the **army** that the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** had prohibited Bulgaria from having. During the BANU government, from 1920 to 1923, the Orange Guard acted as a paramilitary organization, helping the authorities carry out unpopular measures and terrorizing political adversaries. **Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski** relied heavily on the Orange Guard to establish his BANU dictatorship. After the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923** and the subsequent **September 1923 Uprising**, the Orange Guard was disbanded.

ORESHARSKI, PLAMEN (1960–). Economist and politician. Born in Dupnitsa on 21 February 1960. Studied economy at the University of National and World Economy in **Sofia**. Oresharski was head of the State Treasury, of the Debt Department of the Ministry of Finance, and member of the boards of directors of various banks and funds. Since 2001, he has been an associate professor at the University of National and World Economy. Under the **Ivan Kostov** administration, he was deputy minister of finance. At the beginning of 2002, he joined the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) and was soon after elected member of the UDF National Council. In summer 2003, during the communal elections campaign, he was the UDF candidate for

mayor of Sofia, but after he allegedly had been associating with a dubious businessman, the UDF withdraw his candidacy. Eventually, he left the UDF and in August 2005, he became minister of finance in the **Sergey Stanishev cabinet**. Oresharski is generally respected for his impressive expertise in financial affairs.

ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY. Eastern variant of Christianity, as opposed to its Western counterpart, **Catholicism**; also called the Church of **Constantinople**, corresponding to the Church of Rome. The differences of dogma between both churches are minimal. However, the Orthodox Church has its own ecclesiastic organization (or organizations), its own rites and customs, and its own spiritual traditions. There is no pope, and the patriarch of Constantinople enjoys only moral authority. The original number of four eastern patriarchates (Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem) has been enlarged from the Middle Ages onward with several new, “national” patriarchates, all of which are equal. One of them is the **Bulgarian Patriarchate**. According to the 2001 census, 6,552,751 people in Bulgaria belong to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church or Bulgarian Patriarchate—that is all Bulgarians, except for the **Pomaks** who are Bulgarian-speaking **Muslims**. According to article 13 (3) of the 1991 Bulgarian Constitution, “Eastern Orthodox Christianity is considered the traditional religion in the Republic of Bulgaria.”

OSMAN PAZVANTOGLU (1758–1807). Rebellious Ottoman local potentate. Born in Vidin. Osman, taking advantage of the chaos caused by the *kûrdzhaliyas* by the end of the 18th century, conquered the fortress of **Vidin** and declared himself independent of **Istanbul**. He organized his own armed forces, minted coins, and maintained diplomatic relations with Western European countries that were involved in the Napoleonic wars. The Ottoman government launched three abortive military campaigns to subdue Osman and finally in 1799 “solved” the problem by appointing him governor of the province of Vidin. Permanent warfare with rival feudal lords led Osman into financial difficulties, and he was compelled to reduce the size of his army. He spent the last years of his life in the fortress of Vidin, where he died in bed on 27 January 1807.

OTTOMAN EMPIRE. Empire, created by the Turkish dynasty of the Ottomans, which existed from the mid-14th century until 1922. In 1453, the **Byzantine** capital Constantinople was successfully besieged and became the new capital—**Istanbul**. During the period of its most formidable expansion under the sultanate of Süleyman the Magnificent (1495–1566), the Ottoman Empire encompassed south-east Europe (including Hungary and Transylvania), Anatolia, parts of the Middle East and North Africa, and a number of Mediterranean islands. Süleyman’s rule was also a period of impressive achievements in the fields of culture and legislation. After the abortive siege of Vienna in 1683, the Ottoman Empire began to be “rolled back”: it lost Hungary and Transylvania by the end of the 17th century; later in the 19th century **Greece**, **Serbia**, Bulgaria, and Bosnia-Herzegovina; and at the beginning of the 20th century also Albania. From the 18th century onward, the Ottoman Empire was constantly engaged in warfare with the Russian and the Hapsburg Empires, the ultimate aim of which was the partition of the Ottoman territories. The Western powers were in favor of the preservation of the territorial integrity of the Empire, considering it a buffer against Russian expansionism in southeast Europe, but increasingly dealt with it as with a colony. The military defeats contributed to the gradual disintegration of the classical Ottoman state institutions and their replacement by Western-like institutions, which functioned inadequately for the most part. The Ottoman Empire was finally liquidated during **World War I**, after which the Republic of Turkey was founded.

Due to its fertility and proximity to Istanbul, Bulgaria, which was conquered by the Ottomans by the end of the 14th century, became economically and strategically one of the most important Ottoman provinces. Most of the land was transformed into military fiefs or **timars**, on which the Bulgarian population worked as serf peasants. Thanks to the *millet system*, the Bulgarians enjoyed certain autonomy as Christians, and most of them preserved their faith. Due to permanent warfare, brigandage, widespread corruption, and arbitrariness of the local administrators, living conditions became worse at the beginning of the 18th century and continued to decline. The situation reached rock bottom around 1800 when the land was ravaged by the *kûrdzhaliyas*. Nevertheless, in the 19th century, Bulgaria experienced

an unprecedented economic prosperity, while the *Tanzimat* allowed the Bulgarians to increasingly participate in decision-making. Both factors were at the root of the so-called **National Awakening**.

In traditional Bulgarian historiography, the Ottoman period is usually referred to as “the Turkish yoke” or “the Turkish slavery.” The idea that the Ottoman rule was extraordinarily backward and oppressive and that the Bulgarian people offered a heroic resistance to it are basic components of the Bulgarian national mythology and of the Bulgarian national self-image. A more sophisticated interpretation is that Bulgaria, as a result of the Ottoman dominance, deviated from its “natural” historical development in the framework of European civilization. Recently, some Bulgarian historians have tried to contribute to a more realistic picture of the Ottoman period. Their work is highly valued in academic circles abroad but has had only a limited influence on the popular—and often populist—Bulgarian image of the Ottoman rule. The question is not merely academic, since it determines to a large extent the Bulgarians’ attitude toward their Turkish minority.

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PAISIY OF HILENDAR (1722–ca. 1773). Monk and first ideologist of the Bulgarian **National Awakening**. Born in Bansko in (Bulgarian) **Macedonia** in 1722. Faced with nascent Greek nationalism during his stay in the monastery of Hilendar on Mount **Athos**, Paisiy became aware of his Bulgarian national identity and of the deplorable cultural conditions in which the Bulgarians lived: those who were not illiterate were Hellenized. In his travels throughout the Balkans and in Hapsburg Serbia as a collector of funds for the monasteries on Mount Athos, he sought books containing information about the Bulgarian past, such as the works of Baronio and Orbini. His aim was to compile a history that would raise the cultural level and the national self-consciousness of the Bulgarian people. In 1762, he completed his *Istoriya slavyanobolgarskaya (History of the Bulgarian Slavs)*. Paisiy’s survey of Bulgarian history reveals certain epic qualities but has little scientific value. The most important part is the preface, in which he attempts to persuade his

compatriots to renounce the Greek language and education, to cherish their own Bulgarian **language**, and to be proud of their Bulgarian nationality. In addition, Paisiy made a great effort to distribute his manuscript personally throughout the Bulgarian lands. More than 60 copies of his *History* have come down to us. One of them was made by **Sofroniy of Vratsa**.

Paisiy's *History*, containing in broad outline the nation's cultural emancipation program, marks the beginning of the Bulgarian National Awakening. However, it took decades for ideas like Paisiy's to fully penetrate Bulgarian society and be implemented. Finally, the role that Paisiy's *History* played in the development of a Bulgarian national ideology was rather limited; it was rarely referred to by the great nationalist ideologists of the 19th century.

PARIS, PEACE TREATY OF (1947). Signed on 10 February 1947, the Paris Peace Treaty settled the postwar relations between the Axis Powers and the victorious Allies after **World War II**. During the preliminary negotiations Bulgaria, which had belonged to the Axis camp from March 1941 to September 1944, was treated as a defeated enemy. The Bulgarian representatives, **Kimon Georgiev** and **Vasil Kolarov**, pleaded for leniency, arguing that Bulgaria's participation in the military operations had been restricted to the occupation of **Western Thrace** and Yugoslav **Macedonia** and that in spite of **Germany's** pressure Bulgaria had never supplied troops for the **Russian** front. Moreover, they argued that on 4 September 1944, Bulgaria had abandoned the Germans and in the following months had participated in the war alongside the Allies. **Greece**, which had suffered the most from Bulgarian occupation, insisted that Sofia pay huge reparations and be forced to accept "strategic border corrections," but these demands were rejected by the Allies. The former Bulgarian state borders were largely restored: Bulgaria lost Western Thrace and Yugoslav Macedonia, which it had occupied during the war, but was permitted to keep Southern **Dobrudja**, formerly Romanian territory that had been acquired pursuant to the 1940 **Treaty of Craiova**. Moreover, Bulgaria had to pay reparations amounting to US\$45 million to Greece and US\$25 million to **Yugoslavia**, which were later both waived. All German assets in Bulgaria were to be handed over to the **Soviet Union**. Compared to the merciless 1919 **Treaty of**

Neuilly, which had been concluded after **World War I**, the Treaty of Paris was lenient to Bulgaria.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. Elections for a **National Assembly** (NA) or a **Grand National Assembly** (GNA) have been called in Bulgaria since the liberation from Ottoman domination in 1878. During the period of the Bulgarian kingdom (1878–1944), elections as a rule were connected with intimidation, manipulation, and fraud. After the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, elections acquired a symbolic character, since there was in fact only one party to vote for—the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), which usually recorded a turnout close to 100%. In the late 1980s, some minor reforms in the electoral system were introduced, reflecting the BCP's stated desire to establish “socialist pluralism.” For the first time since the establishment of the communist regime, voters had a choice between two or more candidates for each seat, and candidates with no party affiliation were also allowed. This innovation did not affect the power of the BCP, however, which was finally brought down by a **coup d'état on 10 November 1989**.

On 3 April 1990, the NA passed a law on the new electoral system, agreed upon during the **Roundtable Negotiations**. Half of the 400 deputies of the GNA had to be elected by a majority vote in 200 single-seat constituencies and half by proportional representation from party lists in 28 multiseat constituencies. Parties that did not exceed the 4% threshold could not win seats.

The first free elections for a GNA after **World War II** took place on 10 and 17 June 1990. Forty parties and party coalitions participated. Four hundred seats were to be distributed. About 6.4 million people, or 91% of the enfranchised citizens, voted. The elections were won by the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), due to the majority of conservative voters in the countryside. In Sofia and other big cities, the opposition **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) was more successful than the BSP. The **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU), in the past one of the most important political organizations in Bulgaria, was ousted by the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), the “Turkish party.” The UDF accused the local BSP functionaries of electoral fraud. Although this charge may have been justified, the BSP presumably would have been victorious even without fraud.

These are the percentages of the first round of voting for the 200 seats distributed proportionally; the other 200 seats were contested in individual constituencies.

**Results of the 10 and 17 June 1990
Grand National Assembly Elections**

<i>Party</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Seats</i>
BSP	47.15	211
UDF	36.21	144
MRF	8.03	23
BANU	6.02	16
Others	2.59	6
TOTAL	100.00	400

In 1991, new parliamentary and local elections were set for 29 September, but were later postponed until 13 October. Candidates for the 240 seats—the number fixed by the 1990 election law—were to be elected on the basis of a proportional-representation basis. Thirty-eight parties participated in the elections. About 80% of all franchised citizens participated in the elections, which were won by the UDF and resulted in the formation of the first postwar Bulgarian government without communist participation. As the UDF majority was rather narrow, the **Filip Dimitrov cabinet** had to resort to an informal coalition with the MRF in order to secure a comfortable majority in the NA.

Results of the 13 October 1991 National Assembly Elections

<i>Party</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Seats</i>
UDF	34.36	110
BSP	33.14	106
MRF	7.55	24
BANU	3.86	0
BANU-Nikola Petkov	3.44	0
UDF-Center	3.20	0
UDF-Liberals	2.81	0
Conf.-Kingdom of Bulgaria	1.82	0
Bulgarian Business Bloc	1.32	0
Others	8.50	0
TOTAL	100.00	240

New parliamentary elections took place on 18 December 1994. The UDF, which had been forced to resign in October 1992, had never accepted the **Lyuben Berov cabinet**, which had replaced the Filip Dimitrov cabinet, and had always insisted on early elections. The BSP succeeded in having the elections called only when returns showed that the UDF's popularity had reached rock bottom. In all, 11 coalitions and 37 parties, together with 106 other political formations, participated. In spite of the electorate's alleged aversion to politics, 75% of those entitled to vote participated in the elections.

**Results of the 18 December 1994
National Assembly Elections**

<i>Party</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Seats</i>
BSP	43.50	125
UDF	24.23	69
PU	6.50	18
MRF	5.44	15
BBB	4.70	13
Others	15.63	0
TOTAL	100.00	240

A new cabinet was formed, consisting predominantly of members of the BSP but also including members of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)**, the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Aleksandûr Stamboliyski (BANU-Aleksandûr Stamboliyski)**, *Eko-glasnost*, and independent experts, headed by **Zhan Videnov**. The Videnov cabinet's disastrous policies resulted in widespread social unrest, which made early elections inevitable. The UDF constituted the core of a new coalition, the **United Democratic Forces (Uddf)**, while **Bulgarian Euro-Left (BEL)** was a new coalition of leftist parties.

**Results of the 19 April 1997 National
Assembly Elections**

<i>Party</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Seats</i>
Uddf	52.20	137
BSP	22.00	58
MRF	7.50	19
BEL	5.50	14
BBB	4.95	12
Others	7.85	100
TOTAL	100.00	240

In spite of its impressive record of successful economic and social reforms and the promising steps toward Euro-Atlantic integration, the **Ivan Kostov cabinet** lost its popularity with the electorate since there was no substantial improvement in the standard of living and some members of the cabinet were suspected of having been involved in financial embezzlement. Since neither the BSP nor the UDF had met the expectations of the electorate, at the 17 June 2001 elections, the voters resorted to a blameless newcomer, the **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS), which provided a kind of third, centrist way between the BSP and the UDF. Because the NMSS had not succeeded in getting duly registered for the elections, their candidates ran on the tickets of the **Party of the Bulgarian Women** (PBW) and the **Movement for National Revival-*Oborishte*** (MNR-*Oborishte*). The MRF formed a coalition with **Euro-Roma**. The BSP created the **Coalition for Bulgaria** (CFB).

Results of the 17 June 2001 National Assembly Elections

<i>Party</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Seats</i>
NMSS	42.74	120
UdDF	18.18	51
CB	17.15	48
MRF (and Euro-Roma)	7.45	21
Others	14.48	
TOTAL	100.00	240

The **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**, which was formed after the convincing victory of the NMSS, was the second post-totalitarian Bulgarian cabinet to complete its mandate, which may be indicative of an increasing political stability. Although the cabinet could take credit for a number of impressive achievements, especially in the field of Euro-Atlantic integration, there was an increasing discontent among the population about social issues (price-rises, unemployment, corruption and criminality, ethnic tensions with the **Roma**) the cabinet had apparently failed to deal with satisfactorily. The elections took place on 25 June 2005. More than 20 political parties—**Attack, Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria** (DSB), NMSS—and coalitions—CFB, UdDF, and the **Bulgarian People's Union** (BPU)—bid for the voters' favor. Although the government had combined the elections with a lottery to encourage the electorate to vote, only 55.7% of the enfranchised citizens participated. The BSP won the elections, albeit less convincingly

than polls had indicated, while the NMSS unexpectedly succeeded in maintaining itself, becoming the second-largest party. Another surprise was the success of the MRF, which almost doubled its former vote, thanks mainly to the Roma support. The offspring of the former UDF—the UdDF, DSB, and UFD—lost their influence due to short-sighted divisiveness.

Results of the 25 June 2005 National Assembly elections

<i>Party</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Seats</i>
CFB	33.98	82
NMSS	21.83	53
MRF	14.07	34
<i>Attack</i>	8.93	21
UdDF	8.44	20
DSB	7.07	17
BPU	5.70	13
Total	100.00	240

The election results made it particularly difficult to form a majority coalition cabinet without the BSP and/or the NMSS and caused a lengthy political crisis, concluded by the formation of the **Stanishev cabinet**.

PARTISAN MOVEMENT. Armed struggle organized by the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) against the **personal regime** of Tsar **Boris III** and the pro-**German** line of the Bulgarian government during **World War II**. Since Bulgaria did not suffer much from the war (it was neither occupied nor involved in military operations) but had, on the contrary, benefited from it, being enabled by the Germans to annex Southern **Dobrudja**, **Western Thrace**, and (Yugoslav) **Macedonia**, there was generally little enthusiasm among the population for fighting the pro-German government. As long as the 1939 Molotov-von Ribbentrop pact was in force, even the communists interrupted their anti-Nazi agitation. However, after Germany invaded the **Soviet Union** in June 1941, the Bulgarian communists, instructed by the **Comintern**, did their utmost to end Bulgaria's support of Germany, which included providing it with raw materials and food supplies. With this end in view, acts of sabotage were committed, factories and mines were blown up, police stations and barracks were attacked, and

political opponents were assassinated. These actions resulted in a more or less continual armed conflict between the partisan units and the **army** and the police. According to Bulgarian communist records, there were 30,000 partisans in 1944; about 200,000 people helped them and/or hid them from the police. During the war, an estimated 10,000 partisans were killed. These figures may be exaggerated; neutral observers estimate the number of partisans at 10,000 at its peak in September 1944; 5,000 may have fallen. Nevertheless, the partisan army was strong enough to carry out the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944** and bring a **Fatherland Front (FF)** government to power, and to eliminate all those who might have opposed the new regime, although it would have been helpless without the Red Army's backing. In postwar Bulgaria, there was some rivalry between the communists who had participated in the partisan movement during World War II and those who lived in Moscow as political emigrants. Although party leader **Todor Zhivkov** is said to have fought with the partisans, the former emigrants seemed to have been far more influential, due to their close links with Soviet leaders.

PASI, SOLOMON (1956–). Politician. Born on 22 December 1956 in Plovdiv. He studied mathematics in Sofia, where he defended his Ph.D. thesis on mathematic logics and computer sciences in 1985. In the period 1985–1989 he openly rejected the **regeneration process**. In 1989 he was active in the opposition movement *Ekoglasnost*, co-founded the **Green Party (GP)**, and became its spokesman. In the June 1990 **elections**, he was elected member of Parliament in the Constituent **Great National Assembly (GNA)**. From 1992, he worked for Bulgaria's joining the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, first as the president of the Atlantic Club and later as the vice-president of the non-governmental organization Atlantic Association (1996–2001). In June 2001 he was elected **National Movement Simeon the Second (NMSS)** member of Parliament in **Burgas**. On 24 July 2001, he became minister of foreign affairs in the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**. In that capacity, he defended a policy of close cooperation with the **United States**, supporting the military interventions in Afghanistan and **Iraq**. Bulgaria's joining the NATO on 2 April 2004 was the crowning glory of his work.

PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE. After the small **Greek** city of **Byzantium** became **Constantinople**, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, in 330, the importance of the local diocese grew commensurately. In 381 the Constantinople bishop was recognized as second in importance after the Roman pope. In the fifth century he received the title “patriarch,” and by the end of the sixth century the specification “ecumenical” (universal) was added. Politically, the Patriarchate of Constantinople was conceived as the state church of the Byzantine Empire.

After the **Proto-Bulgarians** and the **Slavic** tribes in Bulgaria were Christianized in the 860s by Byzantine priests, their dioceses were incorporated into the Patriarchate of Constantinople until the Bulgarians created their own state church, the **Bulgarian Patriarchate**, in 927. After the Bulgarian lands had been (re)conquered by the Byzantines in 1014, the Bulgarian Patriarchate was abolished, though partly replaced with the **Ohrid autocephalous archbishopric**. In 1235, 50 years after Bulgarian independence had been restored, the patriarch of Constantinople, then residing in Nikaia, reestablished the Bulgarian Patriarchate. In 1453, after the Ottoman Turks had conquered Constantinople, Sultan Mehmet created the *Rum milleti*, the autonomous community of all Orthodox Christians in his empire, by merging the dioceses of the former Balkan (Bulgarian, **Serbian**) churches into the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which thus acquired an extent and authority it had seldom had before.

Since the patriarch and the higher clergy were as a rule **Greeks**, the whole patriarchate was gradually, though not deliberately, Hellenized, Greek becoming the language of worship, church administration, and education (which was restricted to the preparation of priests). By the end of the 18th century, with the emergence of Greek nationalism and due mainly to the pressure exerted by the **Phanariots**, the patriarchate became an instrument of Hellenization and Greek nationalist propaganda. Bulgarian resistance to this state of affairs resulted in the **church struggle**. Finally, Bulgarian ecclesiastical independence was achieved in 1872 when the sultan created the **Bulgarian Exarchate**. The Patriarchate of Constantinople declared the exarchate schismatic and only normalized its relations with the Bulgarian church 1953, when the Bulgarian Patriarchate was finally restored.

PAULICIANS. Members of a Christian dualistic heretical sect that emerged in Armenia in the seventh century. They preached the poverty, equality, and purity of apostolic Christianity. In the 10th century, Paulicians from Asia Minor, persecuted by the **Byzantine** emperor, found refuge in **Thrace**, where they were gradually Bulgarized. Their religious concepts lay at the root of the heresy of the **Bogomils**. On the eve of the **Ottoman** conquest, Paulician centers had emerged in northwest Bulgaria, too. As a result of the invasion, the Thracian Paulicians fled to the north and settled in the regions of Lovech and Svishtov. At the beginning of the 17th century, the entire Paulician population converted to **Catholicism**. The term “Paulicians” (pavlikeni) is often used as a synonym for “Catholics.”

PAVLOV, ILIYA (1960–2003). Businessman. Born on 6 August 1960 in Sofia, he graduated from the Higher Institute for Physical Culture in 1981 and became a wrestling champion; in 1983 he obtained a degree in journalism. In the late 1980s, he worked at the (communist) Ministry of Culture, in charge of international relations. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, he studied management in Great Britain and the **United States** and started a business career as a dealer in stolen cars, a smuggler, and a racketeer. However, he soon became involved in complicated international financial transactions and in gas and petrol deals with Russian firms. He founded and led the organization *Multigrup* (restructured and renamed many times) and built up an enormous financial empire in Bulgaria and abroad. His success was reportedly due to the support of his first wife’s father, a former chief of the Bulgarian (**communist**) intelligence service, and to his many connections among members of Parliament and high-ranking functionaries. Pavlov was shot to death in Sofia on 7 March 2003 in front of his office for reasons that probably had to do with unpaid debts. Although commonly regarded as a white-collar criminal, Pavlov enjoyed some popularity as an employer and as the sponsor of a well-known soccer team.

PAVLOV, KONSTANTIN (1933–). Poet. Born in Pernik on 2 April 1933. He studied law and worked as an editor at the Bulgarian radio and with several journals and publishing houses. Pavlov was the most important poet of the post-Stalin “thaw” generation—a group

of “angry young men,” who criticized the hypocrisy of the self-satisfied communist new bourgeoisie. From 1966 to 1975, the authorities forbade the publication of Pavlov’s poems. His poems were, at first glance, absurdist poems, sometimes called satires, but they reflected the state of mind of people living in conditions of hardly concealed terror. The manuscript of the collection *Keepsake of Fear* (*Spomen za straha*) was rediscovered after having “been lost” in the drawers of the Bulgarian Writer publishing house for more than 30 years. It was finally published in 1998. Pavlov’s works are the most impressive poetic testimony of 40 years of communist dictatorship.

PECHENECS. *See* KUMANS.

PEOPLE’S BLOC (PB)/Naroden Blok (NB). Political coalition formed on the eve of the parliamentary elections in June 1931, consisting of the **Democratic Party (DP)**, the **Radical Democratic Party (RDP)**, the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Vrabcha I (BANU-Vrabcha-I)**, the **National Liberal Party (NLP)**, and others. The PB won the elections with 47.6% of the vote and formed a cabinet with **Aleksandŭr Malinov** as prime minister. In October, Malinov resigned and was succeeded by **Nikola Mushanov**. The PB cabinet was the only Bulgarian government between the two world wars that was freely elected and fully constitutional. However, it was weak and performed poorly, being internally divided regarding distribution of ministerial posts. It was swept away by the **coup d’état of 19 May 1934**.

PEOPLE’S LIBERAL PARTY (PLP)/NARODNOLIBERALNA PARTIYA (NLP). Founded in 1887 by **Stefan Stambolov** and his supporters, who had broken away from the **Liberal party (LP)**, the PLP defended the interests of young industrialists and traders. It was in power from 1887 to 1894 under Stambolov, and from 1903 to 1908, and it had a minister in **Vasil Radoslavov**’s coalition government from 1913 to 1918. Actually, the PLP dominated Bulgarian politics from 1887 to the end of **World War I**. It contributed greatly to the development of Bulgarian industry and to the economy in general, helped King **Ferdinand** establish his **personal regime**, and favored a **foreign policy** oriented toward Austria and **Germany**, since it was

highly suspicious of **Russia**. After its leader, Dimitŭr Petkov, was killed in 1907, the party gradually fell apart; in 1920, after merging with the **National Liberal Party** (NLP), it actually ceased to exist.

PEOPLE'S UNION (PU)/NARODEN SŪYUZ (NS). Coalition of the **Democratic Party** (DP) and the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Nikola Petkov** (BANU-Nikola Petkov), formed in October 1994, with a view to the forthcoming December 1994 **elections**. Individual politicians such as **Elka Konstantinova** also joined the PU. In the elections, the PU succeeded in gaining 6.5% of the vote and 18 seats in the **National Assembly** (NA), becoming the third largest party in the country. The coalition also participated in the local elections in 1995. In 1996, with a view to the April 1997 parliamentary elections, the PU joined the **United Democratic Forces** (Uddf)—a decision that led to a split in the BANU-Nikola Petkov. The part that remained faithful to chair Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser was renamed **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-People's Union** (BANU-PU). The chairs of the two parties constituting the PU, **Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser** and **Stefan Savov**, acted as cochairs of the PU. After the death of Savov in 2000, Aleksandŭr Pramatarski became the chair. On the eve of the June 2005 **parliamentary elections**, the PU was dissolved; the DP and BANU-PU entered different coalitions.

PERSONAL REGIME. Term used in Bulgarian historiography to denote the authoritarian and often unconstitutional regimes that were gradually established by three Bulgarian monarchs—**Alexander Battenberg**, **Ferdinand**, and **Boris III**. Although the **National Assembly** (NA) continued to exist and function during these regimes, its powers were often limited and major political decisions were made by the tsar and his advisers or by a cabinet approved of by the tsar. Tsar Boris III stayed in the background and let the ministers and generals he had appointed act in his stead. The NA consisted of 160 politicians without overt party affiliations. Elections were called for in 1938, 1939, and 1940, but the opposition was silenced by limiting its size to some 20 representatives (of 152 in 1940). Boris's regime was often (though not correctly) characterized by communist historians as “monarcho-fascist.” Similar personal regimes were not unusual elsewhere in the Balkans in the interwar period.

PETKA (PARASKEVA) EPIVATSKA (END 10TH CENTURY).

Female hermit from Epivat in Kalikratiya in **Thrace**. After her death, she was canonized. **Ivan Asen II** brought her relics to **Veliko Tŭrnovo** after the battle of Klokotnitsa in 1230. Petka was venerated as the patron saint of the Asen dynasty; **Evtimiy of Tŭrnovo** wrote a long “life” of the Holy Petka. After Veliko Tŭrnovo was captured by the Ottomans in 1393, Petka’s relics were transferred to **Vidin**, Belgrade, and **Constantinople**. They now rest in the Circumcision of the Lord Church in Iași in Romania. Holy Petka is Bulgaria’s most beloved national saint next to **Ivan of Rila**.

PETKOV, NIKOLA (1889–1947). Politician. Born in Sofia on 21 July 1889, to the family of Dimitŭr Petkov, leader of the **People’s Liberal Party** (PLP), who was assassinated in 1907. He studied in Paris. In 1930, he joined the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU). When the party split in 1932, he became one of the leaders of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Pladne** (BANU-Pladne). When political parties were prohibited after the **coup d’état of 19 May 1934**, Petkov continued his political activities as an individual, opposing the **personal regime** of Tsar **Boris III**. In 1943 he joined the **Fatherland Front** (FF) and became a member of the first FF government after the **coup d’état of 9 September 1944**. However, Petkov with the increasing **communist** domination of Bulgarian political life and in particular over the reunited BANU. He formed his own faction, **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Nikola Petkov** (BANU-Nikola Petkov), which developed into the moving force behind the anti-communist opposition. He was arrested on a charge of “obstruction” and was hanged on 23 September 1947. Petkov was posthumously rehabilitated in January 1990.

PETROV, GYORCHE (1864–1921). Real name: Georgi Petrov Nikolov. Freedom fighter. Born in Varosh, now in the **Republic of Macedonia**, he first worked as a teacher. From 1885 on, he took part in the armed anti-Ottoman resistance and in 1893 cofounded the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO) and created a great number of revolutionary cells, mainly in what was to become Yugoslav **Macedonia**. In 1903, Petrov participated in the **Ilinden Uprising** as a *cheta* leader. After the uprising

was crushed, he retained his position as an IMARO leader. His stand with regard to the various autonomist and federalist tendencies in the organization was not always very clear. He was murdered by political opponents on 28 June 1921 in Sofia.

PETROV, PLAMEN (1966–). Politician. Born in Haskovo on 10 November 1966. He studied economics and management at Truman State University in Missouri, the University of Missouri in Columbia, and Thunderbird—the Garvin School of International Management in 1984–1994. In 1994–1995, he worked in banks and financial institutions in Chicago and New York. Returning to Bulgaria, in 1999, he founded a consortium for investments in cable television and communications. In 2001, he became a member of the economic council of the **National Movement Simeon the Second (NMSS)**. On 24 July 2001 he was included in the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet** as minister of transportation and communications.

PHANARIOTS. Members of the **Greek** aristocracy living mainly in the Phanar district in **Istanbul** (hence their name) and, from the 18th century on, holding important positions in the **Ottoman** administration, thanks to their economic power. As a rule, the patriarch of Constantinople was a Phanariot and, by extension, all members of the patriarchal clergy were often labeled as such. In 19th-century Bulgaria all Greeks (and Hellenized non-Greeks) who supported the “Great Idea” (the resurrection of the **Byzantine Empire** of which at least southern Bulgaria was to be a part as well) were called “Phanariots.” They were branded as greedy intriguers and collaborators with the Ottomans, pursuing a policy of systematic Hellenization of the Bulgarian population through worship and education. They contributed much, however, to the cultural elevation of the Bulgarians by offering them higher education, which was not available in Bulgaria before the 1830s, and by acquainting them with the ideas of the Enlightenment and of Western European nationalism. Unintentionally, they contributed considerably to the Bulgarian **National Awakening**.

PIRIN MACEDONIA. The part of **Macedonia** that was assigned to Bulgaria by the 1913 **Treaty of Bucharest**. The main urban center is Blagoevgrad, formerly called Gorna Dzhumaya.

PIRINSKI, GEORGI (1901–1992). Real name: Georgi Nikolov Zaykov. Born in Bansko on 5 August 1901, as a youngster, he became involved in the communist workers' movement. After the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**, he emigrated to the **United States**, where he resumed his political activities as a member of the American communist party. In addition, he edited a number of magazines defending the Bulgarian cause in **Macedonia** and was active in Bulgarian emigrant organizations. In 1951, he was arrested on a charge of communist activities and was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment or extradition. He returned to Bulgaria, where he held important positions in the Committee for Bulgarians Abroad and the Peace Committee. Pirinski is the author of *What I Saw and Lived through in America* (*Kakvo vidyah i prezhiyah v Amerika*, 1970), and other autobiographical books. He died in Sofia on 7 December 1992.

PIRINSKI, GEORGI (1948–). Politician. Born in New York on 10 September 1948. Son of Georgi Pirinski (Georgi Nikolov Zaykov). When he was three years old, he moved with his father to Bulgaria. He studied economics at the Karl Marx Higher Institute for Economics in Sofia. From 1974 to 1976 he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and from 1980 to 1988 at the Ministry of Foreign Relations, in both cases as a partner of **Andrey Lukanov**. Immediately after the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, he became a member of the (then still) **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Central Committee (CC)** and vice-prime minister. He retained the latter position in the second **Andrey Lukanov** cabinet, from September to November 1990. Pirinski joined the **Alliance for Social Democracy (ASD)**, a radical reformist faction in the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)**—the former BCP. Pirinski was elected vice-chair of the BSP at the 39th BSP Congress in September 1990. However, he was not reelected to the BSP Supreme Council at the 40th BSP Congress in December 1991 when he lost the fight with the conservative **Zhan Videnov** for chairmanship of the party. However, in January 1995 he was included as the only ASD member in the **Videnov cabinet** as minister of foreign affairs. In 1996, the BSP unwillingly proposed him as a candidate for president in the forthcoming elections, with the well-known archaeologist Ivan Marazov—minister of education in the Videnov cabinet—as his running mate. But the Constitutional Court, urged by the **Union**

of **Democratic Forces** (UDF) opposition, declared his candidacy null and void because he was born outside Bulgaria. Pirinski resigned as foreign minister in November 1996 in protest against the policies of the Videnov cabinet. He ran unsuccessfully against Videnov for prime minister in 21–22 December but failed to be elected by the BSP Congress. He was elected chair of the **National Assembly** (NA) on 11 July 2005.

PLISKA. First capital of the **First Bulgarian Empire**. Founded by Khan **Asparuh** at the end of the seventh century. In 893, Tsar Simeon removed the Bulgarian capital to **Preslav**. Under Byzantine rule, Pliska initially remained an important provincial center. However, the city never recovered from looting by the **Pechenegs** in the middle of the 11th century. Excavations in Pliska were initiated by **Konstantin Jireček** and others around 1900. Remnants of the walls, the palace, the church, and some minor buildings can still be seen on the **archaeological** site near the current village of Pliska.

PLOVDIV. City in Bulgarian **Thrace** with more than 300,000 inhabitants. One of Bulgaria's oldest cities. It was founded in antiquity by the Thracians, who called it Pulpudeva. In 342 BC it was conquered by the Macedonian king Philip and was reconstructed and renamed Philippopolis. After it was taken by the Romans in 45 AD, it quickly developed into an important administrative, economic, ecclesiastical, and cultural center, thanks to its location on the route from **Sofia** to **Adrianople** and **Constantinople**. The **archaeological** sites (remnants of a forum, a theater, an aqueduct, and mansions) indicate the splendor of the city at that time.

In the fifth century, the city was repeatedly looted by Huns and other groups. In the seventh century, the Thracian plain around the city was populated by **Slavs**, who called it Pŭldin, after its Thracian name. In the following centuries, the city was gradually Slavicized, although it retained its predominantly **Greek** character until the 19th century. Between 1204 and 1396, the city was repeatedly alternately won and lost by the Bulgarians, the **Byzantines**, and the Crusaders, which considerably hampered its development, but it never ceased being an important urban center. Since the Middle Ages, there have also been sizable **Armenian** and **Jewish** communities in Plovdiv.

After the Ottomans conquered the city in 1364 and consolidated their dominance in the course of the following century, Filibe, as the Turks called it, again became a major administrative and economic center. Some Ottoman buildings (mosques and a public bath) originating from that period still exist. When rice and other new crops were introduced in Thrace in the 18th century, Plovdiv developed into a center of trade in agricultural products. In the 19th century, craftsmanship and trade (especially cloak making) rapidly developed and brought great wealth to the city. The magnificent mansions in the old quarter on the “three hills” date from that period. Because the Greek influence was strong, the **church struggle** in Plovdiv was long and hard. The influence of foreign religious missions, supported by the many consulates in the city, was also considerable.

In 1878, Plovdiv became the capital of the Ottoman autonomous province of **Eastern Rumelia** that was created by the **Treaty of Berlin**. More than **Sofia**, the capital of the **Principality of Bulgaria**, the city of Plovdiv had—and still has—a sophisticated, cosmopolitan aspect. After Eastern Rumelia was united with Bulgaria in 1885, Plovdiv remained Bulgaria’s “second” capital. The Plovdiv Exhibition of Agrarian and Industrial Products, initiated in 1892, continues to exist as the Plovdiv Trade Fair and to attract international interest.

PODKREPA. *See* INDEPENDENT LABOR CONFEDERATION-*PODKREPA.*

POLITBURO. Under communist rule: political bureau of the **Central Committee (CC)** of the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, responsible for the work of the BCP between the plenary sessions of the CC, during which its members and candidate-members—all prominent party activists—were elected. The Politburo was the most powerful communist political institution and in fact ruled the country. It was augmented by a large number of secretariats and commissions that dealt with various aspects of economic, social, political, and cultural life.

POLITICAL CLUB *EKOGLASNOST*. *See* *EKOGLASNOST*.

**POLITICAL MOVEMENT-SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (PMSD)/
POLITICHESKO DVIZHENIE-SOTSIALDEMOKRATI (PDS).**

The PMSD was founded on 3 June 2000 as a new social democratic party. It supported economic reforms and European integration but insisted on social correctives. In 2001 it joined the “strategic project” **New Left**, together with the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and the **United Labor Bloc** (ULB). The PMSD participated in the 2001 and 2005 parliamentary elections as a member of the **Coalition for Bulgaria** (CFB). Chair is Nikolay Kamov. *See also* BULGARIAN EURO-LEFT.

POLITICAL PARTIES. Bulgarian political life in the first decades after the liberation in 1878 was dominated by the **Conservative Party** (CP) and by the **Liberal Party** (LP) and a small number of offshoots. By the end of the century, they were joined by a workers’ party, the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party** (BSDP), and a peasants’ party, the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU), both of which soon began splintering into factions and new parties. On the eve of **World War I**, there were approximately 10 parties, and after the war, the number increased rapidly. The formation of new factions, wings, and separate parties was not determined by ideological divergencies, but by the need of politicians to have their own organizations of supporters. Therefore, there was little organizational or ideological distinction among the various parties aside from a rough classification into “bourgeois,” “workers,” and “peasants” parties. They all had adjectives like “democratic,” “national,” “progressive,” and “radical” in their names, although these terms meant almost nothing. They formed very surprising coalitions; most parties emerged and disappeared along with their leaders. The only exception was the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), which operated under various names but showed more organizational and ideological consistency than the others. After the **coup d’état of 19 May 1934**, all political parties were banned, although politicians were allowed to continue their activities on an individual basis.

After the communist **coup d’état of 9 September 1944**, six parties or political organizations were restored: the **Bulgarian Workers’ Party** (BWP) which eventually became the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), BANU, the BSDP, the **Radical Democratic Party** (RDP), *Zveno*, and the **Democratic Party** (DP). The first five were founding members of the communist-controlled umbrella

organization **Fatherland Front** (FF). In the following years, all of the parties except for the BANU were forced to merge into the FF or were disbanded.

In the wake of Mikhail Gorbachev's reform policy in the Soviet Union, so-called **informal groups** were formed in Bulgaria, consisting of intellectuals who were critical of the system although loyal to the BCP, and which may be regarded as embryonic parties. Their activities were related to human rights and environmental issues. Early in 1990, after the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, which ushered in the end of the communist regime, the multiparty system was restored by the abolition of Article I of the (communist) **constitution** of Bulgaria that stipulated the leading role of the BCP in society. Later, the existence and functioning of political parties would be regulated by the 1991 Constitution and the Law on Political Parties. By 1989, some of the old parties were revived and a great many new ones emerged. In December 1989, a number of anti-communist parties united in a broad coalition, the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). In April 1990, the BCP was restructured and renamed the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP). All post-communist Bulgarian parties, especially BANU, suffer from the pre-1934 proclivity of endlessly splitting, "peeling off," and forming unlikely coalitions. Another phenomenon is the presence of "movements" or "organizations," that behave like political parties, and vice versa. The qualifications "leftist" and "rightist" or "conservative" and "liberal" are all but meaningless in Bulgarian political discourses.

An interesting feature of party life in contemporary Bulgaria is the prohibition, according to Article 11 (4) of the 1991 Constitution, of political formations based on ethnicity, race, or religion. Its main aim was to avoid the emergence of Turkish political parties. Nevertheless, a Turkish party, the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), was allowed in April 1992 by the Constitutional Court to act as a normal political party after it had disguised itself as a human rights movement and after considerable international pressure was exerted. **Roma** parties were eventually registered as well.

The populist **Bulgarian Business Bloc** (BBB), led by **Zhorzh Ganchev**, attracted the votes of the dissatisfied and rather desperate former BSP and UDF electorate, but it was not very successful. Disappointment with the policies of the two main forces in Bulgarian po-

litical life also explains the spectacular victory of the centrist **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS) in the June 2001 elections. In early 2005, there were more than 300 parties in Bulgaria. Among them was the newly founded *Attack*, an extreme nationalist, if not fascistic, party.

POLITIS-KALFOV AGREEMENT (1924). Agreement signed on 29 September 1924, by the ministers of foreign affairs of **Greece** and Bulgaria, Nikolaos Politis and Hristo Kalfov, respectively. The agreement regulated the situation of the “Slavophone” minority in Greek **Macedonia**, which had remained after the **population exchanges** provided by the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly**. Yugoslavia protested against the Slavic minority in Greece being “protected” by Bulgaria, which implied that they were Bulgarians, thus offering Greece an alleged reason for not ratifying the agreement.

POMAKS. Bulgarian-speaking **Muslims**. The word “pomak” may derive from the Bulgarian word *pomagach*, “helper” (in the army), but the etymology is uncertain. A more or less concentrated Pomak population is found in the **Rhodope Mountains** in southern Bulgaria (and in adjacent **Western Thrace** in **Greece**); and in northern Bulgaria (the region of Vratsa, Lovech, and Pleven) the Pomak population is more dispersed. It is estimated that there are about 270,000 Pomaks in Bulgaria and another 30,000 in Greece. The 1992 and 2001 censuses did not treat the Pomaks as a separate ethnic or religious minority.

The ancestors of the Pomaks are Bulgarians who were Islamized during the Ottoman period (1393–1878), especially in the 17th century. Most of the conversions were brought about by Muslim clerics through persuasion or resulted from continuous social pressure. There may have been instances of violent and massive conversions as well; however, the short historical note by Metodi Draginov, the main source mentioning a wide-scale use of violence by the Ottoman authorities, has proved recently to have been entirely or partly forged in the 19th century. The Pomaks speak a beautiful archaic Bulgarian dialect and have maintained some of their old Slavic (and Christian) customs. They are especially appreciated for their fascinating folk songs and impressive bagpipe music.

To the Pomaks, being Muslims often seems more important than belonging to a national community. Immediately after the 3 March 1878 **Treaty of San Stefano**, the Pomaks revolted against the establishment of a Bulgarian state that would separate them from their coreligionists in the **Ottoman Empire**. Since then, the Bulgarian state has been attempting to impose upon the Pomaks a Bulgarian national consciousness, mainly through their conversion to Christianity. In 1913–1914, after large areas with a Pomak population were annexed during **Balkan War I**, about 150,000 Pomaks “voluntarily” embraced **Orthodox Christianity**. Sometimes concessions were made, however, as in 1940 when the Pomaks were offered a muftis’ training school in Raykovo near Smolyan. However, during **World War II** repression was resumed. In 1971, the communist regime adopted the Decision Concerning the Clarifying of the Class and Party Consciousness and the Patriotic Education of the Bulgarian Muslims. Pomaks were forced by the communist regime to change their Muslim names to Bulgarian ones, and fulfilling of their religious obligations was also discouraged.

After the end of the communist regime in November 1989 and the restoration of religious freedom, the Pomaks demanded their former Muslim names back. The Bulgarian government was more willing to meet the demands of the Turks than those of the Pomaks, however, considering them Bulgarians who should have Bulgarian names. Although lately some Pomak villages have embraced Orthodox Christianity, and many Pomaks increasingly identify themselves with Bulgarianness, among other Pomaks the influence of Islam is growing, and the relations between the latter and the Turkish community in Bulgaria have strengthened. Pomaks in areas with a predominantly Turkish population reportedly have a more developed Bulgarian identity, while those in predominantly Bulgarian areas are more open to Turkish and Muslim influence. Many Bulgarians are alarmed by the Pomaks’ attraction to Islam, although the explicit identification of Bulgarianness with Orthodox Christianity and the undisguised anti-Islamic bias of most Bulgarians have only contributed to the alienation of many Pomaks from their Bulgarian compatriots.

A 2005 survey by the Bulgarian Centre for the Study of Democracy showed that only 20% of the Pomaks received secondary school

education, while for ethnic Bulgarians the figure is 53%. Some local authorities are said to discriminate against Pomaks, being reluctant to invest money in Pomak villages. *See also* REGENERATION PROCESS.

POPE JOHN PAUL II (ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF).

Mehmet Ali Ağca, the Turk who tried to assassinate Pope John Paul II on 13 May 1981, alleged that the Bulgarian secret service was behind the attempt. Although there has never been enough evidence collected to prove this Bulgarian complicity, the general belief that Pope John Paul II was considered by the East European communist leaders to be a threat to their position in Eastern Europe, in conjunction with Ağca's story, had a great impact on public opinion. The affair badly damaged Bulgaria's reputation abroad, particularly since during the investigation it was revealed that Sofia was the hub of extensive weapons and drug smuggling. These allegations largely undid the results of the public relations campaign that **Lyudmila Zhivkova** had launched at the end of the 1970s. In 1991, a new investigation was opened in Italy and the **United States**, with the cooperation of the post-communist Bulgarian government. On 12 April 1993, Minister of the Interior Viktor Mihaylov declared before the **National Assembly** (NA) that new American, French, Italian, and Russian investigations had revealed that Bulgaria had not been involved in the attempted assassination. This statement was repeated in April 1993 by President **Zhelyo Zhelev** himself. During his visit to Bulgaria in May 2002, John Paul assured the Bulgarians that he had never believed that Bulgaria was involved in the assault. However, in March 2005 an Italian magistrate declared that he had found proof in the archives of the secret services of the former German Democratic Republic that the assault had been commissioned by the Russian KGB and organized by the Bulgarian state security services. Although it would have been easy and justified to pass the buck to the communist regime, the government and the media dismissed all allegations. At the beginning of April 2005, the Bulgarian state television, with extraordinary extensiveness, covered the death and funeral of John Paul II, demonstrating Bulgaria's warm feelings for John Paul II. *See also* CATHOLICS.

POPOV CABINET (20 DECEMBER 1990 TO 5 NOVEMBER 1991). After the failure of the communist **Andrey Lukanov cabinet**, President **Zhelyo Zhelev** insisted on forming a government of national unity. The judge **Dimitûr Popov** was entrusted with this task. On 20 December 1990, he presented his cabinet to the **National Assembly** (NA). It consisted of low-profile **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) members, **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) members, unaffiliated politicians, and some **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) members. Nevertheless, it was not presented as a coalition government, but as a cabinet of experts. Its main task consisted of drafting a new **constitution** and producing legislation enabling a smooth transition to a free-market economy. The de-communization of Bulgarian society was initiated; however, it remained limited to the replacement of former communist functionaries in the ministries of defense, internal affairs, and justice, to the appointment of diplomats with no party affiliation, and to the restoration of pre-communist names of cities, streets, and squares.

See Appendix D for the composition of the Popov cabinet.

POPOV, DIMITÛR (1927–). Politician. He studied law and became a lawyer in 1950, specializing in criminal and transportation law. In 1970 Popov was appointed judge on the Sofia Municipal Court; in 1983 he was promoted to vice-president and later to president of this same court. Never having had any party affiliation, Popov was appointed secretary to the Central Election Commission dealing with the June 1990 first free **elections** after more than 40 years of communist one-party dictatorship. On 9 December 1990, President **Zhelyo Zhelev** put him in charge of forming a transitional government. The **Popov cabinet** was approved by the **National Assembly** (NA) on 20 December 1990. On 5 November 1991, after the October 1991 elections had given the majority of the vote to the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF), Popov and his government resigned. In January 1992, Popov tried to make a comeback, running for national president, but was not elected.

POPULATION EXCHANGES. Population exchange is a mostly bloodless, although not unconstrained, form of ethnic cleansing carried out by two governments by mutual agreement. By doing so,

each gets rid of its respective undesired minority and reduces the threat of mutual irredentist claims. The first population exchanges involving Bulgaria were carried out under the 1913 **Treaty of Istanbul**. Population exchanges between Bulgaria and **Greece** took place in the early 1920s as a result of the Convention for Mutual and Voluntary Emigration of Minorities, appended to the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly**. About 35,000 **Greeks** left Bulgaria for Greece, reducing the Greek presence in Bulgaria from 1.0 to 0.1%. Most Greek emigrants came from the border area and the region of **Plovdiv**. Small Greek communities have remained in such coastal towns as Burgas, **Nesebûr**, and Sozopol, and in Asenovgrad (near Plovdiv). According to Greek sources, about 66,000 Bulgarians, mainly from eastern **Macedonia**, emigrated to Bulgaria, joining the much larger number of Bulgarian refugees from Yugoslav **Macedonia**. Those who preferred to remain had to officially declare themselves to be ethnic Greeks, thus renouncing forever all minority rights. The amount of compensation to be paid by Bulgaria and Greece to the owners of the abandoned properties was revised by the **Mollov-Kafandarlis Agreement** of 1927.

The 1940 **Treaty of Craiova** provided an exchange of Bulgarian and **Romanian** minorities between Romania and Bulgaria. As many as 67,246 Bulgarians left Romania and settled in Southern **Dobrudja** or elsewhere in Bulgaria; close to 84,000 Romanians left Southern Dobrudja for Romania. *See also* EMIGRATION; IMMIGRATION.

PREOBRAZHENIE UPRISING (1903). *See* ADRIANOPLE REGION, *ILINDEN-PREOBRAZHENIE UPRISING*.

PRESIDENCY. On 3 April 1990, the function of chair of the **Council of State** was abolished and was replaced by a presidency. **Petûr Mladenov**, who had been chair of the Council of State since party leader **Todor Zhivkov**'s dismissal, was elected as the first president of post-communist Bulgaria by the **National Assembly** (NA). On 1 August 1990, the NA elected **Zhelyo Zhelev** as new president, after Mladenov had been forced to resign. According to the 12 July 1991 Constitution, the president was to be elected for a five-year term in free, direct elections, and not by the NA. In January 1992, Zhelev became the first Bulgarian president been elected in that way.

Although the president's powers are limited, his function is not merely ceremonial: he is the commander in chief of the **army**, he signs laws and international agreements; he can return a law to the NA (although he is bound to sign it after a second vote even if it has remained unchanged); he can appoint a caretaker cabinet; he grants amnesties; he calls for new elections; and he appoints Bulgarian diplomats. The president can be impeached by the NA for violating the constitution. Dismissal results from a binding pronouncement by the Constitutional Court.

The Bulgarian constitution allows some overlapping of duties between the presidency and the cabinet, especially in the fields of **foreign policy** and defense, which have caused conflicts between the president and the cabinet.

The president is assisted by a vice-president who assumes a number of his duties and replaces him in case of resignation, illness, removal, or death. The first two vice-presidents, **Atanas Semerdzhiev** and **Blaga Dimitrova**, for one reason or another resigned before their terms had expired.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. Presidential elections were a new phenomenon in Bulgarian political life. During communist rule, the state president (actually the head of the Council of State) was elected by the **National Assembly** (NA). On 17 November 1989, **Petûr Mladenov** succeeded the dismissed **Todor Zhivkov** in that capacity. On 2 April 1990, he was duly elected state president by the NA, as prescribed by a provisional agreement on a new constitutional regulation. He was subsequently forced to resign on 6 July 1990, and a **Grand National Assembly** (GNA)—after long and painful debates—elected UDF leader **Zhelyo Zhelev** state president with 284 of the 389 votes cast. The assembly also accepted Zhelev's proposal to appoint **Atanas Semerdzhiev** as vice-president.

On 12 and 19 January 1992, regular presidential elections took place, which were narrowly won by Zhelyo Zhelev and his running mate, the poet **Blaga Dimitrova**, who became vice-president. During the first round, Zhelev and Dimitrova won 44.63% of the vote; their main rivals were the teams of **Velko Vûlkanov-Rumen Vodenicharov** and **Zhorzh Ganchev-Petûr Beron** with 30.44% and 16.93% of the vote, respectively. During the second round, in which

only the two leading teams participated, Zhelev received 52.85% of the vote—a rather poor result. Vûlkanov got 30.44% and Ganchev 16.93%.

In fall 1996, the second post-totalitarian presidential elections took place. During the first round on 27 October, **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) candidate **Petûr Stoyanov** obtained 44.38% of the vote, **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) candidate Ivan Marazov—a well-known Thracologist and reformist socialist, who had replaced **Georgi Pirinski**—26.97%, and **Bulgarian Business Bloc** (BBB) candidate Zhorzh Ganchev 21.7%. During the second round on 3 November, Petûr Stoyanov won with 59.73%. Todor Kavaldzhiev, Stoyanov’s running mate, was elected vice-president. He succeeded Blaga Dimitrova, who had resigned in June 1993 and had never been replaced.

New presidential elections were called on 11 November 2001. During the first round, **Georgi Pûrvanov**, the BSP candidate, won 36.3% of the vote; incumbent Petûr Stoyanov 34.9%, and Bogomil Bonev, a former UDF minister, leader of the Citizens’ Party of Bulgaria, ousted from the cabinet by prime minister **Ivan Kostov**, 19.2%; the turnout was 41.5%. During the second round on 18 November, Pûrvanov obtained 53.3% of the vote, and Stoyanov 46.7, with a turnout of 54.5%. Stoyanov had been supported by **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha**, the new prime minister; Pûrvanov had the support of Ahmed Dogan and his **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), who disliked the idea of a UDF president. The new president was sworn in on 22 January 2002. As a result, Bulgaria was now ruled by a “communist” president and a cabinet, headed by a (former) “tsar.”

New presidential elections were to take place in fall 2006.

PRESIDIUM. *See* COUNCIL OF STATE.

PRESLAV. Second capital of the **First Bulgarian Empire**. Founded by Tsar **Simeon** in 893 on the spot where Khan **Omurtag** had built a fortified palace about 820. According to contemporary sources, it was a magnificent architectural complex with richly ornamented palaces and churches. The remnants can now be seen at the **archaeological** site south of the present-day small city of Preslav. Preslav was also

an important center of spiritual life and culture, particularly during the rule of Simeon, when many writers and copyists resided there. In 969, it was taken by the **Byzantines**, who renamed it Yoannoupolis and held it until 1086. During the **Second Bulgarian Empire**, it was an important military and administrative center, and seat of a bishopric. In 1388 Preslav was conquered by the **Ottoman Turks**, who called it Old Istanbul (Eski Stambuluk). Excavations in the medieval city were started by the end of the 19th century by **Vasil Zlatarski**. Since 1949, it has been a **museum**.

PRESS. The first Bulgarian periodical, *Philology* (*Lyuboslovie*), edited by Konstantin Fotinov (1790–1858), first appeared in 1844 in Izmir (now in Turkey). From 1846 to 1862 Ivan Bogorov (ca. 1820–1892) published the *Istanbul Herald* (*Tsarigradski Vestnik*) the most important and influential Bulgarian newspaper at that time. During the **National Awakening** period, several newspapers, most of them quite ephemeral, were published by the Bulgarian communities in Istanbul and Bucharest. The latter usually defended more radical political standpoints. All important 19th-century Bulgarian writers—**Georgi S. Rakovski**, **Petko Slaveykov**, **Lyuben Karavelov**, and **Hristo Botev**—edited newspapers or contributed to them. In addition to newspapers, other publications included literary, cultural, and scientific journals.

After the liberation in 1878, the press became increasingly polarized along political lines: newspapers defended conservative or liberal, pro-Western or pro-Russian standpoints. By the end of the 19th century, moderate and radical socialists and agrarians began publishing their own newspapers. Of the many dozens of newspapers appearing, only a few were lasting: the liberal *Freedom* (*Svoboda*, 1886–1920), *People's Rights* (*Narodni prava*, 1888–1932), and *Peace* (*Mir*, 1894–1944) of the **National Party** (NP); the *Workers' Daily* (*Rabotnicheski vestnik*, 1897–1923) of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP); *Banner* (*Pryaporets*, 1898–1932) of the **Democratic Party** (DP); *The Peasants' Banner* (*Zemedelsko zname*, 1902–1934) of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU); and the conservative *Dawn* (*Zora*, 1919–1944). They created sound journalistic traditions.

After the communist takeover in 1944, all newspapers and periodicals were published by nationalized publishing houses and con-

trolled by the BCP through compliant editor-party members. The number of publications was limited, but their circulation was impressive. The main newspapers—including *Workers' Cause* (*Rabotnichesko delo*), the “official” BCP daily which used to publish party declarations, the slightly more liberal *Fatherland Front* (*Otechestven front*), and BANU's *Peasants' Banner* (*Zemedelsko zname*)—were as a rule unanimous on all political and ideological topics and therefore rather dull. Some weeklies were somewhat more exciting: *Effigy* (*Lik*) published articles from foreign (mainly Soviet, but also Western) media in Bulgarian translation, *Parallels* (*Paraleli*) wanted to be a decent gossip magazine. The best-known literary journals were *The Flame* (*Plamûk*) and *September* (*Septemvri*); the still existing *The Contemporary* (*Sûvremennik*), specializing in foreign literature, was both audacious and sophisticated.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, freedom of the press and the introduction of the free-market economy resulted in an explosion in the number of newspapers and periodicals. In 1989, issues of 275 different newspapers were sold. In 1990, due to dramatic shortages of newsprint, many newspapers and periodicals were forced to close. The freeing of newsprint prices on 1 March 1991 and the introduction of a value-added tax on printed matter in the same period had disastrous consequences for specialized periodicals with a limited circulation. Nevertheless, in 1991, more than 700 newspapers and periodicals were available, 135 of which were private, 120 supported by one party or another, and the remainder financed by the state. Many party-affiliated publications disappeared; among the most important early survivors were the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) daily *Word*, the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) daily *Democracy*, the *Fatherland Newspaper*, and the trade unions' daily *Labor* (*Trud*). Some newcomers, like the weekly *168 Hours* (*168 chasa*) and the tabloid daily *24 Hours* (*24 chasa*), published by former *Fatherland Front* (FF) vice-editor Petûr Blûskov and *nomenklatura* member and financier Valentin Mollov, were successful. *Standard* (*Standart*) was at one time on a superior journalistic level and tried to be neutral and objective, but lack of readers eventually forced it to adopt a more popular style. Currently, *Daily* (*Dnevnik*) seems to be the most outstanding Bulgarian quality newspaper (also accessible online in Bulgarian); *Labor* and *24 Hours*,

both overwhelmingly conservative and nationalist, probably have the largest circulation. The weekly *Topic (Tema)* provides balanced information on current political events in Bulgaria and the world. *See also* RADIO AND TELEVISION.

PRINCIPALITY OF BULGARIA. The July 1878 **Treaty of Berlin** divided the territory of **Great Bulgaria**, created by the March 1878 **Treaty of San Stefano** three months earlier, into three parts: the Principality of Bulgaria, the Ottoman autonomous province of **Eastern Rumelia**, and **Macedonia**, which was fully incorporated into the **Ottoman Empire** again. The principality was an Ottoman vassal state, consisting of the northern and the western parts of present-day Bulgaria. The capital was **Sofia**. It enjoyed absolute internal autonomy, but it had to pay an annual tribute to the Ottoman Empire and was dependent on the Porte as far as its foreign policy was concerned. In 1885, the principality annexed Eastern Rumelia. On 22 September/5 October 1908, it threw off vassalage, the **union** between the principality and Eastern Rumelia was abolished, and Bulgaria as a whole became a tsar's realm. *See also* INDEPENDENCE OF BULGARIA.

PRIVATIZATION. In the years following the communist takeover in 1944, all private enterprises (including mines, banks, and cooperative enterprises) were nationalized. They were run by the state during the entire communist period. After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, the participants in the **Roundtable Negotiations** in spring 1990 agreed that the economy should be privatized again. Consequently, in 1991, a central Privatization Agency and an Agency for Foreign Investment were established, to be supervised by the cabinet and the **National Assembly (NA)**. There were about 10,000 state enterprises, varying from small ones such as restaurants and shops to huge enterprises. The privatization of the small enterprises went relatively smoothly. A quarter of them were returned to their former owners or their heirs; others were bought on the installment plan by their employees. The privatization of large state enterprises, however, was a difficult process that has not yet been completed. Sale by auction seemed the appropriate method, especially for small enterprises; for larger ones, a public offering of shares was considered as well, al-

though larger enterprises could also be sold by auction, even to foreign bidders, provided their share did not exceed 49%. At the beginning of 1991, more than 95% of the economy was still state property; the private sector (consisting of 180,000 new, small—in half of the cases, one-person—firms) produced less than 5% of the gross domestic product (GDP). Huge state enterprises were then divided into smaller ones and were subsequently sold as small state enterprises or leased to private entrepreneurs.

The **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** demanded a moratorium, as apparently mainly former **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** *nomenklatura* members benefited from the opportunity to buy lucrative firms. It has been suggested that these *nomenklatura* members who had turned into capitalists deliberately shelved legislation in order to get ahead of a radical privatization involving foreign buyers. Besides, there was division within the UDF on the topic of privatization in the 1991 **Dimităr Popov cabinet**: economist Asen Michkovski, backed by *Podkrepa*, preferred a radical and all-embracing privatization, while **Ivan Kostov** and **Ivan Pushkarov**, ministers of finance and industry, respectively, advised by foreign specialists, proposed a more pragmatic, immediate small-scale privatization followed by a privatization of large state enterprises later on. A rapid solution was required in order to prevent a further consolidation of the black market, to put an end to the *nomenklatura* control over state enterprises, and to receive financial aid from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In August 1993, the **Lyuben Berov cabinet** decided to privatize 500 large and middle-size enterprises through the sale of nontransferable options on shares in a holding or specific company—an approach modeled after the Czech voucher system. The number of enterprises concerned was reduced to 340 in the summer of 1994. It was only about a fourth of all of the enterprises that were eligible for privatization; only one-third of them could possibly be made profitable through **foreign investments**.

In 1994, the private sector consisted of 230,000 active enterprises (twice as many were registered); many of them were still one-person firms. It produced 30 to 50% of the GDP, due mainly to the successful service industries and the retail trade. In August 1996, the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**, which had been reluctant to privatize state enterprises and faced an economic catastrophe, hastily launched a voucher

system to privatize more than 1,000 state enterprises. In December 1996, on the eve of the Videnov cabinet's resignation, only 5 to 7% of the state enterprises had been privatized. The remaining ones had hardly undergone any restructuring; managers were frequently replaced, usually on the basis of their political connections. Most enterprises were unprofitable and could not be sold. Nevertheless, the privatization campaign, launched by the Videnov cabinet, resulted in the partial privatization of about one-fourth of all Bulgarian state enterprises in June 1997, which represented less than one-sixth of the assets of the state-enterprise sector.

The **Ivan Kostov cabinet** took another tack, dispossessing management and employees and selling state-enterprises for cash, also to foreign buyers. In that way, the state disposed of loss-making enterprises and increased its revenues by selling them. In 1999, the chemical plant in Kremikovtsi was bought by the Finnish *Finmetals*; it came out of the red only in 2005 and was then sold to the Indian *Global Steel Holding*. Allegedly, some UDF politicians were now taking bribes from foreign buyers. By 2001, when the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet** came to power, about 70% of the total Bulgarian economy was controlled by the private sector. Under the latter's administration, after three years of tug-of-war, the Bulgarian Telecommunications Company was sold to an Austrian holding company. Austrians also bought *Mobiltel*, Bulgaria's biggest mobile phone operator. Some huge and politically sensitive state enterprises, like *Bulgartabak*, were not yet privatized by mid-2005, in spite of promising negotiations with the *Deutsche Bank* and *British American Tobacco*. See also MULTIGRUP; RESTITUTION; TOBACCO.

PRODEV, STEFAN (1927– 2001). Journalist. Born on 15 September 1927, in Sofia. He was editor or editor-in-chief of several Bulgarian dailies and weeklies, and from 1984 on editor-in-chief of *National Culture (Narodna kultura)*. Although a committed communist, he was known for his independent and unconventional stands. He irritated the authorities by criticizing the **regeneration process**. In November 1988 he cofounded the **Club for Glasnost and Democracy**, after which he and his collaborators were forced to resign. One year later, on 28 November 1989, after the fall of the communist regime, the editorial staff of *National Culture* reappointed them. Prodev changed the profile of

the weekly by making it a clearinghouse for controversial opinions. On 27 January 1990, he was elected chair of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists. Three days later, the 14th Congress of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) appointed him editor-in-chief of the party daily, *The Workers' Cause*, then renamed *Word*. At the 39th Congress of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) in September 1990, Prodev was a candidate for the BSP leadership but was not elected. With his column in *Word*, called *Here We Are Again*, Prodev turned into a feared and hated critic of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). He died on 4 September 2001 in Enchevtsi. *See also* CULTURE; PRESS.

PROTESTANTS. The first Protestant missions in Bulgaria date from the 1820s. Their main aim was to disseminate the Bible. In 1828, the American Bible Association published the first translation of the Gospels in modern Bulgarian; in 1871, a complete translation of the Scriptures, made by **Petko Slaveykov** and others, followed. In the 1860s, churches and schools were opened by Methodists in northern Bulgaria (in Shumen and Ruse) and by Congregationalists in southern Bulgaria (in Bansko, **Plovdiv**, Stara Zagora, and Yambol) and **Macedonia**. Baptists established themselves in Bulgaria in 1871, Seventh-day Adventists in 1891, and Pentacostalists in 1921—all mainly in northern Bulgaria.

In 1872, a Congregationalist Theological Seminary was founded in Samokov, which then developed into the main Protestant center in Bulgaria. In 1881, the seminary was split into a so-called American College (a high school) and a Theological Institute. In 1925, Samokov had a Protestant high school for boys, one for girls, a Theological Institute (a boarding school for training teachers), a church, and a printing house. In 1929, the American College was moved to Simeonovo near **Sofia**, and the Theological Institute was closed; instead, an Evangelical Theological Seminary was opened in 1932.

After the establishment of communist power in 1944, the Protestants were the first of the various religious communities in Bulgaria to be persecuted. In 1949, 34 Protestant priests of various denominations were arrested on charges of espionage and were sentenced to long prison terms. Many others were subjected to work restrictions, internal exile, or other discrimination. In the 1980s, there were more than 17,000 Protestants in Bulgaria. They had about 100 churches and were

served by more than 250 ministers. Although persecuted and dispersed in the late 1940s and the 1950s, they remained relatively well organized. It was estimated that there were about 3,000 (maybe 4,000) Adventists, 650 Baptists, 5,000 Congregationalists, close to 1,500 Methodists, and 6,000 Pentecostals spread over Sofia, Plovdiv, **Ruse**, Pleven, **Varna**, **Burgas**, and other cities during the communist period.

After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, the Directorate of Religious Affairs registered about 30 Protestant organizations that now enjoy an increasing popularity with the population. According to the 2001 census, there are 42,308 Protestants in Bulgaria—twice as many as 10 years before (21,878 in 1992). They are perceived by the traditional Orthodox Church as a particular threat. *See also* RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.

PROTO-BULGARIANS. Tribe of Turkic origin, called “Bolgarians” in historical sources and originating in Central Asia. In scientific literature, the Bolgarians are usually called “Proto-Bulgarians” to distinguish them from the modern, Slavic-speaking Bulgarians. They were mentioned for the first time in a historical source in AD 354. Some of them participated in Atilla’s raids into Western Europe and settled in Hungary. From the beginning of the sixth century, they regularly crossed the **Danube** and looted the **Byzantine** Balkan provinces; at the same time, they fought against the Ostrogoths and the Goths as Byzantine allies. Proto-Bulgarians also participated in the raids of the **Avars**. About 630, the Crimean Proto-Bulgarians created **Great Bulgaria**, a vast empire between the **Black Sea** and the Dnieper, Kuban, and Donets Rivers. In the second half of the seventh century, a number of the Proto-Bulgarian tribes, led by Kuber, fled from the Khazars and settled in Northern **Macedonia**. Other tribes, led by **Asparuh**, took refuge in the area called Onglos, between the Dnieper and the **Danube** delta. They looted the Byzantine province of Moesia, south of the Danube and inhabited by **Slavic** tribes. In the mid-seventh century, the Proto-Bulgarians settled definitively in what is now Bulgaria. Asparuh entered into an alliance with the local Slavic tribes and defeated the Byzantines in 681. In the ensuing peace agreement, Bulgaria was treated as an independent state; thus 681 is considered to be the year of foundation of the **First Bulgarian Empire**.

The Proto-Bulgarians were a nomadic people with a lifestyle, language, and religion totally different from that of the Slavic tribes inhabiting the Balkans. Although during the first centuries of their co-existence, the Proto-Bulgarians formed the ruling class, this did not prevent them from being assimilated by the Slavic majority. Except for a dozen words that have survived in modern Bulgarian, their language has disappeared completely. Proto-Bulgarian elements in Bulgarian folk traditions are difficult to detect and are often contested. The Proto-Bulgarians transmitted their name (“Bolgarians”) to the people who emerged from the Proto-Bulgarian-Slavic mixture and consequently to the country it inhabited.

The theory, developed in the 1930s, according to which the Proto-Bulgarians are an Arian people originating in the Tamir region, again enjoys some popularity among Bulgarian nationalists. It can safely be considered nonsense.

PROTOGEROV, ALEKSANDÛR (1867–1928). National liberation fighter. Born in Ohrid (now in the **Republic of Macedonia**) on 28 February 1867. He belonged to the right wing of the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)**. From 1887 to 1918 he served as an officer in the Bulgarian army. In 1903 Protogerov participated in the **Ilinden Uprising**. After **World War I**, he was sentenced as a war criminal but escaped and went underground. During the 1920–1923 rule of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)**, headed by **AleksandÛr Stamboliyski**, Protogerov lived mostly abroad. After the **coup d’état of 9 June 1923** and the suppression of the **September 1923 Uprising**, to which he contributed greatly, he supported the **Democratic Alliance (DA)** government. Pressured by the left wing of IMRO, Protogerov and **Todor Aleksandrov** signed the 1924 **IMRO May Manifesto**, but both soon withdrew their support. After Aleksandrov was assassinated in 1924, Protogerov became the IMRO right-wing leader. He also was assassinated, on 7 July 1928.

PROVINCIAL COMMITTEES FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE NATIONAL INTERESTS (PCDNI)/OKRÛZHNI KOMITETI ZA ZASHTITA NA NATSIONALNITE INTERESI (NKZNI).
The National Committee for the Defense of the National Interests

(NCDNI) was an influential nationalist political organization that emerged from the mass movement against the restoration of the national rights of the **Turkish** minority in early 1990. The original chair was Dimitŭr Arnaudov. The NCDNI was concerned mainly with the Bulgarian national identity of the **Macedonians** and the danger of pan-Turkism, of which the Turkish minority in Bulgaria was suspected of being instrumental. It conceived Bulgaria's "national interests" in a rather hidebound, 19th-century manner, almost exclusively in terms of historical injustices, lost territories to be regained, and threatening minorities to be contained. The NCDNI attempted to coordinate the activities of such other nationalistic organizations as the Union of Macedonian Cultural and Educational Associations (UMCEA) and the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO). In October 1991, Arnaudov was dismissed, and at the beginning of 1992 the committee dissolved itself; however, it eventually resumed its activities under the name Provincial Committees for the Defense of the National Interests (PCDNI). It entered a coalition with the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) in 1994 and won four seats in the 37th National Assembly in the December 1994 elections. Later it played only a marginal role.

PROVISIONAL RUSSIAN ADMINISTRATION. From June 1877 to July 1879, Bulgaria was administered by the Russian army, which had occupied the country during the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**. A Russian administration of Bulgaria for a period of two years was provided for in the 1878 **Treaty of San Stefano** and was maintained, although for a period of nine months only, in the **Treaty of Berlin**. Special attention was paid to the organization of the Bulgarian **army**; as a result, the Russian influence was felt for many years among the high-ranking Bulgarian officers. The local administration, the fiscal system, and education were organized after the Russian (actually the German) model. Under the supervision of the Russian imperial commissar, Aleksandr Dondukov-Korsakov, the **Tŭrnovo Constitution**, based on a Russian plan, was drafted and adopted in 1879. The Russian provisional administration was a period of successful transition from Ottoman dominance to full autonomy; the constant interference of Russian diplomats in the Bulgarian internal

affairs, however, made the Bulgarians aware of the new threat of Russia's patronage.

PURGES (POST-COMMUNIST). After the fall of the **communist** regime in November 1989, many political groups and parties have been insisting on punishing those responsible for 45 years of dictatorship: the ideological and political “cleansing” in the first postwar years, the permanent repression of all real and potential political opponents, the abuse of power, the embezzlement of state money, the incitement to ethnic hatred, the creation of a network of secret police informers, the spread of disinformation, and the submission of Bulgaria to the interests of the **Soviet Union**. However, only a few people have been brought to trial and sentenced. The **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)**, the heir of the former **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, which for many years hardly lost its grip on post-communist developments, managed to avert public odium by sacrificing former party leader **Todor Zhivkov** and a handful of other compromising figures. During the **Roundtable Negotiations** in the spring of 1990, the communists made the opposition accept a “peaceful **transition** to democracy,” which would guarantee the safety of their lives and properties. In exchange, they agreed to give up their power monopoly without resorting to violence. As a result, there were no fatalities during the transition in Bulgaria. However, the fact that no justice was meted out after so many years of injustice caused much resentment, all the more so as many former communists succeeded in maintaining their positions or successfully requalifying.

In 1992, the **Filip Dimitrov cabinet** attempted to take some measures against notorious former communists. **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** member of Parliament Georgi Panev introduced a Law on the de-communization of higher **education**, prohibiting former communists from holding leading posts in the administration of universities and high schools. However, a thorough investigation into the past actions of many who are now fierce anti-communists, including some **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** politicians, allegedly would reveal embarrassing evidence of their collaboration with the former regime. This may be one of the reasons why having been discreetly involved with the old BCP was often covered with the

cloak of charity. The **Ivan Kostov cabinet** (1997–2001) took a number of legal measures to dispose of former communists holding key posts in ministries (especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Industry). In 1997, after long discussions it allowed the former secret police files to be inspected by the citizens concerned. By the end of 1999, more than 21,000 citizens had done so. On the eve of the 2001 parliamentary elections, all candidates had their files publicized. It appeared that 170 of the 5,679 candidates—among whom mainly BSP and **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF) members, including chairman **Ahmed Dogan** himself—had in some way or another collaborated with the secret services. Still, a full-blown witch hunt did not occur.

PÛRVANOV, GEORGI (1957–). Politician. Born in Sirishtnik on 28 June 1957. He studied history and, until 1991, was a researcher at the Institute of the History of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) with the **Central Committee** (CC) of the BCP. In 1991, he was appointed director of the Center for Historical and Political Studies, depending on the Supreme Council of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP). On 28 December 1996, he was elected chair of the Supreme Council, that is leader of the BSP, and was reelected on 4 May 2000. During the term of the **Ivan Kostov cabinet**, he was a member of Parliament for the BSP and leader of the **Democratic Left** (DL); for a short time, he led the **Coalition for Bulgaria** (CB) during the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**. After he defeated incumbent president **Petûr Stoyanov** in the second round of the presidential elections on 18 November 2001 (53.3% of the vote against 46.7%), he was sworn in as president of the Republic of Bulgaria on 22 January 2002. His vice-president was Angel Marin, a former commander of the missile forces who had been fired by President Stoyanov in March 1998 for having publicly called Bulgaria's application for the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) membership a "humiliation." Like both Bulgarian presidents before him, Pûrvanov has been a stabilizing factor in Bulgarian politics. Under his administration, Bulgaria entered the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and signed the Accession Agreement with the **European Union** (EU).

PUSHKAROV, IVAN (1938–1998). Politician. Born in Chelopech near Sofia on 1 December 1938. He studied economics at the Karl Marx Higher Institute for Economics and was a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) from 1968 to 1973. He became co-founder of the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP)** and one of its representatives in the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** National Coordinating Council. In December 1990, he was appointed minister of industry, trade, and services in the **Dimitŭr Popov cabinet**, which prompted his ouster from the BSDP. He retained his position in the first **Filip Dimitrov cabinet** (November 1991–May 1992), but after being criticized by the influential **Independent Labor Confederation-Podkrepa** (ILC-*Podkrepa*) for hampering privatization, he was not included in the second Dimitrov cabinet. He then founded the political party Union for Democracy (UD) and the accompanying parliamentary group Independents. At the beginning of 1993, Pushkarov and the UD joined the New Union for Democracy (NUD). In the following years, he was an MP. He died in Sofia on 15 October 1998.

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RADICAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (RDP)/RADIKALDEMOKRATICHESKA PARTIYA (RDP). Four years after it had emerged as a radical faction within the **Democratic Party (DP)**, the RDP was officially founded in 1905 by Naycho Tzanov. Most of its members were civil servants, teachers, and intellectuals. In 1922, it was renamed the Radical Party (RP) and entered the **Constitutional Bloc (CB)**, opposing the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** government (1920–1923). After the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**, the RP merged with the victorious **Democratic Alliance (DA)**, although a considerable part of the party's membership had disapproved of the RP's dissolution. In 1924, a number of former RP representatives, led by Stoyan Kosturkov, left the DA and restored the party. In 1931, the RP entered the **People's Bloc (PB)** coalition, but left it shortly before the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**. In 1945, the RP joined the **Fatherland Front (FF)**. The party was disbanded in 1949.

The RP was refounded under its original name—Radical Democratic Party—on 4 December 1989 in Sofia. It declared itself to be in favor of a modern civil society and equal rights for all citizens. **Elka Konstantinova** was elected chair, **Mihail Nedelchev** vice-chair, and Aleksandър Yordanov spokesperson of the RDP. On 7 December 1989, it joined the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** as one of its most prominent and stable constituents. Dominated by radical Sofia intellectuals who had the “gift of gab,” the RDP to a great extent determined the look of the UDF. On 19 June 1993 chair Konstantinova was succeeded by Yordanov; she left the party the next year. At the RDP 27th Congress on 8 and 9 April 1995, the RDP broke apart. The majority, headed by Kiril Boyadzhiev, Nedelchev and others, disagreeing with the new UDF policy of limiting the autonomy of its constituent members, voted to leave the UDF. Yordanov opposed that decision and declared the congress invalid. On 23 May 1997, a court declared Yordanov’s party the legitimate RDP. Boyadzhiev then founded a new party, the Free Radical Democratic Party.

RADICHKOV, YORDAN (1929–2004). Writer. Born in Kalimanitsa on 24 October 1929. He worked as a journalist, before becoming a professional prose writer. His main subject matter is traditional village life with its patriarchal moral principles and magical perception of the world, confronted with modernity, industrialization, and liberal moral values. This confrontation takes place in the imaginary village of Cherkaski, where the borders between reality and the supernatural are vague. His stories often consist of absurd dialogues that remind the reader of the plays by Samuel Beckett, although they are rooted in the Balkan tradition of collective narration—hence the characterization of Radichkov’s work as folkloric absurdism. He successfully adapted some of his stories for the stage: *Panic (Sumatoha)*, (1967), *January (Yanuari)*, (1974), and *Lazaritsa* (1978). Radichkov died in Sofia on 21 January 2004. He was without a doubt Bulgaria’s most authentic and innovative postwar. *See also* BULGARIAN LITERATURE.

RADIO AND TELEVISION. The first Bulgarian radio programs were broadcast in November 1928. From 1933 on, a private Radio Sofia broadcast three hours a day. In 1935, it was nationalized and renamed

Bulgarian Radio and its task was legally defined. The very day of the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, Bulgarian radio was brought under the control of the **Fatherland Front**, (FF), which was dominated by the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), and was soon transformed into one of the main educational tools of the communist regime. In particular the program *Hristo Botev*, named after an illegal partisan radio station broadcasting during **World War II**, served this purpose. The Bulgarian World Service broadcast programs in 12 languages, including English.

The first Bulgarian television program was officially transmitted on 26 December 1959. With even greater effectiveness than radio, the Bulgarian television was used to indoctrinate the people with communist propaganda. In 1977, Bulgarian Radio and Television was split into two separate administrative units, both under the supervision of the Committee of Culture. On Friday evenings, the Bulgarian second television channel broadcast **Soviet** programs. During the Mikhail Gorbachev period of reforms, this was done with little enthusiasm. Nevertheless, journalist Kevork Kevorkian took advantage of the new political climate to make critical interviews in his weekly TV talk show *Every Sunday*. In spite of its tedium, television was very popular and the number of TV sets increased rapidly.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, radio and television became the target of fierce attacks. From the beginning, the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) insisted on their being de-ideologized, especially in connection with the forthcoming June 1990 first free elections. In February 1990, the newly founded Committee for Radio and Television, led by the newly appointed director of the Bulgarian National Television (BNT) Pavel Pisarev, a journalist and BCP official responsible for culture under **Lyudmila Zhivkova**, reached an agreement with representatives of various television workers' organizations on political impartiality. Soon thereafter, the committee was divided into a committee for television and one for radio. Ever since, there have been frequent changes at the top echelons of television. There was more stability at the top of the Bulgarian National Radio (BNR).

In 1991, the staffs of the BNR and the BNT were drastically reduced for financial reasons. Apart from political and financial problems, both institutions had to cope with the competition of foreign

and domestic commercial stations that were also available by cable or dish antenna. On the other hand, the popularity of the formerly jammed “black” radio stations (*Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, BBC World Service, Deutsche Welle*) had diminished due to the newly found freedom of the press in Bulgaria itself. In spite of economic problems, the interest in establishing private radio and television stations was considerable; the legal thresholds, however, were difficult to overcome. The first Bulgarian commercial radio station began broadcasting in the fall of 1992 in Sofia. The Bulgarian commercial station *bTV* enjoys tremendous popularity. The rather populist talk show of Slavi Trifonov which it transmits every weekday evening to-tally overshadowed Kevorkian’s *Every Sunday*.

In September 1990, a parliamentary commission was set up to draft a new media law, but a Radio and Television Law was passed only in 1998 and has been criticized ever since. Under that law, the directors of the BNT and the BNR are appointed by the Electronic Media Council (EMC), whose members are chosen by the **National Assembly** (NA). This means that both directors are in fact political appointees. In 2004, the Bulgarian Media Coalition (BMC), a professional broadcasting organization, which opposed Vladkov’s plans to tighten the control over BNT journalists while giving free rein to private producers, proposed a new draft that would introduce some public input into the EMC and would separate management and editorial functions. This was also required by the **European Union** (EU). A new media law has not been adopted by the NA so far, but most journalists now follow the deontological code proposed by the BMC. However, in 2004 the repressive measures taken by the authorities against journalists making use of concealed cameras to gather information demonstrated how badly sound legislation was needed.

RADOMIR REBELLION. After three years of trench warfare at the Macedonian front and the breakthrough of the enemy forces at Dobro Pole on 18 September 1918, which ushered in the end of **World War I** in the Balkans, Bulgarian soldiers gave up resistance en masse and directed their steps toward **Sofia** to take revenge on the politicians whom they held responsible for the defeat. On 27 September 1918, in the headquarters of the rebellion in Radomir (near Kyustendil),

Rayko Daskalov, one of the leaders of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU), announced the abdication of Tsar **Ferdinand** and proclaimed the republic. **Aleksandûr Stamboliyski**, who was released from prison and was sent to the rebels to appease them, was elected prime minister of the provisional government; Daskalov was appointed commander in chief. Stamboliyski attempted in vain to persuade the government to renounce power. On the evening of 29 September the mutinous army reached the suburbs of Sofia. In the meantime, the forces that had remained loyal to the tsar organized the defense of the capital, backed by German troops and **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO) members. They broke through the siege and advanced toward Radomir, which was taken on 2 October. More than 2,500 rebels were killed. Stamboliyski was taken prisoner; Daskalov emigrated to **Greece**. Although it ended in a fiasco, the Radomir rebellion was not without consequences: Tsar Ferdinand abdicated in favor of his son, **Boris III**.

RADOSLAVOV, VASIL (1854–1929). Politician. Born in Lovech on 15 July 1854. He studied law in Heidelberg and worked as a lawyer in Bulgaria. In 1884, he joined the **Liberal Party** (LP). From 1884 to 1886 Radoslavov held the office of minister of justice and was prime minister from 1886 to 1887. Under prime minister **Stefan Stambolov** (1887–1894), he organized the so-called United Legal Opposition, although he shared with him a fierce Russophobia. From 1887 on, Radoslavov led a separate faction within the LP, known as the Liberal Party-Radoslavists. After the fall of Stambolov in 1894, he was appointed minister of justice and minister of education in the **Konstantin Stoilov** cabinet but soon resigned as he disagreed with Stoilov's pro-Russian foreign policy. In 1899–1900, he served as minister of internal affairs. In June 1903, Radoslavov was sentenced by the Supreme Court to an eight-month prison term for treason and abuse of power, but in December, he was released under an amnesty. From 1913 to 1918, he led a coalition government with other liberal parties, serving as both prime minister and foreign minister. In these capacities, he supported Tsar **Ferdinand**'s pro-German **foreign policy**. After the war, he was held responsible for the “**national catastrophe**” which ended in Bulgaria's participation in **World War I**. He fled to Germany and lived in Berlin until his death on 21 October 1929.

RAILWAY QUESTION. Disagreement between Russia and Bulgaria about the **railway** lines to be built in Bulgaria in the years following the liberation in 1878. According to Article 10 of the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**, Bulgaria was obliged to construct its part of the Vienna-Istanbul railway line, although the country could hardly afford this. Through its representatives in the Bulgarian government, Russia insisted on the construction of the line from Ruse to Sofia or to the Maritsa Valley, which were both of great strategic interest to it. The railway question spoiled the relations between the young independent state and its mighty liberator and caused considerable internal political tensions. In December 1884, the Bulgarian government finally decided to nationalize the railway lines and created the Bulgarian State Railways, which drafted a railway network plan according to the nation's own economic and strategic needs.

RAILWAYS. The oldest railway line in Bulgaria, constructed in 1866, linked **Ruse** on the Danube with the **Black Sea** port of **Varna**, 223 kilometers away. Still during the **Ottoman** period, the line from Belovo (west of Pazardzhik) to Lyubimets (east of Harmanli), with an extension from Simeonovgrad to Yambol (altogether 310 km), was built by Baron Hirsch. The 1878 **Treaty of Berlin** provided for the construction, at the expense of the Bulgarian state, of the section of the Vienna-Istanbul line situated on Bulgarian territory (*see* RAILWAY QUESTION). This implied the extension of the Lyubimets-Belovo line to Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad in **Serbia**). The section in **Eastern Rumelia** had to be built by the **Ottoman Empire**. In 1885, the railways were taken over by the state. About the turn of the century, many new lines were put into use: Yambol-Burgas (1890), **Sofia-Pernik** (1893), Sofia-Kaspichan (1899), **Ruse-Veliko Tŭrnovo** (1909), and Radomir-Gyueshevo (1910). In 1900, the total length of Bulgarian railways amounted to 1,554 kilometers; by 1919 it had grown by another 1,000 kilometers. After 1944, the Bulgarian railway network was modernized and enlarged with some new lines (such as Pernik-Voluyak and Lovech-Sopot). In 1963, the first electrified lines were put into use. In 1977, 1,485 kilometers of a total of 4,050 kilometers of railways (of normal width) were electrified. In 1986, another 2,342 kilometers were electrified. The railway lines are now being renovated with **foreign aid**, especially from the **European Union** (EU). They currently

amount to 4,294 kilometers. (Between Septemvri and Bansko, there are still 245 kilometers of narrow-gauge railways across the **Rhodope Mountains**, now a tourist attraction.) A 6.1-kilometer subway connects the center of Sofia with the suburb of Lyulin. (The entire subway system will comprise more than 50 kilometers.)

RAKOVSKI, GEORGI SAVA or STOYKOV (1821–1867). Journalist, writer, and first organizer of the national liberation movement. Born in Kotel in April 1821. He studied at the Greek school in **Istanbul**, where he got involved in the Bulgarian **church struggle** in the late 1830s. In 1841 he became a Greek citizen. In 1843 he was sentenced to death for his participation in riots against the **Ottomans** in Brăila but was duly handed over to the Greek authorities and was released. After a stay of a year and a half in France, he returned to Kotel, where he was arrested as a rebel and was sentenced to a seven-year prison term. In 1848, he was released. During the Crimean War (1853–1856), Rakovski spied on behalf of the Russians. He was again arrested by the Ottomans, but he escaped and fled to the **Balkan Mountains** where he set up a *cheta*. In the years 1855–1860, he roamed about **Romania**, Hapsburg Vojvodina, and **Russia** before settling in Belgrade, the capital of **Serbia**, in 1860, where he began publishing the weekly *Danube Swan* (*Dunavski lebed*). He also drew up his Plan for the Liberation of Bulgaria, consisting of the creation of a Bulgarian army abroad that would enter Bulgaria and inspire a massive popular uprising. The First **Bulgarian Legion** was intended to be this liberation army. A Provisional Bulgarian Leadership in Belgrade, whose statutes Rakovski had drafted as well, would replace the Ottoman government. After the Bulgarian Legion was dissolved, Rakovski began advocating among the Serbs the idea of a Balkan federation that would include Bulgaria. His words fell on deaf ears, and he moved to **Bucharest** where he published some newspapers and began equipping *chetas* and coordinating their operations. Rakovski died of consumption on 9 October 1867.

Rakovski was the first major Bulgarian national liberation ideologist. Although his strategies were rather fantastic and did not achieve much, they served as a starting point for **Vasil Levski** in creating his **Internal Revolutionary Organization** (IRO). Rakovski's large number of ethnographic, linguistic, and historical works is in many

respects the product of the same unbridled imagination. His epic poem, *The Forest Traveler* (*Gorski pûtnik*), is a good example of early Bulgarian “revolutionary romanticism,” although it is clumsily composed and written in an almost incomprehensible archaic Bulgarian that Rakovski had invented himself.

RALIN, RADOY (1923–2004). Satiric poet, playwright, novelist, and script writer. Real name: Dimitûr Stefanov Stoyanov. Born in Sliven on 22 April 1923. He studied law in **Sofia**. During **World War II**, he published an anti-fascist bulletin. In 1949–1950, he lived in Czechoslovakia, where he became acquainted with Czech language and culture. Back in Bulgaria, he held various posts as an editor. In 1953, he cofounded the Sofia satirical theater. Ralin wrote epigrams, satirical poems, and plays that enjoyed enormous popularity but irritated the authorities. In 1962, he was removed from the editorial board of the humoristic weekly *Hornet* (*Stûrshel*) because of an allegorical play ridiculing the so-called “thaw” in politics and culture under **Todor Zhivkov**. In 1968 he published the collection of epigrams, *Hot Chillies* (*Lyuti chushki*), in which the illustrator Boris Dimovski had drawn a pig whose tail curled like the signature of Zhivkov. The second edition of the book was confiscated and destroyed; Ralin was again sacked from his job as editor at a publishing house, put under house arrest and interned for a short time in Silistra. All this only contributed to his fame as a **dissident**. After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, he was one of the founders of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF), but refused to be a member of Parliament himself. Ralin died in Sofia on 21 July 2004.

REFORMS. (1) In the **Ottoman Empire**: see *TANZIMAT*.

(2) Under communist rule: Although genuinely conservative so far as its basic economic, social, and political principles were concerned, the communist regime introduced a number of reforms—on the one hand because it was guiding the alleged development of Bulgarian society from capitalism through socialism and developed socialism to **communism**, and on the other because it had to cope with rampant economic problems. The first type of reforms was said to include the measures aimed at de-Stalinization and initiated by the **April 1956 Plenum**. Among the second type can be counted the **New Economic**

Mechanism (NEM) and the late 1980s reform program, described in the 1987 **July Theses** and implemented in innovations such as Decree 56. In most cases the results of the reform plans fell short of expectations due to the lack of determination of the party leadership or to silent opposition by the lower and local cadres.

(3) Post-communist reforms. *See* TRANSITION.

REFUGEES. *See* EMIGRANTS; IMMIGRANTS.

REFUGEES LOAN. Foreign loan agreed to by the **Democratic Alliance** (DA) government and the Western powers in December 1926 and aimed at helping the **refugees** from **Dobrudja**, **Macedonia**, and **Thrace**. This loan had to be paid back to British and American banks within 40 years at an interest rate of 7%. The money, which amounted to £2.4 million and US\$4.5 million, was used for building houses, providing farm implements, and so on. According to official information, 253,067 **immigrants** were to have been the beneficiaries, which gives some idea of the size of the refugee problem in Bulgaria at that time.

REGENERATION PROCESS. Assimilation campaign against the **Turks** in the second half of the 1980s, which was part of the attempts to create an ethnically homogenous Bulgarian nation that had been made since the founding of the modern Bulgarian state in 1878. The Turks were proclaimed ethnic Bulgarians whose ancestors allegedly had been Islamized and Turkicized by force and who were now “given the opportunity” to rejoin the Bulgarian nation—whence the euphemistic terms “regeneration,” “rebaptism,” or “homecoming” to denote this dubious form of forced assimilation. The most spectacular aspect of the regeneration process was the compulsory name-changing campaign in winter 1984–1985, announced in the **Politiburo**’s 19 June 1984 Decision Concerning the Forthcoming Uniting and Incorporation of the Bulgarian Turks to the Cause of Socialism, to the Policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Name-changing is a frequently applied method of changing the national consciousness of members of ethnic minorities or making them disappear from the lists of the registry offices in all Balkan countries. In communist Bulgaria, the **Roma** were the first to have their names changed into Bulgarian ones, and, in the 1970s, the **Pomaks** were

forced to renounce their Muslim names during campaigns reminiscent of the regeneration process.

In the winter of 1984–1985, the name-changing campaign was directed against the nearly one million Turks in Bulgaria. The main architect was **Pencho Kubadinski**. County clerks were assisted by police and army units; unknown numbers of resisters were arrested, interned, or killed. Reportedly 5,000 Turks were interned in the notorious labor camp of **Belene** alone. Finally, about 800,000 Bulgarian Turks had their names changed, at least on their passports and on other official documents. In addition to the name changing, mosques were closed, the use of the Turkish language in public places was forbidden, publications in Turkish stopped, people wearing Turkish dress were harassed, and circumcision was made punishable as “deliberate mutilation.” Since the Turks, like the Pomaks before, had to exchange their Muslim names for Bulgarian, mostly Christian names, the campaign had religious implications, too. In May 1989, unruly Turks demonstrated in the streets of cities in northeast Bulgaria. Seven people were killed, 28 injured, and 40 arrested and sentenced to prison and labor camps. In the summer of 1989, the communist regime, in a desperate move, deported about 350,000 Turks to Turkey; the Turkish government, unable to cope with this massive immigration, closed the border on 22 August. In the fall, a large part of the remaining Turkish population was deported from northeast to northwest Bulgaria. The entire operation resulted in an economic crisis since Bulgaria deprived itself of a considerable part of its labor force and provoked international indignation.

After the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, the victims of the campaign were given the opportunity to resume their former names if they wished; those who had been expelled were allowed to come back. The regeneration process was one of the most despicable acts of the Bulgarian communist regime, regrettably supported by a large segment of the population, and to some nationalist hardliners in Bulgaria it is still justified in the light of the five-century-long **Ottoman** rule over Bulgaria. *See also* AHMED DOGAN; MINORITIES POLICY; TURKISH NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES. The overwhelming majority of the population of Bulgaria consists of **Orthodox Christians**, although

genuine religiosity is exceptional among Bulgarians. Rather, Orthodox Christianity is considered a basic component of Bulgarian national identity. Article 13 (3) of the new 1991 Bulgarian constitution mentions that “Eastern Orthodox Christianity is considered the traditional religion in the Republic of Bulgaria.” Other Christians include **Catholics**, **Protestants** of various denominations, and **Uniates**. Besides Christians, there is a large **Muslim** community, consisting of Sunni and Shiite Muslims. The latter are known as **Kûzûlbash**, or Aliyans. Religion and ethnicity coincide to a certain extent: most Turks are Muslims, and most Bulgarians are Orthodox. There are, however, exceptions: the **Pomaks** are Muslim Bulgarians and the **Gagauz** are Orthodox Turks. **Roma** may be Orthodox Christians or Muslims. *See also* ETHNIC COMMUNITIES.

These are the figures provided by the interwar censuses:

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>1920</i>		<i>1926</i>		<i>1934</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Orthodox	4,061,829	83.8	4,568,773	83.4	5,128,890	84.4
Muslim	690,734	14.3	789,296	14.4	821,298	13.5
Jewish	43,232	0.9	46,431	0.9	48,398	0.8
Catholic	34,072	0.7	40,347	0.7	45,704	0.8
Armenian	10,848	0.2	25,402	0.5	23,476	0.4
Protestant	5,617	0.1	6,735	0.1	8,371	0.1
Others	639	0.0	1,757	0.0	1,802	0.0
TOTAL	4,846,971	100.0	5,478,741	100.0	6,077,939	100.0

There are no figures dating from the communist period (1944–1989) available. The 1992 and 2001 censuses yielded the following results:

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>1992</i>		<i>2001</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Orthodox	7,274,592	85.71	6,552,751	82.6
Muslim	1,110,295	13.08	966,978	12.2
Catholic	53,074	0.62	43,811	0.6
Protestant	21,878	0.26	42,308	0.5
Armenian	9,672	0.11	6,500	0.1
Jewish	2,580	0.03	653	0.0
Others	6,745	0.08	7,784	0.01
Unknown	8,481	0.10		
Undefined			308,116	3.9
TOTAL	8,487,317	100.00	7,928,901	100.00

REPRESSION (COMMUNIST). Communist repression started immediately after the communist takeover in September 1944 when, on the basis of the 6 October 1944 decree providing for the trial of “collaborators” by people’s courts, the partisans began executing first fascist politicians and their supporters, labeled “counterrevolutionaries,” police officers, and later also non-communist intellectuals and “capitalists.” According to official figures there were 11,667 trials; 2,138 people were sentenced to death and the rest to prison terms. By the beginning of 1945, so-called “educational labor hostels” (*trudovovъzpitatelni obshtezhitiya*)—actually labor camps—had been created, controlled by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In the years 1945–1949, labor camps were established near coal mines and huge construction works and in agrarian areas. In the years 1949–1953, the most notorious labor camp was located in **Belene**, on the island of Persin in the **Danube**, where, according to one of the survivors, close to 7,000 people were interned in 1952. From 1954 to 1956, as a result of de-Stalinization, the number of prisoners in Belene declined somewhat, but after the events in Hungary in 1956 provoked unrest in some Bulgarian cities, the labor camp population rapidly increased again. After a massive hunger strike in 1959, the camp in Belene was transformed into a prison; only people duly sentenced to prison terms were interned there. During the same period, a new camp, sarcastically named “Sunny Beach” after the well-known seaside resort, opened in Lovech; the roughly 165 inmates were forced to do hard labor in a nearby quarry. In September 1961, a labor camp for women was established in Skravena, not far from Lovech. During the period 1944–1962, there were about 100 labor camps in Bulgaria; an estimated 12,000 people were interned between 1944 and 1953, about 5,000 between 1956 and 1962. Reportedly 150 people died or were killed in the Lovech camp during their terms.

In 1962, repression became less harsh. The Lovech camp was also turned into a prison. Political **dissidents**, “diversionists” (people who had tried to leave the country illegally), “hooligans,” “parasites,” people who had told political jokes, and others continued to be persecuted and interned. In the 1970s and especially in the 1980s, many recalcitrant members of the **Pomak** and **Turkish** communities in Bulgaria were arrested and sent to Belene and other camps. Apart from internment in prisons, people were often sentenced to internal

exile—forced to live in remote areas (though not too close to the border) within the country.

According to Dimitър Batalov, chair of the Club of the Repressed after 1945, under communist rule about 18,000 people were killed without trial, more than 2,500 were executed after death sentences passed during mass trials, and nearly 200,000 were otherwise repressed. Information on the living conditions in the camps was revealed in a press conference in March 1990; in the same period, several mass graves containing the remains of people who had been killed without trial immediately after the communist takeover in 1944 were discovered.

In March 1990, Minister of Internal Affairs **Atanas Semerdzhiev** set up a commission, which included Dimitър Batalov, Lyubomir Sobadzhiev, and other representatives of the main opposition groups and parties, to investigate the living conditions in the labor camps. Georgi Tsankov, minister of the interior from 1951 to 1962, General Mircho Spasov, vice-minister of the interior and directly answerable for the labor camps and the living conditions in them, and Mincho Minchev, attorney-general from 1959 to 1962, were held responsible. Some labor camp guards who had tortured and killed prisoners were arrested and tried.

REPUBLICAN PARTY (RP)/REPUBLIKANSKA PARTIYA (RP).

Founded on 3 February 1990, it was granted observer status in the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** on 4 March 1991. Lenko Rusanov was elected chair. In 1994, the RP became a full constituent member of the UDF. The RP favors the establishment of a modern democratic state that fully respects human rights and opposes any form of racial, social, or religious discrimination.

RESTITUTION. Through the restitution process, all properties (land, houses, and enterprises) that had been nationalized or collectivized under communist rule would be given back to the former owners or to their heirs. A law passed on 5 February 1991, provided for the restoration of all properties nationalized through the communist Law on Expropriation of Large-Scale City Property. Another law, passed on 11 December 1991, regulated the restoration of small shops and workshops. By 1994, approximately 25,000 of them had been returned. The

implementation of these laws, however, was extremely complicated because legally valid documentation was often missing. Nevertheless, this law gave a considerable impetus to the development of small urban businesses.

On 22 February 1991, after long discussions, the new Law on the Ownership and the Use of Agricultural Land, drafted by a special **National Assembly** (NA) commission under the **Dimităr Popov cabinet**, was finally passed. The law contained a multitude of restrictions: only “an equivalent value and quality in the territory of the relevant villages” was to be restored, instead of the land “within its real boundaries,” as the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) had demanded; landownership was restricted to 30 hectares; Bulgarians permanently residing abroad, let alone foreigners, could not own land. The ceiling of 20 hectares of land in intensively agriculture areas and 30 hectares elsewhere, that had been imposed by former legislation, was removed in order to overcome the disadvantages of small-scale farming. The abolition of **cooperative** farms was to be carried out by a liquidation council appointed by the local authorities. About 35% of the former owners wanted their property back; overall, almost half of the arable land (or 1.9 million out of 4.6 million hectares) was involved. At the same time, the formation of new cooperative farms or the resumption of the existing cooperative farms was encouraged, since the creation of myriad small parcels was highly inefficient. Up to 5 million people in Bulgaria were estimated to become landowners after the completion of the whole operation, only a fraction of whom had any experience with **agriculture**.

The law was amended again in November 1991 by the new **Filip Dimitrov cabinet**. It now stipulated that the land to be returned be “within its real boundaries, where such exist or can be established,” without any quantitative restrictions. The implementation of the law caused great practical difficulties, since there were about 1.7 million owners claiming small parcels with an average size of 1.2 hectares. Moreover, the local *nomenklatura*, reportedly encouraged by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), tried to prevent the liquidation councils from doing their jobs. Actually, the 28 February 1991 law benefited the former village *nomenklatura* since it favored the resumption of the former cooperative farms in the slightly altered form of limited-liability companies. The **Turks**, who had in general not owned land before the

establishment of the communist regime, were also opposed to the new legislation. By the end of 1993, nearly three-quarters of the land had been restored to its former owners. Nevertheless, in the spring of 1995, under the new **Zhan Videnov cabinet**, fierce debates on ways and means of farming-land restitution were still going on in the NA. By the end of the term of the **Ivan Kostov cabinet** in 2001, reportedly 98% of all arable land had been returned to its former owners, but a considerable number of restitutions were being contested before the courts. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

RHODOPE MOUNTAINS. Huge mountain range, stretching from the **Rila Mountains** in the west to the Turkish border in the east along and on the Greek border in the south. It is 240 kilometers long and 100 kilometers wide. High mountain tops are insulated by deep valleys and canyons. Due to the abundance of water and the considerable differences in height, the vegetation is rich and diverse, and the forests harbor a great variety of wildlife. The main economic activities in the Rhodope Mountains are **mining** and forestry. The most important **tourist** attractions are the Pamporovo ski resort, the **Bachkovo Monastery**, and the picturesque town of Shiroka lúka with its typical Rhodope architecture.

In antiquity, the Rhodope Mountains were inhabited by **Thracians**. Orpheus, the Greek mythic singer and musician, was of Thracian origin and lived in the Rhodope Mountains. In the Middle Ages, for long periods the range constituted the border between the Bulgarian and the **Byzantine** Empires. Under **Ottoman** rule, especially in the 17th century, a considerable part of the Bulgarian population of the Rhodope Mountains were voluntarily or forcibly converted to Islam. Their descendents, the so-called **Pomaks**, still live there.

RILA MONASTERY. Largest and most important **monastery** in Bulgaria; sacred place of the Bulgarian nation. It was founded in the first half of the 10th century by the Holy **Ivan of Rila**. In the first half of the 14th century, it was the residence of the feudal lord Hrelýo, who built the tower that still stands in the inner court. During the **Ottoman** period, the monastery was exempted from taxes and enjoyed yet other prerogatives, which, however, could not protect it from being burned and looted several times. Bulgarian medieval religious

culture was transmitted by the monks from one generation to the next, which secured the monastery its fame as a protector of Orthodox Christianity—considered to be one of the main components of Bulgarian national identity. In this respect, the transfer of the relics of **Ivan of Rila** from **Veliko Tŭrnovo** to the Rila Monastery in 1469 was one of the main events in the monastery's history. In fact, the Rila Monastery belonged to the **Serbian** Patriarchate of Peć; in 1766, when the Patriarchate of Peć was abolished, the monastery went over to the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**. In 1833, the monastery burned down again by accident. In the following years, it was rebuilt in the monumental **National Awakening** style as the largest monastery on the Balkan Peninsula and one of the most beautiful. From outside, the monastery looks like a fortress; inside, three-story buildings with large galleries on each story surround an immense courtyard. The monastery church contains a precious wooden iconostasis and is decorated with wall paintings by **Zahariy Zograf** and other famous Bulgarian National Awakening painters.

In 1962, the Rila Monastery was turned into a national **museum**, also encompassing collections of religious and folk art and a number of guest rooms in various local styles. No monks were allowed to live in the monastery until 1968. After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, the monastery was given back to the **Bulgarian Patriarchate**; its vast properties (lands, mills, vineyard, and forests), however, were returned reluctantly. At the beginning of the 1990s, Tsar **Boris III** was (re)buried in the Rila Monastery church. It is now the main spiritual center of the country, a space for national celebrations and commemorations, and a site for solemn visits by important foreign guests.

RILA MOUNTAINS. Mountain range in southwest Bulgaria, 83 kilometers from west to east and 52 kilometers from north to south. The Musala summit in the eastern part of the Rila Mountains is the highest in the Balkan Peninsula: 2,925 meters—six meters higher than the Mount Olympus in Greece. In the Rila Mountains are the sources of the **Maritsa**, the Iskŭr, the Mesta, and many smaller rivers, part of which feed the Struma. Some of the rivers are dammed up in barrages to generate electricity. Vegetation and wildlife are abundant and varied. The Rila Mountains lack ores and minerals in economically vi-

able quantities, but fruit, vegetables, and **tobacco** are grown in the valleys. The Rila Mountains offer excellent conditions for forestry, but with a view to water management and **tourism** the exploitation of the woods is limited. Borovets and Malyovitsa are ski resorts with international reputations. In addition, the mountain scenery (for example, the seven Rila lakes) attracts many tourists. A trip to the **Rila Monastery** is a must-see for foreign visitors to Bulgaria and is a favorite weekend destination of Bulgarian citizens.

ROADS. Bulgaria has nearly 37,286 kilometers of roads, 35,049 kilometers of which are paved and 2,237 kilometers unpaved. Bulgaria has only 324 kilometers of expressways—between **Sofia** and Yablanitsa, on the way to **Varna** (Hemus Highway) and between Sofia and **Plovdiv**, enroute to **Istanbul** (Thrace Highway). The main means of transport are buses for long-distance conveyance of passengers and trucks for transporting goods. Haulage was an important source of revenue for the communist regime, with Bulgarian truckers specializing in transporting goods to the Near East. In the cities, buses and, to a lesser extent, trolleys transport passengers; tramways are rare, except in Sofia. Roads are now being renovated with foreign aid, especially from the **European Union** (EU).

ROMA. Roma—or Gypsies, as they used to be called—originated in northern India. Their language, Romany, appears to be related to the languages spoken in that area. Roma immigrated into Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries, probably partly through Egypt (hence their name in some European languages). They live in clans each of which is headed by the oldest **woman**. Some of them still lead nomadic lives. Their traditional professions were basket making and brass- and tin-smithing. After these professions disappeared, most of the Roma settled down and tried to earn their livelihood as unskilled workers. It is estimated that about 90% of the Roma are illiterate.

According to the 2001 census, there are 370,908 Roma in Bulgaria (313,396 in 1992) or 4.6% of the total population, although most of Roma organizations give higher figures—up to one million. Although this figure may be exaggerated, it is true that not all Roma declare themselves as such for fear of discrimination and ethnic bias. Their native language may be Romany, Bulgarian, or Turkish, and

most of the Roma are bilingual. The majority of the Roma are Muslim; others are Christians or do not profess any particular religion. During the communist regime, attempts were made to integrate the Roma into Bulgarian society, giving them jobs such as street cleaners and gardeners. In the 1970s, Muslim Roma were forced to adopt Christian (Bulgarian) names, allegedly to facilitate their integration. There was no schooling in Romany, nor did the Roma have any cultural institutions of their own.

After the fall of the communist regime, the Roma were the first victims of unemployment and social decay. However, since they collectively had more experience in helping themselves than did most Bulgarians, some of them succeeded in earning their livings by black-marketeering and other semi-legal activities. Although only a few Roma benefited from the economic chaos in post-communist Bulgaria (the overwhelming majority of Roma remained as poor as they had been previously), the whole Roma community became the Bulgarians' main scapegoat. Roma **crime**—limited mainly to pilfering and resulting from the lack of **education**, lack of prospects, and discrimination—was seized upon by some of the media as the starting point for a racist campaign, diverting public attention away from former **communist nomenklatura** members' economic white-collar crime. Among the many cultural and political Roma organizations that emerged, the Democratic Union-Roma (DU-Roma) appears to be the most important. While DU-Roma supports the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF), the Movement for Cultural and Social Development (MSCD) is close to the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP). In October 1992, Vasil Chaprazov established a new solid Roma organization, the Associated Union Roma (AUR), and on 8 May 1993, another Roma organization, the Confederation of Roma in Bulgaria (CRB), was founded. The majority of the members of these organizations are Christian Roma. During the 1990s, the Roma tried in vain to have their organizations registered as legal parties, in spite of the prohibition on ethnically based parties, and followed the example of the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), which indeed was registered. For some time, the Roma Manush Roman was UDF representative in the **National Assembly** (NA); other Roma have tried to achieve their goals in the BSP. In April 1998, the National Ethnic and Demographic Council drafted a basic integration program, pro-

viding for better education for Roma to enhance their chances on the labor market.

The Roma political and cultural organizations were highly ineffective due to divisiveness, **corruption**, lack of experience, and unwillingness of other political formations to cooperate with them or even take them seriously. Nevertheless, the Roma did exert some influence on the government's decision-making, and their fate is relatively better than that of the Roma in other Eastern European countries. Quite unexpectedly, Roma parties like *Roma* (led by Toma Tomov) and *Evrroma* (led by Tsvetelin Kûnchev) performed well in the fall 2003 local elections. Some 126 Roma, representing eight Roma parties and coalitions, were elected as members of Municipality Councils in more than 70 municipalities. In addition, 36 Roma were elected on behalf of parties and coalitions in which Roma participated. The share of Roma in the municipal administration all over the country increased from 100 representative in 1999 to 162 in 2003—in spite of the actions of a number of Bulgarian organizations that protested the “Gypsization” of their respective constituencies. The tide of ethnic intolerance has not turned. Prominent liberal politicians such as **Ognyan Saparev** and Milan Trenchev have made compromising statements in the media, advocating that the Roma live in ghettos since they do not want to comply with the laws of the society or calling on Bulgarian citizens to form vigilante patrols to protect Bulgarians against the Roma threat. The Helsinki Human Rights Watch has repeatedly condemned the increasing intolerance and discrimination against Roma in Bulgaria. In 2005, on International Roma Day (8 April), the Bulgarian government, in cooperation with seven other Central and Southeast European countries, launched the Decade of Roma Inclusion, an initiative to accelerate social integration and to improve the social status of the Roma. However, a number of incidents with fatal consequences only enhanced mutual distrust. As the June 2005 **election** results show, the Roma increasingly look for protection with the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF)**, while radicalized Bulgarians resort to racist parties like *Attack*.

ROMANIA (RELATIONS WITH). In the Middle Ages, Romanian cultural life was deeply influenced by Bulgaria; the many thousands of Slavic words in Romanian are mainly of Bulgarian origin. Old

Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) was the **language** of the **Orthodox** liturgy in the Romanian lands and was the written language of the Romanians until the 16th century; **Cyrillic** script remained in use until the middle of the 19th century. During the **National Awakening** period, many Bulgarian traders settled in Romanian and Moldovan cities such as **Bucharest**, Brăila, Galați, and Bolgrad. After the Crimean War (1853–1856), they were joined by political emigrants who turned the Romanian capital into a center of Bulgarian anti-**Ottoman** revolutionary activity, with only token interference by the Romanian authorities. Bulgarian-Romanian relations, traditionally friendly, were damaged during **Balkan War II** when Romania, after entering the anti-Bulgarian military alliance, annexed Southern **Dobrudja**, one of Bulgaria's most important agricultural areas, as compensation for the Romanian—actually **Vlach**—population that had been “lost” when **Macedonia** was divided among Bulgaria, **Greece**, and **Serbia**. Bulgarians in Southern Dobrudja were discriminated against and were forced to emigrate en masse. In 1940, the **Treaty of Craiova** returned Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria. The Treaty of Craiova was not annulled after **World War II**, and Southern Dobrudja remained within the borders of the Bulgarian state.

During communist rule, Bulgarian-Romanian relations were untroubled. Territorial and other questions between the two countries were settled in July 1947 by the Protocol of Bistrița. On 16 February 1948, a Declaration on Good-Neighborliness, Friendship, and Cooperation was signed, and it was renewed in 1970. In addition, the two countries worked together within the framework of the **Warsaw Pact** and the **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance** (Comecon). Romania's rather obstinate foreign policy and independent attitude toward the **Soviet Union** was not obstructive to Bulgarian-Romanian understanding.

Since the 1980s, however, relations have been troubled by **environmental** problems. Bulgaria on the one hand has complained about the Romanian chemical plants in Giurgiu, which pollute the air in the area of the city of **Ruse** on the **Danube**. Romania on the other hand has protested against further use of the unsafe Bulgarian **nuclear power plants** in Kozloduy. Since the downfall of “proletarian internationalism” in 1989, these environmental issues have been discussed in snappish tones. Nevertheless, on 28 January 1992, a new Declara-

tion on Good Neighborliness, Friendship, and Cooperation, including promises concerning the Ruse pollution problem, was signed.

For some time, a more serious threat to good relations was the willingness of some Romanian political leaders to adopt nationalist stances made by ultranationalist organizations such as *România Mare* (Great Romania), maintaining that Southern Dobrudja is “occupied” by Bulgaria as a result of the Treaty of Craiova. However, Romania has continued to make no official claims to Bulgarian territory, and the **European Union’s** (EU) insistence on mutual understanding and regional cooperation in the Balkans has in fact eliminated the threat to stability that such territorial disputes may represent.

In March 2000 the **Ivan Kostov cabinet**, after long negotiations, reached an agreement with the Romanian government on the construction of second bridge on the Danube near **Vidin**, which was to be paid for entirely by the Bulgarian state, since Romania had little interest in it. In March 2005, the prime ministers of Bulgaria and Romania signed a joint declaration boosting bilateral relations.

According to the Romanian 2002 census, there were 8,025 Bulgarians in Romania (compared to 9,935 in 1992).

ROMANIANS. Romanians are the descendents of the Dacians (a subdivision of the Thracians), who lived north of the **Danube** in antiquity and were Romanized in the second and third century AD as a result of Roman occupation and colonization. The Romanian language belongs to the family of Romance languages. The Romanian community in Bulgaria, living in the area south of the Danube, is hard to distinguish from the **Vlachs**. Their languages are very similar; the Bulgarians usually call the Romanians Vlachs, too. They are actually more akin to the Romanians in Romania, however, than to the Vlachs in the Balkan Mountains and in **Macedonia**, who are often called Aromanians. To make things even more complicated, the Romanian population in Southern **Dobrudja** consists to a large extent of descendants of Vlachs (Aromanians) from Bulgarian and Yugoslav Macedonia who settled in that region during the interwar period, when Southern Dobrudja belonged to Romania. After the 1940 **Treaty of Craiova**, many Bulgarian Romanians left for Romania as a result of the **population exchange** program provided for in the Treaty. According to Romanian figures, there were 138,638 Romanians (including Vlachs) in Bulgaria

at that time; about 84,000 of them emigrated to Romania. According to the 2001 census, there are 1,088 Romanians in Bulgaria (2,491 in 1992—a decline which can be partly explained by the increase in the number of Vlachs). In 1990, the Romanians and the Vlachs in the region of **Vidin** founded their own cultural society, which issues the magazine *Time* (*Timpul-Vreme*).

ROSE ATTAR. Rose attar is obtained by distilling the oil-bearing petals of the *Rosa damascena* in a special retort. The technology, which originated in Persia, was introduced into Bulgaria in the 17th century. From the end of the 18th century on, Bulgarian rose attar was a much sought after commodity on the international market. In the 1950s, Bulgaria was the world's largest exporter of rose attar. Approximately 2,000 hectares are still under cultivation, producing a yearly average of one ton of rose attar, which is sold to International Flavors and Fragrances in the **United States** and to other customers. The rose attar production has been endangered by fertilizer shortages and by rival growers in Turkey, China, and **Russia**. The **privatization** of the rose attar industry has been a sensitive issue, since rose attar is considered a matter of national pride. The valley near the city of Kazanlık where the roses are grown is a **tourist** attraction.

ROUNDTABLE NEGOTIATIONS. Negotiations between the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), respectively **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) represented by Aleksandûr Lilov, the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) represented by Zhelyo Zhelev, representatives of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU), and of some other political organizations from mid-January to mid-May 1990, concerning the transition from the totalitarian communist regime to a parliamentary democracy and a free-market economy. On 12 March 1990, the first agreements on the role and status of the negotiations and fundamental political options were signed. Important laws had to be approved by the Roundtable negotiators before being presented to the **National Assembly** (NA). The transition was to be effectuated in a “civilized” and “nonviolent” way; the press was to refrain from provocation. All party cells in the **army** and at workplaces were to be disbanded—only territorial party organizations would be permitted.

Bulgaria would become a parliamentary multi-party democracy based on the principles of the separation of powers and equal rights to all citizens. On 3 April 1990, the power monopoly of the BCP was abolished and a consensus was reached on the electoral system and was codified in the Law on Electing a **Grand National Assembly** (GNA). It was to be a compromise between the majority system, insisted upon by the socialists, and the proportional system, preferred by the opposition. The structure of the GNA, which had to adopt a new **constitution**, the number of seats, and the status and powers of the state president were also determined. A consensus on the procedures for the **elections** planned for June 1990 was to be reached much later. A reform plan to overcome the economic crisis could not be agreed upon either. The UDF, being in favor of economic “shock therapy,” considered the proposals of the then communist government to be too halfhearted.

The Roundtable Negotiations, which progressed with great difficulty through heated discussions and in an atmosphere of mutual distrust, played a decisive role in Bulgaria’s peaceful and relatively successful transition to parliamentary democracy. *See also* REPRESSION, POST-COMMUNIST.

RUM MILLETI. Literally “nation of the Romans,” that is, of the Byzantines; the community of all those belonging to the **Byzantine** Orthodox Christian church in the **Ottoman Empire**. After the fall of **Constantinople** in 1453, all the dioceses of the Balkan “national” churches, among which was the Bulgarian **Patriarchate of Tŭrnovo**, were abolished and were integrated in the *Rum milleti*, or **Patriarchate of Constantinople**. (An exception was made for the **Ohrid autocephalous archbishopric**.) The *millet* system was based on the Islamic principle of granting a protected status (*zimma*) to the people of the book (the Bible)—Christians of various denominations and **Jews**. Within the *millets*, no ethnic distinctions were made, which was particularly consequential to the *Rum milleti*, in which **Albanians**, Bulgarians, and **Greeks** were gathered. Since Greeks and Hellenized non-Greeks played a prominent role in the *Rum milleti*, it had a Hellenizing effect on the non-Greek flock, especially on the urban population. Each *millet* enjoyed great autonomy as far as theological, cultural, and judicial affairs were concerned. Although

the members of the non-Muslim *millet*s were discriminated against in many respects, the institution nevertheless defended them against Islamization and thus contributed considerably to Balkan Christians' preserving their own faith and ethnic particularities. The establishment of the **Bulgarian Exarchate**, in fact a *Bulgar milleti*, based on ethnic instead of religious affiliation, in 1870 ushered in the end of the classic *millet* system in the Ottoman Empire.

RUMELI. Turkish name of the Balkan Peninsula. Together with *Anadolu* (Anatolia or Asia Minor), it formed the core of the **Ottoman Empire**.

RUSE. City in northeast Bulgaria, on the **Danube**. Initially a Roman fortress, called Sexaginta Prista. It was known as Ruschuk in the **Ottoman** period, when it was one of the main Ottoman harbors on the Danube. In the 19th century, due to its location not far from **Bucharest** and on the waterway to Budapest and Vienna, Ruse was one of the first Bulgarian cities where Western cultural influences became perceptible. Ruse was the native city of the famous Jewish-Bulgarian writer Elias Canetti (1905–1994), who left interesting memories of the city in his autobiographical works. Since **World War II**, Ruse has developed into one of Bulgaria's main economic and cultural centers, thanks to its harbor, its proximity to the only bridge across the Danube, linking Bulgaria and Romania, and its educational institutions focusing on technological sciences.

RUSE COMMITTEE. One of the first **environmental** groups in Bulgaria, founded in 1988 and named after the city of **Ruse** on the **Danube**, which had been seriously polluted by chemical plants on the **Romanian** bank. The Ruse Committee wanted the Bulgarian government to protest to the Romanian government in order to have the pollution stopped. The Bulgarian government, however, not accustomed to being pressured by its citizens and eager to maintain good relations with Romania, had the members of the committee arrested or dismissed. The Ruse Committee was in fact Bulgaria's first real **dissident** group after communist rule was introduced in 1944. *See also* INFORMAL GROUPS.

RUSEV, SVETLIN (1933–). Painter. Born in Vûrbitsa near Pleven on 14 June 1933. He studied painting in Sofia and from 1973 to 1985, he was the president of the Union of Bulgarian Artists. Rusev was a close collaborator of **Lyudmila Zhivkova**; in that capacity, he played an important role in liberalizing the cultural climate in Bulgaria during her term as chair of the Committee for Culture. After Zhivkova's death in 1981, Rusev was the vice-president of the committee from 1982 to 1984. His dismissal was one of the events that marked the hardening of the **Bulgarian Communist Party's** (BCP) cultural policy in the late 1980s. In 1988, he joined the **Ruse Committee** and was ostracized. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, he became a member of the Alternative Socialist Association (ASA). At the 14th Congress of the BCP from 30 January to 2 February 1990, during which the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) was founded, he was elected as an additional member to the party's Supreme Council. Currently, he is engaged mainly in painting, exhibiting his works in Bulgaria and abroad.

RUSSIA (RELATIONS WITH). Traditionally, Bulgarians are rather attached to Russia and the **Russians**, although periods of tension have also occurred and 45 years of communist rule seriously damaged Bulgarians' Russophile feelings. Russian and Bulgarian are very close linguistically, due to the Old **Bulgarian** (Old Church Slavonic) influence on Russian during the Middle Ages and to Russian influence on Modern Bulgarian during the **National Awakening** period in the 19th century and during the **communist** period. Under **Ottoman** rule, the Bulgarians, like other **Orthodox** Balkan peoples, believed that the Russian tsar would liberate them from the "Turkish yoke."

Russian military operations against the Ottomans were welcomed and supported by the Bulgarians. During the 19th century, many Bulgarian intellectuals studied in Russia (in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, and Odessa) and became acquainted with Russian culture and Russian socialist revolutionary thinking. Russian literature was a model for Bulgarian writers.

Russia's popularity among the Bulgarians reached its peak immediately after the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**, which brought

independence to Bulgaria. Russia's ceaseless interference in the young country's internal affairs soon caused irritation, however, and relations rapidly deteriorated. Russia disapproved of Bulgaria's **union with Eastern Rumelia** in 1886 and broke diplomatic relations and even threatened Bulgaria with military reprisals. Thanks to **Stefan Stambolov's** bold action, Russian occupation was averted. Bulgaro-Russian relations remained tense until Stambolov's rule ended in 1894. During **World War I**, Bulgarian and Russian troops, belonging to various alliances, fought each other on the **Dobrudja** front—an event that most Bulgarians considered an aberration.

After the October Revolution in 1917, about 36,000 (armed) White Guard Russian refugees found shelter in Bulgaria. Since they considered **Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski** another Aleksandr Kerenski and often interfered in Bulgarian internal affairs in favor of the opponents of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** government, Stamboliyski supported the Soviet attempts to persuade the refugees to return home. Bulgaria had official contacts with the newly founded Soviet Union during the BANU government (1920–1923), although it was not until 1934 that diplomatic relations were established. In the meantime, the Soviet Union exerted considerable influence on Bulgarian domestic affairs through the **Comintern** and the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, especially on the eve of and during the **September 1923 Uprising**. The Comintern also had its own particular stance on the **Macedonian Question**. The partisan movement and the coalition of anti-fascist parties and groups in the **Fatherland Front (FF)** were completely dominated by communists, who staged the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944** with the help of the Red Army and established a communist regime that was totally subordinate to the Kremlin.

Under communist rule, Bulgaria was the Soviet Union's most faithful ally. The country was reorganized along the lines of the Soviet model by such BCP leaders as **Georgi Dimitrov** and **Vasil Kolarov**, who had spent more than a decade in Moscow as political emigrants. The **economy** was completely geared to the Soviet one; about 50% of Bulgarian exports went to the Soviet Union, which in exchange provided Bulgaria with cheap **energy** supplies and raw materials. The Bulgarian **army** was trained and controlled by Soviet offi-

cers. Russian was taught in all schools as a compulsory first foreign language. A Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation was signed in 1947 and renewed in 1967. In the 1970s, party leader **Todor Zhivkov** allegedly considered incorporating Bulgaria into the Soviet Union as a 16th republic—a plan rejected by the Soviet leaders because of the international consequences.

Although the friendship between the Bulgarian and the Soviet communist parties was expected to be “eternal,” the relations between Sofia and Moscow gradually chilled after Mikhail Gorbachev was elected first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. The Soviet Union declared itself no longer willing or able to provide Bulgaria with cheap oil in exchange for mere ideological fidelity. Through the Soviet ambassador to Sofia, Gorbachev repeatedly criticized the inefficiency of the Bulgarian economy and the questionable quality of Bulgarian industrial products. On the other hand, the BCP showed little enthusiasm for Gorbachev’s policy of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring). After the **coup d’état of 10 November 1989**, which ended the Bulgarian communist regime, Bulgaro-Soviet relations changed dramatically. Bulgaria threw off its submission to the Soviet Union, although economic and strategic interests imposed some caution.

In mid-1991, the renewal of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation and particularly of its military implications came under discussion. In general, the BSP and the army were in favor of it, but public opinion rejected the idea of Bulgaria being militarily allied to the Soviet Union any longer. On 4 August 1992, a new Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Relations, valid for 10 years, was signed in Sofia by Presidents Boris Yeltsin and **Zhelyo Zhelev**. The treaty stipulated that neither of the contracting parties “shall allow its territory to be used for military aggression or other violent activities against the other contracting party” and that “should one of the contracting parties come under military attack, the other contracting party shall provide no military or other support to the aggressor and shall help to resolve the conflict in accordance with the principles of the UN.” A special clause concerned the protection of the Russians in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian minority in Russia. A November 1993 agreement provided for the cooperation of the Bulgarian and the Russian Ministries of Defense. Thus Bulgaria secured

for itself arms supplies and the support of a traditional ally. At the beginning of 1994, President Zhelev repeatedly declared that Bulgaria's joining the Partnership for Peace program of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) was not aimed against Russia.

As a rule, the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) is more indulgent toward the Soviet Union than the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). The abortive coup d'état against Gorbachev on 18 August 1991 was not officially disapproved of by the BSP; the Soviet Union, later the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), retained its supporters among the Russophile BSP members. In May 1994, the commemoration of the victory of the Russian army in **World War II** by BSP members provoked violent confrontations with protesting UDF members. However, the rise of a Russian nationalism à la Vladimir Zhirinovski was regarded as a threat to Bulgarian independence by both parties, even by the Bulgarian ultranationalists of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), who invited Zhirinovskiy to visit Bulgaria.

During the **BSP Zhan Videnov cabinet**, relations between Bulgaria and Russia were good; Bulgarian and Russian businessmen worked smoothly together. The UDF **Ivan Kostov cabinet** showed more reluctance, inspired by a virulent anti-communism. Kostov's impatience to join the NATO and the **European Union** (EU) irritated Moscow. Bulgaria badly needed the Russian oil and gas supplies; in addition, Russia was still an enormous market for Bulgarian products. In April 1998, an agreement on the supply of Russian gas to Bulgaria was signed after long and difficult negotiations between the cabinet and the Russian state oil company Gasprom. In August 1998, UDF President **Petûr Stoyanov** met his Russian colleague Boris Yeltsin in a successful attempt to improve the diplomatic relations. Under the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet** and especially under the (socialist) president **Georgi Pûrvanov** the relations between Bulgaria and Russia improved even more. Many Russian tourists visit the Bulgarian seaside resorts. The Russian mafia is active in Bulgaria as well. In April 2005, an agreement was reached among Bulgaria, Russia, and **Greece** on the construction of the 285 kilometers and U\$800 million Burgas-Alexandroupoli oil pipeline, which will allow Russia to export oil, avoiding the busy Bosphorus Strait.

RUSSIANS. The inconspicuous but sizable Russian minority of 15,595 Russians in Bulgaria, according to the 2001 census (17,139 in 1992)—the third largest after the **Turks** and the **Roma**—consists of descendants of White Guard Russians who came to Bulgaria after the 1919–1921 Russian Civil War, and of Soviet citizens, who after the communist takeover in September 1944 moved to Bulgaria as “experts,” enjoying the same civil rights as Bulgarian citizens. The majority of the Russian community, however, is made up of Russian women married to Bulgarian men. After the fall of the communist regime their situation became precarious, but the Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Relations, signed in 1992, provided for the protection of their rights. Recently, many Russian businessmen have settled in **Sofia** and other major Bulgarian cities, having become Bulgarian citizens. The declining number (about 1,000) of descendants of the Russian Old Believers and the Cossacks who found refuge in Bulgaria in the 18th century—the so-called Lipovans or Nekrasovtzi—have largely merged with the Bulgarian population, although in some villages in the neighborhood of Silistra and **Varna** they have somehow survived. *See also* ETHNIC COMMUNITIES; RUSSIA.

RUSSO-TURKISH WAR (1877–1878). Usually called the Liberation War in Bulgarian, because it resulted in Bulgaria’s national liberation from **Ottoman** rule. The indignation of the whole of Europe about the Ottoman atrocities during the repression of the **April 1876 Uprising** in Bulgaria afforded **Russia** the opportunity to reactivate its traditional Balkan policy, which it had abandoned after the Crimean War, and urge the West European powers to seek an immediate and definite solution to the “Eastern Question.” The 1876–1877 **Istanbul Ambassadors Conference**, organized at Russia’s initiative, resulted in the 1877 **Protocol of London**, granting a certain degree of autonomy to Bulgaria. After this protocol was not accepted by the **Ottoman Empire**, Russia declared war on it on 12/24 April 1877. **Romania** allowed Russian troops to cross its territory and deployed troops itself. At the same time, an army of Bulgarian volunteers was formed. The Russian army, commanded by General Yosif Gurko, at first rapidly advanced to the south but was stopped and repelled by the Ottoman army near Stara Zagora. Stara Zagora was burned down.

The Ottomans then launched a counterattack and advanced to the north, but they did not succeed in taking the **Shipka Pass**, which would have given them access to the area north of the Balkan range. In the defense of the pass, Bulgarian volunteers fought heroically and played a decisive role. As a result of the Ottoman failure at Shipka, the city of Plevna in northern Bulgaria, which for months had been defended with equal heroism by Ottoman soldiers against the Russian and Romanian besiegers, was forced to surrender. The Russian troops, supported by armed Bulgarians, now occupied all of the territory that was to become Bulgaria, killing or driving out about half of the **Turkish** population. In December 1877 **Sofia** was taken, and in January 1878 the Russians conquered **Plovdiv** and Edirne (**Adrianople**) and proceeded toward **Istanbul**. Its troops exhausted and struck by epidemics, Russia accepted the Ottoman proposal of a cease-fire. On 19 January 1878, an armistice was agreed upon in Edirne, and on 19 February/3 March 1878, Russia and the Ottoman Empire signed the **Treaty of San Stefano**, which brought into being an independent Bulgarian state. The Treaty of San Stefano was revised by the **Treaty of Berlin** three months later.

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SAINT STEFAN'S. Bulgarian church in **Istanbul**, located in the present-day Phanar quarter. In 1849, the Bulgarians in the Ottoman capital were allowed to have their own church. It was erected the same year not far from the building of the **Patriarchate of Constantinople** on a site on the shore of the Golden Horn donated by **Stefan Bogoridi**; hence the church was dedicated to Saint Stefan. In 1851 a nunnery was added. In 1861, at the height of the **church struggle**, the Bulgarian community in Istanbul unilaterally declared Bulgarian ecclesiastical independence during the Eastern liturgy in Saint Stefan's. After the liberation of Bulgaria in 1878, plans were made to build a new church, which was consecrated in 1898. Since the unstable foundation could not bear a huge stone church, a cast-iron one was ordered from Austria and was assembled on the spot. The neo-baroque and rather Catholic-looking Saint Stefan's is still the religious center of the small Bulgarian **Orthodox** community in Istanbul.

SALONIKA. (*Greek*: Thessaloniki; *Slavic*: Solun.) City in **Greece**, capital of Greek **Macedonia**. Founded in AD 315. From the end of the sixth century on, the **Slavic** tribes who settled extensively in **Macedonia** repeatedly besieged the city but never succeeded in taking it. After Salonika was incorporated into the **Ottoman Empire** in 1430, it developed into an important administrative center and the second largest port in the European part of the empire (after **Istanbul**). At the beginning of the 16th century, many **Jews** from Spain and Portugal found refuge in the city. Bulgarians from the neighboring villages and towns who immigrated to Salonika were Hellenized; however, in the 19th century, a sizable Bulgarian community emerged that had its own churches, schools, and *chitalishtes*. When the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin** created the **Principality of Bulgaria** and the autonomous province of **Eastern Rumelia**, Salonika became the cultural and political center of the Bulgarians who had remained within the borders of the **Ottoman Empire** and the headquarters of the Bulgarian irredentists. Bulgarian and Macedonian nationalists had their first confrontations in Salonika. In **Balkan War I**, the Bulgarian army reached the city only one day after the Greek army and failed to take it. After **Balkan War II**, by virtue of the 1913 **Treaty of Bucharest**, southern Macedonia together with Salonika was given to Greece. All of the Slavic cultural institutions in the city were destroyed.

SALONIKA AGREEMENT (1938). Nonaggression pact between Bulgaria and the **Balkan Pact** member states, signed on 31 July 1938. The agreement was initiated by Great Britain in an attempt to block the increasing influence of **Germany** and Italy in the Balkans. It also resulted from the improvement in Bulgaria's relations with Belgrade due to the 1937 **Bulgarian-Yugoslav Pact "For Eternal Friendship."** The Salonika Agreement annulled the articles of the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** concerning armament and allowed Bulgaria to again have an army of its own. In exchange, **Greece** was allowed to remilitarize **Western Thrace**.

SALONIKA OUTRAGES. A number of bomb attacks on **Ottoman** public buildings and other objects in **Salonika**, carried out on 28–30 April 1902 by the *Gemidzhiyas* (literally: boatmen), a Bulgarian leftist

nationalist organization, in order to attract the international community's attention to the fate of the Bulgarians in **Macedonia** under **Ottoman** rule. On 28 April, the French passenger boat *Quadalquivir* was blown up. The next day the gas pipes to the city were dynamited, extinguishing the street lighting. During the night, another explosion destroyed the Imperial Ottoman Bank and an adjacent German bowling alley and a school. Later that night, the open air theater Alhambra, the Hotel Egypt, and the Eden Theater were blown up as well. An assault on the **Salonika** barracks and a telegraph office failed. The leader of the operation, Yordan Popyordanov, finally began shooting at random and throwing hand grenades at the crowd from a balcony before committing suicide with his last grenade. About a hundred people were killed. The international community was not inclined to show more comprehension for the Bulgarian cause in Macedonia.

SAMUIL (?–1014). Tsar. At the end of the 10th century, Samuil and his brothers David, Moysey, and Aron ruled over the southwestern part of Bulgaria, the region of **Sofia** and **Macedonia**, which had become an independent principality in the middle of the 10th century. For many years, they resisted the **Byzantine** advance on the Balkans. Samuil, who ruled alone from 991 on, enlarged his realm by conquering Thessaly and large Serbian and Albanian territories, bordering on the Adriatic Sea. In 1014, the Byzantine emperor **Basil II** (976–1025) launched a campaign against Samuil, defeated his army in a battle near Belasitsa, and had the eyes of the captured Bulgarian soldiers gouged out. Samuil died in Prilep of heart failure at the sight of his returning army. Four years later, the **First Bulgarian Empire** ceased to exist. In Macedonian historiography, Samuil is considered to be the founder of the first Slavic Macedonian state.

SANDANSKI, YANE (1872–1915). Freedom fighter. Born in Vlahi on 18 May 1872. In 1895, he joined the *cheta* movement in **Macedonia** as a member of the **Supreme Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Committee** (SMAC). In 1899, he went over to **Gotse Delchev's Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO). He organized the kidnapping of Miss **Ellen Stone**, and although he was opposed to the **Ilinden Uprising**, which he considered premature, he did participate in the military actions in the re-

gion of Serres (now in Greece). After the uprising was suppressed, he founded the so-called “group of Serres,” which stood for socialism and Macedonian autonomy. In 1907, Sandanski ordered the murder of **Boris Sarafov**, the leader of the pro-Bulgarian rightist wing of the liberation movement, thus ushering in a long tradition of mutual killing among both rival wings. In 1908, Sandanski enthusiastically welcomed the revolution of the Young Turks, from which he expected a democratic resolution to the **Macedonian Question**, but he was soon disappointed by the Turkish nationalist policy of the new government. He was killed by his Bulgarian adversaries on 22 April 1915 in Mlakite in South-Pirin.

SAN REMO, CONFERENCE OF (1920). *See* WESTERN THRACE.

SAN STEFANO BULGARIA. *See* SAN STEFANO, TREATY OF.

SAN STEFANO, TREATY OF (1878). Signed on 19 February/3 March 1878, in the Monastery of San Stefano in Yeşilkoy (now Istanbul Airport) by the representatives of **Russia** and the **Ottoman Empire**. The Treaty of San Stefano concluded the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War** and created an independent Bulgarian state after nearly five centuries of Ottoman domination. According to Articles 5 through 11 of the treaty, Bulgaria would become an autonomous vassal kingdom. It would have its own Christian ruler and its own government competent in all internal affairs, and its own police forces, but it would have to pay an annual tribute to the Ottoman sultan and gear its foreign policy to that of the Porte. For two years, Bulgaria would be administered by Russia. A constitution had to be drafted. The king would be elected by the Bulgarian people—that meant by the **National Assembly (NA)**—and appointed by the sultan, after the Great Powers had approved his nomination.

The most important point in the Treaty of San Stefano was the borders of the new Bulgarian state, based on the borders of the Bulgarian Exarchate and the Bulgarian autonomous region, which had been agreed to by the 1877 **Protocol of London**. Besides the territory of the present Bulgarian state, so-called San Stefano Bulgaria, or Great Bulgaria as it was often labeled abroad, would include the region of Niš (now in Serbia), the whole of **Macedonia** (without **Salonika** and

the peninsula of Chalkidiki), part of present-day **Albania**, **Western Thrace**, and the region of Edirne (**Adrianople**)—all the areas in the Balkans inhabited by people who were at that time generally considered Bulgarians. For this reason, the Bulgarians have always considered the borders mapped out by the Treaty of San Stefano to be fair. Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, and Prussia, however, apprehensive of the influence Russia would be able to exercise in the Balkans through Bulgaria, and being urged by the other Balkan nations who felt badly served by the treaty, insisted on its revision. Four months later, on 1/13 July 1878, the new **Treaty of Berlin** was signed, which annulled the Treaty of San Stefano and dismembered Great Bulgaria.

Although the Treaty of San Stefano was never implemented and Great Bulgaria never existed except on paper, its political effect was enormous. Bulgarian irredentists, striving for the incorporation of Macedonia in particular within the borders of the Bulgarian state, have always referred to this treaty. *See also* MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

SAPAREV, OGNYAN (1942–). Politician. Born in **Sofia** on 4 August 1942. He studied **Bulgarian language** and **literature**. After a short career at the Documentary Films Department of Bulgarian Television, he became a university assistant in **Plovdiv** in 1973 and a reader of literary theory in 1978. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the politically unaffiliated Saparev was appointed director of Bulgarian Television. On 5 November 1991, he was dismissed for having made a number of errors of judgment. Like **Petûr Beron**, he allegedly had been in touch with the secret service during communist rule. In January 1992, he ran for vice-president, together with Blagovest Sendov, but was not elected. After he received his Ph.D. in 1995, he became a professor at the University of **Plovdiv** one year later and subsequently was its rector until 2003. He has been a member of Parliament for the **Coalition for Bulgaria** (CFB) since 2001. Saparev is the author of a number of articles and books on literary theory.

SARAFOV, BORIS (1872–1907). National liberation fighter in **Macedonia** and the **Adrianople region**. Born in Libyahovo (now

Ilinden) on 12 July 1872. He studied at the Military Academy in **Sofia**. In 1899–1901, he was the chair of the **Supreme Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Committee** (SMAC), in which capacity he cooperated with **Gotse Delchev** and **Gyorche Petrov**, leaders of the rival **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO). After he resigned because of his complicity in a murder, relations between SMAC and IMARO became tense again. Sarafov actively participated in the preparation and execution of the **Ilinden Uprising** in 1903. After the uprising was crushed, he travelled throughout Europe, attempting to involve European public opinion and governments in the **Macedonian Question**. Sarafov defended a moderate, pro-Bulgarian policy, which was opposed by the more radical, leftist, and autonomist Yane Sandanski. On 28 November 1907, he was murdered in Sofia on Sandanski's orders.

SAVOV, STEFAN (1924–2000). Politician. Born on 8 January 1924 in **Sofia** to the family of a businessman and minister of finances in the **Ivan Bagryanov** cabinet. He studied law during the war. After the communist takeover in September 1944, his father was arrested and imprisoned. Savov succeeded in finishing his law studies, but after being interned for anti-communist behavior, he was a construction worker for 15 years and later became a translator from Spanish. In December 1989, he co-founded the **Democratic Party** (DP), one of the constituents of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). In June 1990, he was elected deputy to the **Grand National Assembly** (GNA), and in August 1990, chair of the DP. On 4 November 1991, Savov was elected chair of the **National Assembly** (NA). In the summer of 1992 the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), backed by the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), demanded that Savov, who had remained an ardent anti-communist, be dismissed as NA chair because of “offensive conduct.” He resigned on 24 September 1992. On 17 March 1993, he was elected UDF caucus leader by the UDF congress. The DP left the UDF in 1994 and joined the **People's Union** (PU), of which Savov was the cochair (together with **Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser**) from 1995 until 1997. Savov died on his birthday in 2000. He was one of the most honest and authentic post-communist Bulgarian politicians and exerted great moral authority.

SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA CABINET (24 JULY 2001–11 JULY 2005). After the elections of 17 June 2001, the **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS) obtained 120 of the 240 seats in the **National Assembly** (NA). Since the **United Democratic Forces** (Uddf) refused to cooperate with the NMSS, it entered a coalition government with the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF). Prime Minister **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha** included in his cabinet three young managers, who had studied and started their careers in the **United States** (**Nikolay Vasilev**, **Milen Velchev**, and **Plamen Petrov**), two independent “experts” (Kostadin Paskalev and Dimitŭr Kalchev, supported by the BSP), and two MRF members (Mehmed Dikme and Nedzhet Mollov). The cabinet consisted of uncompromised people, having no (known) connections with dubious financial groups. The share of **women** in the cabinet—no less than 40%—was considerably greater than in former cabinets. There was also a relatively large representation of young people, the average age being 45. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha promised rather pretentiously to turn Bulgaria into a prospering country within 800 days (which would conclude on 28 August 2003, exactly 60 years after his father’s death) by attracting **foreign investors** and creating jobs. With this promise, he became an easy target for the opposition. Actually, his cabinet did no better or worse than the former **Ivan Kostov cabinet**, as its endeavors to implement the *acquis communautaire*, imposed by the **European Union** (EU) gave him little freedom for improvisation or originality; however, the voters had high expectations.

The Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet paid particular attention to the restitution of arable land in order to give new impetus to **agriculture**—however, with limited results. The process of **privatization** of state enterprises continued. The privatization of *Bulgartabak* in particular caused huge problems, given the objections of coalition partner MRF, which defended the interests of its many **Turkish** and **Pomak** voters who earned a living in the **tobacco** industry. Reforms of the tax and customs authorities were aimed at reducing **corruption** and increasing the state’s revenues. The most impressive achievement of the Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet was Bulgaria’s joining the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) on 2 April 2004, as a result of Minister of Foreign Affairs **Solomon Pasi**’s efforts—and, to be sure, of the former Kostov cabinet’s policy of rapprochement. In the October-

November 2003 local elections, the NMSS suffered a heavy blow, obtaining only 10% of the vote. The emergence of the oppositional **New Era** group, split-off from the NMSS, led to a loss of 23 of the 120 seats in the NA.

See Appendix D for the composition of the original Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet.

On 17 July 2003, the cabinet was reshuffled. Bozhidar Finkov (Public Health) and Vladimir Atanasov (Education and Science), who had often been criticized by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, were both replaced by their respective vice-ministers Slavcho Bogoev and Igor Damyanov. Plamen Petrov (Transportation and Communications) was dismissed and replaced by Nikolay Vasilev, who left the Ministry of Economy to Lidiya Shuleva (formerly Labor and Social Welfare). The latter ministry was entrusted to Hristina Hristova. Nedzhet Mollov, minister without portfolio, was replaced by Filiz Hyusmenova. Plamen Panayotov became the third vice-prime minister, without portfolio but in charge of European integration. The reshuffle was voted against by the coalition partner **Movement for National Revival-Oborishte** (MNR-*Oborishte*).

On 21 February 2004, the cabinet was reshuffled again after a government crisis that was provoked by the MRF's refusal to back the **privatization** of Bulgartabak. Lidiya Shuleva, minister of economy, was replaced by Milko Kovachev. Nina Chilova replaced Bozhidar Abrashev at the head of a newly created ministry of culture and tourism. Miroslav Sevlievski was appointed as the new minister of energetics. Both Chilova and Sevlievski were members of **New Era** (NE), a group of NMSS defectors, who had nevertheless supported the NMSS in the NA. Mehmed Dikme, minister of agriculture and forestry, was sacrificed by the MRF and was replaced by Nihat Kabil.

The cabinet resigned on 11 July 2005 after the June 2005 parliamentary elections defeat.

SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA, SIMEON OF (1937–). Born on 16 June 1937. Son of Tsar **Boris III**; former prince of **Tŭrnovo** and heir to the Bulgarian throne. Since Simeon was only six years old in 1943 when his father died, a three-man regency led by his uncle Kiril held

the monarchical power. After the (manipulated) plebiscite on 8 October 1946 produced a majority of 92% in favor of a republican form of government, Simeon and his mother and sister left Bulgaria for Alexandria, Egypt. No abdication act was signed. After an attempt on Simeon's life failed, the royal family, invited by General Francisco Franco, moved to Madrid, Spain. In 1955, when he attained his majority, Simeon officially rejected the 1946 plebiscite. After graduating from the Collège de France in Paris, he studied law and economy at the Valley Forge Military Academy in Pennsylvania. When he returned to Spain, Simeon is said to have become a successful businessman with many international contacts in Spain, France, and North Africa. He married a Spanish-born woman, Margarita, and the couple had four sons (Kardam, Kiril, Kubrat, and Konstantin) and one daughter (Kalina).

Soon after the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, some circles in Bulgaria pleaded for the restoration of the monarchy. In January 1990, Simeon declared that he was prepared to return to Bulgaria if he could be of any use there, not as a new tsar but as a public figure with many political and business connections. He was inspired by the stabilizing role played by King Juan Carlos during the democratization process in Spain after Franco's death. Simeon was very popular with the Bulgarians, and although the new Bulgarian **constitution**, promulgated in June 1991, declares Bulgaria to be a republic, Simeon's supporters organized several dozen monarchist groups, the most important of which were the Kingdom of Bulgaria and the Confederation for the Tŭrnovo Constitution-Kingdom of Bulgaria. In addition, such prominent politicians as **Stefan Savov** and **Konstantin Trenchev** spoke openly in favor of the monarchy, and some of them, like Savov and **Ahmed Dogan**, visited Simeon in Madrid. Since he was still a Bulgarian citizen, Simeon obtained a Bulgarian passport on 12 June 1991. However, a planned referendum on the restoration of the monarchy never took place. In February 1992, the question was raised again by **Petko Simeonov**, the chair of the **Liberal Party** (LP); **Petŭr Dertliev**, chair of the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party** (BSDP), backed Simeon. At the beginning of 1993, when President **Zhelyo Zhelev** had lost much of his support, "Tsar Simeon" was promoted as a possible stabilizing factor in Bulgarian politics.

Simeon and Margarita made a first private visit to Bulgaria in May 1996 and were greeted warmly by the public. In the following years, Simeon became increasingly involved in Bulgarian politics. On 4 June 1998 the Constitutional Court decided that all properties of the tsar's family—including the palace in Vrana—should be restored. Since the **Ivan Kostov cabinet** had begun to lose its popular support, Simeon cautiously launched his election campaign. In 2001 he co-founded the **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS), which formed a coalition with the Party of Bulgarian Women and the **Movement for National Revival-Oborishte**. Although depicted by his opponents from the right and the left as an opportunist and populist who lacked political experience, Simeon won the parliamentary **elections** of 17 June 2001 and became prime minister of Bulgaria on 24 July 2001. The Constitutional Court opposed his candidacy for the presidential elections because he had not lived permanently in Bulgaria during the preceding five years. Simeon's position was quite ambiguous: he was addressed by some as "Your Highness," and by others as "Mister Sakskoburgotski." Even if he had ambitions of restoring the monarchy—which he never clearly stated—he had to renounce any such ambition due to his waning popularity. His cabinet tendered its resignation on 11 July 2005, after the June 2005 parliamentary elections defeat.

SCIENCE. Although by the Middle Ages scientific tracts of a religious nature had been written in Bulgarian, science in the modern sense of the word only commenced in Bulgaria in the 19th century. **Petûr Beron** may be regarded as the first Bulgarian scientist in a modern sense, but he was followed by many others. Due to the circumstances and the needs of the time, philology, ethnography, history, and the theory of education developed more rapidly than physical and exact sciences. The **Bulgarian Literary Society** (BLS), founded in 1869, which later became the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS), was the first Bulgarian scientific institution.

After the liberation in 1878, the humanities remained predominant for more than two decades. After the foundation of the University of **Sofia** in 1904, other scientific branches received paid attention as well, although most Bulgarian scientists still acquired their knowledge abroad.

During the communist period (1944–1989), chemistry, physics and nuclear physics, technology, cybernetics, agronomy, and the like became more important. In the 1980s, there were about 15,000 researchers whose activities were coordinated by the BAS, the Committee for Science, Technological Progress, and Advanced Education. After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, many scientific institutions were abolished for lack of funding. A large number of researchers looked for new jobs in the private sector. The brain drain has become one of Bulgaria's main problems, threatening the future intellectual, technological, and economic development of the country.

SECOND BULGARIAN EMPIRE. Name given to the Bulgarian state between its restoration in 1086 after the insurrection of the **Asens** against **Byzantine** rule and the conquest of the Bulgarian lands by the **Ottomans** by the end of the 14th century. The first tsars of the Second Bulgarian Empire greatly benefited from the chaos wrought in the Balkans by the Crusades and in particular the Fourth Crusade in 1204, during which the **Byzantine Empire** was destroyed. The Bulgarian Empire went through a period of rapid expansion, especially under Tsar **Ivan Asen II** (1218–1241), reaching about the same size as the **First Bulgarian Empire** (without the possessions north of the Danube). The capital was **Veliko Tŭrnovo**. Like its predecessor, the Second Bulgarian Empire suffered from social unrest—the uprising led by **Ivaylo**—and feudal dismemberment, especially in the 14th century. In addition, Bulgaria was forced to recognize the suzerainty of the **Mongolian** Golden Horde after the death of Ivan Asen II in the mid-13th century and of the Serbian tsar Stefan Dušan (1331–1355) after the defeat near Velbŭzhd (Kyustendil) in 1330. In the 1360s, on the eve of the Ottoman invasion, Bulgaria was partitioned into three small feudal states—Bulgaria proper, the Empire of **Vidin**, and **Dobrudja**—thus becoming an easy prey to the Ottomans.

In spite of its political weakness and territorial losses, cultural life in the Second Bulgarian Empire was of a high level. In this period, some of the finest Bulgarian churches were built and/or decorated with wall paintings (in **Boyana**, **Veliko Tŭrnovo**). Due to Teodosiy of Tŭrnovo and his more famous pupil **Evtimiy of Tŭrnovo**, Bulgarian literary life was renewed and enriched with new translations and

original works that exerted an enormous influence in the whole Slavic Orthodox world, especially in **Serbia** and **Russia**.

SECRET CENTRAL BULGARIAN COMMITTEE (SCBC)/TAEN TSENTRALEN BÛLGARSKI KOMITET (TTsBK), National liberation organization founded by Bulgarian emigrants in **Bucharest** in 1866 at the instigation of the **Romanian** government, whose relations with the **Ottoman Empire** were then very tense. The SCBC created a number of revolutionary cells in several towns in Bulgaria. After relations between Romania and the Ottoman Empire were normalized a year later and the Romanian government no longer supported the SCBC, the committee began promoting a reformist position: the creation of a dualist Bulgaro-Turkish monarchy, modeled on Austria-Hungary after the 1867 agreement. The Ottoman sultan would be the tsar of an autonomous Bulgaria. However, the sultan was not interested, and the more radical Bulgarian emigrants in Bucharest did not approve of the idea. The SCBC was disbanded in 1868.

SECRET MACEDONIAN-ADRIANOPOLITAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION. *See* INTERNAL MACEDONIAN-ADRIANOPOLITAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION.

SEMERDZHIEV, ATANAS (1924–). Professional soldier and politician. Born on 21 May 1924, in Lûzhene near Velingrad. He participated in the partisan movement during **World War II**. After the war, he studied military sciences in the **Soviet Union** and had a brilliant military career. In 1966, he became first vice-minister of defense—the minister being General **Dobri Dzhurov**, who was known to be his protector. After the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, on 27 December 1989, Semerdzhiev was appointed minister of internal affairs. Under his supervision, the abolition or reorganization of some compromised departments of the **State Security** started. He was also in charge of maintaining public order during the turbulent first months of the post-communist era. Largely thanks to his capable leadership, violence was avoided and the transition toward democracy claimed no lives.

On 2 February 1990, Semerdzhiev was elected a member of the Supreme Council of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)**. On 27

July 1990, during a stormy session of the **Grand National Assembly** (GNA), when the parliament building was surrounded by an infuriated crowd, Semerdzhiev resigned as minister of internal affairs. On 1 August 1990, the newly elected president, **Zhelyo Zhelev** proposed that the GNA appoint Semerdzhiev vice-president—a proposal that undoubtedly resulted from an earlier agreement with the BSP and was accepted by an overwhelming majority. He resigned on 22 January 1992, before the end of his term. In 2002, he was sentenced to a four and a half year prison term—which was later repealed—on the charge of being involved as minister of internal affairs in the **Stefan Sofiyanski interim cabinet** in the “disappearance” of about 140,000 compromising State Security files. He published his memoirs in 2004.

SENDOV, BLAGOVEST (1932–). Scientist and politician. Born on 8 February 1932 in Asenovgrad. He studied mathematics in Sofia, Moscow, and London and became professor of mathematics at the University of **Sofia**. From 1973 to 1979, he held the post of rector of the university; in 1980 he was elected vice-rector of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS). Never having been affiliated with the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), he was appointed chair of the BAS after the fall of the communist regime in 1989. In January 1992, Sendov ran for president, with **Ognyan Saparev** as his running mate, but was not elected. After the 18 December 1994 elections, he was chair of the 37th **National Assembly** (NA) from 1995 until 1997. Sendov wrote more than 30 handbooks and 200 scientific publications.

SEPTEMBER 1923 UPRISING. Organized by the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) and supported by leftist **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) members, the **September 1923 Uprising** was aimed at undoing the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**, which had put an end to the BANU government headed by **Aleksandûr Stamboliyski**. The BCP leaders **Georgi Dimitrov** and **Vasil Kolarov**, who was then first secretary of the **Comintern**, and others branded the coup d'état a “conflict between bourgeois parties” and did not support the BANU resistance against it; hence they were reprimanded by the Comintern for dogmatism. The BCP leaders then hastily decided

to prepare an armed uprising in the spring of 1924. After the massive arrests of communists by the **Democratic Alliance** (DA) government in mid-September had provoked clashes in the village of Mûglizh, however, the BCP leadership decided to go into action on 22 September 1923. The uprising had a massive following only in north-western Bulgaria and in the region of Pazardzhik; elsewhere the BCP elicited hardly any response. The uprising was easily crushed by the DA government. According to communist sources, about 5,000 rebels were killed; prominent communists and leftist BANU members and even those sympathizing with them were prosecuted and executed without trial, and others emigrated. As a result, some of the BCP members resorted to terrorism, which only increased the government repression. Exaggerating the proportions of the uprising, the DA government pleaded with the Western powers for relief of the limitations on armed forces imposed by the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** so it could cope with the communist agitation. Although in fact a rather thoughtless undertaking, the September 1923 Uprising entered Bulgarian communist mythology as the first anti-fascist uprising in the world.

SERBIA (RELATIONS WITH). Bulgaria and Serbia had been rivals throughout the Middle Ages. In the 9th–10th centuries, large parts of Serbia belonged to Bulgaria, while in the 14th century Bulgaria actually became a Serbian vassal state, with many family relations between both royal dynasties. Later, Bulgarians and Serbs shared the same fate under **Ottoman** domination. After its restoration in 1830, Serbia was both a threat and a possible ally to the Bulgarians. Attempts made in the 1860s at acting together against the Ottomans had no effect, partly due to mutual distrust (*see* BULGARIAN LEGIONS). Relations were seriously disturbed for the first time by the 1885 **Serbo-Bulgarian War**. The differences deepened as a result of both countries' exclusive claims on **Macedonia**. After Bulgaria and Serbia along with **Greece** and Montenegro had driven out the Ottomans from the Balkan Peninsula during **Balkan War I**, a bloody conflict—**Balkan War II**—broke out between Bulgaria on the one hand and Serbia, Greece, Montenegro, **Romania** and the **Ottoman Empire** on the other because of Macedonia, as a result of which Bulgaria was crushingly defeated.

During **World War I**, Bulgaria occupied Serbian Macedonia but was forced by the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** to evacuate it after the war. During the interwar period, relations between Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (from 1929 on Yugoslavia) remained tense. Bulgarian public opinion could not accept the Serbian policy of Serbicizing the Slavic population of Macedonia, of which a considerable segment felt that they were Bulgarian, and resented the annexation by Serbia of the so-called **Western Districts** in 1919. After the war, the terrorist actions by the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO) on Yugoslav soil thwarted every effort at the normalization of relations between both countries. The 1923 Niš agreement on the security of the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border had little effect. Besides, the Yugoslav government preferred to keep vindictive Bulgaria isolated and weak. After the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**, the power of the IMRO was broken and Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations began improving. In September 1934, King Aleksandar visited Sofia only a few weeks before he was assassinated in Marseille, France, by a Macedonian terrorist. Nevertheless, Sofia and Belgrade continued the rapprochement, and in 1937 a **Bulgarian-Yugoslav Pact "For Eternal Friendship"** was signed, which lasted hardly more than four years: after Yugoslavia surrendered to the Germans in 1941, Bulgaria was allowed by the Germans to administer Macedonia, although it behaved as if Macedonia was annexed.

During **World War II** communist plans to create a Balkan federation, which would resolve the **Macedonian Question** by establishing a Macedonian state as one of the constituent republics, were met with reservation by the Bulgarians, including some Bulgarian communists, since to them the Macedonian Question was now resolved. The postwar Bulgarian communist government, however, recognized the existence of a separate Macedonian nation and was even prepared to cede **Pirin Macedonia**, in exchange for Yugoslavia's insistence on the restitution of **Western Thrace** to Bulgaria at the 1946 **Paris Peace Conference**. The negotiations about a Balkan federation were hampered by the problem of whether Bulgaria would be the seventh Yugoslav republic or on an equal footing with the whole of Yugoslavia. Finally, Stalin came out against a Balkan federation and, after Tito's rupture with the **Soviet Union** in 1948, relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were frozen.

During the communist period (1944–1989), trade developed more or less normally, but the hereditary territorial dispute over Macedonia remained, intensified and disguised at the same time by the ideological disagreement. Although Bulgaria's attitude toward Yugoslavia was primarily a Bulgarian issue, the **Macedonian Question** was suppressed whenever the Soviet Union strove for better relations with Yugoslavia. After the Soviet Union, under Nikita Khrushchev, became reconciled with Yugoslavia in 1962, Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations immediately began improving. In June 1978 the BCP leader **Todor Zhivkov** declared in a speech in Blagoevgrad, the capital of Pirin Macedonia, that Bulgaria had no territorial claim on Yugoslav Macedonia and was prepared to sign an agreement "tomorrow" on the inviolability of the borders. The Yugoslavs, however, insisted on the Macedonian minority being recognized and given national rights in Bulgaria, which was unacceptable to Sofia.

The post-communist Bulgarian governments did not change their stance on the Macedonian Question, although the Yugoslav government repeatedly requested that the Macedonian minority be recognized by the new democratic regime. President **Zhelyo Zhelev** nevertheless tried not to bring the issue to a head. Yugoslavia's disintegration was regarded as a welcome development and Bulgaria was among the first to officially recognize the new independent ex-Yugoslav republics—and the first to recognize Macedonia—on 15 January 1992. On 5 June 1992, the Bulgarian government decided to support the **United Nations** (UN) Resolution 757 of 30 May 1992 concerning the boycott against Yugoslavia (then consisting only of Serbia and Montenegro). UN Resolution 787 of 16 November 1992 forbade the transport of goods through Yugoslavia, and Resolution 820 of 17 April 1993 tightened up the control of the boycott on the **Danube**. The Bulgarian economy suffered heavily (between US\$601 million and US\$1.15 billion according to the International Monetary Fund) from the loss of the Yugoslav market and the ban on transporting goods through Serbia. The Bulgarian government asked in vain for an end to the trade embargo and for compensation. At the same time, some Bulgarians made a small fortune by smuggling goods into Yugoslavia and participating in other illegal transactions.

After Yugoslavia had given up Macedonia in 1992, many Bulgarians began to feel a kind of sympathy for the Serbs' fight for national

unity, especially as it was perceived as aimed against an alleged Muslim threat. On 15 February 1993, Zhelev denounced the idea of Turkish troops passing through Bulgaria in case of a military intervention by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) in former Yugoslavia. Both Greece and Bulgaria agreed on 12 March 1993 not to have their soil used for military intervention against former Yugoslavia.

Nevertheless, the **Ivan Kostov cabinet**, working for Bulgaria's accession to the NATO, condemned the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo by the Yugoslav security forces, and on 4 May 1999 the **National Assembly** (NA) voted in favor of approving NATO's request to allow limited use of the country's airspace for the military intervention in Yugoslavia, although the majority of the Bulgarians, projecting their own negative feelings toward the Turkish minority in Bulgaria on the Kosovars, had considerable understanding for the Serbs. The **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) in particular displayed barely concealed sympathy for the Yugoslav president Slobodan Milošević. After the fall of Milošević, when Yugoslavia's international isolation was lifted, the relations between Bulgaria and Serbia and Montenegro (as Yugoslavia eventually renamed itself) were fully normalized, both countries being aware of the need to cooperate. From time to time, however, Bulgaria complains about the treatment of the Bulgarian minority in the Western Districts by the Serbian authorities. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

SERBO-BULGARIAN WAR OF 1885. Pretending that the balance of power in the Balkans was disturbed by the territorial expansion of the **Principality of Bulgaria** after the **union with Eastern Rumelia** in September 1885, the **Serbian** government declared war on Bulgaria and invaded the country on 2 November 1885. The Bulgarian army, concentrated near the southeastern border because an Ottoman attempt at undoing the union was generally expected, moved to the Serbian border in the east within five or six days; in the meantime, small Bulgarian units had successfully repelled the Serbian advance near Slivnitsa. After the arrival of the Bulgarian army, the Serbs were defeated and the Bulgarian army penetrated deep into Serbian territory, approaching Belgrade. After Austria-Hungary intervened diplomatically, an armistice was signed in Belgrade on 7 December 1885.

On 19 February/3 March 1886, a peace treaty was concluded in **Bucharest**, consisting of only one clause: “The peace between the Serbian Kingdom and the Bulgarian Principality is restored.” The treaty was considered to be an important step toward international recognition of the union with Eastern Rumelia. The Bulgarian victory contributed greatly to the prestige of the young Bulgarian state.

SEVEN SLAVIC TRIBES. Slavic tribes that lived in a vast area of present-day southern **Romania** and northern Bulgaria. In the second half of the seventh century they created a strong and lasting tribal alliance; the tribes, together with the **Proto-Bulgarians**, constituted the first Bulgarian state in 681.

SHIPKA PASS (BATTLE AT THE). The Shipka Pass is located in the **Balkan Mountains**, north of Kazanlûk. Since it is one of the few passages between the **Danubian Plain** and **Thrace**, it is of exceptional strategic importance. During the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**, the pass was entrusted to a small Russian detachment and five Bulgarian volunteer battalions (in total 7,500 men), commanded by Russian General Nikolay Stoletov. In the beginning of August 1877, the Ottoman general, Süleyman Pasha, brought into action a 27,000-man army with 48 pieces of artillery, in order to take the pass. After three days of heavy fighting, at the very moment the pass was about to fall, General Fyodor Radetski arrived with relief, preventing the **Ottomans** from breaking through to the north. The successful defense of the Shipka Pass determined the course of the rest of the war and rightly allowed the Bulgarians a share in the Ottoman defeat. The Shipka Pass has become one of Bulgaria’s sacred **historical places**.

SHIPPING. Shipping traffic is restricted to the **Danube**—the only navigable Bulgarian river—and the **Black Sea**. The main ports on the Danube are Lom, Svishtov, and **Ruse**. In 1987, more than 4,000 million tons of goods and nearly 300,000 passengers were transported by Bulgarian ships on the Danube. The **European Union (EU)** had provided financial aid in order to undo the stagnation of shipping on the Danube after the river was blocked for two years by Serbian bridges that had been destroyed during the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** military intervention in Yugoslavia in 1999. The

main Black Sea ports are **Varna** and **Burgas**. In 1995, the port of Tsarevo (Michurin during communist rule) was made accessible for international shipping. The port of Burgas was modernized with Japanese financial aid. Bulgarian seagoing vessels previously docked mainly at such Russian Black Sea ports as Odessa, but had connections throughout the world as well. In 2001, the merchant navy consisted of 172 vessels. It transported nearly 955,300 gross registered tons of goods.

SIDEROV, VOLEN (1956–). Journalist and politician. Siderov was born in Yambol on 19 April 1956. He studied mathematics and Bulgarian philology. He was editor-in-chief of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) daily *Democracy* and later deputy editor-in-chief of the rightist daily *Observer* (*Monitor*). As host of a cable TV show and author of *Bulgarophobia* (*Bulgarofobiya*) and other nationalist and paranoiac books, he blamed Jews, Muslims, “sects,” freemasons, liberalism, parliamentarianism, the **European Union** (EU), et cetera, for all that went wrong in post-communist Bulgaria. In May 2005, he founded the fascistic party *Attack*, which performed surprisingly well in the June 2005 **parliamentary elections**.

SIMEON (863 or 864–927). Bulgarian tsar. Third son of King **Boris I**. He studied in **Constantinople** and became a monk. After returning to Bulgaria in 866, he devoted himself to literary work, cooperating with the pupils of **Cyril and Methodius**. Simeon was proclaimed king of Bulgaria in 893. He resumed his father’s policy of Christianizing his realm, favoring Bulgarian culture in order to reduce **Byzantine** influence. Simeon consolidated Bulgaria’s international position and enlarged its territory, conquering vast stretches of **Thrace**, **Macedonia**, and **Albania**. In 913 he besieged Constantinople and forced the Byzantines to accept his daughter as the emperor’s wife and to recognize him as the *vasilevs* (“emperor”) of Bulgaria. A year later, after a palace coup in Constantinople, these concessions were revoked. After Simeon defeated the Byzantines near the river Aheloy (near present-day Pomorie) in 917, he assumed the title of “Emperor of the Bulgarians and the Romans [Byzantines],” actually the title of *tsar* (equivalent to *caesar*, a Byzantine title close to “emperor”). In 918, he proclaimed the independence of the Bulgarian church, which

became a **Bulgarian patriarchate** 10 years later. During another campaign against Constantinople in 924, Simeon unexpectedly died. Under his rule, the **First Bulgarian Empire** increased its territorial extent, reached its cultural apogee, and consolidated its political and ecclesiastical independence. He is considered the Bulgarians' greatest tsar.

SIMEON II OF SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA. *See* SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA, SIMEON OF.

SIMEONOV, PETKO (1942–). Real name: Petko Simeonov Petkov. Sociologist and politician. Born in Ferdinand (now Montana) on 11 May 1942. He studied philosophy at the University of **Sofia**. In 1969 he was granted an appointment at the Institute for Sociology of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS). He published a number of articles and books on sociological problems. On 3 November 1988, he was among the cofounders of the Sofia **Club for Glasnost and Democracy** (CGD), in which he played an important role as a critic of the communist system. On 20 January 1990, he was elected chair of the Federation of Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy (FCGD). He remained a member of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BDP) until early 1990. After the FCGD joined the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) in March 1990, Simeonov became one of the most prominent UDF ideologists and strategists. At variance with the other UDF leaders, Simeonov was in favor of a **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP)-UDF coalition government after the June 1990 elections. On 27 July 1991, when the FCGD split into two factions, half of the clubs reorganized and remained within the UDF, while the other half, led by Simeonov, maintained the existing loose internal structure and left the UDF. On 26 October 1991, Simeonov was one of the cofounders of the Bulgarian Democratic Center (BDC). Currently, he is the chair of the Bulgarian Party-Liberals (BP-Liberals), which entered a coalition with the Liberal Conservative Party.

SIXTH DEPARTMENT. The Sixth Department of the Committee for **State Security** fought “ideological subversion” during communist rule. It was particularly vigilant regarding circles of writers and artists, looking for **dissidents** and others who succumbed to Western

“bourgeois” cultural influences. It was abolished after the fall of the communist regime in November 1989.

SLAVEYKOV, PENCHO (1866–1912). Poet. Born on 27 April 1866 in Tryavna, a son of **Petko Slaveykov**. From 1892 to 1898, he studied philosophy in Leipzig, where he became acquainted with the works of Friedrich Nietzsche and other modern German thinkers. Back in Bulgaria, he cooperated closely with Krústyo Krústev, the editor-in-chief of the magazine *Thought (Misûl)*. He worked as a teacher, a stage director, and a librarian. In 1912, he was fired by the new minister of education and left the country. Slaveykov died at Como Brunate in Italy on 28 May 1912.

Slaveykov pleaded for the “Europeanization” of **Bulgarian literature**. According to him, Bulgarian literature should participate in Western European artistic currents (modernism, symbolism) and deal with such contemporary European subject matter as philosophical individualism, Nietzscheanism, and the like. By doing so, he renewed Bulgarian literature and paved the way for Bulgarian symbolism and expressionism. Slaveykov himself was a gifted poet who preferred contemplative, philosophical poetry, as in *On the Isle of the Blessed (Na ostrova na blazhenite, 1910)*. His long and tedious epic evocation of the **April 1876 Uprising**, *Song of Blood (Kûrvava pesen, 1911)* yielded his nomination for the 1913 Nobel Prize for Literature.

SLAVEYKOV, PETKO (1827–1895). Journalist, writer, ethnologist, and politician. Born in **Veliko Tûrnovo** on 17 November 1827. Although a man of impressive knowledge, Slaveykov had never received any serious schooling. In 1843, he was appointed a teacher in his native city but was soon obliged to leave because of his involvement in the local **church struggle**. Slaveykov subsequently taught in several Bulgarian towns, taking the opportunity to collect folk songs from throughout Bulgaria. In the meantime, he began writing poetry and published reports and commentaries on Bulgarian events (in particular the church struggle) in several Bulgarian newspapers and periodicals, some of them, including *Bagpipe (Gayda, 1863–1867)* and *Macedonia (Makedoniya, 1866–1872)* edited by himself. In 1864, he moved to **Istanbul**, where he became one of the key figures in the po-

litical life of the Bulgarian community there. In 1874 he was forced to leave the Ottoman capital. After the liberation in 1878, Slaveykov was appointed as a member of the **Constituent Assembly**, where he headed the liberal parliamentary group which soon developed into the **Liberal Party** (LP). After the suspension of the **Tŭrnovo Constitution** and the establishment of **Alexander Battenberg's personal regime** in 1881, Slaveykov left the **Principality** for **Eastern Rumelia**, where he helped prepare for the **union**. In 1883, as soon as the constitution was restored, Slaveykov returned to **Sofia** and held several ministerial posts, at the same time resuming his journalistic activities. During the rule of **Stefan Stambolov**, from 1886 to 1894, he was sidelined because of his pro-Russian sympathies. He died on 1 July 1895.

Slaveykov, one of the most charming and original figures of the Bulgarian **National Awakening**, is the author of some of the finest Bulgarian poems, among which *The Spring of the White-Footed Girl* (*Izvorŭt na Belonogata*, 1873) is the most famous. He also published studies on Bulgarian ethnology and local history, travel accounts, autobiographical pieces, collections of proverbs, and oral literature. His journalism is still very enjoyable because of his expressive language and sharp wit. *See also* BULGARIAN LITERATURE.

SLAVOV, ATANAS (1930–). Writer. Born on 25 July 1930 in Sliven. He studied English philology in Sofia and then worked in Sofia as a university teacher and historian of **Bulgarian literature** and arts. His first poems, published in 1962, were critiqued by **Todor Zhivkov** himself. In 1975, he was sent to the **United States** by the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS). Since then, he has lived there as a writer, critic, and researcher. The most interesting aspect of Slavov's oeuvre, however, is his memoirs, in which he describes the political and intellectual atmosphere in Bulgaria in the 1960s and 1970s (*With the Precision of Bats*, published in 1986; written in 1978–1879). *The "Thaw" in Bulgarian Literature* (1981) is a combination of memoirs, literary history, and criticism, and is the best account of Bulgarian literary life in the communist period ever written. Slavov also wrote novels, poems, studies on Bulgarian **folklore**, a Romany-English dictionary, a Bulgarian cookbook, and other works in English.

SLAVS. Common name of a group of tribes speaking a language belonging to the Slavic branch of Indo-European languages and eventually developing into distinct Slavic peoples—the Russians, the Poles, the Bulgarians, and others. The Slavs originated in Central Asia. In the fifth century, after they had settled in the vast region between the Carpathian Mountains, the Baltic Sea, and the Pripyat Marshes, they began pushing out in all directions. From the end of the sixth century, some Slavic tribes originating in the Pannonian Plain where they lived under **Avar** domination began penetrating deep into the Balkan Peninsula, reaching the Peloponnesus and even Crete, as toponyms show. In the continental part of the Balkans, the autochthonous population was either driven away or was gradually assimilated. Although in **Greece** and **Albania** the Slavs were eventually pushed back or assimilated themselves, in Bulgaria, **Macedonia**, and **Serbia** there has been an overwhelming Slavic presence ever since. The Slavic tribes that formed the nucleus and the main component of the Bulgarian ethnic group that emerged in the course of following centuries are known as the **Seven Slavic Tribes**. After they merged with the **Proto-Bulgarians** they created a powerful state that was rivaled only by the **Byzantine Empire** before the 13th century and by **Serbia** in the 14th century. *See also* BULGARIANS (2).

SOBELEV ACTION. Movement organized by the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP; then called Bulgarian Workers' Party) to support the 12-point proposal made by Soviet Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Arakadi Sobelev on 26 November 1940. The proposal was an outgrowth of the 1939 Molotov-von Ribbentrop pact between the **Soviet Union** and Nazi **Germany**, which made Germany's informal ally, Bulgaria, and the Soviet Union mutually acceptable partners. The proposal provided for Soviet support of Bulgaria's ambition to obtain Greek and Turkish **Thrace** and for Bulgaria's support of the Soviet interests in the **Black Sea** and the Straits. The BCP was very much in favor of the proposals and organized several mass meetings to persuade the government to accept them. They were ultimately rejected by Tsar **Boris III** and the cabinet, who preferred to retain the appearance of neutrality and maintain good relations with Turkey.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP)/SOTSIALDEMO-KRATICHEska PARTIYA (SDP). Founded on 28 March 1992.

This rightist social democratic political formation was a member of and from 1998 onward associated with the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). The SDP's leader since its foundation has been Ivan Kurtev.

SOCIAL SECURITY. During the Middle Ages, social security (health care, relief for the poor, orphanages, and the like) was organized by the Church. This remained so after the establishment of **Ottoman** rule at the end of the 14th century. In addition to the Christian charitable institutions, however, Muslim institutions were founded (almshouses, caravansaries, hospitals) that were often accessible to Christians, too. In villages, social security was provided by the commune; in the cities, especially from the 17th century on, the guilds took care of the disabled and distressed among their members and their relatives. After independence in 1878, the old structures continued to exist, while the nascent workers' movement produced its own forms of social security, including aid to the unemployed. Later on, some of this was provided by the state. Although due to the economic crisis in the 1930s not all the needs could be satisfied, the Bulgarian social security and health care system was the most advanced in the Balkans. The Balkan tradition of relatives helping one another in case of need was activated whenever the state social security system failed.

The social security system was one of the trump cards of the communist regime. People were taken care of from the cradle to the grave. Although wages were low, there was apparently no unemployment. Health care was free; vacations were organized by the **labor unions**. The treatment of orphans and disabled children, however, was often deplorable.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the communist social security system was seriously threatened. The transition from a centrally planned to a market economy involved inflation, unemployment, and increases in the prices of consumer goods and of heating, health care, and public transport. While social security became more expensive, the number of those needing it increased dramatically. Nearly one-third of all Bulgarians lived at or

below the poverty level. Free medicine for pregnant women, children under six years of age, pensioners, and the handicapped was abolished. Between 1989 and 1993 the state eliminated 1.8 million jobs, while the private sector created only 503,000. The government established an independent Occupational Training and Unemployment Fund to take care of the unemployed, relying on the state and the employers. By the end of July 1994, there were more than half a million unemployed who were entitled to an allowance; their number increased monthly by 1.06%. Nearly 150,000 of them were below the age of 24. Those who were employed received compensation during sick leave and fully paid maternity leave.

The 2.5 million pensioners have an especially hard time, as the average pension is low (about US\$75 a month). The retirement age is 60 years for men and 55 for women. The average rent for a two-room flat in one of the major cities amounts to US\$100 a month. Under communist rule, 85% of the flats were private property (often built cooperatively) and only 15% were rented by the state; however, it has now become practically impossible for an average earner to buy or build a flat or a house. The situation is not as bad as the figures may suggest, however. Many people have a job on the side, and in the private sector more people are employed and more revenue is collected than is officially declared.

Under the **Zhan Videnov cabinet** (1995–1996), due to inflation the average wages decreased to several US dollars a month. Living conditions began to slowly improve during the **Ivan Kostov cabinet** (1997–2001) and continued gradually improving during the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet** (2001–) in spite of the constant increases in the prices of consumer goods and services. Although unemployment is declining (more than 18% in 2001, 13.5% in 2003, 10.8% in 2004, and an expected 10% in 2006, the European average), the percentage of people living below the poverty line remains about the same. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) purchasing power parity in 2003 amounted to an estimated US\$7,600, which is far below the European average. The average hourly pay was US\$1.5. Ninety percent of the estimated 260,000 disabled persons in Bulgaria are jobless.

Given the lack of a serious social care system and the consistent price increases combined with low salaries and unemployment, one

wonders how Bulgarians manage to get by. Family solidarity and the illegal economic circuit offer only a partial explanation.

SOFIA. Capital of Bulgaria. In the eighth through seventh centuries BC, there was already a settlement of the **Thracian Serdi** tribe on the spot where Sofia is now located. It was conquered by the Romans at the beginning of the first century AD and named *Serdica*. A number of **archaeological** finds and sites in the center of the city date from the Roman period. When the Roman Empire was divided at the end of the fourth century, Sofia found itself in the eastern part, which eventually became the **Byzantine Empire**. In 809, the city was incorporated into the **First Bulgarian Empire**. The **Slavs** called it *Sredets* (derived from *Serdica*); in Byzantine sources, *Sredets* is rendered as *Triadhitsa*. The city remained the administrative center it had been since earliest Roman times, though economically it depended greatly on the agriculture of the surrounding plain. The many monasteries in the neighborhood indicate that Sofia (an episcopal seat) was also an important spiritual center. In 1382, Sofia was taken by the Ottoman **Turks** and was turned into the capital of **Rumeli**, the European part of the empire, because of its central position on the road from Belgrade to Istanbul. The city gradually acquired an oriental aspect, due to the many mosques, caravansaries, and other Ottoman public buildings that were erected. The population of the city became overwhelmingly **Muslim**. In the 18th and 19th centuries, there was rapid economic growth due to the development of crafts and manufacturing, coupled with a sizable immigration of Christian Bulgarians. This resulted in the flourishing of Bulgarian education and cultural life, although Sofia in this respect never equaled Edirne or **Plovdiv**, or other cultural centers more to the east, let alone **Istanbul**.

Only after liberation from Ottoman domination in 1878 did Sofia develop into Bulgaria's administrative, economic, and cultural nucleus. From the rather provincial oriental city it grew into a modest 19th-century European capital with a royal palace, a parliament, a large neo-Byzantine cathedral, a theater, an opera house, imposing mansions along broad boulevards, an impressive university building, and many public gardens. Paving tiles of a delicate yellow color and the abundance of chestnut trees have given a unique charm to many of Sofia's streets and squares. After **World War II**, the devastation

caused by the bombing of the city was seized upon as an opportunity for reconstructing the city center in the notorious pompous Stalinist style, which has to a large extent dominated the city's atmosphere ever since.

Sofia had about 100,000 inhabitants in 1910; it now has more than 1.1 million inhabitants. About 20% of Bulgarian industry is concentrated in or around Sofia.

SOFIYANSKI CABINET (12 FEBRUARY 1997–21 MAY 1997). Interim cabinet, established after weeks of violent demonstrations, forced the **Zhan Videnov cabinet** to resign. **Stefan Sofiyanski** immediately appointed himself the president of a special council for economic recovery. He resumed the negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMPF), asking for special credits in order to be able to supply food for the population and to put the balance of payments in order.

See Appendix D for the composition of the Sofiyanski cabinet.

SOFIYANSKI, STEFAN (1951–). Politician. Born on 7 November 1951 in Sofia. He studied economy and statistics and then worked in the Ministry of Communications and Information and in the Center for Computerization of Construction and Construction Industry. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, he was elected chair of the **United Christian Democratic Center (UCDC)**, one of the constituent members of the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)**. Sofiyanski held important posts in the civil service, for example, as the chairman of the Committee for Mail and Information. In 1995 he was elected mayor of Sofia, and after a successful term of office he was reelected in 1999. On 12 February 1997, President **Petър Stoyanov** appointed him as prime minister of an interim cabinet in anticipation of the April 1997 parliamentary elections. In 2001, he left the UDF out of dissatisfaction with **Ivan Kostov's** authoritarian leadership, and on 9 December 2001 he was elected chair of the newly formed party **Union of Free Democrats (UFD)**. In the November 2003 local elections, he won a third term as mayor of Sofia, beating the UDF candidate (and chair) **Nadezhda Mihaylova**. In May 2004, he was suspended as mayor for some time because of his involvement in a real estate financial scandal in Sofia.

SOFRONIY OF VRATSA (1739–AFTER 1813). Real name: Stoyko Vladislavov. Bishop and writer. Born in Kotel in 1739. At the beginning of his career, he was a priest and village teacher in his native city. From 1770 to 1775, he lived as a monk on Mount **Athos**. On returning to Bulgaria, he was given a parish in Karnobat. In 1794, when he was elected bishop of Vratsa, he adopted the spiritual name Sofroniy. After many dangers and vicissitudes during the time of the *kûrdzhaliyas* and the reign of the local potentate **Osman Pazvantoglu** of Vidin, Sofroniy emigrated to **Romania** and settled in **Bucharest**, where he devoted the rest of his life to writing. He compiled two collections of edifying texts, *Sermons and Homilies for Holy Days* (*Poucheniya i slovokazaniya na praznikov gospodnih*, 1802), and *Book for Sundays* (*Kiriakodromion sirech Nedelnik*, 1806), the first printed book in Bulgarian—aside from the *Abagar*. Although these writings are strongly rooted in the medieval religious tradition, the influence of the Enlightenment is obvious. Sofroniy's most fascinating work is *Life and Sufferings of the Sinful Sofroniy* (*Zhitie i stradaniya greshnago Sofroniya*, 1804). Using a language that is very similar to the spoken Bulgarian idiom of his time, Sofroniy describes in a naïve, touching, and sometimes unintentionally humorous way his turbulent and unhappy life, at the same time giving a penetrating picture of Bulgarian society at a time when living conditions in the **Ottoman Empire** were at their worst.

SOUTHERN DOBRUDJA. *See* DOBRUDJA.

SOVIET UNION. *See* RUSSIA.

SPORTS. The first organizations for physical culture were founded during the **National Awakening** period and were connected with the military side of the national liberation movement. After the liberation in 1878, physical education was included in the school curriculum. After **World War I** physical training was offered outside the schools and the barracks in clubs that were often connected with one or another political party—such as the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU), the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party** (BSDP), the **National Social Movement** (NSM)—and having a paramilitary nature. Bulgaria

joined the International Olympic Committee in 1923. During the communist period (1944–1989), physical culture and sports were particularly supported by the BCP. The entire country was provided with a well-developed sports infrastructure. Along with massive promotion, talented athletes were given extraordinary opportunities to develop their skills. Sports achievements were an important part of nationalist and communist propaganda. Reportedly, the use of drugs by Bulgarian athletes was not unusual.

Bulgarians seem to be particularly endowed for specific kinds of sports: men excel in sports where physical strength is involved, such as wrestling and weightlifting. They continue the Turkish tradition of the *pehlivans* and, not surprisingly, many of Bulgaria's best wrestlers and weightlifters happen to be of **Turkish** or **Pomak** origin (although they usually bear Bulgarian names). Women have proved to be excellent gymnasts.

STAMBOLIYSKI, ALEKSANDÛR (1879–1923). Politician. Born in Slavovitsa on 1 March 1879. Studied at the agricultural college in Sadovo and Pleven. In 1899, he attended the founding congress of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU). After his return from Halle, **Germany**, where he had studied agronomy, he devoted himself entirely to politics. In 1904, he was appointed the editor-in-chief of the party's newspaper *Peasants' Banner* (*Zemedelsko zname*). Stamboliyski laid the ideological foundations of the Bulgarian agrarian movement, which looked for the third way between capitalism and **communism**. Regarding cities and industrialization as sources of evil, he advocated the traditional peasant virtues and recommended the creation of **cooperatives** that would replace the traditional communes and would serve to raise the standard of living and the cultural level of the Bulgarian peasant and bring about an egalitarian society. Stamboliyski also exerted considerable influence on the agrarian movement abroad, especially in Croatia. He was opposed to Bulgaria's participation in the **Balkan Wars** and **World War I**. As a result, he was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1916. After the outbreak of the **Radomir rebellion** in 1918, however, he was released and was sent to the front in order to appease the mutinous soldiers. Instead, Stamboliyski proclaimed the republic and consequently had to go underground for some time after the rebellion was suppressed.

In May 1919, he was appointed minister of public works, and in October 1919, after the first postwar elections, he became the prime minister of a coalition government. In that capacity, he represented Bulgaria at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and signed the **Treaty of Neuilly**.

After the successful 1920 elections, a homogeneous BANU government was formed. A number of “agrarian reforms” were carried out: landownership was limited, peasants without land received land from the state, and a compulsory eight-month labor service was introduced. The former political leaders, held responsible for the second “**national catastrophe**,” were arrested—which was in fact a way of getting rid of the opposition. During his “hundred-day tour” of Europe, Stamboliyski tried to improve Bulgaria’s international situation and to partially reduce the reparations Bulgaria had to pay to **Greece** and **Yugoslavia** according to the Treaty of Neuilly. His attempts to promote good terms with Yugoslavia, resulting in the 1923 Bulgarian-Yugoslav agreement of Niš on the security of their border, enraged the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)**. Thwarted by the traditional conservative parties, the tsar, and IMRO, and left to his fate by the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, Stamboliyski increasingly resorted to undemocratic methods aimed at establishing a BANU dictatorship. Finally, the **coup d’état of 9 June 1923** put an end to the BANU government. Stamboliyski was captured by IMRO members and was assassinated on 14 June 1923. Although his rule was short and he achieved little, Stamboliyski remains one of the most formidable and fascinating figures in 20th century Bulgarian history.

STAMBOLOV, STEFAN (1854–1895). Politician. Born in **Veliko Tŭrnovo** on 31 January 1854. He studied theology in Odessa, **Russia**, but was expelled because of his contacts with Russian revolutionaries. In **Bucharest**, where he had found refuge, he became involved in the Bulgarian national liberation movement. Stambolov was one of the cofounders of the **Gyurgevo Revolutionary Committee (GRC)** and took part in planning the **April 1876 Uprising**. After the uprising was suppressed, he returned to Bucharest. During the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**, Stambolov returned to his native city and participated in the proceedings of the **Constituent Assembly** as a representative of

the **Liberal Party** (LP). From June 1884 to August 1886, he held the post of chair of the **National Assembly** (NA). Stambolov was opposed to the dethronement of King **Alexander Battenberg** by Russophile officers during the crisis that broke out after the **union with Eastern Rumelia**, and he organized a counter coup that saved the country from Russian occupation. After the abdication of King Alexander, Stambolov headed the regency and worked for the election of **Ferdinand** as the new king. In 1886, he was elected the leader of the new **National Liberal Party** (NLP).

In 1887, he became the prime minister and minister of the interior in the new cabinet he formed. Stambolov's foreign policy aimed at resolutely defending Bulgaria's independence against the continual interference of Russia. He heavily handedly suppressed a new revolt of Russophile army officers in 1887 and never restored the broken diplomatic relations with Russia. Concerning the *irredentas* and especially **Macedonia**, he pursued a moderate policy that irritated the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO). At the same time, Stambolov strengthened Bulgaria's ties with Western European countries with a view to economic cooperation. He modernized Bulgaria's economic infrastructure and laid the foundations of Bulgaria's industrial and commercial development. As a result of Stambolov's authoritarian rule and his arrogance, tensions between him and the ambitious King Ferdinand increased, all the more so as Stambolov's presence on the political scene hampered normalizing Bulgaria's relations with Russia, which according to the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin** had to approve Ferdinand as the new king. In 1894, Stambolov's cabinet tendered its resignation. At the beginning of July 1895, he was attacked by IMARO members in the very center of Sofia and died of his injuries a few days later.

STANISHEV CABINET. After the June 2005 **parliamentary elections**, a political crisis broke out as the three biggest parties—the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), the **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS), and the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF)—proved powerless to form a majority coalition cabinet. The apparent “inevitability” of the MRF irritated nationalist parties—especially the extremist newcomer *Attack*. The “blue” parties—**Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria** (DSB), the **United Democratic Forces** (UdDF), the

Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-People's Union (BANU-PU)—were reluctant to accept a cabinet, led by the BSP and especially by the “Russian” **Sergey Stanishev**.

A first attempt, made by Stanishev as the leader of the victorious BSP, failed after the NMSS refused to cooperate. Stanishev then won over four defectors from *Attack* and, on 27 July, was elected prime minister of a BSP/MRF coalition cabinet by the **National Assembly (NA)** with 120 against 119 votes. However, later the same day, no majority was obtained in the NA to vote the cabinet itself (ministers and ministries) and Stanishev had to resign. The subsequent attempt, made by the second largest party, the NMSS, to form a cabinet, failed as well, now due the reluctance of the BSP. According to the constitution, the state president now had to offer the mandate to form a cabinet to the third largest party, the MRF. This, however, was expected to provoke vehement protests from the nationalist parties, which had always felt that “the Turks” played too prominent a part in Bulgarian political life. On 15 August 2005, complying with the constitution and satisfying all parties involved (including himself and the Turcophobe population), MRF leader **Ahmed Dogan** did accept the mandate to form a cabinet, but proposed—as was agreed upon beforehand—that Stanishev would be prime minister of a BSP/NMSS/MRF coalition cabinet hardly half an hour later. Thus, after 52 days of negotiating, the coalition cabinet that had been obvious from the day after the elections was finally formed. It was voted by the NA on 16 August. The endless “bargaining” caused considerable resentment among the population, which all summer long had suffered from incessant floods and blamed the authorities for negligence. Political commentators also warned that the lengthy crisis could result in a delay in the country’s accession to the **European Union (EU)**. The Stanishev cabinet was not expected to last for long or to achieve much. Its main task consisted of taking the measures necessary for Bulgaria to join the EU without delay on 1 January 2007.

See Appendix D for the composition of the Stanishev cabinet.

STANISHEV, SERGEY (1966–). Politician. Born in Herson, Ukraine, on 5 May 1966. He studied history at the University of Moscow and economy and political sciences in London. He received a Ph.D. in history. Stanishev began his career as a journalist. In 1995, he began

to work as an expert at the International Department of the Supreme Council of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP). In that capacity, he spent some time as a visiting fellow of the London School of Economics and Political Sciences. He became a member of the BSP Supreme Council on 7 May 2000, and one week later was a member of the Executive Bureau; on 15 December 2001, he was elected chair of the BSP. He led the **Coalition for Bulgaria** (CFB) parliamentary group in the 39th National Assembly. Stanishev attracted the young voters and led the CFB to victory in the June 2005 parliamentary elections. His adversaries blamed him for being a Russian and never having renounced his Russian citizenship. On 16 August 2005, after long and troublesome negotiations, he was voted prime minister of a **BSP, National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS) and **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF) cabinet.

"STATE" PARTY. *See* LIBERAL PARTY (2).

STATE SECURITY. In communist Bulgaria, national security was entrusted to the notorious Committee for State Security (CSS), which was part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and directly controlled by the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP). Its main aim was "the struggle with the internal class enemy." It was divided into six departments, each dealing with a specific task: foreign intelligence, counterintelligence, military intelligence, scientific and technical intelligence, protecting political leaders, and ideological diversion. It reportedly had nearly 9,000 employees and probably about 150,000 occasional or voluntary or "blackmailed" informers. The **State Security** had its own armed forces as well. During the Stalinist period (1944–1953) in particular, the committee was merely a section of its **Soviet** namesake, the KGB. Its officers were alleged to be subordinated to an official of the Soviet embassy.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the once-dreaded CSS was sharply criticized for having been responsible for communist repression. In May 1990, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, including the CSS, was radically restructured. Three services were created instead:

(1) The National Intelligence Service (formerly the First Main Directorate), dealing with all kinds of intelligence and counterintelli-

gence, except for military affairs (which were transferred to the Ministry of National Defense). The National Intelligence Service is controlled by the Office of the President, although the cabinet has repeatedly claimed it.

(2) The National Security Service (formerly the Second Main Directorate, between May 1990 and April 1991 named the National Service for the Defense of the Constitution), the most important and delicate department, dealing with internal threats to national security. It reportedly has about 1,500 employees.

(3) The National Protection Service, a kind of bodyguard for the president, high-ranking officials, and foreign guests of the government, controlled directly by the president himself.

The Law on the Ministry of Internal Affairs of 16 July 1991 defined the jurisdictions of the new services on the basis of political impartiality and protection of the civil rights of Bulgarians.

On 10 August 1993, the **Lyuben Berov cabinet** allowed the Ministry of Internal Affairs to use informers in order to defend national interests and to fight organized crime and terrorism. Only elected politicians were exempt from state security control. This measure strongly recalled the practices of the old CSS. In 1994, the discussion on whether the files of the CSS should be opened to the public and in what way reached a new peak. It was feared that these files might gradually be destroyed (it was known that some of them had “disappeared” already); on the other hand, their being made public was supposed to possibly compromise certain politicians from the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) and from the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF). In 1997, the **Ivan Kostov cabinet** allowed Bulgarian citizens to inspect their own secret police files. No witch hunt resulted from it, but many Bulgarian had a difficult time when they discovered that neighbors, colleagues, friends, relatives, and even spouses had been spying on them.

STATE SYMBOLS. According to the 1991 **Constitution** of the Republic of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian national emblem is a rampant golden lion on a dark red field shaped like a shield, with a crown on top. In the spring of 1995, there were fierce debates in the **National Assembly** (NA) and in the media on the issue of whether the lion should be crowned, as the crown would seem to refer to the tsar. The

new national emblem was adopted by the NA on 1 July 1997. The Bulgarian flag is a tricolor, consisting of three equal horizontal bands of white (top), green, and red. The Bulgarian national anthem is *Dear Homeland (Mila Rodino)*, a poem written by Tsvetan Radoslavov in 1885 and adapted by Dimitŭr Metodiev and Georgi Dzhagarov in 1964; the music was composed by Dobri Hristov. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the text was cleansed of communist ideological deadwood and allusions to the **Soviet Union (SU)**.

STOILOV, KONSTANTIN (1853–1901). Politician. Born in **Plovdiv** in September 1853. He attended the famous Robert College in **Istanbul**, and later studied law in Heidelberg, **Germany**. After Bulgaria became independent in 1878, he participated in the proceedings of the **Constituent Assembly** in 1879 as a member of the **Conservative Party (CP)**. King **Alexander Battenberg** made him his political secretary; at the same time, he held several ministerial posts. In 1887, he entered the **Stefan Stambolov** cabinet as a minister of justice but resigned the following year after a disagreement with Stambolov and joined the so-called United Legal Opposition led by **Vasil Radoslavov**. After Stambolov resigned in 1894, Stoilov headed the new government and founded the **National Party (NP)**, becoming its chair. He continued Stambolov's policy of promoting Bulgarian industry and economic cooperation with Western European countries, but he also restored diplomatic relations with **Russia**, which had been broken off in 1886 after the **union with Eastern Rumelia**. He died on 23 March 1901 in Sofia.

STONE, ELLEN (KIDNAPPING OF). On 21 August 1901, Ellen Stone, an American Protestant missionary based in Salonika, and her Bulgarian colleague Katerina Stefanova, who was the wife of the Albanian pastor Grigor Cilka, were kidnapped by the *cheta* of **Yane Sandanski** between Bansko and Gorna Dzhumaya (now Blagoevgrad). The kidnapers, who pretended to be Turks, demanded that the **Ottoman** government pay them a ransom of 25,000 golden Turkish pounds—an amount that would enable them to buy the arms they needed for the **Ilinden Uprising**. The Ottoman government was prepared to pay in order to avoid an international scandal. It accused

Sofia of supporting the kidnapers, since they obviously operated from Bulgaria, and sent soldiers to the border area to prevent the kidnapers from returning to Bulgaria. The American ambassador to Istanbul held Bulgaria responsible as well. An attempt by a **Supreme Macedonian Committee** (SMC) *cheta* to capture both ladies and pocket the ransom was frustrated by Sandanski. After negotiations with the freedom fighters—or terrorists, as they would now be called—and pressure by some Western countries, the **United States** paid the ransom on 13 January 1902. Both women—and Mrs. Cilka's newborn baby—were set free on 10 February, after the money was transmitted to **Gotse Delchev** in Bulgaria. Back in the United States, Miss Stone, obviously suffering from the Stockholm syndrome, gave a number of lectures in which she defended the cause of her kidnapers.

STOYANOV, PETÛR (1952–). State president. Born on 25 May 1952 in **Plovdiv** to a family of a former wealthy timber merchant, whose company was nationalized by the communists in 1945. He graduated from the University of **Sofia** Law Faculty in 1976 and started a career as an attorney in Plovdiv in 1978. In 1990 he became the spokesman of the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) in Plovdiv. In 1992, he was appointed vice-minister of justice in the first **Filip Dimitrov cabinet**. From May 1993 onward, Stoyanov was the chairman of the Legal Council of the UDF. In 1994, he was elected member of the 37th National Assembly. In 1995, he became vice-chairman of the UDF, in charge of domestic policy. In June 1996, the UDF nominated him candidate for president of the republic. At the presidential **elections** on 27 October and 4 November (second round) 1996, which took place in an atmosphere of deep dissatisfaction with the **Zhan Videnov cabinet** and increasing social unrest, Stoyanov won with 59.9% of the vote. He succeeded **Zhelyo Zhelev** on 22 January 1997. The vice-president was Todor Kavaldzhiev, an accountant with a rightist Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU) background. Stoyanov's first act was to call for early elections in April 1997, as a result of which the **Ivan Kostov cabinet** came to power. Known as a competent and amiable though daring politician, he was surprisingly defeated by **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) candidate **Georgi Pûrvanov** at the November 2001 presidential elections.

STOYANOV, ZAHARI (1850–1889). Real name: Dzhendo Stoyanov Dzhedev. Writer and politician. Born to a family of poor shepherds on 23 September 1850. As a child, he was apprenticed to a tailor in Ruse; he read much and educated himself. In 1875, Stoyanov helped organize the abortive anti-Ottoman Stara Zagora uprising. The same year, he joined the **Gyurgevo Revolutionary Committee (GRC)** and participated in planning the **April 1876 Uprising**. He attended the *Oborishte* meeting and joined the *cheta* of **Georgi Benkovski**. After the uprising was suppressed, Stoyanov was arrested by the Ottoman authorities but was soon released because evidence of his guilt was not sufficient. After the liberation in 1878, Stoyanov held various offices in the **Principality of Bulgaria**. After denouncing the anti-constitutional acts of **Alexander Battenberg** in a pamphlet, he fled to **Eastern Rumelia** in 1883, where he helped prepare the **union with Eastern Rumelia** as the leader of the **Bulgarian Secret Central Revolutionary Committee (BSCRC)**. In 1886, he returned to Sofia and became a member of the **National Liberal Party (NLP)**. Indignant at the Russian resistance to the union, Stoyanov supported the anti-Russian policy of the NLP leader and prime minister **Stefan Stambolov**. He was elected to the **National Assembly (NA)** and presided over it during the period 1888–1889. Stambolov died on 2 September 1889 on his way to the World Exhibition in Paris.

Stoyanov wrote lively biographies of **Vasil Levski** and **Hristo Botev**. His most important book—and one of the finest books in **Bulgarian literature**—is *Notes on the Bulgarian Uprisings (Zapiski po bûlgarskite vûstaniya, 1884–1888)*. In this masterly memoir, Stoyanov depicts the April 1876 Uprising, showing the historical thrust as well as the petty side of the events, the heroism and the pathos. The Uprising is rendered as a Bulgarian national epic, inspiring patriotic virtues and pride. Stoyanov's *Notes* has, more than any more sedate account of the historical events, molded the mythic vision that Bulgarians have of this dramatic episode in their history.

SÛBEV, FATHER HRISTOFOR (1946–). Born on 3 May 1946 in **Gabrovo**. He studied nuclear physics in Sofia and then worked as a teacher and a physicist. In 1980, he became a monk and began his studies at the Spiritual Academy in Sofia. He became a cofounder and chair of the **Committee for Religious Rights (CRR)**. In March

1989, he vehemently criticized the **Bulgarian Patriarchate**, and the Holy Synod tried to prevent the legal registration of the committee. On 30 April 1989, he was arrested and interned for 80 days on a charge of having spread false information. In 1990, he was one of the three vice-chairs of the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)**. Sûbev continued to oppose the patriarchate, insisting on the resignation of the “communist” Patriarch **Maksim**. His agitation led to a schism in the Bulgarian church in mid-1992, when Pimen was elected as “alternative” patriarch. On 26 June 1992, Sûbev was ordained as Archbishop Hristofor Makariopolski. On 22 July 1992, Maksim excommunicated Sûbev from the Bulgarian Orthodox church. Sûbev was also vice-president of the UDF and member of Parliament. In 1995, he emigrated to the **United States**, allegedly persecuted by the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**. Currently, he is a priest in a Greek church in Utah.

SUGAREV, EDVIN (1953–). Philologist and politician. Born in **Sofia** on 27 December 1953. He studied Bulgarian language and literature at the University of Sofia and afterward worked as a researcher at the Institute of Literature of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS)**. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, he became one of the most radical leading members of the **National Movement *Ekoglasnost* (NM *Ekoglasnost*)** and the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)**, which he represented in the **National Assembly (NA)** from 1992 until 1997. He also served as an ambassador to Mongolia and to India. In March 2002, he was elected vice-president of the UDF. On 14 May 2003, however, Sugarev left the party, disappointed by the reconciliatory attitude of the UDF leadership to the ruling **National Movement Simeon the Second (NMSS)**.

SUPERSTITION. Although the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** indefatigably fought “religious prejudices,” rumor had it that even the highest party officials sometimes consulted fortunetellers. Great fame and official recognition as a fortuneteller was enjoyed by the blind *baba* (“grandma”) **Vanga**. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, superstition developed into a social disease. Although superstition in general has a long and rich tradition in the Balkans, this boom was due mainly to the liberalization and

commercialization of the media, which readily spread all marketable nonsense. Added to the general philosophical and psychological crisis that broke out after Marxism-Leninism as a state ideology was abolished was the naive belief that everything denounced by this ideology must be true. Consequently, Bulgaria is believed to be visited on a regular basis by UFOs and extraterrestrials; hundreds of houses are alleged to be inhabited by *poltergeists*, the most famous among which was Kiki, whose activities were reported and commented on without any irony in the media, including state television. The idea that Bulgaria has been chosen by divine forces to be the cradle of a future superior civilization also enjoys some popularity.

SUPREME MACEDONIAN-ADRIANOPOLITAN COMMITTEE (SMAC)/VÛRHOVEN MAKEDONO-ODRINSKI KOMITET (VMOK). After the **union with Eastern Rumelia** in September 1885, **Macedonia** and the region of **Adrianople** (Edirne, now in Turkey), although overwhelmingly populated by Bulgarians, remained outside the borders of the **Principality of Bulgaria**. Local national liberation organizations, having decided to coordinate their efforts, founded the Macedonian Committee (MC) in March 1895. Their main concern was forcing the **Ottoman** government to carry out the reforms provided for in the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**, and to grant autonomy to both regions. In December 1895, the committee was renamed Supreme Macedonian Committee (*Vûrhoven Makedonski Komitet*), and in 1900 it finally became the Supreme Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Committee (SMAC). SMAC supported the **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO), which operated in the field, by sending it money and arms. SMAC also pressured the Bulgarian government to intervene with the Porte in favor of the Bulgarian population in the regions concerned. Gradually, however, SMAC developed into an instrument of Bulgarian irredentist policy and increasingly interfered in IMARO's affairs. In August 1902, at the 10th Congress of SMAC, some of the members broke away. The uprising, organized by SMAC in the region of Gorna Dzhumaya (now Blagoevgrad) in the fall of 1902, was crushed by the Ottoman army as the instigators had expected, but the hoped for military intervention by the Great Powers failed to occur. IMARO, however, was seriously damaged by this

venture. SMAC finally disbanded in 1905. Some members joined the IMARO right wing.

SUPREME MACEDONIAN COMMITTEE. *See* SUPREME MACEDONIAN-ADRIANOPOLITAN COMMITTEE.

SUPREME MUSLIM SPIRITUAL COUNCIL (SMSC). Leading spiritual institution of the Muslim (**Turkish** and **Pomak**) community in Bulgaria, founded in 1951. In 1988, Hadji **Nedim** (Hafiz Ibrahim) **Gendzhev** was appointed chief mufti (roughly, chair). In February 1992, the **Directorate of Religious Faiths** (DRF) declared Gendzhev's appointment invalid. On 19 September 1992 Gendzhev was urged to withdraw after he admitted that he had worked for the Bulgarian secret service and had cooperated with the authorities during the **regeneration process** in the 1980s; Fikri Sali (1963–) was elected as the new chief mufti and was recognized as such by the DRF. Gendzhev, however, refused to withdraw, and in November 1994, he convened an extraordinary national conference that ousted Fikri Sali. On 22 February 1995, however, the DRF registered a new SMCS leadership, representing Gedzhim's rival faction, considering it the legitimate representatives of the Muslim community. Several days later, Fikri Sali and his personnel were forcibly removed from their offices by private security guards. In March 1995, Fikri Sali, in his turn, convened an extraordinary national conference, that reelected him as chief mufti. Thus the SMSC council was visited by the same divisiveness as the **Bulgarian Patriarchate**. In mid-October 1997 a unification conference was held; the compromise candidate, Mustafa Alish Hadji, was elected as the new chief mufti, and he was recognized as such on 22 October by the DRF. At the beginning of 2001, a new chief mufti, Selim Mehmed Mumun, was elected; on 13 December, however, he was ousted for allegedly having supported extremist Islamist groups and was replaced by Fikri Sali again. On 20 March 2005, Mustafa Alish Hadji was elected chief mufti in a national conference allegedly dominated by **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF) representatives. The SMSC, owning buildings, agricultural land, and city plots that have been donated by members of the community over the years and rented out to private tenants and commercial enterprises, has at its disposal substantial means, which makes the leadership of it extra attractive.

SVETA NEDELYA OUTRAGE (1925). On 16 April 1925, the armed wing of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) detonated a huge bomb in the roof of the Sveta Nedelya (Holy Sunday) Church in Sofia during the state funeral of a retired general, murdered on purpose, which was to be attended by Tsar **Boris III** and several ministers and officers. They were seeking revenge for the many victims of the police terror perpetrated by the **Democratic Alliance** (DA) government. One hundred twenty people died under the collapsed dome. The tsar and the other dignitaries, who were late, escaped injury. After this outrage, the persecution of leftist activists only increased.

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TANCHEV, PETÛR (1920–1992). Real name: Petûr Tanchev Zhelev. Politician. Born on 12 July 1920 in Gledka in the province of Haskovo. In 1935, he joined the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) youth organization. During **World War II**, he participated in the partisan movement. In 1945, after finishing his law studies, he became a member of BANU and held top positions in the Agrarian Youth Union. From 1962 to 1966 Tanchev was minister of justice; in 1966 he was elected vice-chair and, in 1971, first vice-chair of the Council of Ministers. In 1974, he became vice-chair of the State Council. In 1974, he became first secretary (chair) of BANU. In that capacity, he was responsible for BANU's policy of cooperation with the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), which was rewarded with merely symbolic power. After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, his career came to an end. He was dismissed on 2 December 1989 and was replaced by Angel Dimitrov. Tanchev died in Sofia on 21 July 1992.

TANZIMAT. Arabian-Turkish word meaning “putting in order,” “reforms.” By the end of the 18th century the **Ottoman** sultan Selim III (1789–1807) began reforming the Ottoman army after the Western model in order to respond more effectively to Russian and Austrian aggression. This resulted in a general reform plan, urged by the Western powers, which was to transform the feudal Ottoman autocracy into a Western-style capitalist civil society. The *Hatti Şerif* of *Gül-*

hane (Solemn Rescript of the Rose Pavilion), proclaimed on 3 November 1839 by Sultan **Abdulmejit**, pledged equality for all Ottoman citizens regardless of religion or nationality; guaranteed security of life, honor, and property; and provided for a suitable reorganization of administrative and juridical institutions and the fiscal system. Judicial verdicts were to follow systematic investigation. Opposed not only by the Ottoman aristocracy and the *ulema* (Islamic clergy) but also by the *millet* leaders and the Christian population, who were reluctant to give up their traditional communal autonomy, the reforms were not effective. The *Hatti Hümayun* (Imperial Rescript) of 1876 did little more than repeat the intentions proclaimed in the *Hatti Şerif of Gülhane*. In spite of all obstructions, the *Tanzimat* brought about a certain degree of legal security and created the conditions for economic recovery. Moreover, the *Tanzimat* encouraged the Balkan peoples to promote their national demands. In Bulgaria, the request for an independent Bulgarian church was stimulated considerably by the sultan's promise of religious freedom. One of the most interesting aspects of the *Tanzimat* in Bulgaria was the experimental administration of the Danube province by the enlightened **Midhat Pasha**. See also CHURCH STRUGGLE.

TATARS. A conglomerate of Mongolian peoples who created a huge empire known as the Golden Horde in the 13th century. They invaded Bulgaria in the 1230s and forced the Bulgarian rulers of the **Second Bulgarian Empire** to recognize their authority and to pay an annual tribute from 1242 to 1300. Later, they retreated to Central Asia, although some of them remained in southern **Russia** and Ukraine until recent times. During the **Ottoman** period (1396–1878), small communities of Tatars from Crimea (which was an Ottoman vassal state until the end of the 18th century) settled in Bulgaria. Initially, they were notorious raiders, but because of the linguistic and religious affinity with the Turks, they soon became well integrated in the Ottoman administrative and military system. The city of Pazardzhik was originally called Tatar-Pazardzhik because of the large Tatar population it acquired in the 15th century. In the 19th century, there were Tatar settlements in the neighborhood of **Burgas**, Yambol, and Karnobat. In the 1860s, a new wave of Tatars from Crimea immigrated to the **Dobrudja** in northern Bulgaria, where they supported

themselves as farmers. After the liberation in 1878, they either returned to Crimea or left Bulgaria with the Ottoman army. Eventually, they were Turkicized and were treated like Turks by the Bulgarian authorities. According to the 1881 census, there were nearly 15,000 Tatars in Bulgaria. The 2001 census counted 1,803 Tatars (4,515 in 1991). Their main center is the city of Silistra, where the seat of their cultural society *Asabay (Kinship)* is located.

TELEVISION. *See* RADIO AND TELEVISION.

TERRORISM. *See* INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION; MIHAYLOV, VAHCHE; SALONIKA OUTRAGES; STONE, ELLEN (KIDNAPPING OF); SUPREME MACEDONIAN-ADRIANOPOLITAN COMMITTEE; SVETA NEDELYA OUTRAGE.

THEATER. Bulgarian theater, in the modern sense of the word, emerged during the **National Awakening** period in the 19th century. The first (translated and adapted) plays in Bulgaria were performed in 1856 in Lom by Sava Dobroplodni and in Shumen by Krústyo Pishurka. The first theater company was founded in 1866 in Brăila (now in **Romania**) by **Dobri Voynikov**. In the 1870s, many Bulgarian plays were performed in schools and theaters in **Istanbul**. Bulgarian **National Awakening** theater attempted to be educational in two ways: comedies like *Civilization Wrongly Understood (Krivo-razbranata tsivilizatsiya, 1871)* by Dobri Voynikov, ridiculed the Bulgarian inclination to imitate Western lifestyles, while historical tragedies like *Ivanku, the Assassin of Asen I (Ivanku, ubietsût na Asen I, 1872)* by **Vasil Drumev**, aroused patriotic feelings.

During the first years after the liberation in 1878, **Plovdiv**, the capital of **Eastern Rumelia**, developed into the center of Bulgarian theatrical life. In 1892 the company A Tear and a Smile (*Sûlza i smyah*) was founded in Sofia; it became the Bulgarian National Theater (*Bûlgarski Narodn Teatûr*) in 1904, and a National Theater building was opened in 1907. Other companies, like that headed by the actress Roza Popova (1897–1905), the Contemporary Theater (*Sûvremen teatûr, 1902–1906*), and the Free Theater (*Svobodn teatûr, 1905–1906*), were ephemeral but important because they performed modern West-

ern plays (Ibsen, Chekhov) for the first time. Famous “classical” Bulgarian actors were Adriana Budevskva (1878–1955), Vasil Kirkov (1870–1935), Sava Ognyanov (1876–1933), and Krústyo Sarafov (1876–1952), among others. Ivan Dimov (1897–1965), Petya Gerganova (1905–1985), Zorka Yordanova (1904–1970), Olga Kircheva (1903–1978), and Konstantin Kisimov (1897–1965) belong to a younger generation, still active after World War II. Nikolay Masalitinov (1880–1961), a Russian who had moved to Bulgaria in 1924, introduced the tradition of Russian realistic theater to Bulgaria. A state theater school was founded in 1943.

After the communist takeover in 1944, Bulgarian theatrical art was plunged into socialist realism. In 1948, the Krústyo Sarafov Higher Institute of Theatrical Arts was founded. After de-Stalinization, ushered in by the **April 1956 Plenum**, more artistic freedom was allowed. The State Satirical Theater (*Dûrzhaven Satirichen Teatûr*), which opened in the fall of 1956, was to play an important role in the renewal of Bulgarian theater. Talented writers like Yordan Radichkov (1929–2004), Ivan Radoev (1930–1994), and Stanislav Stratiev (1941–) enriched Bulgarian theatrical literature with satiric and lyrical plays. Some modern genres, like the musical and cafe-theater, were introduced. In 1967, a new theater named *A Tear and a Smile* began mounting performances. In spite of some international successes and its huge attendance at home, however, Bulgarian theater in general was quite conventional, especially as compared to developments in such other socialist countries as Poland. During the last years of the communist regime, actors such as Stefan Danailov (1942–), Itshak Fintsi (1933–), Georgi Kaloyanchev (1925–), and Naum Shopov (1930–) enjoyed great popularity. Bulgarian theater suffered greatly from the general cultural stagnation of the 1980s. Not until 1988, under pressure of developments in the **Soviet Union** (SU), did the climate become more liberal again. The Bulgarian public could attend performances of Samuel Beckett’s *Waiting for Godot* for the first time, staged in the National Army Theater.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, Bulgarian theaters were no longer financed by the state. The new economic conditions required a totally new, more commercial approach, with considerable concessions to the general public’s taste. In addition, wage employment of actors was to be replaced by a system of

hiring actors for specific roles—which understandably provoked much resistance among actors who were used to communist social security. The first private theater, Boyko Iliev's *Dialog*, began staging performances in late 1989. In the early 1990s, *Theater 13*, which staged performances based on music, dance, and puppetry, was quite successful abroad. *Barbukov Theater*, named after its sponsor, attracted excellent talented actors and toured throughout the country, having no house of its own. The equally famous *La Strada* was also sponsored by a rich businessman. However, the National Theater in Sofia has remained the leading theatrical institution in the country. *See also* BULGARIAN LITERATURE; TSANKO TSERKOVSKI; IVAN VAZOV; PEYO YAVOROV.

THRACE. Geographic area in the southeast Balkan Peninsula, stretching over 38,100 square kilometers. It includes Eastern Thrace in European **Turkey**, Western Thrace in **Greece**, and the Thracian plain in Bulgaria, north of the **Rhodope Mountains**. Bulgarian Thrace is 8,585 square kilometers; the main urban center is **Plovdiv**. It is of considerable economic importance because of its fertile soil which produces abundant vegetables and fruit.

The part of Thrace which remained outside the borders of the **Principality of Bulgaria** and the autonomous province of **Eastern Rumelia** in 1878, mostly referred to by Bulgarian historians and politicians as the **Adrianople region** (Odrinsko), was a major Bulgarian *irredenta*. During **Balkan War I**, the Bulgarian army succeeded in repelling the Ottoman troops in Thrace. The 1913 **Treaty of London** established the line linking Midye at the **Black Sea** coast and Enos at the Sea of Marmora as the new western border of the **Ottoman Empire**. During **Balkan War II**, the Ottoman Empire reconquered most of Eastern Thrace. According to the 1913 **Treaty of Istanbul**, the Ottoman Empire again ceded some areas to Bulgaria. **Western Thrace**, annexed after Balkan War II, was lost to Greece after **World War I**.

THRACIANS. Common name of a number of related tribes that in ancient times lived in the eastern half of the Balkan Peninsula. The Thracians were farmers, stock-breeders, and miners. They spoke an Indo-European language and had a culture and a religion of their

own, which has been the object of intensive research in Bulgaria during recent decades. Since the Thracians did not use their language in written form, historians rely primarily on **Greek** sources and on **archaeological** information—especially tombs and sophisticated gold and silver grave goods. Thracian culture seems to have been quite distinguishable from Greek, although some of the splendid Thracian artifacts may have been imported from Greece. From the end of the sixth century BC until the mid-fourth century, the Odrysian tribe established a state-like political formation of its own. In 342 BC, **Thrace** was conquered by Philip of Macedonia. In AD 45, the Thracians were finally subjugated by the Romans and were Latinized, although the Greek influence remained considerable. From the sixth century on, they were gradually assimilated by the **Slavs**, who settled in the Balkan Peninsula. The **Vlachs** are descendants of that segment of the Thracian population that was not Slavicized but retained its Latinized language. The interesting question of whether and to what extent the Bulgarians have adopted Thracian popular customs, beliefs, and folk-musical rhythms and melodies still remains to be answered definitively. However, Bulgarian historians believe that the Thracians played an important role in the ethnogenesis of the Bulgarian people. Thracology was generously supported by the communist government, especially during the ministry of **Lyudmila Zhivkova** as a means to stress the uniqueness of the Bulgarian people.

TIMAR. Ottoman feudal fief, given in usufruct to a *sipahi* (cavalryman; feudal lord) by the sultan, who was the nominal owner of all the land in the **Ottoman Empire**. Only a part of the *timar*, the so-called *has chift*, could be used by the *sipahi* for his own needs. The remaining land was actually the property of the farmers who cultivated it and handed over a part of the yield, fixed by officials of the sultan, to the *sipahi* who was obliged to equip a number of soldiers, depending on the size of his *timar*. Originally, the *timar* was not hereditary, but it soon became so in order to secure continuity.

In Bulgaria, the *timar* system existed in its genuine form from the beginning of Ottoman rule until the 18th century. It provided the country with a certain degree of economic and social stability, although the system also engendered economic and social immobility. As a result of the empire's military defeats and territorial losses in

Southeast Europe, the system began disintegrating in the 18th century. Since warfare was no longer a reliable source of revenue, the *sipahis* turned their *timars* into *chiftliks*, producing for the market.

TOBACCO. Oriental and large-leaf Virginia and Barley tobacco is cultivated in south and east Bulgaria. From the 16th century, when it was introduced in Bulgaria, until the end of the 19th century, the tobacco harvest satisfied mainly local needs. By the end of the 19th century, Bulgarian tobacco was exported first to Egypt and then to other countries. After the Cartel of Bulgarian United Tobacco Manufacturers was founded in 1911, tobacco growing developed into one of Bulgaria's main **agrarian** industries. After **World War II**, under communist rule, Bulgaria produced about 140,000 tons yearly, employing 230,000 households, mainly **Turks** and **Pomaks**. In 1989, when large numbers of Turks left Bulgaria as a result of the **regeneration process**, tobacco production dropped by 40%. Currently, 55,000 households (about 400,000 people) make their living growing tobacco, producing approximately 100,000 tons of tobacco yearly. The **privatization** of the state enterprise *Bulgartabak*, which had the monopoly in the communist period, met with resistance, especially from the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), which defended the interests of the Turkish workers.

With more than three million addicts, Bulgaria ranks first in Europe in smoking.

TODOROV, NIKOLAY (1921–2003). Born in Varna on 21 June 1921. Balkanologist and diplomat. He was the head of the Balkan section in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1973 to 1979 and Bulgarian ambassador to **Greece** from 1979 to 1983. In these capacities, he contributed much to improving relations between the two countries that belonged to different and hostile alliances. After his return to Bulgaria from Greece, Todorov was appointed director of the Institute for Balkan Studies of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS), where **Lyudmila Zhivkova** was also working. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, he supported the radical reformist wing of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) and later **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP). In the fateful years 1990–1991, he held the post of chair of the **Grand National Assem-**

bly (GNA). Todorov was an outstanding historian of the Balkans; his study on the Balkan city is a standard work. He died in Sofia on 27 August 2003.

TODOROV, STANKO (1920–1996). Real name: Stanko Todorov Georgiev. Politician. Born in Kolosh near Pernik on 10 December 1920. He worked as a tailor for some years. In 1943, he became a member of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP); the same year, he was wounded during a skirmish with Bulgarian police forces and was captured, but he managed to escape. After the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, in which he participated, he made a career in the BCP, holding a number of important posts. In 1961, he became a member of the BCP **Politburo**. From 1971 to 1981, he was chair of the Council of Ministers (prime minister), and from 1981 to 1989 chair of the **National Assembly** (NA). In 1988, he was dismissed as a member of the Politburo because of the participation of his wife, Sonya Bakish, in the activities of the **Ruse Committee**. After the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, in which he played an active part, Todorov remained chair of the NA until the June 1990 elections. During the founding congress of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) from 30 January to 2 February 1990 he was elected member of the Presidency of the BSP Supreme Council. At the BSP 39th Congress in September 1990, Todorov was not reelected. He died in Sofia on 17 December 1996.

TODOROV, TZVETAN (1939–). French literary scientist of Bulgarian origin. Born in **Sofia** on 1 March 1939. He studied literature in Sofia and later in Paris with Roland Barthes. Since 1968, when he was appointed director of research at the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, he has been a leading structuralist literary theorist and semiotician. In addition to his own narratological studies, he translated and edited the Russian formalists, in particular Mikhail Bakhtin, and coedited the journal *Poétique. Revue de théorie et d'analyse littéraire*. In the 1980, he shifted from being a “scientist” to a “humanist” and a “moralist.” Of particular importance to a reader interested in Bulgarian history are *La fragilité du bien: le sauvetage des juifs bulgares* (1999; English translation: *The Fragility of Goodness: Why Bulgaria's Jews Survived the Holocaust*, 2003) and *Voices*

from the Gulag. Life and Death in Communist Bulgaria (original in Bulgarian; English translation in 2000)—the latter dealing with the communist concentration camps in Bulgaria.

TODOROVA, MARIA (1949–). Historian. Born in Sofia on 5 January 1949 to the family of **Nikolay Todorov**. She studied history and English at the University of **Sofia** and worked as a research scholar in Oxford (1972), Moscow (1973–1975), and Paris (1981). She received her Ph.D. in Sofia in 1977. From 1984 until 1992, she was an associate professor at the University of Sofia. In 1992, Todorova was appointed assistant professor at the University of Florida and subsequently became an associate professor and then full professor. In 2001, she became professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. In the meantime, she lectured as a visiting professor in the **United States**, Austria, and Turkey. Todorova published *English Travellers' Accounts on the Balkans* (Sofia, 1987), *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern*, and many other studies on Balkan history. Her most influential work is the penetrating *Imagining the Balkans*, dealing with how the (wrongfully negative) image of the Balkans was “created,” mythologized and transmitted in discourse. Her recent research focuses on the problems of nationalism and national identities in the Balkans.

TOMOV, ALEKSANDÛR (1954–). Politician. Born in Sofia in 27 April 1954. He graduated in Economics from the Karl Marx Higher Economic Institute, Sofia, and the St. Petersburg State University in Russia in 1978. He specialized in economics in London and was assistant professor at the Karl Marx Higher Economic Institute, 1979–1983 where he received his Ph.D. in 1982. He has been an associate professor at the University of **Sofia** since 1990. Initially, Tomov was the leader of DEMOS and later of the **Union for Social Democracy** (USD), together with **Chavdar Kyuranov**. He was a candidate for **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) chair at the BSP 39th Congress in September 1990, but he was not elected because of the strong opposition of the conservative forces in the party. He was vice-prime minister in the **DimitÛr Popov cabinet** in 1990–1991 and vice-chair of the Supreme Council of the BSP in 1991–1992. After Popov resigned, ceding power to the **Union of Democratic Forces**

(UDF) **Filip Dimitrov cabinet**, Tomov became the leader of a BSP shadow cabinet. On 30 May 1993, Tomov founded the Civil Association for the Republic (CAR) and left the BSP one month later. He remained CAR chair until 1998. From 1995 to 1997, he was chair of the **Democratic Alternative for the Republic** (DAR) coalition. In 1996, he was an independent candidate for president but was not elected. Since February 1998, he has been the chair of **Bulgarian Euro-Left** (BEL). He remained chair after BEL changed its name into Bulgarian Social Democracy (BSD).

TOPHANE AGREEMENT (1886). Bulgarian-Ottoman agreement signed on 5 April 1886 during the Ambassadors Conference. Through the *Tophane* Agreement, the Ottoman Empire recognized the **union** of the **Principality of Bulgaria** with the autonomous region of **Eastern Rumelia**. In fact, both became Ottoman vassal states, united in a kind of personal union under **Alexander Battenberg**. Some small areas in the region of Kûrdzhali and the **Rhodope Mountains** with predominantly Turkish populations were ceded to the Ottoman Empire.

TOURISM. In the 1960s and 1970s, Bulgaria discovered tourism as a source of foreign currency. Sunny Beach (*Slûnchev bryag*) and Friendship (*Druzhiba*) near **Varna** and the Golden Sands (*Zlatni pyasûtsi*) near Burgas developed into popular seaside resorts. The Vitosha Mountain near **Sofia**, Borovets and Malyovitsa in the **Rila Mountains**, and Pamporovo in the **Rhodope Mountains** offer good winter sports opportunities. In summer, the Bulgarian mountains attract many hikers. Bulgaria also has numerous health spas (Hisarya, Vûrshets, Bankya), which have developed in the neighborhood of thermal springs. In addition, tourists in Bulgaria may visit old, picturesque cities like **Koprivshitsa**, **Veliko Tûrnovo**, Bansko, Melnik, the old **Plovdiv**, **Nesebûr**; fascinating landscapes (like the Pirin national park or the Kamchiya estuary); the **Rila**, **Bachkovo**, and **Troyan monasteries**; the Thracian tomb near Kazanlûk; the amphitheater in Plovdiv; the Bayrakli mosque in Samokov; and the Tombul mosque in Shumen; and dozens of old Orthodox churches, the most famous of which is that in **Boyana**. In 1987, about 7.6 million foreign tourists visited Bulgaria. In 1989, this number began decreasing as a result of the notorious forced emigration campaign

against the **Turkish** minority and the deterioration of the economic situation.

Since the downfall of the communist regime in November 1989, visiting Bulgaria requires fewer formalities; however, many tourists from the former communist bloc apparently stay home or go elsewhere. West-European tourists seem to have been put off by the relatively poor tourist infrastructure (except for the coast and the ski resorts) and the war in the former **Yugoslavia**, which hampered traveling from Europe to Bulgaria by car for many years. Nevertheless, tourism has become one of the most flourishing sectors of Bulgaria's distressed **economy**. The **European Union** (EU) has provided financial aid for the recovery of Bulgarian tourism in 1993–1995. The old state tourist agency, *Balkanturist*, has been privatized and eventually got competition from *Balkan Holidays*. Although the number of tourists visiting Bulgaria has diminished, the revenues from tourism have almost doubled between 1997 and 2000 and totaled more than 1 billion in 2004, when close to 4.5 million foreign tourists visited Bulgaria. Their number is increasing now but is still far short of the pre-1989 level. Most tourists come from **Russia**, the neighboring **Macedonia**, **Serbia**, and Montenegro, and **Greece**. Among the West-European countries, **Germany** is the main source. *See also* ECONOMY; FOREIGN TRADE.

TRANSITION. Historical period that started after the fall of the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, which brought down the communist regime. The transition has two main components: transition from a one-party communist dictatorship to a multiparty parliamentary democracy; and transition from a centrally planned economy to a free-market economy. In Bulgaria, the political transition has been completed without too many problems. The economic transition has proved to be a much more troublesome process due to the country's lack of resources and the deliberate policy of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) of postponing radical economic reforms, in particular **privatization**. Once the transition is completed, Bulgaria should be a constitutional state, respecting the rights and freedoms of its citizens, with a well functioning parliament and market economy, producing political stability and prosperity. In practice, transition in Bulgaria, as in all former communist East European countries, is

consistent with the preparation for accession to the **European Union** (EU) and such institutions as the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO).

TRANSPORT. *See* AIRLINES; RAILWAYS; ROADS; SHIPPING.

TRAYKOV, GEORGI (1898–1975). Real name: Georgi Traykov Girovski. Politician. Born in Vûrbeni (now in **Greece**) on 8 April 1898. In 1919, he joined the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU). After the **coup d'état of 23 June 1923**, he participated in protest actions organized by BANU and was arrested and sentenced to a prison term. After his release in 1924 under an amnesty, he resumed his political activities in the region of **Varna**, following the leftist BANU line of opposition to the subsequent authoritarian governments and (after 1934) to Tsar **Boris III's personal regime**. During **World War II**, Traykov joined the **Fatherland Front** (FF). After the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, he became the chair of the Varna provincial section of the FF. In 1945, he was elected a member of the BANU executive committee and in 1947 became BANU's first secretary (that is, the chair). In addition, he held several other prominent state posts. He closely cooperated with the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), downgrading BANU to a puppet party. He died in Sofia on 14 January 1975.

TRENCHEV, KONSTANTIN (1955–). Labor union leader. Born on 8 February 1955. He was a physician specializing in pathological anatomy. In 1989, he spent more than a hundred days in jail because of his opposition to the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) leader **Todor Zhivkov's** policy of forced assimilation of the Turkish minority. On 8 February 1989, he founded the **Independent Labor Confederation-Podkrepa** (ILC-Podkrepa), which has played a prominent role in Bulgarian political life ever since. Until 1991, *Podkrepa* was allied to the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) but then distanced itself from it. Trenchev was alleged to be one of the instigators of the arson in the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) headquarters on 26 August 1990. On 21 April 1993, he was officially indicted, but he was never found guilty. In 1994, he was ousted from the UDF because he had lobbied for communist candidates during

the 1994 parliamentary election campaign. Trenchev was one of the most ardent supporters of the restoration of the monarchy. In addition to his leadership of *Podkrepa*, Trenchev is the current vice-president of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

TROYAN MONASTERY. Monastery, located at 10 kilometers from the city of Troyan. It was founded in 1600, and in the 18th century it was an important center of literary and educational activity. In the 19th century, the monastery had a printing office that mainly produced prints. The monastery library still contains a number of old manuscripts and books. The church and the cells were entirely rebuilt in the 19th century. The church was decorated with wall paintings by **Zahariy Zograf**, and the monastery itself is an important center of religious life in the central Balkan Mountains and a major **tourist** attraction, thanks also to the permanent exhibition of handicrafts in the nearby village of Oreshak.

TSANKOV, ALEKSANDÛR (1879–1959). Politician. Born in Oryahovo on 29 June 1879. He studied law and finance in Sofia and **Germany**. In 1911, he was appointed professor of political economics at the University of Sofia. He started his political career in the **Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party** (BWSDP) but left the party in 1907. In 1922, he joined the **Democratic Alliance** (DA), and later the same year he succeeded the coalition's murdered leader. Tsankov participated in the planning of the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923** and was responsible for the suppression of the subsequent **September 1923 Uprising**. After the coup, he became prime minister and minister of education. Because of the police terror against the leftist **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) and the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) members in that period, he was nicknamed the "bloody professor." From January 1926 to May 1930, Tsankov presided over the **National Assembly** (NA), which gave him many opportunities to thwart his rival, **Andrey Lyapchev**, and from May 1930 to June 1931 he served again as minister of education. After the split in the DA, Tsankov headed its conservative wing. His attempts to develop the **National Social Movement** (NSM) that he had founded—a massive, fascist-style organization—were shattered by the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**. He resumed advocating an ultra-

rightist, pro-German policy and supported Tsar **Boris III** in establishing his **personal regime**. In 1944, shortly before the communist takeover on 9 September, Tsankov left Bulgaria and moved to Vienna where he set up a Bulgarian government in exile. In 1949 he was expelled from Austria and settled in Argentina where he died on 27 July 1959.

TSANKOV, DRAGAN (1828–1911). Politician. Born in Svishtov on 28 October 1828. He studied theology in Odessa and Kiev. In 1856, after spending some years in Bucharest and Vienna, he worked as a teacher and publisher in Istanbul. From 1858 to 1863, he edited the newspaper *Bulgaria (Bŭlgariya)*, which advocated a solution of the **church struggle** through a Bulgarian **Uniate Church**, independent of the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**. After an abortive attempt at establishing a Bulgarian Uniate archbishopric in 1860, Tsankov abandoned the idea and joined the supporters of the **Bulgarian Exarchate**. After the liberation in 1878, he was appointed a member of the **Constituent Grand National Assembly (GNA)** in 1879 and became one of the leaders of the **Liberal Party (LP)**. From 1880 to 1886, he held several ministerial posts. In 1886, when **Stefan Stambolov** seized power, Tsankov, an ardent Russophile, emigrated and did not return until Stambolov was dismissed. When he returned to Bulgaria, he worked on reestablishing the LP, which was renamed the **Progressive Liberal Party (PLP)** in 1899. During the PLP government from 1901 to 1903 he served as chair of the **National Assembly (NA)**. Afterward, he withdrew from political life. Tsankov died on 11 March 1911.

TSERKOVSKI, TSANKO (1869–1926). Real name: Tsanko Genov Angelov. Politician and writer. Born on 16 October 1869 in Byala Cherkva in the province of **Veliko Tŭrnovo**. He worked as a teacher for some years and then devoted himself to literature and politics. Initially, he was influenced by socialism; he later became involved in the peasants' movement and co-founded the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)** in 1899. He held several important ministerial posts in the BANU-dominated cabinets that governed from 1918 to 1923. After the **coup d'état of 9 June 1923**, he was arrested and sentenced but was released shortly afterward. After the **Sveta**

Nedelya outrage in April 1925, he was arrested again. He died on 2 May 1926 in the Sofia Central Prison. His poems treat motifs drawn from peasant life and contain many folkloric elements. His plays are pervaded with the same atmosphere.

TURKEY (RELATIONS WITH). For nearly five centuries (1393–1878), Bulgarians lived under **Ottoman rule**. This experience, or rather the image of this experience created by 19th-century Bulgarian nationalists, has determined the undertone of Bulgarian attitudes toward Turkey and **Turks** today. Although since the liberation in 1878 the **Ottoman Empire** (and from 1923 on, the Turkish Republic) has as a rule acted quite correctly toward Bulgaria, the governments in **Istanbul** (later Ankara) have often been viewed with distrust by Bulgaria since they were suspected of irredentism (Pan-Turkism, Turanianism, Pan-Islamism). In the period prior to **World War I**, the unilateral proclamation of the **union with Eastern Rumelia** by the **Principality of Bulgaria**, the **independence of Bulgaria** in 1908, and the **Balkan Wars** may be regarded as the most critical events in Bulgarian-Ottoman/Turkish relations.

During the first years after **World War II**, relations between the two countries became tense as a result of the Cold War. The situation deteriorated when Bulgaria decided in 1949–1951 to expel part of its Turkish minority to Turkey. Being unable to house the immigrants, Turkey closed the border. Relations began to improve in the 1960s after de-Stalinization in Bulgaria and after the coup d'état of 27 May 1960 in Turkey brought to power a regime that showed more tolerance of the East European communist regimes. On 22 March 1968, an agreement on the voluntary emigration of Bulgarians of Turkish origin, valid for 10 years, was reached. In the 1970s, economic cooperation increased. At the beginning of September 1975, a Declaration of Principles of Good-Neighborliness and Cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Turkey was signed, resulting from the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe of 1 August 1975. However, the agreement on the voluntary emigration was not renewed. Bulgarian-Turkish political, economic, and cultural relations remained normal until the winter of 1984–1985 when the Bulgarian authorities initiated the **regeneration process**, forcing the nearly 800,000 members of the Turkish minority

to Bulgarize their names. Relations between Bulgaria and Turkey reached rock bottom in 1989 when about 350,000 Bulgarian Turks were expelled to Turkey. As a result of the crisis, bilateral trade fell to 10–20% of the previous amount.

After the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, the forced assimilation campaign was stopped and the national rights of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria were gradually restored. During the following months, Bulgarian and Turkish officials met on several occasions to discuss the situation of the Turkish minority and the opportunities for normalizing relations between the two countries. The revocation of the assimilation decree on 29 December 1989 contributed decisively to resolving the problems. Relations with Turkey were finally normalized after the countries' respective presidents, **Zhelyo Zhelev** and Turgut Özal, met in New York on 19 September 1990. Turkey began providing Bulgaria with economic aid (a loan of US\$100 million was granted at the end of October 1990; 400,000 tons of fuel and medicine and medical equipment followed). An independent Union for Cooperation between Bulgaria and Turkey was founded on 10 February 1991. According to the 20 December 1991 Sofia Agreement, even military intelligence was to be exchanged.

Nevertheless, minor border skirmishes continued, and latent anti-Turkish feelings sometimes resulted in serious incidents (like the bombing of the mosque in Shumen). Bulgarian nationalists continued to accuse Turkey of pan-Turkish irredentism. Turkey's interventions in favor of the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF) provoked particular indignation. A Turkish proposal of a nonaggression pact was rejected by Bulgaria for fear of damaging good relations with **Greece**. A Greek proposal to demilitarize the Bulgarian-Turkish-Greek border area was accepted by Bulgaria but was rejected by Turkey. Despite serious border incidents at the **Black Sea** in March 1992, during which a customs officer was killed, Bulgaria and Turkey signed an Agreement on Friendship, Good-Neighborliness, Cooperation, and Security on 6 June 1992. In December 1991, an agreement on military activities in the Bulgarian-Turkish border areas had been reached, supplemented on 2 August 1992 with an agreement on reducing the military presence there. In June 1993, an agreement on cooperation in the field of science and technology was added.

In the following years, Bulgarian-Turkish relations have continued to improve. In mid-May 1998, the Turkish minister of foreign affairs, Ismail Cem, visiting his Bulgarian colleague **Nadezhda Mihaylova**, stressed the importance of economic cooperation, focusing on Turkish investments in three hydroelectric power stations. Another important issue was the Maritsa expressway. On 11 July 1998, Turkish Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz and his Bulgarian and Romanian colleagues, **Ivan Kostov** and Radu Vasile, pleaded for the abolition of import duties and the establishment of a free trade zone before 2002. In June 2000, Turkish Minister of Defense Sabahattin Çakmaköğlü visited his Bulgarian counterpart, Boyko Noev, and pleaded for closer military cooperation. Subsequently, Turkey has become one of Bulgaria's most important trade partners. In 2004, Bulgaria supported the candidacy of Turkey for accession to the **European Union** (EU).

TURKISH LITERATURE IN BULGARIA. In the Ottoman period (15th through 19th centuries), a number of Turkish writers were born, lived, and worked in Bulgaria. After the liberation in 1878, the opportunities for Turkish cultural life in Bulgaria deteriorated, as Turkish education became increasingly difficult to maintain. After the communist takeover in 1944, the circumstances became more favorable: Turks were given minimal cultural rights, including the right to use their language for literary purposes; in addition, some communist writers from Turkey settled in Bulgaria (Fahri Erding) or had their books published there (the famous Nazım Hikmet). In the 1950s, young Turks were encouraged to publish their poems and short stories in such Turkish-language newspapers as *People's Youth* (*Halk Gençliği*). In the 1960s, the Turkish Department of the National Education publishing house printed nearly a hundred books of poetry and prose in Turkish, all of which met the requirements of socialist realism. Among the most prolific writers of the prewar generation were Aliosman Ayrantok (1878–1952), Haydar Baba (1871–1956), Mehmed Con (1885–1974), Mehmed Perin (1896–1965), Mehmed Fikri (1908–1941), and Ali Bakanlı (1900–1992). To the younger generation belong Ahmed Şerifoğlu, Mehmed Çavuş, Recep Küpçü, Nadzhi Ferhadov, Hasan Karahyuseinov, Ismail Chavushev, Sabahattin Bayram, Halit Aliosmanov, and Nadie Ahmedova. Ibrahim Tatarliev was a leading critic. (In Turkish, their family names are written

without “-ov” or “-ova” at the end.) No literary works in Turkish were published in Bulgaria after 1969. New opportunities were created only after the restoration of Turkish minority rights after the end of the communist regime in 1989.

TURKISH NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT (TNLM). Illegal organization, uniting several Turkish resistance groups that emerged during the forced assimilation campaign known as the “**re-generation process**” launched by the Bulgarian communist government in winter 1984–1985. It was founded on 8 December 1985 by **Ahmed Dogan**, Zahit Fahit, Nedzhmetin Hak, Salih Ahmed, and others in Varna. Its unquestioned leader, organizer, and ideologist was Dogan. He was in favor of non-violent political action for the restoration of the Turkish names (which had been forcibly replaced by Bulgarian ones during the regeneration process), for freedom of religion, respect for the cultural rights of ethnic minorities, in particular the right to speak the mother tongue, and related issues. The TNLM explicitly did not demand autonomy for the Turkish minority, let alone the dismemberment of the Bulgarian territory, as was frequently alleged in the Bulgarian press. In spring 1986, the Bulgarian authorities cracked down on the TNLM; Dogan was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment and forced labor and three years of internal exile. After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, and after five years of illegal action, the leading members of the TNLM founded a legal organization, the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF)**.

TURKS. Tribes of Turkic origin (**Proto-Bulgarians**, **Kumans**, **Tatars**, and **Gagauz**) settled in Bulgaria long before the **Ottoman** invasion by the end of the 14th century. During **Ottoman rule**, and mainly in the 15th and the 16th centuries, Turkish colonists from Anatolia moved to **Dobrudja**, **Thrace**, and **Macedonia**. Their numbers increased steadily, due to further immigration, high birth rates, and Islamization and Turkization of part of the indigenous Bulgarian population. On the eve of the liberation in 1878, Turks made up 35% of the population of Bulgaria. According to the censuses, there were about 1.6 million Turks in the Bulgarian lands (including **Macedonia** and **Dobrudja**) on the eve of the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**.

During the war, about half of the Turkish population was killed or expelled, or died from exposure. After the liberation, many Turks, unwilling to live in a Christian state and encouraged by both the Bulgarian and the Ottoman authorities, emigrated to what remained of the **Ottoman Empire** in Europe and to Anatolia. After the territorial acquisitions and losses resulting from the **Balkan Wars** and **World War I**, Turks made up about 10% of the total Bulgarian population. This proportion has remained more or less unchanged, the high birth rate of the Turkish population being kept in balance by steady **emigration**.

Between the two World Wars, Turks in Bulgaria had their own schools and cultural institutions. After **World War II**, the communist regime nationalized education, including the Turkish schools, and imposed new school curricula from which religious instruction was banned. Turkish books, magazines, and newspapers were published. Fair treatment of the Turkish community was considered a tool of communist propaganda aimed at **Turkey**. An emigration agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey was signed in 1968 and provided for the flow of Turkish population to Turkey to increase during the next 10 years. Reportedly, close to 130,000 Turks left the country. After the agreement expired on 30 November 1978, the Turkish side refused to extend it for another 10 years. In the 1980s, alarmed by the decline of Bulgarian birth rates and fearful of possible Turkish demands for political rights, the Bulgarian government resorted to a policy of forced assimilation of the Turkish minority. Turkish education was cut back; Turkish books ceased to appear; and magazines and newspapers became bilingual first and later exclusively Bulgarian. This policy culminated in the so-called **regeneration process** in the winter of 1984–1985, during which Turks were compelled by administrative measures and the police to exchange their Turkish (Islamic) names for Bulgarian (often Christian) ones.

In 1985, the **Turkish National Liberation Movement** (TNLM), led by Ahmed Dogan, came into being, insisting that the Bulgarian government respect the cultural and religious rights of the Turkish minority. Some acts of terrorism occurred as well, but the TNLM denied responsibility for them. After Turks had protested against their treatment in Pristoe, and there had been disturbances in Kaolinovo, Todor Ikonomovo, and elsewhere in early summer 1989, the gov-

ernment deported about 350,000 Turks to Turkey. Violence was resorted to in the Turkish villages on many occasions; the number of casualties is thought to amount to several hundreds. The entire campaign was veiled in an atmosphere of ambiguity and hypocrisy. Throughout the summer of 1989 Bulgarian armed forces organized transport to the border, while the Bulgarian media described the emigrants as “tourists” who had made use of the new passport regulations to visit “our southern neighbor” or had been misled by Turkish propaganda. Since living conditions in the Turkish refugee camps were bad and there was hardly any prospect of getting a job, many emigrants returned to Bulgaria. They were welcomed by the Bulgarian media, not only for propaganda reasons but also because the disastrous economic consequences of the massive expulsion of badly needed workers (especially in the **tobacco** industry) had become obvious. The expulsion of the Turkish minority from Bulgaria—which can be labeled with good reason as a form of ethnic cleansing, unseen since the expulsion of Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia after **World War II**—damaged the reputation of the Bulgarian communist regime beyond repair and may be regarded as one of the causes of party leader **Todor Zhivkov**’s dismissal on 10 November 1989.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the rights of the Turkish community were largely restored. The Turks in Bulgaria founded their own political organizations, the most important among which is the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF). The government pledge, on 29 December 1989, to undo the discriminatory measures of the previous regime provoked vehement protests by Bulgarian nationalist organizations, culminating in the proclamation of the “Razgrad Bulgarian Republic” in November 1990 by Bulgarian nationalists in the region of Razgrad. The leaders of the “Razgrad Republic” convinced local authorities not to apply national legislation concerning the restoration of the names of Turks who had been “Bulgarized” during the 1984–1985 regeneration process. (Later on, the Razgrad Republic was transformed into the ephemeral Association of Free Bulgarian Towns with Free Bulgarian Citizens.) Pressured mainly by the judiciously acting MRF, the **National Assembly** (NA) on 5 March 1990 adopted a law allowing Turks and **Pomaks** to reclaim their former names. In mid-1991,

about 600,000 Turks were reported to have taken advantage of this opportunity. In the same period an indemnity package was offered to those Turks who had been forced to leave the country in 1989 after selling their belongings at minimal prices and who had now returned to Bulgaria. In February 1991, after long parliamentary debate and increasing ethnic tension, the **Dimitûr Popov cabinet** permitted Turkish pupils to learn their mother tongue voluntarily at school. By the end of 1991, Muslim secondary schools began reopening. There were insufficient numbers of teachers and textbooks in many places, however, and obstruction by Bulgarian nationalist organizations and **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) representatives continued. After their minority rights were more or less restored, approximately half of the Turks who had left Bulgaria decided to return. At the same time, however, Turkish emigration to Turkey continued, in spite of the restrictions imposed by the Turkish government. According to Turkish figures, 130,000 Turks left Bulgaria between 1989 and 1994.

No collective ethnic minority rights were granted by the 12 June 1991 Constitution. The constitution states that Bulgarian is the only official **language** in the republic. On 1 July 1994, the NA rejected with indignation a proposal by the MRF to introduce Turkish as a second official language in the army. However, under the **Kostov cabinet** Bulgarian national television began transmitting a daily news magazine in Turkish, which still irritates most of the Bulgarian spectators and is being contested by nationalist politicians. Although freedom of worship is granted, **Orthodox Christianity** is explicitly mentioned in the constitution as Bulgaria's "traditional religion." According to the March 2001 census, there were 746,664 Turks in Bulgaria (800,052 in 1992); they made up 9.4% of the total population. *See also* MINORITIES POLICY.

TÛRNOVO. *See* VELIKO TÛRNOVO.

TÛRNOVO CONSTITUTION. First Bulgarian **constitution**, drafted during the **Constituent Grand Assembly** (GNA) in **Veliko Tûrnovo** in 1879. On 10 February 1879, at the urging of Prince Aleksandr Dondukov-Korsakov, head of the **provisional Russian administration** of Bulgaria, 229 people gathered in the residence of the former **Ottoman** governor in **Veliko Tûrnovo** to draw up and adopt the first

Bulgarian constitution. Most of them were intellectuals—writers, journalists, teachers, lawyers, physicians—and representatives of the clergy who had played some political role during the **National Awakening** period. The chair was exarch **Antim I**; the vice-chairs were **Petko Karavelov** and Todor Ikonov. Under discussion were the Organic Statutes, devised by Sergey Lukyanov, a juridical expert with the Russian provisional administration, modeled after the very liberal Belgian constitution. The liberal representatives in the Constituent Assembly, enjoying the support of Russia, were in favor of a strong **National Assembly** (NA); the conservatives preferred a strong monarch and a bicameral parliament. In general, the liberals were more Russophile than the conservatives. Ultimately, the liberals prevailed, much to the dissatisfaction of the conservatives, who from time to time refused to participate in the debates. Finally, on 16 April 1879, the Constituent Assembly unanimously adopted the so-called Tŭrnovo Constitution. The liberal and the conservative groups eventually developed into distinct political parties.

The first Bulgarian monarch, King **Alexander Battenberg**, dissatisfied with the limited powers given to him by the Tŭrnovo Constitution, favored the conservatives, dismissed the **National Assembly** (NA) on 27 April 1881 and suspended the constitution. Not until 7 September 1883, after a new cabinet had amended the Tŭrnovo constitution to broaden the monarch's powers, did Alexander consent to restore it by decree. The Tŭrnovo Constitution was suspended for a second time after the **coup d'état of 19 May 1934**—until 1937. It was finally abolished by the promulgation of the new communist Constitution on 6 December 1947. During the democratization process after the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the Tŭrnovo Constitution was again referred to as one of the basic documents of Bulgarian democracy and a symbol of the resistance against the violators of constitutional freedoms.

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UNIATES. Orthodox Christians who are hierarchically united with the Roman Catholic church and recognize the supreme authority of the pope in Rome but have maintained the practices of the Orthodox

church. The union of the two churches has been a controversial issue from the time of the Great Schism in 1054 onward. At the beginning of the 13th century, Tsar **Kaloyan** accepted the union of the Bulgarian church with the Church of Rome in order to maintain good relations with the **Latin Empire**, but his successor, **Ivan Asen II**, restored the **Bulgarian Patriarchate** in 1335. Not until the end of the 16th century, however, after the Polish and Ukrainian Orthodox bishops had recognized the authority of the Roman pope, did Uniatism become important. In the 19th century, it gained a considerable number of adherents in the Balkans, too, when the *Tanzimat* made it possible for Catholic missionaries to be active on a large scale within the **Ottoman Empire**. Uniatism penetrated the Bulgarian lands in the 1860s, when the **church struggle** gained momentum. Some Bulgarians considered the recognition of papal authority and the formation of a Bulgarian Catholic *millet*, recognized by the sultan, as the easiest way of evading the control of the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**. Nevertheless, the idea of definitively embracing Uniatism was for most of them more a means of exerting pressure than a serious intention. The union was advocated mainly by **Dragan Tsankov** in his newspaper *Bulgaria* (*Bûlgariya*). In 1859, the inhabitants of Kukush (now Kilkis in Greece) proclaimed their willingness to join the Catholic Church as Uniates. They soon found themselves under the pressure of Russian diplomacy concerned about the unity of the Orthodox Church. Finally, dissuaded by **Ilarion Makariopolski**, who feared a rift within the Bulgarian national community, they accepted Parteniý Zografski as a new (Orthodox) bishop.

On 18 December 1860, a large number of representatives of the Bulgarian community in **Istanbul** officially requested admission to the Catholic Uniate Church. In April 1861, the pope ordained **Yosif Sokolski** as the archbishop of the Bulgarian Uniates. Bulgarian communities in Kazanlûk, Bitola, and Edirne (**Adrianople**) also acceded to the Uniate Church. Alarmed by the success of the Bulgarian Uniate Church, the Russian ambassador to Istanbul had Yosif kidnapped and forced him to renounce the union; shortly thereafter, Tsankov voluntarily did the same. Nonetheless, more than 100,000 people remained true to Uniatism. They had their own churches, schools, and hospitals, which they retained after the liberation in 1878. In Bulgarian historiography, however, the contribution of the Uniates to the na-

tional liberation movement was minimized and Uniate leaders were described facetiously.

From 1883 on, there were two bishoprics—in **Thrace** and **Macedonia**—both subordinated to the Ottoman Uniate Church; in 1907 another bishopric, in **Istanbul**, was created. As the **Bulgarian Exarchate** was constantly thwarted by the Ottoman authorities and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Bulgarian Uniate Church played an important role in promoting Bulgarian national consciousness, especially in Macedonia and Eastern Thrace. **Salonika** and Edirne developed into important spiritual and educational centers of the Bulgarian Uniate Church. After the **Balkan Wars** in 1912–1913, its achievements were wiped out. In the 1920s, the Bulgarian Uniate Church was reorganized; its seat was moved to **Plovdiv**, and henceforth it concentrated its efforts on the Uniates in Bulgaria proper. Many Bulgarian Uniates from Eastern Thrace and Macedonia lived in Bulgaria as refugees. In general, the Bulgarian authorities, supported by public opinion, took a rather hostile attitude toward the Uniates, still considering them renegades. Clashes were reported between autochthonous Orthodox Bulgarians and Uniate immigrants.

Under communist rule (1944–1989), conditions became harsher after the Ukrainian Uniates in the **Soviet Union** had been forcibly converted to the Orthodox Church in 1946. In 1950, diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and the Vatican were broken off, and in 1952, a number of Uniate priests were executed on charges of espionage for Western “imperialist powers.” The Bulgarian Uniates nevertheless succeeded in preserving 25 parishes and 17 churches.

At present, there are approximately 15,000 Uniates in Bulgaria, although this figure may be exaggerated. In the 2001 census, no distinction was made between **Catholics** and Uniates; the number for both together amounted to 43,811 (53,074 in 1991). After the downfall of the communist regime in November 1989, their religious rights were fully restored, and due to the support of the Vatican, the Uniates rapidly recovered from their setbacks.

UNION FOR THE FATHERLAND. *See* FATHERLAND FRONT.

UNION FOR NATIONAL SALVATION (UNS)/OBEDINENIE ZA NATSIONALNO SPASENIE (ONS). Heterogeneous coalition

which emerged at the eve of the April 1997 **elections**, consisting of the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF) with the Federation Kingdom of Bulgaria, representatives of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Nikola Petkov** (BANU-*Nikola Petkov*), and the Party of the Democratic Center, which first joined the **People's Union** (PU), then the UNS, and finally the **Green Party**. The party enjoyed the support of Turkish Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan, who appealed to the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, and of **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha**.

UNION OF BULGARIAN WRITERS (UBW)/SÛYUZ NA BÛLGARSKITE PISATELI (SBP). An organization of Bulgarian writers was founded on 8 September 1913 in Sofia to defend the interests and the artistic and ideological freedom of its members. During the 1920s and 1930s, new unions (of provincial writers, women writers, writers for children, and so on) came into being. After the communist takeover in September 1944, the UBW came under the control of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) and reorganized. Through the UBW, the party attempted to impose socialist realism as the one and only artistic method and to turn Bulgarian writers into tools of communist propaganda—aims that were largely achieved. At the beginning of 1971, four members—one of them being the well-known poet Valeri Petrov (1920–)—were expelled because they refused to sign a petition against the Russian writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. Among other things, the UBW took care of the writers' material interests (fees, vacations, travel, pensions, and awards). Through the Agency for Copyright, the UBW promoted the translation abroad of the works of Bulgarian authors or prevented their translation if the authors were not compliant. Each year, the UBW organized "April discussions," during which literary works published during the previous year were discussed and criticized. The UBW also published a number of literary magazines and had its own publishing house, Bulgarian Writer (Bûlgarski pisatel).

Depending on the general cultural climate, the UBW followed a stricter or more liberal line. From 1968—the suppression of the Prague Spring—to the mid-1970s, the UBW clung to socialist realism in a rather dogmatic manner. During **Lyudmila Zhivkova's** tenure as chair of the Committee for Culture, from 1975 to 1981, af-

ter the poet **Lyubomir Levchev** was appointed UBW president in 1979, Bulgarian writers' artistic and intellectual freedom increased considerably, though socialist realism was never renounced explicitly and ideological freedom remained minimal. In 1988, Levchev was dismissed and replaced by Pavel Matev (1924–) as UBW chair. At a conference on 14 December 1989, Matev insisted on “rapid and radical changes.”

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, the UBW lost its function and its revenue and gradually disintegrated. The UBW's very conservative weekly *Literary Front* (*Literaturen front*) changed its name to *Literary Forum* (*Literaturen forum*) and eventually separated from the UBW and went over to the democratic camp. From 1993 until 1999, the UBW has been led by **Nikolay Haytov** (1919–2002).

In addition to the Bulgarian Writers' Union, there is now a competing Association of Bulgarian Writers, siding with the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF), a Union of Independent Bulgarian Writers and a number of minor writers' organizations like the Union of Free Bulgarian Writers. The periodical *Literary Newspaper* (*Literaturen vestnik*), initially a weekly supplement to the daily *Democracy* (*Demokratsiya*), became the herald of the UDF-minded writers and intellectuals. See also BULGARIAN LITERATURE.

UNION OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES (UDF)/SÛYUZ NA DEMOKRATICHNITE SILI (SDS). Political party that emerged from a coalition of opposition movements and parties. It was founded at the Institute for Sociology in Sofia on 7 December 1989. Some of these organizations had already been working together during the last months of the **Todor Zhivkov** regime. The initiative to form the UDF, “uniting the efforts of the constituent associations and not the associations themselves,” was taken by a branch of **Independent Labor Confederation-Podkrepa** (ILC-*Podkrepa*). Originally, the UDF consisted of 10 quite heterogeneous groups: the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-Nikola Petkov** (BANU-Nikola Petkov); the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party** (BSDP); the Citizens' Initiative Movement (CIM); the Club of the Repressed after 1945; the **Committee for Religious Rights**; *Ekoglasnost*; the Federation of **Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy** (FCGD); the **Federation of Independent Students'**

Association (FISA); the **Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights** (IADHR); and *Podkrepa*. In the following months the number of UDF constituent members steadily increased as the party was joined by the **Christian Democratic Union** (CDU); the **Democratic Party** (DP); the **Green Party** (GP); the New Social Democratic Party (NSDP); the **Radical Democratic Party** (RDP); and the **United Christian Democratic Center** (UCDC). By the end of February 1990, another seven groups had entered the UDF: the Democratic Constitutional Party; the New Social Democratic Party (NSDP); the Christian Republican Party; the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP); the Union of Free Democrats; the **Republican Party** (RP); and the Independent Democratic Party. In October 1990, the Alternative Socialist Party (ASP) joined the UDF as well. Since 1990, the UDF constituent members have constantly been splitting, merging, changing their names, leaving and rejoining the UDF, or disappearing.

The UDF was led by a National Coordinating Council, in which each adherent party or movement had three delegates and one vote. **Zhelyo Zhelev** was elected UDF chair, **Petŭr Beron** became UDF secretary, and Georgi Spasov and **Rumen Vodenicharov** acted as spokespersons. Zhelev kept his position until he was elected state president on 1 August 1990. On 3 August 1990, Petŭr Beron succeeded him at the head of the UDF; **Petko Simeonov**, Father **Hristofor Sŭbev**, **Milan Drenchev**, and **Filip Dimitrov** were elected vice-chairs. On 3 December 1990, Beron, who was involved in a political scandal, was forced to resign, and on 11 December 1990, Filip Dimitrov was elected the new chair. He was reelected on 21 December 1993.

The UDF initially set for itself the goal of forcing the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), renamed the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), to give up its power monopoly, and of carrying out the necessary political and economic reforms in order to establish a Western-oriented multiparty parliamentary democracy, respecting civil rights and liberties, and a free-market economy. With this in view, the UDF participated in the **Roundtable Negotiations** with the BCP, thus imposing itself as a serious political alternative to the latter. From the beginning, the UDF also defended the minority rights of the **Turkish** community in Bulgaria, counting on their support in the forthcoming first postwar free **elections** but risking the loss of the votes of the

large nationalist and Turcophobe segment of the Bulgarian population. On 11 March 1990, the Political Opposition Bloc and several other opposition groups decided, in spite of serious differences of opinion, to campaign together with the UDF against the BCP/BSP and share the same list of candidates. A common platform was published in the UDF's daily *Democracy* on 28 April and 4 May 1990 under the headline *45 Years Are Enough—The Time Is Ours*. In June, the coalition participated in the elections with 429 candidates, but was unexpectedly defeated by the BSP, which obtained the absolute majority. UDF protests against electoral fraud were convincing, but the BSP victory was just as convincing.

In spite of the great differences in the sizes and goals of the UDF constituent groups and the social and political backgrounds of the UDF members (former communists and political prisoners, prewar politicians and student leaders, university professors and labor union activists), the UDF remained a coherent political force for some time. Opposition to **communism** (or rather, to the BSP) was the common feature of all UDF members. On tactical matters and on dividing power, however, they differed greatly. In the spring of 1991, discussion arose on the issue of whether, in view of the overwhelming BSP majority in the **National Assembly** (NA), early elections should be called for immediately or whether they should be delayed until the new constitution and the economic reform law were adopted. On 10 April 1991, BSDP chair Petûr Dertliev and BANU-Nikola Petkov leader Milan Drenchev founded the UDF-Center. Supported (to a certain extent) by *Ekoglasnost* and the GP, they insisted on the ratification of the new **constitution**, without waiting for early elections, in order to avoid further delaying legislation and in spite of the BSP majority's clear stamp on the new constitution. On 15 May 1991, 39 UDF hardliners left the NA and started a hunger strike against the forthcoming new constitution. It was ended on 19 June after President Zhelev promised to call for new elections in September 1991. The BSDP and BANU-Nikola Petkov, which were the largest political groups within the UDF, yearned to make a greater impact on the UDF National Coordinating Council's decision-making, in order to correct neo-liberal tendencies within the UDF, to favor a more moderate and social-minded line, and to increase the readiness to cooperate with other political organizations, including the BSP. In response,

Aleksandър Yordanov, **Elka Konstantinova**, and others then formed a counterbalance by creating a Consultative Council to prevent one of the UDF constituents from gaining ascendancy. The GP, *Ekoglasnost*, and UDF chair Dimitrov tried to mediate and to repair the damage, covering up the dissent as a sign of pluralism and renewal.

In July 1991, as new elections were imminent, the tensions grew acute again and resulted in the emergence of two factions: the radical rightist UDF-Movement, called the “Dark Blues” (blue being the identifying color of the UDF), who had been opposed to the adoption of the constitution, and to which belonged UDF chair Filip Dimitrov, and the more moderate and pliable UDF-Liberals, or “Light Blues,” who had participated in approving the constitution. The former favored only one UDF ticket; while the latter preferred more tickets. The split became formal on 7 August 1991, when the UDF-Liberals, consisting of the FCGD (led by Petko Simeonov), part of the GP, and the BSDP distanced themselves from the UDF-Movement-controlled National Coordinating Council and formed the UDF Political Consultative Council. The differences of opinion, however, divided not only the UDF as a whole but also the constituent members themselves. This finally resulted in a number of splits, in which the “Dark Blue” factions remained within the UDF and the moderate factions left. Thus the BSDP, the DP, BANU-Nikola Petkov, the GP, *Ekoglasnost*, CIM, and the CDU fell apart; the factions which left the UDF were led by such prominent politicians as Dertliev, Petър Slabakov, and Lyubomir Sobadzhiev. Only the RDP and the UCDC survived the crisis without damage. During the fall 1991 election campaign, the UDF-Center, the UDF-Liberals, BANU, and BANU-Nikola Petkov worked together, though running on separate tickets. In the elections on 13 October 1991, they obtained 13.3% of the vote, but none of them exceeded the 4% electoral threshold. Simeonov and his followers then decided to leave the UDF and to found a new coalition, the Bulgarian Democratic Center (BDC).

Observers considered the breakaways to have rendered a service to the UDF by making it more homogeneous and consistent. However, their presence in the National Coordinating Council and the **National Assembly** (NA) might have had a moderating effect on the UDF hard-liners, who now (1991–1992) radicalized the UDF **Filip Dimitrov cabinet**. A number of badly needed economic and political re-

forms were initiated. At the same time, the UDF's harsh measures against the former communists and against the BSP itself led to polarization that seriously hampered parliamentary work. Finally, its option for radical economic reforms at the expense of the social achievements of the previous regime undermined the UDF's popularity. **Dimitър Ludzhev**, who had been minister of defense in the first Dimitrov cabinet and had been dismissed on 23 May 1992, founded the Center for New Politics (CNP) and would break away from the UDF half a year later.

At a press conference held on 30 August 1992 in the presidential residence in Boyana (near Sofia), President Zhelev criticized UDF Prime Minister Dimitrov and his ministers because of their unwillingness to compromise and cooperate with other political parties, which according to him paralyzed parliamentary work. Zhelev's criticism further alienated the UDF, which accused its former chair of treason and demanded his resignation. The UDF constituent CIM, which supported the president, was suspended. When the Dimitrov cabinet was finally overthrown by a no-confidence vote in October 1992, the UDF held President Zhelev responsible. A new crisis broke out at the end of 1992, when 23 UDF representatives, the so-called Blue Ants, refused to obey the UDF National Coordinating Council and voted in support of the newly formed **Lyuben Berov cabinet**. They were all ousted or withdrew from the UDF. Together with the Alternative Social Liberal Party (ASLP) representatives in the NA, with Ludzhev and his CNP, and backed by *Podkrepa*, they formed a new parliamentary faction, the New Union for Democracy (NUD), at the beginning of 1993.

From the beginning of 1993, Dimitrov's leadership of the UDF was increasingly challenged. Georgi Markov, the vice-chair of the mighty DP, left the party after Dimitrov refused to resign. In mid-1993, the UDF, aware of its fading popularity and influence, called for new political allies that were prepared to oppose the BSP. By the end of 1993, the UDF was threatened by a new internal conflict, the "Fight of the Giants and the Dwarfs": the three major UDF constituent members—the DP, the RDP, and the UCDC—rose against the 11 smaller members in protest against their constantly being voted down. Dimitrov's position was weakened when the tenure of the UDF chair was limited to one year and the chair had to be assisted

by four vice-chairs. In 1994, the resistance to his policy of boycotting the NA increased.

On 29 December 1994, after the December election defeat, UDF chair Dimitrov was dismissed and was replaced by **Ivan Kostov**. Due to the extreme complexity of the political, economic, and social problems in Bulgaria (for which no party had a solution), the continual attempts at compromising and destabilizing the UDF by the BSP, but also the problems resulting from the UDF's internal heterogeneity and divisiveness and the often tactless and authoritarian behavior of the party leadership, Bulgaria's main opposition party suffered a severe crisis in 1995. The reorganization of the UDF from a coalition into a more coherent, homogeneous, and centralized party was considered by the leadership to be a remedy for the problems. These plans were opposed by many UDF constituents, however, which valued their autonomy. The RDA, one of the UDF figureheads, fell apart over the issue in April 1995 during the UDF Seventh National Conference. From then on, individual membership of the UDF was allowed. In June 1996, the UDF entered the coalition **United Democratic Forces** (Uddf), together with the **People's Union** (PU) and the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF). They successfully supported Petûr Stoyanov in the presidential elections in October–November that year.

At the UDF Eighth National Conference on 14–15 February 1997, the coalition period came to an end and the UDF was registered as one single party, with the former coalition parties and organizations as associated partners. In October 1998, it was decided that the members of these associated parties and organizations should reregister as UDF members as well. As a result, the smaller former coalition partners lost their identity and were absorbed into the single UDF; larger parties like BANU, the UCDC, and the SDP continued to exist as separate parties, allowing their members to be members of the UDF as well. Thus Kostov succeeded in creating a more single-minded and disciplined party.

Also in February 1997, with a view to the parliamentary elections in April, the UDF and the PU agreed to register again as United Democratic Forces—without the MRF, which entered a new coalition, the **Union of National Salvation** (UNS). Eventually, the BSDP, the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO), some

other small parties and organizations, and even a MRF faction joined the UdDF. Their joint opposition to the BSP was rewarded by an impressive victory in the April 1997 elections. UDF and UdDF leader Kostov became prime minister; the **Kostov cabinet**, which led the country for the next four years, was one of the most successful in post-communist Bulgarian history. However, a substantial improvement in the standard of living of the average Bulgarian citizen did not occur, and the UDF's reputation was fatally damaged by allegations that some of Kostov's ministers were involved in illegal commercial transactions.

After the defeat of the UdDF in the June 2001 elections, won by the **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS), the UDF faced dramatic internal tensions. Former Foreign Minister **Nadezhda Mihaylova** blamed Kostov for his authoritarian way of leading the party and the cabinet, and for his aversion to making concessions and entering coalitions, for example, with **Stefan Sofiyanski's Union of Free Democrats** (UFD). In June 2002, Mihaylova was elected chair of the UDF. The tensions came to a boil on the eve of the municipal elections in summer 2003. Mihaylova, in an attempt to free the party of all suspicions of **corruption**, ordered **Plamen Oresharski**, allegedly associated with dubious businessmen, to withdraw as a candidate for mayor of Sofia. Her claim to be fighting corruption lost its persuasiveness when she herself declared as a candidate for mayor. In addition, (unproven) rumors circulated that Kostov had tried to blackmail the Russian businessman Mikhail Chernoy in connection with the sale of the cell phone operator company MobiTel.

During the UDF National Congress on 21 February 2004, Mihaylova, who was reelected UDF chair in spite of the UDF defeat in the October–November 2001 local elections, declared her willingness to enter a coalition with the NMSS and the MRF (against the BSP). This policy and Mihaylova's reelection were unacceptable to Kostov, who deeply resented the MRF for having let down the UDF on several occasions. Kostov and his followers, among whom were 29 MPs, did not attend the UDF National Congress and left the party. As a result, the UDF disintegrated and practically vanished from the political scene. On 26 May 2004, Kostov was elected president of a new party, **Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria** (DSB). The DSB turned out to be a serious rival for the UDF in the 2005 elections.

UNION OF FREE DEMOCRATS (UFD)/SÛYUZ NA SVOBOD-NITE DEMOKRATI (SSD). Political party founded on 9 December 2001 by Sofia city mayor **Stefan Sofiyanski** after he left the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** due to a disagreement with the UDF leadership. The main goals of the UFD were economic prosperity, political stability, and joining the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and the **European Union (EU)**, which are more or less the goals of all of the Bulgarian political parties. On the eve of the June 2005 **parliamentary elections**, the UFD formed the coalition **Bulgarian People's Union (BPU)** with the **Bulgarian National Agrarian Union – People's Union (BANU-PU)**, led by **Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser**, and the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Bulgarian National Movement (IMRO-BNM)**, led by **Krasimir Karakachanov**. It got 5.70% of the vote.

UNION OF THE REPRESSED IN BULGARIA (URB)/SÛYUZ NA REPRESIRANITE V BÛLGARIYA (SRB). On 26 October 1989, a political movement named the Club for the Repressed after 1945 was founded in **Plovdiv** by **Dimitър Batalov**, who was elected chair, and others. It co-founded the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** and was one of its constituent members. On 9 February 1991, the club was renamed Union of the Repressed in Bulgaria to give those who had been repressed because of their democratic convictions before 1945 the opportunity to join the organization.

UNION WITH EASTERN RUMELIA. Annexation of the Ottoman autonomous province of **Eastern Rumelia** by the **Principality of Bulgaria** as a result of a coup d'état on 6 September 1885. The coup was staged by the **Bulgarian Secret Central Revolutionary Committee (BSCRC)**, which had created a network of revolutionary cells all over the province and was very influential in the Eastern Rumelian army. By the end of August 1885, mutinies had broken out; on 2 September, a mass demonstration in favor of the union took place in **Panagyurishte**. On 4 September, a *cheta*, coming from **Golyamo Konare**, now *Sûedinenie* (Union), besieged the provincial government building in the province's capital **Plovdiv** and arrested the governor-general, **Gavril Krûstevich**, who had been informed of the coup and actually supported it. On 6 September, a provisional government

seized power and proclaimed the union. Prince **Alexander Battenberg** accepted the union on 8 September, becoming prince of north and south Bulgaria. Although the union was an open violation of the 1878 **Treaty of Berlin**, the Great Powers, including the **Ottoman Empire**, accepted it as a *fait accompli*; only the tsar opposed it, irritated by Alexander's noncompliance and pro-Austrian policy. **Russia** caused a serious governmental crisis in Bulgaria and provoked the abdication of Alexander Battenberg. Serbia's opposition to the territorial expansion of Bulgaria resulted in the 1885 **Serbo-Bulgarian War**. The union was a formidable military, political, and diplomatic success for Bulgaria and made the Bulgarians believe that restoration of **San Stefano Bulgaria** would soon be a fact.

UNIONIST PARTY. *See* NATIONAL PARTY (2).

UNITED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC CENTER (UCDC)/OBEDINEN HRISTIYANDEMOKRATICHESKI TSENTÛR (OHDTs). Political movement founded on 21 April 1990 in Sofia as the United Democratic Center (UDC); it was led by three cochairs—Bozhidar Danev, Lyubomir Pavlov, and **Stoyan Ganev**. The UDC joined the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF) and became one of its most prominent constituent members. On 17 October 1992, Ganev renamed the party United Christian Democratic Center. In May 1993, during the Fourth National Forum of the UCDC, **Stefan Sofiyanski** was elected the new leader; Ganev and his adherents left the party. In the December 1994 elections, the UCDC won four seats in the 37th **National Assembly** (1995–1997). In 1996, chair Sofiyanski was elected mayor of Sofia. In the Kostov cabinet, UCDC member AleksandÛr Bozhkov held the post of minister of industry. The current leader is the former director of the Bulgarian Television, Asen Agov.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FORCES (UdDF)/OBEDINENITE DEMOKRATICHNI SILI (ODS). Coalition between the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF), the **People's Union**, and the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (MRF), formed with a view to the **presidential elections** in October–November 1996. The UdDF candidate **PetÛr Stoyanov** was elected. On 12 February 1997, a new agreement was signed between the UDF and the PU; the MRF entered another

coalition—**Union for National Salvation** (NSU). Eventually, the **Bulgarian Social Democratic Party** (BSDP), the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization** (IMRO), some representatives of the MRF, united by Gyuner Tahir in the **National Movement for Rights and Freedoms** (NMRF), and a number of smaller parties and organizations joined the UdDF. The UdDF won the April 1997 **parliamentary elections** and formed the **Ivan Kostov cabinet**.

The UdDF was defeated in the June 2001 elections by the **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS) and was in the opposition for four years. The UdDF, which participated in the June 2005 elections, consisted of the UDF, the **Democratic Party** (DP), the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-People's Union** (BANU-PU), the National Association-Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (NA-BANU), on offspring of the BANU, led by Yane Yanev, and the Movement for an Equal Social Model (MESM), a party-like organization working for the decent treatment of the **Roma**, led by Iliya Iliiev and located in Vidin. In the 2005 elections, the UdDF was not very successful. It obtained 8.44% of the vote or 20 seats.

UNITED LABOR BLOC (ULB)/OBEDINEN BLOK NA TRUDA (OBT). Leftist political party, founded on 28 January 1997 by Krûstyo Petkov, former leader of the **Confederation of Independent Labor Unions in Bulgaria** (CILUB). Although the ULB is not a labor party, most of its voters presumably are CILUB members. The ULB functions as a bridge between the other leftist parties in Bulgaria. In June 2001, it participated in the **parliamentary elections** as a member of the defeated **Coalition for Bulgaria** (CFB). On the eve of the June 2005 elections, it joined the **Coalition of the Rose** (COR), which failed to pass the electoral threshold.

UNITED MACEDONIAN ORGANIZATION-ILINDEN (UMO-ILINDEN)/OBEDINENA MAKEDONSKA ORGANIZATSIYA-ILINDEN (OMO-ILINDEN). Founded on 14 April 1990 in Sandanski in Bulgarian **Macedonia** as a federation of smaller Macedonian cultural and political organizations and named after the **Ilinden Uprising**. UMO-*Ilinden* works for the recognition of the **Macedonians** as an ethnic minority in Bulgaria and for their right to use the Macedonian language officially and to promote Macedonian

culture. More radical UMO-*Ilinden* members wanted to join the diocese of Nevrokop (in Bulgaria) to the autocephalous archbishopric of Skopje and to ultimately unite all partitioned Macedonian lands. Requests to have the organization legally registered were repeatedly rejected by the Blagoevgrad district court, which considers UMO-*Ilinden* a separatist and therefore anti-constitutional organization whose activities “are directed against the territorial integrity of the country and the unity of the nation,” since its final goal is thought to be the separation of **Pirin Macedonia**. Congresses and demonstrations organized by UMO-*Ilinden* have been branded as “criminal acts,” forbidden by the Bulgarian authorities, and prevented by police intervention. The leaders of UMO-*Ilinden* allegedly have contacts with the secret services in the **Republic of Macedonia** and with Macedonian organizations abroad. In spite of this foreign support, UMO-*Ilinden* does not seem to have a large membership; Bulgarian sources mention some 2,000 members. UMO-*Ilinden* insisted that “Nationality: Macedonian” be one of the options in the 1992 census, but it did not succeed. (In the 2001 census, “Macedonian” was an option.) In 1995, UMO-*Ilinden* brought the government’s refusal to register the organization before the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. In 2003, the Court found that, since there was no real, foreseeable risk of violent action, of incitement to violence, or of a rejection of democratic principles, the bans on the applicants meetings were a violation of the right to freedom of assembly and were not justified. The current leader is Yordan Kostadinov.

UNITED NATIONS (UN). International organization, successor of the prewar League of Nations, founded on 24 October 1945 with the aim of maintaining peace and security and promoting social, economic, cultural, and humanitarian international cooperation. The rights and obligations of the member states are laid down in the Charter. The UN Secretariat is in New York. The most important institutions within the UN are the Security Council and the General Assembly. In addition, there are specialized UN organizations or organizations that depend on the UN, such as the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the UN Children’s Fund (UNICEF), the UN Development Program (UNDP), the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

(UNESCO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and many others.

Bulgaria's successive applications for UN membership—after signing the 1947 **Peace Treaty of Paris**, and again in 1952 and 1954—were vetoed by the **United States** and Great Britain, but it finally became a member in 1955. Bulgaria participated in all UN organizations and activities, taking care to slavishly back the positions of the **Soviet Union** (SU) in all matters. However, after the fall of the communist regime in 1989, Bulgaria followed a more independent course, most often siding with the Western powers and with the United States specifically. Thus, as a non-permanent member of the Security Council in 2002–2003, it supported the United States policies in Afghanistan and **Iraq**.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (RELATIONS WITH). Except during **World War II** and the communist period (1944–1989), Bulgaria and the United States have always had good relations. The earliest contacts date from the first decades of the 19th century. In 1828, the American Bible Society published the first translation into modern Bulgarian of the Gospels. In the 1860s, American **Protestant** missionaries opened a religious school in **Plovdiv** and later moved on to other Bulgarian cities. They enjoyed a good reputation. Bulgarians constituted the majority of the graduates of the famous American Protestant Robert College in **Istanbul** from its foundation in 1863 until the turn of the century.

Diplomatic relations with Washington were established in 1901; Bulgarian trade with the United States was promoted by Bulgaria's participation in the World Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1904. Relations strengthened also through the connections of the second wife of Tsar **Ferdinand**, the Protestant Eleonora, with the American missionaries. After **World War I**, America's popularity with the Bulgarians increased, thanks to President Woodrow Wilson's understanding of Bulgaria's territorial claims on **Macedonia**, **Thrace**, and **Dobrudja** as demonstrated in Wilson's famous Fourteen Points.

In March 1941, Bulgaria, as an ally of Nazi Germany, rather symbolically declared war on the United States. In January and March 1944, the American air force bombed Sofia, destroying about 20% of the city's buildings. This event badly damaged America's image in

Bulgaria and was eagerly used by the communists during the Cold War in order to stir up anti-American feelings among the population. During the first decade after the communist takeover in 1944, American diplomacy, acting within the framework of the **Allied Control Commission** (ACC), seriously hampered the communists' attempts at establishing their power, insisting on free elections and morally backing **Nikola Petkov's** anti-communist election campaign. On the same day that the United States ratified the 1947 **Paris Peace Treaty**, Petkov lost his parliamentary immunity; he was arrested and was eventually executed. In April 1949, at the time of the **Traycho Kostov** trial, the American ambassador to Sofia, Donald R. Heath, was accused of conspiracy and was declared persona non grata. As a result, the United States severed diplomatic relations with Bulgaria on 20 February 1950. Diplomatic relations were partly restored later on, but only in 1960 did Washington send an ambassador to Sofia. Relations between the two countries remained cool until the end of communist rule in 1989.

Since the downfall of the communist regime in 1989, the United States has enjoyed the increasing affection of the Bulgarians. Diplomatic, economic, and cultural bonds have been strengthened. In 1991, an American University opened in Blagoevgrad, sponsored by the Open Society Fund. The first joint-venture bank established in post-communist Bulgaria was a Bulgarian-American bank, set up in July 1991. United States Vice-President Dan Quayle was welcomed in Bulgaria in June 1991, and President **Zhelyo Zhelev** returned Quayle's visit in September 1991. On 13 November 1992, Bulgaria was granted most-favored-nation status in trade. Relations remained excellent, apart from the slight Bulgarian irritation when the newly appointed United States ambassador to Sofia, William Montgomery, defended Turkish minority rights in October 1993.

The **Ivan Kostov cabinet**, which came to power in 1997, favored good relations with the United States, as a means to accelerate Bulgaria's access to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO). For that reason, the cabinet supported the NATO military intervention in **Yugoslavia** in 1999, although public opinion in general was opposed to it. Bulgaria's siding with the United States became quite unconditional under the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet** (2001–2005), in which **Solomon Pasi**, one of the founders of the Bulgarian Atlantic

Club in 1991, served as a minister of foreign affairs, and in spite of a former communist, **Georgi Pûrvanov**, being state president and rather adverse to close cooperation with the United States. In February 2003, Bulgaria, in its capacity as a non-permanent member of the **United Nations** Security Council, declared its support of the United States in the **Iraq** crisis. Bulgaria was on the second list of George W. Bush's "coalition of the willing"—missing out on the first one due to a lack of coordination between the Bulgarian cabinet and its representatives in New York, as was officially explained. In February 2003, the cabinet also voted to allow United States planes to use the airport in Sarafovo near **Burgas** on the **Black Sea** coast. On 2 April 2004, Bulgaria joined NATO, thus entering the world's most powerful military alliance. The traditionally anti-American BSP, appealing to the growing public discontent about Bulgaria's participation in Iraq, protested against the United States considering two military airports in Bulgaria for use by United States troop training activities, rapid deployment operations, and the storage of equipment and hardware. The cabinet and the center-right opposition parties declared their support for American military bases in Bulgaria, expecting that the presence of the United States troops in the country would encourage foreign investment and infrastructure improvements.

UNIVERSITIES. The foundations of a university **education** in Bulgaria were laid in 1888 when a teacher training college was added to the **Sofia** humanities school. Over the years, it developed into an actual school of advanced studies. In 1903, it was named (after its sponsors) the Brothers **Evlogi** and **Hristo Georgiev** Bulgarian University, and in 1935 it was finally renamed the Sofia Holy Kliment of Ohrid University. (During the communist period, the word "Holy" was dropped.) From the beginning, the Humboldtian tradition of emphasizing pure scientific research was adopted.

After **World War II**, under communist rule, more attention was paid to sciences with practical applications (agronomy, technology, medicine, etc.). A polytechnic university was opened in 1953. Other universities and institutes for higher education were founded in **Plovdiv** and **Veliko Tûrnovo**, Shumen, and Blagoevgrad; higher institutes—for technology, medicine, economics, agronomy, fine **arts**, **music**, defense studies, **architecture**, **theater**, **sports**, philosophy,

educational theory—that provided education on a university level were opened in these and many other cities. There were 34 institutions for higher and 46 for intermediate education. As a rule, these schools emphasized education, while scientific research was done especially in the institutes affiliated with the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS). All students had to pass a strict entrance examination, but children of “active fighters against capitalism and fascism” (and until the 1970s members of ethnic minorities, too) received preferential treatment.

After the fall of the communist regime in November 1989, and following the huge protest movement of students and teachers in 1990, the universities were de-ideologized. Political courses like dialectical materialism, history of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP), and the corresponding chairs were abolished. Currently, more than 20% of the population has graduated from a university or another tertiary education institution. There are 50 of them in Bulgaria, 14 of which are privately run. The new European system of higher education, initiated by the Bologna Declaration, was introduced in Bulgaria from 1996 onward. The university curricula now follow the British model, based on a bachelor’s and a master’s degree followed by a Ph.D. Nevertheless, foreign and Bulgarian employers have complained about the mode of learning at the universities, which purportedly produces graduates who are not equipped to meet the requirements of the new, capitalist labor market.

– V –

VAPTSAROV, NIKOLA (1909–1942). Poet. Born in Bansko on 24 November 1909. He studied nautical engineering in Varna, and from 1933 on, he worked as an engineer on ships and in factories. In 1934 he joined the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP). In 1941, he participated in sabotage actions of the military section of the BCP and was arrested in March 1942; he was sentenced to death and was executed on 23 July 1942. Under **communist** rule (1944–1989), Vaptsarov’s work, especially *Motor Poems* (*Motorni pesni*, 1940), a collection of political poems influenced by Vladimir Mayakovski, served as a model of “proletarian literature” to Bulgarian writers.

VARNA. City on the **Black Sea** coast, harbor and **tourist** center. The surroundings of Varna were already inhabited in prehistoric times, as the famous necropolis of Varna with its precious grave goods shows. The city itself was founded in the sixth century BC by **Greek** colonists and was called Odessos. In the Middle Ages it was disputed by the Bulgarian and the **Byzantine** Empires. In 1389, it was conquered by the **Ottoman** Turks, who fortified it and made it an important commercial center again. Until the 19th century, the population was overwhelmingly Greek. After Bulgaria had to cede **Western Thrace** with the harbor of Dede Agach to Greece, Varna developed into Bulgaria's most important port. Since the fall of the communist regime in 1989, it has become one of the most prosperous cities in Bulgaria. Near Varna are the famous seaside resorts Golden Sands (Zlatni pyasûtsi) and Holy Constantine and Helena, formerly Friendship (Druzhiba). Varna is also an important cultural center, hosting some renowned ballet, **music**, and film summer festivals. (*See also* CINEMA; DANCE.

VARNA, BATTLE OF (1444). On 10 November 1444, a coalition of Polish, Hungarian, Czech, Wallachian, and Bulgarian troops, led by the Polish-Hungarian king Władysław III and the Transylvanian *voivode* János Hunyadi, was defeated by the **Ottoman** army under the command of Sultan Murat II near the city of **Varna**. This battle ended the most important attempt by part of the Catholic West to stop the Ottoman conquest of southeastern Europe and to liberate the subjugated Balkan population, among which were the Bulgarians.

VASILEV, NIKOLAY (1969–). Politician. Born in **Varna** on 28 November 1969. He studied economics and management in **Sofia** and Budapest, in the **United States** at the State University of New York and Brandeis University, and at the Keio University in Tokyo. In 2000, he headed the department for Central and Eastern Europe of Lazard Capital Markets. He also worked for SBC Warburg in New York and Tokyo and for Coopers & Lybrand in Budapest. In June 2001, he was elected to parliament in his native city on a **National Movement Simeon the Second** (NMSS) ticket. On 24 July 2001, he became vice-prime minister and minister of economy in the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**. He was also included in the **Sergey Stanishev cabinet** as minister of state administration.

VAZOV, IVAN (1850–1921). Writer. Born on 27 June 1850 in Sopot, central Bulgaria, to the family of a rich trader. He studied commerce, and during the 1870s, he became involved in the national liberation movement among the Bulgarian emigrants in **Romania**. When the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War** broke out, Vazov returned to Bulgaria with the **Russian** army. After the liberation in 1878, he held various high state offices in the **Principality of Bulgaria** and **Eastern Rumelia**. When **Stefan Stambolov** seized power after the **union with Eastern Rumelia** in 1885, Vazov, as a confirmed Russophile, thought it best to leave Bulgaria. He found refuge in **Istanbul**, and later in Odessa, where he spent two years devoted to literary work. In 1889, he returned to Bulgaria and settled in **Sofia**. After the fall of the Stambolov regime in 1894, Vazov was elected a member of the **National Assembly** (NA) in 1894 and 1896. From 1897 to 1899, he served as minister of culture and education. In 1899, he withdrew from public life but continued writing. He died in Sofia on 22 September 1921.

Poet, short-story teller, novelist, and playwright, Vazov is called the “Patriarch of **Bulgarian literature**,” because he introduced into Bulgarian literature a number of Western genres or practiced them for the first time on a high professional and artistic level. On the other hand, his idea that literature should be realistic and “national” hampered to an extent Bulgarian artistic writing from joining European modernism. Vazov’s best novels and short stories deal with Bulgarian life during the last years of **Ottoman** rule in a way that combines critical realism and patriotic romanticism. His most important work is the novel *Under the Yoke* (*Pod igoto*, 1889–1890), which describes in a Walter Scott-like manner the **April 1876 Uprising**.

VELCHEV, DAMYAN (1883–1954). Colonel and politician. Born in Gabrovo on 20 February 1883. He made a career in the army and participated in the **Balkan Wars**. As a founding member of the **Military League**, Velchev was one of the leaders of the **coup d’état of 9 June 1923**. From 1923 to 1928 he was the director of the Military School in Sofia, and from 1928 to 1932, although still the leader of the Military League, he studied law. Velchev was one of the leaders in the **coup d’état of 19 May 1934**. Because of his republican sympathies, he was distrusted by Tsar **Boris III**. Six months after the

establishment of the tsar's **personal regime** in January 1935, Velchev was exiled and went to Yugoslavia. On 2 October, he illegally returned to Bulgaria where he was arrested on a charge of plotting against the tsar and was tried on 22 February 1936 and sentenced to death. The death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment in March. Released in 1940, he joined the **Fatherland Front (FF)** and helped plan the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**. As minister of defense, he opposed the communists' attempts to subordinate the army to the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**. After serving as ambassador to Switzerland in 1946–1947, he refused to return to Bulgaria. He died in France on 25 January 1954.

VELCHEV, MILEN (1966–). Politician. Born in Sofia on 24 March 1966. He studied international relations in Sofia and worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1990–1992. From 1992 to 1995, he specialized in financial engineering at the University of Rochester, New York, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). From 1995 to 2000, he was the vice-president of the Developing Markets-Central and Eastern Europe Department of Merrill Lynch, leading its activities, especially **privatizations**, in the Balkans and the former Soviet countries. In 2001, he was elected **National Movement Simeon the Second (NMSS)** member of Parliament in **Plovdiv**. On 24 July 2001 he became minister of finance in the **Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha cabinet**. He resigned on 6 August 2003 but withdrew his resignation on 20 August.

VELIKO TÛRNOVO. (Great Tûrnovo.) Veliko Tûrnovo was an old but small settlement when it became the capital of the **Second Bulgarian Empire** (1185–1393) after the 1185 anti-Byzantine insurrection under the leadership of the **Asens**. The Byzantine fortresses on the Tsarevets and the Trapezitsa hills were enlarged and embellished. The fortified tsar's palace and patriarchal church within the confines of the Tsarevets fortress were restored in the 1980s. Around the fortress, on the steep hillsides in the curve of the Yantra River that flows around the Tsarevets hill, various neighborhoods with private mansions came into being. Some of the finest medieval Bulgarian churches like the Church of the Forty Martyrs and the Holy Peter-and-Paul's Church are

located there in the Asen Quarter. Intensive literary activity was pursued in the monasteries on the so-called Holy Mountain in front of Tsarevets. When the **Ottomans** took the city in 1393 after a long siege, it was totally destroyed. Nevertheless, under Ottoman rule (1393–1878), Veliko Tŭrnovo again emerged and developed into a well-to-do city of artisans and traders, among whom were many **Greeks, Armenians, and Jews**. The city was steadily orientalized as a result of the many mosques and other Ottoman public buildings that were erected. From the 18th century onward, the city was gradually re-Bulgarized by the many Bulgarian immigrants from the villages who settled in it, attracted by the economic opportunities the city offered. Some of the mansions built in Veliko Tŭrnovo in the 19th century—the House-with-the-Monkey, the caravanserai of Hadji Nikoli—were designed by the famous Bulgarian architect **Nikola Fichev**. During the 1877–1878 **Russo-Turkish War**, the city was taken by the Russian army and was turned into the provisional administrative center of Bulgaria. The Constituent **Grand National Assembly** (GNA), which drafted and adopted the first Bulgarian **constitution**, convened in the former Ottoman governor’s residence—also designed by Fichev—in Veliko Tŭrnovo, thus the constitution is commonly called **Tŭrnovo Constitution**.

Currently, Veliko Tŭrnovo is a major Bulgarian city, housing a well-known university. Given its historical significance and the extraordinary scenery of the city, it is also one of Bulgaria’s main **tourist** attractions.

VENELIN, YURIY (1802–1839). Real name: Georgi Hutsa. Ukrainian historian and Slavist. Born in Velika Tibava (now in Hungary) on 22 April 1802. In 1830, he was sent by the Russian Academy of Sciences to do research in Bulgaria. He was among the first to study modern Bulgarian, Bulgarian folk literature, and Bulgarian history and culture. He published some of the material he gathered in *The Ancient and Contemporary Bulgarians in the Political, Ethnic, Historical and Religious Relationship with the Russians (Drevnejshie i sovremennye bolgare . . .* ; three volumes, 1839–1842) in Russian. Through his work (which was of little scientific value), the Russians became acquainted with Bulgarian history and culture. At the same time, Venelin’s work boosted Bulgarian self-esteem and stimulated

many Bulgarians to become interested in their own history and oral literature. Among them was **Vasil Aprilov**.

VIDENOV CABINET (25 JANUARY 1995–28 DECEMBER 1996). After the resignation of the **Lyuben Berov cabinet** on 9 September 1994, an interim cabinet, led by **Reneta Indzhova**, governed Bulgaria. After the December 1994 **election** victory of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)**, its chair, **Zhan Videnov**, was entrusted by the president with forming a new cabinet, which began its activities on 25 January 1995. It pledged to continue the program of economic reforms, to privatize state enterprises, to limit inflation, and to raise the gross domestic product. However, it was ominous that there was only one minister—**Georgi Pirinski**—belonging to the reformist **Alliance for Social Democracy (ASD)** faction in the cabinet. The cabinet's legislation soon confirmed the expectation that the Videnov cabinet, pressured by the vengeful BSP party apparatus and the business *nomenklatura*, would carry out a policy of revanchism, re-communization and undoing the measures taken by the previous **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** cabinets. On 21 March 1995, the cabinet released a white paper on the activities of the previous cabinets, focusing on the economic sphere. The **Filip Dimitrov** and the **Reneta Indzhova cabinets** were especially blamed for their flawed policies.

Although initially the Videnov cabinet seemed to be quite successful—as the party's victory at the local election at the end of 1995 indicates—the cabinet's attempts to deal with the economic, social, and political problems all ended in disaster. Industrial and agricultural production declined; unprofitable enterprises were given financial aid, which was often misappropriated by corrupt managers, supporting and supported by equally corrupt BSP members of Parliament and ministers. Inflation was rampant: by the end of the Videnov legislature, an average monthly wage amounted to US\$5–6. The **banking** system collapsed. The main, although by far not the only beneficiaries of the cabinet's policy were the members of the former **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)** *nomenklatura*, who got rich at the expense of the state and the population. The cabinet was fatally compromised when it was revealed that some BSP politicians had been involved in the illegal export of grain while the internal market

suffered from a grain shortage. For the first time in modern history, Bulgaria had to buy cereals abroad. The minister of agriculture was forced to resign, and the chair of the parliamentary commission involved committed suicide.

The Videnov cabinet's **foreign policy** was equally unsuccessful. On 1 February 1995, six days after the cabinet was installed, the Association Agreement with the **European Union** (EU) became effective, which was actually an achievement of the previous cabinet. In July 1996, Bulgaria also became a member of the Central European Free Trade Association (CEFTA). In fact, the cabinet's conservative policy delayed rather than contributed to Bulgaria's integration in the Euro-Atlantic economic and political structures.

Opposition also grew within the BSP itself, when ASD members increasingly disavowed the BSP policy. The day after the election of UDF candidate **Petûr Stoyanov** for president on 18 November 1996, 19 prominent BSP members (not only ASD members) demanded Videnov's resignation. During the BSP Congress on 21–22 December, Videnov resigned as chair of the BSP and was replaced by his adjunct **Georgi Pûrvanov**.

On 28 December 1996, after violent demonstrations had taken place in all major cities in Bulgaria for many weeks, the Videnov cabinet tendered its resignation. On the night of 10–11 January 1997, furious protesters stormed the parliament building when they learned that the BSP intended to form another cabinet, to be led by former Interior Minister Nikolay Dobrev (and not by his rival, the reform-minded **Georgi Pirinski**). In order to ease the tensions and pressured by the newly elected president **Petûr Stoyanov**, Dobrev declined leadership and Stoyanov called for early elections in April 1997.

See Appendix D for the composition of the initial Zhan Videnov cabinet.

The cabinet was reshuffled for the first time on 23 January 1996, as a result of the illegal grain export scandal. Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry: Vasil Chichibaba was replaced by Svetoslav Shivarov; Minister of Trade and International Economic Cooperation Kiril Tsochev was replaced by Atanas Paparizov.

On 10 May 1996, Lyubomir Nachev, minister of internal affairs, was replaced by Nikolay Dobrev after he participated in a frivolous television show with Miss Bulgaria a few hours after three policemen

were shot by a gang. Dobrev was replaced by Irina Bokova on 14 November 1996.

A major reshuffle followed on 10 June 1996. Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry Svetoslav Shivarov was replaced by Krústyo Trendafilov; Minister of Culture Georgi Kostov Georgiev was replaced by Ivan Marazov; Minister of Industry Kliment Vuchev was replaced by Lyubomir Dachev. A new ministry of Energy Resources was established, with Rumén Ovcharov heading it.

VIDENOV, ZHAN (1959–). Born on 23 March 1959 in **Plovdiv**. He studied international relations in Moscow and specialized in foreign economic relations. He was elected to the Supreme Council of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP) at the 14th Party Congress from 30 January to 2 February 1990, and included in the BSP Supreme Council's Presidency in November 1990. He was elected chair of the BSP on 17 December 1991, after the incumbent **Aleksandûr Lilov** had resigned. Videnov continued the conservative line of his predecessor. Although the chair of one of Bulgaria's most powerful parties, Videnov did not succeed in gaining massive popularity. After the BSP won the December 1994 elections, Videnov was appointed prime minister of the new cabinet, which came to power on 25 January 1995. His economic policy was a catastrophe; in addition, he was suspected of having been involved in illegal activities of financial conglomerates. After surviving a vote of censure at a meeting of the BSP Supreme Council on 12 December 1996, he resigned as party leader on 22 December and as prime minister on 28 December 1996. His main activity since then has been the chairmanship of the (Bulgarian) foundation European Social Values.

VIDIN. City in northwest Bulgaria, on the Danube. Located on the northern border of the Roman, **Byzantine**, Bulgarian, and **Ottoman** Empires consecutively, Vidin—called Bononia by the Romans and Bdin by the Bulgarians in the Middle Ages—was always an important and coveted fortress. From 1371 on, it was the capital of the independent Bulgarian **Empire of Vidin**, where despite the precarious political circumstances literature and book illumination flourished. In 1396 the city was taken by the Ottomans. By the end of the 18th century, it became the capital again of the ephemeral state of **Osman**

Pazvantoglu. The mighty **Ottoman** fortress *Baba Vidin* is still the main **tourist** attraction of the city.

VIDIN (EMPIRE OF). In the 1360s, in order to avoid succession problems, Tsar **Ivan Aleksandŭr** (1331–1371) divided his empire between his two sons: the elder, Ivan Sratsimir, received the area of **Vidin** in northwest Bulgaria; the younger, **Ivan Shishman**, succeeded Ivan Aleksandŭr to the throne in the Bulgarian capital, **Veliko Tŭrnovo**. Both inherited the title of tsar. At that time, the Empire of Vidin was temporarily occupied by the Hungarians. After the death of Ivan Aleksandŭr, the two Bulgarian empires drifted apart. Ivan Sratsimir broke away from the **Bulgarian Patriarchate** of Veliko Tŭrnovo and yielded to the **Patriarchate of Constantinople**. In 1388, he was compelled to recognize **Ottoman** suzerainty. In 1396, after Sigismund III of Luxembourg, with whom Ivan Sratsimir had been siding against the sultan, was defeated near Nikopol, the Empire of Vidin was finally conquered by the Ottomans and was incorporated in the Ottoman Empire. Ivan Sratsimir himself was taken prisoner and was deported to Asia Minor.

VLACHS. The Vlachs are a Romance-speaking Balkan people akin to the **Romanians**. They live on the right bank of the **Danube** and in southwest Bulgaria, **Macedonia**, Thessaly (**Greece**), and **Albania**. The ancestors of the Vlachs in the south, who are often called Aromanians, are Latinized **Thracians**, whereas the Vlachs in the north, who are hard to distinguish from the Romanian, are descendants of Latinized Daco-Getae (considered a Thracian subgroup), although there are also other hypotheses.

The name Vlach derives from a Slavic word denoting a member of a Romance-speaking people. Depending on the region where they live, their social position, their profession, and the extent to which they are assimilated with other groups the Vlachs have other names like Cincars and Kutsovlachs. The Greek speaking **Karakachans** or Sarakatsans constitute a separate Aromanian group. The Vlachs have their own customs, songs, and clothes. In Byzantine and Ottoman sources, Vlachs are described as nomadic shepherds, and often Vlach is merely a synonym of “shepherd” or “**Roma**.” In Thessaly, the Vlachs have preserved until now their traditional transhumance: during the summer,

they wander with their flocks in the mountains; during the winter, they stay in their houses in the valleys.

Since (Latinized) Thracians constitute the autochthonous population of ancient **Thrace** and Moesia, there have always been Vlachs in Bulgaria, although there is not always evidence of them in historical sources. The dynasty of **Asen** is considered to be of Vlach (or Kuman) origin. Great numbers of Vlachs appeared in Bulgaria in the 16th through 18th centuries, especially in the **Balkan** and the **Rhodope Mountains, Rila**, and Pirin. From the 18th century on, they settled in the cities, where they smoothly assimilated with the socially dominant group, the **Greeks** or rather the Graecophones. In the 19th century most of them were Bulgarized. Consequently, only small Vlach communities have survived in present-day Bulgaria, since most Vlachs in the Danube region are in fact Romanians. As a result of population exchange between Bulgaria and **Romania**, most of the Bulgarian Vlachs left for (then Romanian) Southern **Dobrudja** in the 1930s. After the 1940 **Treaty of Craiova**, they were expelled from Southern Dobrudja. Small Vlach (Aromanian) communities are reported to exist still in Blagoevgrad, Melnik, Rakitovo, **Sofia**. According to the 2001 census, there were 10,566 Vlachs in Bulgaria (5,159 in 1992), an increase that may be explained by the more relaxed climate concerning ethnic minorities in Bulgaria, encouraging members of minorities to express their identity. About half of them might be Aromanians. Their main center is **Vidin**, where they have a cultural society, shared with the Bulgarian Romanians, which publishes the magazine *Time (Timpul-Vreme)*.

VODENICHAROV, RUMEN (1938–). Politician. Born on 17 December 1938 in Sadovo. A chemist and alpinist, he works at the Research Institute for Chemical Pharmaceuticals of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS)**. He was one of the first members of the **Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights (IADHR)** in Bulgaria. In the spring of 1989, after the leaders of the association had been arrested or expelled from Bulgaria, Vodenicharov became the IADHR chair. He was one of the IADHR representatives in the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** National Coordinating Council. Vodenicharov left the UDF in 1991. In January 1992, he ran for vice-president, together with **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)**-supported **Velko**

Vûlkanov, but was not elected. In 1998, he became chair and eventually secretary of Helsinki Human Rights Watch in Bulgaria. Although he had started his political career as a human rights champion, he later became notorious for his intolerance towards ethnic minorities. In May 2005, he joined the racist party *Attack*.

VOLOV, PANAYOT (1850 or 1851–1876). National liberation fighter. Born in Shumen. After his studies in **Bucharest** and **Bessarabia**, he returned to Shumen in 1873. He started working as a teacher and got involved in the national liberation movement. As a leader of the Shumen revolutionary organization, he attended the **Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee** (BRCC) meeting in 1874. In 1875, he moved to Bucharest and participated in the planning of the abortive Stara Zagora Uprising in 1875. In the fall of 1875, he was among the cofounders of the **Gyurgevo Revolutionary Committee** (GRC), which appointed him as the leader of the **Plovdiv** revolutionary region in charge of preparing for the **April 1876 Uprising**. In that capacity, he was one of the initiators of the *Oborishte* meeting. Later, Volov was gradually overshadowed by **Georgi Benkovski**. After the uprising was crushed, Volov tried to escape to Romania but drowned in the Yantra near Byala on 26 May 1876.

VOYNIKOV, DOBRI (1833–1878). Journalist, playwright, and **theater** director. Born in Shumen on 10 November 1833. He studied at the famous French College in Istanbul. In 1858, he became a teacher in his native city, and in 1864, he emigrated to **Romania** where he taught, wrote on Bulgarian politics (also in French, for the Western public), and helped present the first Bulgarian theater performances. The most popular of his plays, which always deal with patriotic themes, is the comedy *Civilization Wrongly Understood* (*Krivo-razbranata tsivilizatsiya*, 1871), in which the superficial imitation of a Western lifestyle is ridiculed and the traditional Bulgarian moral values are praised. Voynikov was also one of the founders of the **Bulgarian Literary Society** (BLS).

VÛLKANOV, VELKO (1927–). Real name: Velko Vûlkanov Ivanov. Politician. Born on 16 November 1927 in Elhovo, he studied law and worked as a lawyer. At the same time, he published articles in which

social questions were discussed in an independent spirit. Although he supposedly was never a member of either the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) or the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), he was elected to the **Grand National Assembly** in June 1990 and to the **National Assembly** (NA) in October 1991 on a BSP ticket. In January 1992, he ran for state president with **Rumen Vodenicharov** as his running mate, staking his political fortunes on Turcophobia. Supported by the BSP, he finished second to the incumbent **Zhelyo Zhelev** in the first round but ultimately failed to be elected. In the following years, he served as a member of Parliament and presided over a number of parliamentary commissions, mainly dealing with religious freedom and civil rights. In 1999, he founded a national committee for the defense of the Kurd leader Abdullah Öcalan. He was cochair of the International Initiative Committee for the Defense of Slobodan Milošević. He has received several international awards for his dedication to human rights.

VŪLKOV, VIKTOR (1936–). Politician and diplomat. Born on 4 April 1936. He studied engineering. In 1976, Vŭlkov was appointed vice-chair of the Section for Foreign Relations of the **Bulgarian Agrarian National Union** (BANU) Permanent Committee and was later included in the BANU Administrative Council. From 1979 to 1983, he served as first secretary at the Bulgarian Embassy to the Netherlands; from 1983 to 1985, he headed the BANU International Relations Department. In 1984, he became a BANU representative to the **National Assembly** (NA). After BANU leader **Petŭr Tanchev** was removed on 2 December 1989, Vŭlkov became secretary of the Permanent Committee, and less than a year later he was elected chair of BANU. From December 1990 to November 1991, he served as a vice-prime minister and minister of foreign affairs in the **Dimitŭr Popov cabinet**. On 27 July 1991, he was replaced by Tsenko Barev as the head of BANU. Eventually, Vŭlkov was appointed Bulgarian ambassador to Turkey. Currently, he is ambassador to Croatia.

– W –

WARSAW PACT. Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance concluded on 15 May 1955, among **Albania**, Bulgaria,

Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, **Romania**, and the **Soviet Union** (SU), in reaction to the inclusion of West Germany into the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) that year. The Warsaw Pact was designed as a common Central and East European defense system, but in fact it mainly benefited Moscow, since it created a buffer zone between the Soviet Union and the NATO member states, passing defense expenses on to the buffer states and establishing Soviet control over their national armies. Albania left the Warsaw Pact in 1968 in protest against the alliance's military intervention in Czechoslovakia.

Bulgaria, having common borders with two NATO member states, **Greece** and **Turkey**, and being the Soviet Union's most devoted ally, occupied an important strategic place within the Warsaw Pact. Insofar as Bulgaria could feel threatened by one of these countries, or by Yugoslavia because of the **Macedonian Question**, the alliance offered effective protection. Unlike all of the other Eastern European countries there were no Soviet troops stationed on Bulgarian soil, since Bulgaria's reliability was not in doubt. After the military institutions were disbanded on 1 April 1991 and the alliance itself was abolished on 1 July of the same year, Bulgaria—although it too had insisted on the dissolution—found itself without any military protection. This forced its leaders to seek a new national security policy. *See also* ARMY.

WESTERN DISTRICTS (ZAPADNI POKRAYNINI). Four small areas ceded by Bulgaria to Yugoslavia by virtue of the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly**. They consist of a small area in the region of **Vidin**, two larger areas in the neighborhood of Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad in Serbia) and Bosilegrad, and the vast region around the city of Strumitsa in **Macedonia**. In 1910 there were 61,925 inhabitants, all Bulgarian. During the interwar period, the Bulgarian population of the Western Districts was subjected to Serbization. After **World War II**, when the Yugoslav federal system was established, the Bulgarian language was taught at primary school level in the three northern districts, the population in the southern area round Strumitsa being considered Macedonian. Some publications in Bulgarian appeared, including the newspaper *Brotherhood* (*Bratstvo*) and the literary journal *Bridge* (*Most*). The Niš radio station broadcast programs in

Bulgarian. The 1962 census counted 62,624 persons of Bulgarian nationality in the three northern Western Districts alone. By 1981, their number had decreased to 36,642 as a result of assimilation, emigration to other parts of Yugoslavia, and the opportunity for all Yugoslav citizens to be registered as “Yugoslav. The latter was accepted by many members of smaller minorities, although Serbian assimilation pressure and harassment, especially when the relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia worsened, should not be underestimated. According to the 2001 census, there were 20,497 Bulgarians left in the whole of Serbia (26,922 in 1992).

As a result of Serbian leader Slobodan Milošević’s nationalist policy, the situation of the Bulgarians in the Western Districts deteriorated. Journalists of *Brotherhood*, who were members of the leadership of the newly founded Democratic Union of the Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, were fired, which worsened the already hostile feelings in Bulgaria. On 9 November 1991, Bulgarian organizations celebrated the Day of the Western Districts, making the fate of the Yugoslav Bulgarians one of the topics of national concern. In August 1993, they solemnly donated Bulgarian books to the Bulgarian Cultural Center in Dimitrovgrad—an event reported at length by Bulgarian Television. More radical Bulgarian nationalists have pleaded for the return of the Western Districts to Bulgaria, and in April 1995 Bulgaria protested to the **United Nations** (UN) against the treatment of the Bulgarians in the Western Districts. The fate of the Serbian Bulgarians improved somewhat after the fall of Milošević in 2000.

WESTERN THRACE. The southwestern part of **Thrace**, now a region in northeastern **Greece**. Until the **Balkan Wars**, Western Thrace was an **Ottoman** province with a mixed Bulgarian (including **Pomak**), **Greek**, and **Turkish** population in more or less equal proportions (each of them close to 300,000). Under the 1913 **Treaty of Bucharest**, the region was assigned to Bulgaria. During **World War I**, as a result of the 1915 **Convention of Istanbul**, the districts of Didymoticho and Souphli (now in Greece) were attached to it. During the war, Western Thrace was occupied by the Entente Powers. After the war, Bulgaria was forced by the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** to cede the region to the Entente Powers, which administered it as a protectorate in anticipation of its assignment to Greece or Bulgaria.

Though the census, taken by the Entente, revealed a (small) Bulgarian majority, the 1920 **Conference of San Remo** decided to attach Western Thrace to Greece—a decision that was confirmed by the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. The region had to be demilitarized, and thus Bulgaria lost an area that was economically of the utmost importance not only because of the profitable **tobacco** plantations but especially because of the harbor of Dede Agach (Alexandroupolis), Bulgaria's outlet to the Mediterranean. The request of the Bulgarian representatives at the Lausanne Conference for a corridor was refused. Bulgaria, for its part, rejected the Greek proposal of a free-trade zone in Dede Agach (and **Salonika**). In the years after the Treaty of Lausanne, many Bulgarians left the region for Bulgaria; these who stayed behind were mainly Pomaks.

In 1922, Bulgarian and Turkish *chetas*, united in a Bulgarian-Turkish Internal Thracian Revolutionary Organization (BTITRO) and cooperating with the **Aleksandŭr Stamboliyski** cabinet in Bulgaria and Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) in Turkey, began preparing an armed uprising against the Greek administration, demanding independence for Thrace. In 1923, the organization was disbanded by the **Aleksandŭr Tsankov** cabinet, but its members resumed their activities in the Internal Thracian Revolutionary Organization (ITRO). In 1926, Greece, **Romania**, and **Serbia**, which had suffered much from the activities of Bulgarian *chetas*, requested the **Andrey Lyapchev** cabinet to take measures. In October 1927, ITRO disbanded itself. A new organization, the Committee for the Freedom of Thrace (CFT), which deployed similar activities, existed until 1934 when it was liquidated by the **Kimon Georgiev** administration.

During **World War II**, Bulgaria occupied Western Thrace, carrying out a policy of ethnic cleansing against the Greek population (which by then already outnumbered the Bulgarians) and of colonization by Bulgarians. After the war, the old frontiers and the former demographic situation were restored.

WOMEN. Women are said to have played a pivotal role in the prehistoric **Slavic** rural societies. In Bulgarian folklore, there are still traces of the prehistoric Slavic matriarchate. However, the role of women was probably less prominent among the martial and patriarchal **Proto-Bulgarian** horsemen. The part played by women in medieval

Bulgarian public life was rather limited. **Vera Mutafchieva** once sarcastically remarked that although hardly any evidence could be found in the sources, in the past in Bulgaria there must have been some women, too. Phenomena like courtly love, which had such a civilizing effect on Western relations between sexes, were unknown in Bulgaria. Nevertheless, a small number of women played a humble political role. Some of them helped resolve dynastic and diplomatic problems by marrying a pretender to the throne (*see* IVAYLO). A small number of painted portraits of Bulgarian aristocratic ladies and empresses (for example, in the **Boyana church** and in illustrated manuscripts) have been preserved.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which Muslim influence, which prevailed during the **Ottoman** period (end 14th–end 19th century) contributed to limiting the participation of women in public life. Obviously, Muslim customs did not encourage dealing more liberally with women. Traditionally, a woman became more respected only after being married and was fully accepted by her husband's family after having given birth to a son. A man showed more affection for his mother than for his wife, to whom the daughter-in-law was totally subordinated. The Westernization of Bulgarian society in the 19th century gave women a more visible place in society, especially in urban environments. Schools for girls were established in several cities from the 1860s onward. Nevertheless, women's participation in intellectual life, let alone political life, remained extremely limited. The first women writers who were more than just curiosities—**Elizaveta Bagryana**, Dora Gabe—all debuted after **World War I**.

Under communist rule, women were employed in all possible jobs, including as construction and road workers. Jobs in the education and health care sector were given preferably to women. This was due also to the relatively low status these jobs had in communist society. More prestigious professions, like that of engineer and state or party functionary, were to a large extent monopolized by men. **Lyudmila Zhivkova**, party leader **Todor Zhivkov**'s daughter, was the only woman in communist Bulgaria to occupy a real power position. In family life, the traditional role patterns remained greatly unchanged. While men spent their spare time outside, tasks like cooking and washing were left to the women. However, since women in addition

usually had jobs, most children were (and often still are) raised by their (retired) grandparents.

After the fall of the communist regime, a dual development set in. On the one hand, conservative nationalist parties pushed women back into their traditional roles as mothers and housekeepers. On the other hand, a considerable number of women became active in leading positions as businesswomen and politicians (for example, **Anastasia Dimitrova-Moser**, **Reneta Indzhova**, **Nadezhda Mihaylova**). The **National Movement Simeon the Second** (SMSS) parliamentary group consisted largely of women due to the fact that the SMSS participated in the June 2001 elections on a ticket of the Party of Bulgarian Women.

WORD (*Duma*). Daily publication of the **Bulgarian Socialist Party** (BSP), heir of the communist *Workers' Cause*. The first issue appeared on 3 April 1990; the editor-in-chief was **Stefan Prodev**. Taking over the technical infrastructure and a large part of the staff of the *Workers' Cause*, *Word* rapidly succeeded in becoming one of Bulgaria's most professionally run post-communist dailies. *Word* has remained a typical party newspaper, however, full of partisan bias and not averse to demagoguery, especially regarding ethnic minorities issues and the BSP's main rival—the **Union of Democratic Forces** (UDF).

WORKERS' CAUSE (*Rabotnichesko delo*). Organ of the **Central Committee** (CC) of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP). Appeared from 5 March 1927 to 2 April 1990, when its name was changed to *Word*. During the communist period, *Workers' Cause* was the leading Bulgarian newspaper and published official party announcements, programs, speeches, declarations, journalistic comments elucidating or defending the party line, and selected news items. The last editor in chief was the ideological hair-splitter Yordan Yotov.

WORLD WAR I. In the Balkans, and especially for Bulgaria, World War I was in fact the resumption of the two **Balkan Wars** that were fought in 1912–1913. After recovering from the first “**national catastrophe**,” Tsar **Ferdinand** and his government looked for a way to undo the unfavorable border arrangements imposed by the 1913

Treaty of Bucharest. Both the Entente and the Central Powers tried to induce **Sofia** to enter the war on their respective sides, promising Bulgaria the territories (of the adversary) it coveted. The offer of the Entente—**Eastern Thrace** up to the Enos-Midye line, drawn by the 1913 **Treaty of London**—was less attractive than that of the Central Powers, who offered **Macedonia**. Through the 1915 **Convention of Istanbul** the Ottoman Empire ceded some small territories to Bulgaria on condition that it wage war on **Serbia**. On 28 September 1915, despite the opposition's insistent pleas for neutrality, the Bulgarian government ordered the army to cross the Serbian border. In the following months, Bulgarian troops occupied (Serbian) Macedonia and drove the Entente troops operating there to the Greek border. They were not allowed by the German supreme command to enter Greece, which was still formally neutral. In 1916, Bulgarian troops also occupied Southern **Dobrudja**, which had been annexed by **Romania** pursuant to the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest. There, the Bulgarian army engaged in battles with their former Russian liberators, who fought alongside the Romanians. The 1918 Treaty of Bucharest returned Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria.

Alter two years of exhausting trench warfare in Macedonia, where the Entente Powers had established the so-called Salonika Front, the Bulgarian lines were broken near Dobro Pole and Doyran in mid-September 1918. The Bulgarian troops ceased all resistance and rapidly retreated toward Sofia. Pressured by the military developments at the Salonika Front, by the opposition in the **National Assembly** (NA) and by the so-called **Radomir Rebellion**, the Bulgarian government capitulated on 29 September 1918. Tsar Ferdinand, who was held personally responsible for this second “national catastrophe,” was compelled to abdicate in favor of his son, **Boris III**. As an ally of the defeated Central Powers, Bulgaria was “punished” by the 1919 **Treaty of Neuilly** with territorial losses and harsh reparations. *See also* GERMANY; MACEDONIAN QUESTION.

WORLD WAR II. On the eve of **World War II**, Bulgaria and the other Balkan countries, feeling threatened by the developments in Western and Central Europe, were searching for security. In 1937, Bulgaria signed the **Bulgarian-Yugoslav Pact “For Eternal Friendship”** in 1937 and the **Salonika agreement** in 1938. On 15 September 1939,

Bulgaria declared its neutrality, in spite of its excellent political and economic relations with **Germany**. On 1 March 1941, however, impressed by the German military successes, it joined the Berlin-Rome Axis, hoping to realize in that way its territorial aspirations in **Macedonia** and **Western Thrace**. Rather symbolically, Bulgaria subsequently declared war on Great Britain and the **United States** but did not participate directly in the military operations on the Balkan Peninsula and refused to send troops to the Russian front. It supplied raw materials and agricultural products to Germany, granted free passage to the German troops (already on 1 March 1941), and served as a base for an attack on **Greece** during Operation Maritsa. After the capitulation of **Yugoslavia** and Greece in April 1941, Bulgaria was allowed by the Germans to occupy and administer Greek Western Thrace and Yugoslav Macedonia. Bulgaria's authority over these territories was limited, especially with regard to the exploitation of raw materials. There was no question of formal annexation, although the Bulgarians behaved as if this were the case.

Initially welcomed as liberators by the local **Slavic** population, the Bulgarian military and civil authorities soon became unpopular, as they pursued an authoritarian policy of centralization and colonization by Bulgarian nationals. In Thrace, the Greek population was subjected to ethnic cleansing. Since Bulgaria was not occupied (and had even enlarged its territory), and since the **National Assembly (NA)**, albeit within the framework of the **personal regime** of Tsar **Boris III**, could function more or less normally, the communist armed resistance to the government's policy received little support from the population. The partisans' sabotage activities were directed mainly against the goods supplied to the German forces that operated in the **Soviet Union (SU)**. The **Fatherland Front (FF)**, founded in 1942 by the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, united all of the anti-fascist political forces in a broad coalition against the pro-German government.

After the reversals on the Eastern Front in the spring of 1943, Bulgaria's position, linked with that of Germany, became precarious. In November 1943, Bulgaria was directly affected by the war when the **United States** air force bombed the capital. The raids in January and March 1944 were even more devastating. Consequently, Bulgaria made tentative approaches to the Allied Powers. The Soviet Union

especially insisted that Bulgaria fully restore its neutrality and withdraw from the alliance with Germany, which implied Bulgaria's giving up Macedonia and Western Thrace. On 26 August 1944, Bulgaria proclaimed its neutrality, and on 4 September, it terminated its alliance with Germany. German troops were asked to leave the country, and Bulgarian troops were withdrawn from the occupied territories in Yugoslavia and Greece. On 5 September 1944, the Soviet Union, advancing in **Romania**, declared war on Bulgaria. Hoping to avoid a Soviet invasion, Bulgaria broke off diplomatic relations with Germany and declared war on its former ally on 6 September. On 8 September, however, the Red Army crossed the **Danube**; on the same night, the communist partisans, backed by the Red Army, carried out the **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**. The incumbent government was arrested and was replaced by a government of the FF, led by **Kimon Georgiev**.

On 28 October 1944, an armistice with the Allied Powers was signed in Moscow, providing for a three-year **Allied Control Commission (CC)** presided over by the Soviet representative. The Bulgarian army, which had been restructured immediately after the communist takeover, was included in the military operations of the Soviet Third Ukrainian Front in Yugoslavia and Hungary. Some 25,000 Bulgarian soldiers died while pursuing the retreating German army, thus redeeming Bulgaria's guilt for siding with the Nazis during the war. As a result of its ultimate participation in World War II, the 1947 **Peace Treaty of Paris** did not force Bulgaria to cede territories and even confirmed Bulgaria's annexation of Southern **Dobrudja** in 1940. Compensations to Greece and Yugoslavia were limited to reasonable amounts.

– Y –

YAVOROV, PEYO (1878–1914). Pen name of Peyo Totov Kracholov. Bulgarian poet and freedom fighter. Born in Chirpan on 1 January 1878. After being attracted to socialism, he became involved in the **Macedonian** liberation movement by the turn of the century and became editor-in-chief of the independent irredentist daily *Cause*

(*Delo*). He participated in the military operations of several **Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization** (IMARO) *chetas* in Macedonia, preparing the 1903 *Ilinden Uprising*. After the suppression of the uprising, he was IMARO representative abroad for a short time. Memories of his experiences as a *cheta* member were noted in his biography of Gotse Delchev (1904), and in *Hayduk longings* (*Haydushki kopneniya*, 1909). Yavorov is now known mainly for his collections of sophisticated symbolist poems *Insomnias* (*Bezsnitsi*, 1907) and *Following the Shadows of the Clouds* (*Podir senkite na oblatsite*, 1910), in which he reveals himself as a torn, melancholic man, possessing an exceptional feeling for the musicality and the poetical power of the **Bulgarian language**. Yavorov also wrote some successful plays. He committed suicide on 29 October 1914 after a tragic love affair, which largely contributed to his popularity.

YOAN KUKUZEL (ca. 1280–ca. 1370). Singer and composer. Born in Dzhermantsi near Debar in **Macedonia** or in Durrës, **Albania**. His Bulgarian or even Slavic origin is contested. He spent most of his life in Constantinople, where he studied at the Imperial High School and afterward became the precentor in the patriarchal church. He spent the last years of his life as a monk on Mount **Athos**. Yoan Kukuzel innovated in Byzantine church chanting, introducing the so-called “sweetly sounding” (*sladkozvuchen*), richly ornamented manner of singing, based on elements of folk music. He also created the Byzantine method of musical notation. One of his most famous works is *The Lamentation of the Bulgarian Woman*.

YOAN THE EXARCH (END 9TH–BEGINNING 10TH CENTURY). Bulgarian translator, compiler, and writer. Almost nothing is known about his life. He translated *On the Orthodox Faith* by Saint John of Damascus, adding a short introduction of his own. His major achievement was the *Six Days* (*Shestodnef*), a kind of medieval dictionary in the form of the story of the creation of the world in six days. It is a translation mainly of the *Hexaemeron* by Basil the Great, but it also includes fragments from the works of other Byzantine writers and short bits of information about Bulgaria during the rule of **Simeon**.

YOGHURT. The world-famous Bulgarian yoghurt is produced through fermentation of sheep, cow, or buffalo milk (or a mixture of any two of them) caused by the *Streptococcus thermophilus* and the *Lactobacterium bulgaricum*. Bulgarian yoghurt is white and thick and has a specific sour taste. It is widely used in all kinds of dishes. Bulgarian yoghurt is said to have a healing effect and purportedly contributes to longevity.

YOSIF SOKOLSKI (1786–1879). Uniate bishop. Real name: Ivan Markov. Born in a village near Gabrovo. He became a monk in the Troyan Monastery and founded the monastery near Sokola (whence his name: Sokolski) in 1832. On 18 December 1860, he and **Dragan Tsankov** signed the act of Union with the Catholic Church, considering this the best way of resolving the **church struggle**. On 2 April 1861, he was ordained as a Catholic archbishop by the pope; the sultan recognized him as the head of the Bulgarian **Uniates**. Two months later he mysteriously disappeared and turned up in Odessa, where he renounced the Union and called on his flock to do the same. It later transpired that he had been kidnapped by the Russians and forced to do so. Sokolski spent the rest of his life in a monastery near Kiev. He died there on 30 September 1879.

YOVKOV, YORDAN (1880–1937). Writer. Born in Zheravna on 9 November 1880. He spent part of his youth in **Dobrudja**. After studying law for some time, he worked as a teacher in Dobrudja. During **World War I**, he was a war correspondent. After the war, he served as a press attaché at the Bulgarian Embassy to Bucharest.

Yovkov is the author of rather mediocre novels and plays, but his short stories are among the best ever written in Bulgarian. He deals in a melancholy way with the fate of poor peasants and soldiers in a period when the bulk of the Bulgarian people suffered from social injustice and bore the burden of megalomaniac warfare. Yovkov sensitively describes the mentality of his heroes, focusing on the moral dilemmas they face and always adding an ethical dimension to his stories. He displayed in his work in an unrivalled way what is considered to be a typically Bulgarian philosophy of life. For this reason, he is often compared to Ivo Andrić, who evoked in his novels and stories in a similar way the mentality of the Bosnian Muslims. Yovkov

also wrote very delicate stories about animals. He died in **Plovdiv** on 15 October 1937.

YUGOSLAVIA. *See* SERBIA.

YUGOV, ANTON (1904–1991). Politician. Born in Karasouli (now Polykastron in Greece) on 15 August 1904. As a young man, he was a **tobacco** worker in **Plovdiv**. In 1921, he joined the **Bulgarian Communist Youth Union** (BCYU) and participated in the **September 1923 Uprising**. In 1928, he joined the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) and held various important party positions. From 1934 to 1936, he lived in the **Soviet Union**. In 1937, he was elected a member of the **Politburo**. During **World War II**, he was one of the leaders of the partisan movement against the pro-German Bulgarian government. After the communist **coup d'état of 9 September 1944**, Yugov was named minister of internal affairs (1944–1949), vice-prime minister (1949–50), minister of heavy industry (1950–1952), vice-prime minister again (1952–1956), and finally prime minister (1956–1962). In 1962 he was dismissed from all his functions, being accused of “serious mistakes” during the **Vŭlko Chervenkov** Stalinist personality cult period. On 1 September 1989, however, he was honored with communist Bulgaria’s highest award “Hero of the People’s Republic of Bulgaria.” At the beginning of 1990, he was—rather paradoxically—fully rehabilitated as a “victim” of the **Todor Zhivkov** regime. He died on 8 July 1991.

– Z –

ZAHARIY ZOGRAF (1810–1853). Real name: Zahariy Hristovich Dimitrov. Painter. Born in Samokov to the family of a painter who gave Zahariy his first vocational training. Zahariy spent his life mainly in Samokov and **Plovdiv**, but he also traveled around the country as an iconographer and fresco painter. As a muralist, Zahariy decorated several Bulgarian monastery churches (**Bachkovo**, **Rila**, **Troyan**) and the monastery of Saint Athanasius on Mount **Athos** in Greece. In 1840, he took lessons from two French artists who introduced him to the technique of perspective, unknown to traditional

Byzantine painting. Living and working in the transitional period of the **National Awakening**, Zahariy steadily renounced the canons of medieval religious art and applied a modern, realistic style, which is particularly noticeable in his portraits. He also painted several self-portraits. Zahariy died in Samokov on 14 June 1853.

ZAIMOV, STOYAN (1853–1932). National freedom fighter, teacher, and writer. Born in Chirpan on 12 August 1853. He studied in Stara Zagora, where he met **Vasil Levski** and joined his **Internal Revolutionary Organization (IRO)**. During the preparation of an assault on a rich Bulgarian in Haskovo, he was discovered, arrested, and exiled to Diarbakır in Eastern Anatolia. He escaped to Bucharest where the **Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee (BRC)** ordered him to set **Istanbul** on fire—a plan that failed. Back in Bucharest, Zaimov co-founded the **Gyurgevo Revolutionary Committee (GRC)**. He actively participated in the preparation for the **April 1876 Uprising**, but soon after the outbreak of the uprising, he was arrested, then sentenced to death; but this was commuted to life imprisonment in the fortress of Saint-Jean d’Acre (now Akko in Israel). After the March 1878 **Treaty of San Stefano**, he was granted an amnesty and returned to Bulgaria. In 1882, he studied pedagogy in Moscow; afterwards, he worked as a teacher in several Bulgarian cities and was a member of the advisory board of the Ministry of Education. He wrote primers and manuals and edited the well-known periodical *School Review (Uchilishten pregled)*. From 1903 until 1908, he was director of the National Library in Sofia. He died in Pleven on 9 September 1932. Zaimov described his long and turbulent life in *The Past (Minaloto)*, one of the finest autobiographical works in **Bulgarian literature**, comparable to Zahari Stoyanov’s *Notes on the Bulgarian Uprisings*.

ZHECHEV, TONCHO (1929–2000). Real name: Toncho Zhechev Tonev. Born in Divdyadovo near Shumen on 6 July 1929. Literary historian, critic, and writer. Zhechev worked at the Institute for Literature of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS)**. He received his Ph.D. in literature in 1977. As a literary critic, he represented the so-called “impressionistic school,” which opposed a dogmatic Marxist approach to literature. His main field of research, however, was

the literature of the Bulgarian **National Awakening**. Zhechev gained fame with his book *The Bulgarian Easter or the Bulgarian Passion* (*Bûlgarskiyat Velikden ili strastite bûlgarski*, 1975), in which he paints a penetrating picture of the Bulgarian community in Istanbul during the **church struggle**. In the essay *The Bulgarian Ulysses and the Truth about His Homecoming* (*Bûlgarskiyat Odisey i istinata za negovoto zavrûshtane*, 1985), he developed a controversial view of the Bulgarian national character based on the famous poem *The Spring of the White-Footed Girl* by **Petko Slaveykov**. Zhechev made a remarkable novelistic debut with *The History and Theories of a Pygmalion* (*Istoriyata i teoriite na edin Pigmalion*, 1983). From 1991 onward, he was the editor-in-chief of the literary journal *Annals* (*Letopisi*). Zhechev died in Sofia on 22 February 2000.

ZHELEV, ZHELYO (1935–). Politician. Born on 3 March 1935 in Veselinovo near Shumen. He studied philosophy at University of **Sofia** from 1953 to 1958. His thesis for a master's degree, *On the Philosophical Definition of Matter in Contemporary Natural Science*, was rejected because it contained criticism of Lenin's definition of matter. In 1965, having explained some of his views in an article in the Berlin *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, he was dismissed from the university and expelled from the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP). From 1966 to 1972, he was unemployed and lived in internal exile in his wife's native village, Grozden, near Burgas, working on his dissertation and his book *Fascism* (*Fashizmât*). In 1972, he was employed as a sociologist at the Center for Amateur Arts and in 1974 finally defended his M. A. thesis, *The Modal Categories Possibility, Reality, and Necessity*. He was then appointed as a senior researcher at the Institute for Culture in Sofia. After the publication of *Fascism* in 1982, he was again dismissed.

Fascism, Zhelev's most important book, was finished in 1967 but could not appear until 1982, when it was sold for three weeks and was then banned. It is a lucid analysis of German, Italian, and Spanish fascisms, which could be and actually was read as a description of the totalitarian communist system that existed in Bulgaria. In 1987, since the ideological watchdogs in Bulgaria had become less self-assured as a result of the democratization process in the **Soviet Union**, Zhelev was allowed to defend his Ph.D. dissertation, *Relational Theory of the*

Personality. In March 1988, he was among the founding members of the environmental group the **Ruse Committee**; later in 1989, he, together with other intellectuals critical of the regime, established the **Club for Glasnost and Democracy**, which contributed to preparing the political climate in which the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, finishing off the communist regime, took place. On 7 December 1989, he united a number of opposition movements and parties in the **Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)** and was elected chair of the UDF National Coordinating Council. In this capacity, he participated in the **Roundtable Negotiations** in the spring of 1990. On 1 August 1990, he succeeded **Petър Mladenov** as Bulgarian state president, elected by the **National Assembly (NA)**. At his suggestion, **Atanas Seмерdzhiev** was elected vice-president.

On 19 January 1992, Zhelev was elected to a second term in the first free and direct presidential elections in Bulgarian history. His running mate, the poet **Blaga Dimitrova**, became vice-president. Since Zhelev had been the UDF-supported candidate, the president's subsequent neutrality vis-à-vis the various parties' mutual conflicts irritated the UDF. On 30 August 1992, Zhelev sharply criticized the UDF for perpetrating a policy of confrontation with the **labor unions** and the **BSP**, thus hampering economic reforms. The UDF then accused him of siding with the **BSP**; more extreme elements in the UDF went on hunger strikes to exact his resignation. After the second **Filip Dimitrov government** was overturned by a no-confidence vote supported by the **Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF)** on 28 October 1992, Zhelev was accused of having been behind this. However, some of the UDF splinter groups that emerged after the cabinet's resignation supported Zhelev. The UDF congress on 17 March 1993 again asked Zhelev to resign. During the summer, the pressure increased. Vice-president Blaga Dimitrova resigned on 30 June 1993. Although the **BSP** was also dissatisfied with the president after one of his advisers had criticized the **BSP agrarian policy**, he managed to maintain his position. Zhelev was not nominated by the UDF as a candidate for the 1996 presidential elections.

Zhelev succeeded in democratizing Bulgarian post-totalitarian society, avoiding serious clashes between the **Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)**, later **Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)** and the UDF, between nationalists and minority-rights activists and between the

new establishment and the impoverished population. His cautious policy contributed greatly to Bulgaria's revolution being the only absolutely bloodless one in Southeastern Europe. Zhelev also restored good relations with Turkey, Western Europe, and the **United States**. He was less successful in making the NA run smoothly and rapidly in carrying out privatization and creating the conditions for economic revitalization. Like Václav Havel, to whom he has (not without exaggeration) been compared, Zhelev owes his success to his honesty and humility, to the moral authority he built up during the years he was persecuted and—last but not least—to his relative tolerance toward the ex-communists, who managed to remain a formidable force in Bulgarian political and economic life.

ZHIVKOV, TODOR (1911–1998). Politician. Born on 7 September 1911 in Pravets near Botevgrad to a family of poor peasants. Zhivkov attended the printing school in Sofia. In 1928, he joined the **Bulgarian Communist Youth Union** (BCYU). A year later, he began working as a printer in the State Printing House in Sofia. In 1932, he joined the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP). After Nazi Germany invaded the **Soviet Union** in 1941, Zhivkov helped organize the **partisan movement**, which fought the Bulgarian government because of its support of the Nazis. According to his official biography, from 1943 on he was a partisan officer in his native area, edited the illegal newspaper *Fatherland Front*, served as a liaison officer between the BWP leadership and the *Chavdar* guerrilla brigade, and was one of the commanders of the First Sofia Partisan Brigade *Chavdar* on the eve of the communist **coup d'état on 9 September 1944**. After the communist takeover, in which he allegedly played a decisive role, Zhivkov gradually moved up in the party hierarchy. In 1948, he became a member of the **Central Committee** (CC) of the BCP, in 1951 a member of the **Politburo**, and, on 4 March 1954, first secretary of the BCP CC—a position he retained until 1989. At the BCP **April 1956 Plenum** in 1956, Zhivkov accused former party leader **Vûlko Chervenkov** of having committed serious violations of Leninist principles of leadership by imposing a personality cult. Backed by Soviet party leader Nikita Khrushchev, Zhivkov announced a new policy that became known in Bulgarian history as the **April Line**. From 1962 to 1971 he was chair of the Council of Ministers (prime

minister), in which capacity he imposed a full dictatorship. In 1971, after the promulgation of the new **constitution**, he was also elected chair of the **Council of State** (state president).

Zhivkov's regime can be identified with the so-called April Line of the BCP. Initially conceived as the theoretical justification and guidance for de-Stalinization in Bulgaria, the April Line was constantly adjusted to the political and economic circumstances of the country and, what is more, to the ideological U-turns engineered in the Soviet Union. As a protégé of Khrushchev, Zhivkov succeeded in maintaining excellent relations with Leonid Brezhnev and his two successors, Yuri Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko. Less cordial was his relationship with Mikhail Gorbachev, by whom he was rightly considered to be a conservative hardliner. During Zhivkov's rule, Bulgaria remained Moscow's most docile ally, not only on ideological questions, but also in international affairs. Bulgaria's economy was completely integrated into that of the Soviet Union. In the 1970s, Zhivkov even toyed for some time with the idea of making his country a Soviet republic. In domestic affairs, Zhivkov further imposed the Soviet model in all fields of life. Only in economics did he allow, from the late 1970s on, experimentation with some free-market mechanisms, although even this took place with the consent or even at request of the Kremlin. In cultural matters, he was extremely dogmatic, holding to the principles of socialist realism, although he allowed his daughter, **Lyudmila Zhivkova**, to pursue a more liberal and in many respects even extravagant policy during her leadership of the Committee of Culture (1975–1981). Zhivkov was an authoritarian and intellectually narrow-minded politician who managed, nevertheless, to win the reluctant support of a large segment of the population, due mainly to the tangible improvement of living conditions in the 1960s and 1970s. He was ascribed a "typically Bulgarian" slyness and a popular sense of humor.

In the mid-1980s, Zhivkov's position was increasingly threatened by the policy of openness (*glasnost*) and restructuring (*perestroika*) that was initiated by Gorbachev in the Soviet Union. Zhivkov attempted to carry out some symbolic reforms, ideologically justified by the 1987 **July Theses**, and whose most noticeable aspect was a senseless campaign against (nonexistent) mass alcoholism. Zhivkov's relative popularity eventually began to fade due to wors-

ening economic circumstances and to the decline of the communist system throughout Eastern Europe. In a desperate attempt to maintain his position, Zhivkov launched his notorious **regeneration process** against the Bulgarian Turks, who were characterized as a threat to Bulgarianness. This campaign had disastrous political and economic consequences and ultimately ruined Bulgaria's image abroad and sealed Zhivkov's fate at home.

On 17 November 1989, one week after he had been dismissed as party leader during the **coup d'état of 10 November 1989**, Zhivkov was forced to resign as state president, and on 8 December 1989, he was expelled from the BCP (together with his son, Vladimir). On 18 January 1990, he was arrested and accused of abuse of power and of having illegally obtained public property, incited ethnic hostility, and established two labor camps. In July 1990, he was placed under house arrest at his granddaughter's villa in Boyana, a residential district near Sofia. Zhivkov was brought to trial on 25 February 1991, and after a 12-month-long trial (there were 216,000 pages of evidence to be worked through), often interrupted because of the defendant's poor health, Zhivkov was found guilty of embezzlement. On 4 September 1992, he was sentenced to a seven-year term of imprisonment—though not in jail, but in his granddaughter's villa—and the repayment of about US\$750,000. He appealed his sentence, claiming, not without reason, that he was a scapegoat. In 1993, he was again brought to trial on a charge of inciting ethnic hostility. His house arrest was lifted in January 1997 by the **Zhan Videnov cabinet**. Zhivkov died in Sofia on 5 August 1998.

ZHIVKOVA, LYUDMILA (1942–1981), Politician. Born in Sofia on 26 July 1942; daughter of the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP) leader **Todor Zhivkov**. From 1961 to 1965, she studied history at the University of **Sofia**; from 1974 until her death in 1981, she worked as a researcher at the Institute of Balkanology of the **Bulgarian Academy of Sciences** (BAS). For some time, she was a graduate student at Oxford, where she worked on a dissertation about British-Turkish relations in the 1930s (published in 1971; English translation in 1976). Zhivkova wrote some prestigious studies on famous cultural treasures achieved on Bulgarian soil, such as the **Thracian** tomb in Kazanlûk (1974) and the illustrated Gospels of Tsar **Ivan Aleksandûr**.

Far more important than her scientific publications was her impressive record as an organizer and promoter of Bulgarian cultural life. In 1971, she was appointed vice-chair and, in 1975, chair of the Committee for Art and Culture; in 1980 she was put in charge of the **Politburo** Committee on Science, Culture, and Art—a post corresponding to that of minister of culture. Zhivkova surrounded herself with tolerant and sophisticated though law-abiding intellectuals and stimulated them in their attempts to broaden the horizons of Bulgarian culture. During her ministry, cultural contacts with Western Europe, the **United States**, and some Asian countries (like India and Japan) were intensified. Exhibitions of Thracian treasures, medieval Bulgarian icons, and modern Bulgarian paintings toured the world and contributed to a reevaluation of Bulgarian culture abroad. At the same time, foreign modern artistic trends and concepts were allowed to penetrate Bulgaria. Artists and writers from abroad—mostly of leftist persuasion but not all communists or fellow travelers—were invited to sumptuous meetings in **Sofia** and their works were translated into Bulgarian. Bulgarian writers and artists were given the opportunity, many of them for the first time in their lives, to travel abroad. Although the artistic and intellectual freedom was never as broad and the artistic achievements never as impressive as in Poland or Hungary, Bulgarian culture rose to an undisputed postwar peak.

The most striking aspect of Zhivkova's personality and activity was her interest in Oriental philosophy; reportedly, she was a vegetarian and practiced yoga—two rather unusual pursuits for a Bulgarian. On the other hand, Zhivkova was also the force behind the revival of Bulgarian nationalism in the 1980s. She promoted an esoteric, anthroposophic amalgamation of Western philosophy and Eastern mysticism with an equally unconventional concept of Bulgarian national identity, stressing the highly imaginary cultural contributions of the Thracians and the Proto-Bulgarians to Bulgarian ethnogenesis and reducing the importance of the **Slavic** (Russian) affiliation to more modest proportions. This policy culminated in the exuberant celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the foundation of the Bulgarian state in the fall of 1981. Zhivkova did not live to see it; she died two months before, on 21 July 1981. It was rumored that the KGB had a hand in her death because the Soviet leaders were alarmed by her encouragement of Bulgarian self-reliance. The Peo-

ple's Palace of Culture in Sofia, which was built on her initiative, bore her name until an end was put to such forms of personality cult in the late 1980s.

ZLATARSKI, VASIL (1866–1935). Historian. He studied classic philology and history in St. Petersburg and **archaeology** in Berlin. He was professor of history at the Sofia High School, later University, from 1904 until his death. His main field of research was Bulgarian medieval history from the establishment of the **Slavs** in the Balkan Peninsula until the **Ottoman** conquest in the 14th century. He investigated **Proto-Bulgarian** and Bulgarian inscriptions and led excavations in the medieval towns of **Preslav** and Cherven. His monumental *History of the Bulgarian State in the Middle Ages (Istoriya na bûlgarskata dûrzhava prez srednite vekove*, three volumes, 1918–1940) is still a standard work.

ZVENO. (Link) Loose centrist political organization founded on 27 June 1927 by democratically minded politicians and intellectuals and meant as a backstage, non-aligned pressure group. *Zveno* aimed at “regenerating” the Bulgarian nation; it fought the increasing polarization of Bulgarian political life, pleaded for a strong central authority (exercised by professional and experienced politicians) which would take measures against communist and fascist agitation, and called for curtailing the **Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)** and normalizing relations with **Yugoslavia**. After the **People's Bloc (PB)** government, elected in June 1931, proved to be divided by partisan bias and incapable of resolving problems, *Zveno* leader **Kimon Georgiev** began organizing the opposition, attracting members of the **Military League** and like-minded politicians of the moderate parties. On 19 May 1934, on the eve of an ominous demonstration by the **National Social Movement (NSM)** in Sofia, supporters of *Zveno* seized power. In order not to contravene Prime Minister Georgiev's policy of banning political parties and organizations, *Zveno* disbanded on 30 May, although its members remained active. See COUP D'ETAT OF 19 MAY 1934.

After the fall of the Georgiev cabinet on 22 January 1935, some *Zveno* members (among whom was Georgiev himself) opposed the establishment of Tsar **Boris's personal regime** and ideologically

approached the republican leftist opposition. In 1942, they joined the **Fatherland Front** (FF). After the communist **coup d'état on 9 September 1944**, which was supported by *Zveno*, the membership broke up into various factions. Some resisted subordination to the **Bulgarian Communist Party** (BCP); others, like Georgiev, who headed the first FF government, were disposed toward loyal cooperation. In 1949, the organization merged with the FF.

On 12 November 1989, only two days after the fall of the Zhivkov regime, *Zveno* was revived by a group of veterans as a centrist party aimed at restoring parliamentary democracy in an atmosphere of reconciliation. Its leader, Ivan Dundarov, died tragically at the end of 1990, and since then *Zveno* has been fading away. *See also* COUP D'ETAT OF 19 MAY 1934.

Bibliography

ORGANIZATION

- A. General
 - 1. Bibliographies and Bibliographical Essays
 - 2. Dictionaries and Directories
 - 3. General Information and Interdisciplinary Studies
 - 4. Statistical Abstracts and Yearbooks
 - 5. Travel and Description
 - 6. Guides
 - 7. Cartography
 - 8. Periodicals

- B. Historical
 - 1. General
 - 2. Prehistory and Antiquity (before 681)
 - 3. The Medieval Empires (681–1393)
 - 4. Ottoman Rule, including the National Awakening Period (1393–1878)
 - a. Ottoman Rule
 - b. National Awakening Period (1762–1878)
 - 5. The Bulgarian Kingdom (1878–1944)
 - 6. Communist Period (1944–89)

- C. Political
 - 1. Domestic Affairs
 - a. General
 - b. Political Parties
 - c. Elections

- d. Labor Unions
- e. Military Issues
- 2. Foreign Relations and European Integration

D. Juridical

E. Cultural

- 1. General
- 2. Archaeology
- 3. Architecture and Arts
- 4. Film, Photography, and Theater
- 5. Literature
 - a. Studies
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- 6. Music
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 - a. General
 - b. Handicrafts
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 - d. Oral Literature
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F. Societal

- 1. Sociology
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 - c. Rural Communities
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 - b. Bulgarians (abroad)
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- g. Roma
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4. Linguistics and Languages
 - a. Dictionaries
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 - a. General
 - b. Orthodox Christianity
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 8. Health Care, Sport, and Recreation
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- G. Economic
1. General and Pre-Communist Period
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 - a. General
 - b. Agriculture
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 - e. Foreign Trade and Investment
 - f. Economic Reform
 - g. Socialist Economic Integration
 3. Post-Communist Developments
 - a. General
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- g. Privatization and Restitution
 - h. International and European Integration
- H. Scientific
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- I. Internet Resources
- 1. General
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INTRODUCTION

Although Bulgaria is a member state of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and is on the verge of joining the European Union, it is still without doubt one of Europe's most "forgotten" countries. It has not, in recent times, played a major role in international politics and has seldom gone through cataclysms that have attracted international attention; consequently, relatively little is written about it. Therefore, information about Bulgaria in English should be searched for not only in books about Bulgaria proper but also in books dealing with the Balkan Peninsula as a whole, with the history of the Ottoman Empire, with

communist Eastern Europe, and with the so-called East European “transition” from a centrally planned economy and a communist dictatorship to a free-market-oriented, parliamentary democracy. Only the most important of the immeasurable amount of publications dealing with these broad subjects could be included in this bibliography.

An excellent bibliographical introduction to all aspects of Bulgaria’s older and more recent past is still Richard J. Crampton’s *Bulgaria* (World Bibliographical Series, no. 107). It was published in 1989 and covers Bulgarian history practically until the end of communist rule. Especially with regard to the latter period, Crampton’s book is an irreplaceable source of bibliographic information, not least because of the invaluable critical remarks the author has added to each title.

Crampton is also the author of the most readable and reliable history of modern Bulgaria in English: *A Concise History of Modern Bulgaria* (2002). Readers should be aware of the heavy nationalist bias of many of the—otherwise attractively illustrated—histories of Bulgaria, produced in Bulgaria by Bulgarian authors in English translation.

R. F. Hoddinott’s *Bulgaria in Antiquity* (1975), by now 30 years old, is still an excellent guide through the many Thracian, Hellenistic, and Roman archaeological sites in Bulgaria and through pre-Slavic Bulgarian history, although a number of recent excavations have rendered it slightly obsolete.

For the early medieval period, Steven Runciman’s *History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (1930) is required reading, as is Robert Lee Wolff’s “Second Bulgarian Empire, Its Origins and History to 1204” (1949), although the latter is less of a general introduction, focuses more on specific issues, and covers only one decade. *The Early Mediaeval Balkans* (1983) and *The Late Mediaeval Balkans* (1987) by John Fine, Jr. deal with the Balkans as a whole, giving a stimulating critical survey of Bulgarian history from the sixth century to the Ottoman conquest.

For the scantily studied Ottoman period in Bulgarian history, one may consult the many books on Ottoman (Turkish) history. Machiel Kiel’s *Art and Society in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period* (1985) offers a reliable—although in Bulgaria vehemently contested—description of Ottoman rule in Bulgaria. Dennis P. Hupchick’s *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: A Slavonic Christian Culture Under Foreign Domination* (1986) is useful reading as well.

Historians have paid more attention to the National Awakening period. Thomas Meininger's *The Formation of a Nationalist Bulgarian Intelligentsia, 1835–1878* (1987) is basic reading. Philip Shashko also makes interesting contributions in several exhaustive articles. Meininger and Shashko focus on the reformist wing of the Bulgarian national movement, which was previously greatly underestimated by Bulgarian historiographers, who have always been more interested in the armed struggle. Mercia MacDermott's *History of Bulgaria* (1962), which focuses on the National Awakening period, is still recommended, although it reproduces conventional Bulgarian concepts, some of which have since been renounced by critical historians even in Bulgaria. Equally valuable although unquestioning are *The Apostle of Freedom: A Portrait of Vasil Levski Against the Background of Nineteenth-Century Bulgaria* (1967), *Freedom or Death: The Life of Gotse Delchev* (1978), and *For Freedom and Perfection: The Life of Yané Sandanski* (1988).

No book on the first decades of the history of independent Bulgaria surpasses Crampton's *Bulgaria, 1878–1918: A History* (1983), which is a detailed description of all aspects of Bulgarian political life in these four decades. Stephen Constant's *Foxy Ferdinand, 1861–1948: Tsar of Bulgaria* (1979), dealing mainly with the fascinating personality of Tsar Ferdinand, also offers a revealing picture of Bulgaria's "high society" in that same period.

For the interwar period, one is dependent—as far as publications in English are concerned—predominantly on the respective chapters in general histories of Bulgaria. Excellent surveys can be found also in Joseph Rothschild's *East Central Europe Between the Two World Wars* (1974), in Joseph Held's *The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century* (1992), and in Richard Crampton's *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century* (1994).

Some of the latter books deal with the communist period as well. Indispensable information on the communist movement in Bulgaria, communist rule during the postwar period, and/or the end of it is offered in Nissan Oren's book *Bulgarian Communism: The Road to Power* (1985), in J. F. Brown's *Bulgaria under Communist Rule* (1970), in the chapters dedicated to Bulgaria in Joseph Rothschild's *Return to Diversity* (1993), and in Richard Crampton's *The Balkans since the Second World War* (2000). A more indulgent book, which also includes economic and so-

cial issues, is McIntyre's *Bulgaria: Politics, Economics and Society* (1988), dealing with Bulgaria on the eve of the downfall of communism. John D. Bell, Cyril E. Black, and Marin Pundeff are among the authors who can be consulted with most profit on different aspects of the communist—and post-communist—periods.

Emile Giatzidis's *An Introduction to Postcommunist Bulgaria: Political, Economic and Social Transformation* (2002) is for the time being the best book on post-communist developments.

Bulgarian economic development is treated in an exemplary manner by John Lampe in *The Bulgarian Economy in the Twentieth Century*, which concludes with the last attempts at economic reform by the communist regime. The whole history of economic life in Bulgaria is dealt with in John Lampe and Marvin R. Jackson's *Balkan Economic History, 1550–1950: From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations*.

Charles Moser's *A History of Bulgarian Literature, 865–1944* (1972) has to be mentioned as by far the best history of Bulgarian literature available in English, while Raina Gavrilova's *Bulgarian Urban Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (1999) paints a wonderful picture of Bulgarian urban cultural life before independence in 1878.

Finally, no one interested in Bulgaria should fail to peruse Maria Todorova's revealing *Imagining the Balkans* (1997)—a book that helps one become aware of the age-old prejudices that have existed with regard to the Balkans, including Bulgaria.

Dramatic events which radically changed the course of Bulgarian history have provided historians with a clear-cut periodization of Bulgarian history, on the basis of which the bibliographical material can be classified in a chronologically ordered number of sections. This has been done in sections B. Historical and G. Economic. Books dealing with events that span several periods are included in the introductory section, "General," or in the section related to the period that they deal with most. Since the first edition of this book, the number of important publications on post-communist developments has grown considerably. Most of them are included in the sections C. Political and G. Economic 3. Post-Communist Developments, since they are not yet really "history." Some obsolete books on the communist period, which were relevant rather as an illustration of how historical and societal issues were dealt with by communist authors, have been removed from this second edition.

In the first edition, a subsection on the “Macedonian Question” was included in Section B. Historical. To do the same in the second edition would be placing too much emphasis on an issue that has in the meantime lost most of its focus. The publications, listed in this section in the first edition, have now been included in the subsections of section B. Historical, or in the subsection Ethnic Communities in section F. Societal. The books and articles on the Macedonian Question listed in this Bibliography were written predominantly by supposedly neutral foreign scholars or reflect the Bulgarian point(s) of view. Bibliographical information concerning publications produced by the other parties concerned—Greece, Macedonia, Serbia—is not systematically included here and should be looked for in the *Historical Dictionary of Greece, Macedonia, and Serbia*, respectively. In Section F. Societal, subsection 3. Ethnic Communities, the Macedonians are classified among the minorities in Bulgaria, although they are not considered as such by most (if not all) Bulgarian experts. The “Bulgarians abroad” in the same subsection does not encompass the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia, as would be the case in a Bulgarian bibliographical survey.

Due to the newly established free-market economy in Bulgaria, an unsurveyable number of publishing houses has appeared, producing large quantities of books that unfortunately are poorly publicized and distributed. As a result, some Bulgarian publications may have been unintentionally overlooked, while some of those included may be hard to obtain.

The richest collection of Bulgarian books, documents and periodicals, on Bulgaria, is located in the National Library “St. Cyril and Methodius” (Bul. “Vasil Levski” 88, 1504 Sofia) and in the library and archives of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia (“15 Noemvri” Str. 1, 1040 Sofia). The General Department of Archives (Moskovska Str. 5, 1000 Sofia) runs a network of state archives in Bulgaria, collecting and preserving Bulgarian archival documents that are of historical value. Special permission is required to use these collections. The Bulgarian Research Institute in Vienna (Parkgasse 18, A-1030 Wien), which is now a part of the General Department of Archives, also contains a large collection of books related to Bulgaria.

In the United States, the Slavic and East European Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign probably has the largest collection of Bulgarian books and periodicals. Of the 13,755 volumes on

Bulgaria (in 2002), about 3,700 were devoted to literature and 4,450 to history and related fields.

A considerable amount of information about Bulgaria is available on the Internet. The most interesting sites are included in the list at the end of the bibliography. <http://www.slavophilia.com>, <http://countrystudies.us/bulgaria/> and <http://www.ssees.ac.uk/bulgaria.htm> are the best search engines and provide access to a multitude of sites concerning all aspects of current affairs in Bulgaria. <http://www.gksoft.com/govt/en/bg.html> leads to the sites of the various Bulgarian ministries, political parties, and other organizations and institutions. Especially the sites of the ministries of economy, defense, finance, and foreign affairs may be recommended. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/bu.html> provides up-to-date information about the current political and economic situation in Bulgaria in a very convenient arrangement.

The country study, produced by the Library of Congress, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/bgtoc.html>, offers an excellent introduction to Bulgaria past and present. The Bulgarian site <http://www.bulgaria.com> contains useful information, but the history section is marred by a heavy nationalistic bias. <http://b-info.com/places/Bulgaria/ref/> is a good bibliographical guide to Bulgaria.

To be kept informed about political developments in Bulgaria, one may consult <http://www.tol.cz/>, <http://www.rferl.org/>, and <http://www.southeasteurope.org/>, providing balanced analyses and assessments. From day to day, information can be found on <http://www.online.bg/>. <http://www.ethnos.bg/> offers reliable information on ethnic issues.

A. GENERAL

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I. INTERNET RESOURCES

1. General

Search Engines

- <http://www.slavophilia.com>
<http://countrystudies.us/bulgaria/>
<http://www.loc.gov/rr/international/european/bulgaria/bg.html>
<http://www.nationmaster.com/country/bu>
<http://reenic.utexas.edu/reenic/countries/bulgaria.html>
<http://www.scees.ac.uk/bulgaria.htm>
<http://www.gksoft.com/govt/en/bg.html> [Links to ministries and other political institutions]

General information

- <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/bgtoc.html> [Country study of Bulgaria, provided by the Library of Congress]
<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/bu.html>
<http://www.bulgaria.com>
http://www.nsi.bg/Index_e.htm [Site of the Bulgarian National Institute for Statistics]
<http://b-info.com/places/Bulgaria/ref/> [An excellent bibliographical guide to Bulgaria]

2. Political

General

- <http://www.osce.org/cio/bulgaria/> [Site of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe]
<http://www.europeanforum.net/printcup.php?id=14> [General information about institutions, parties, and political developments]
<http://www.electionworld.org/bulgaria.htm> [Results of parliamentary and presidential elections]
<http://www.osce.org/odihr/index.php?page=elections&div=reports&country=bg> [Information about the international monitoring of elections]

Domestic Issues

- <http://www.anticorruption.bg/eng/corindex/about.htm> [Provides information about corruption and measures against corruption]
<http://www.csd.bg/> [Site of the authoritative Center for the Study of Democracy]
<http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/world/bulgaria.htm> [Provides information about human rights issues in Bulgaria, with links to human rights organizations in Bulgaria and abroad]

News and Analysis

<http://www.tol.cz/>

<http://www.rferl.org/>

<http://www.southeasteurope.org/>

<http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/> [Site of the South East European Times]

<http://www.online.bg/>

<http://www.bta.bg/site/en/indexe.shtml> [Site from the “official” Bulgarian Telegraph Agency]

<http://www.news.bg/>

<http://www.novinite.com/> [Site of the new Sofia News Agency]

4. Societal

Ethnic Communities

<http://www.ethnos.bg/> [Provides information about ethnic issues]

Education

<http://www.aubg.bg/> [Site of the American University in Bulgaria]

<http://www.pitt.edu/~bsa/> [Site of the Bulgarian Studies Association in the United States]

<http://www.bas.bg> [Site of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences]

<http://www.uni-sofia.bg> [Site of the St.Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia]

<http://www.nbu.bg/> [Site of the New Bulgarian University]

5. Cultural

<http://www.historymuseum.org/> [Site of the National Museum of History in Sofia]

<http://www.slovo.bg/showlang.php3?ID=2> [Offers Bulgarian literature in English translation]

<http://art.bg/> [Offers a visit to a number of Bulgarian galleries]

<http://www.bulgaria.com/welkya/> [Offers Bulgarian literature in English translation]

<http://www.lib.bg/> [Site of the Union of Bulgarian Librarians]

<http://www.nationallibrary.bg/> [Site of the National Library in Sofia]

<http://www.cl.bas.bg> [Site of the library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences]

<http://www.bu.edu/library/guides/countries/bulgaria.html> [Guide through Bulgarian libraries]

6. Economy

General

<http://www.priv.government.bg/ap/bg/content00.shtml> [Site of the Bulgarian privatization agency]

- <http://investbg.government.bg/> [Site of the Bulgarian investment agency]
<http://www.news.pari.bg/cgi-bin/ber.home.cgi> [Bulgarian Economic Review, bi-weekly edition of the daily *Pari (Money)*]
<http://www.bcci.bg/> [Site of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry]
<http://www.bnb.bg/> [Site of the Bulgarian National Bank]

European Integration

- <http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/bulgaria/> [Provides information about Bulgaria's accession to the European Union]
<http://eubulletin.mfa.government.bg/Home.asp> [Official Bulgarian site, providing information about Bulgaria's accession to the European Union]
http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/index_en.htm [Provides information about public opinion concerning Bulgaria's Columbia University Press, accession to the European Union]

Appendix A Rulers of Bulgaria

First Bulgarian Empire

Khan

Asparuh	641–701
Tervel	701–718
(? and) Sevar	718– ca. 725
Sevar	ca. 725–739
Kormisosh	739–56
Vineh	756–62
Telets	762–65
Sabin	765–67
Umor	767
Toktu	767–772
Pagan	772 (or 773)
Telerig	772 (or 773)–777
Kardan	777–802
Krum	802–814
Omurtag	814–831
Malamir	831–836
Presian	836–853

King

Boris I (Mihail)	853–888
Vladimir	888–893

Tsar

Simeon	893–927 (tsar from 917)
Petûr	927–969

Boris II	969–971
Nikola and David	972–978
Samuil	978–1014
Gavril Radomir	1014–1015
Ivan Vladislav	1015–1018

Byzantine Period

Emperor

Basil II	976–1025
Constantine VIII Pogonatos	1025–1028
Romanos III Argyros	1028–1034
Michael IV	1034–1041
Michael V	1041–1042
Zoe and Theodora	1042
Constantine IX Monomachos	1042–1055
Theodora (again)	1055–1056
Michael VI	1056–1057
Isaac I Komnenos	1057–1059
Constantine X Dukas	1059–1067
Romanos IV Diogenes	1068–1071
Michael VII Dukas	1071–1078
Nikephoros III Botaneiates	1078–1081
Alexios I Komnenos	1081–1118
John II Komnenos	1118–1143
Manuel I Komnenos	1143–1180
Alexios II Komnenos	1180–1183
Andronikos I Komnenos	1183–1185

Second Bulgarian Empire

Tsar

Petûr	1185–1190
Asen I	1190–1196
Ivanko	1196
Petûr (again)	1196–1197
Kaloyan	1197–1207

Boril	1207–1218
Ivan Asen II	1218–1241
Koloman	1241–1246
Mihail II Asen	1246–1256
Konstantin Tih	1257–1277
Ivaylo	1278–1280
(<i>and</i>) Ivan Asen II	1279–1280
Georgi I Terter	1280–1292
Smilets	1292–1298
Chaka	1299–1300
Todor Svetoslav	1300–1321
Georgi II Terter	1321–1322
Mihail Shishman	1322–1330
Ivan Stefan Shishman	1330–1331
Ivan Aleksandŭr	1331–1371
Ivan Shishman (in Veliko Tŭrnovo)	1371–1393
Ivan Sratsimir (in Vidin)	1371–1396

Ottoman Period

Sultan

Bayezit I	1389–1402
Sŭleyman I	1402–1410
Musa	1410–1413
Mehmet I	1413–1421
Murat II	1421–1451
Mehmet II	1451–1481
Bayezit II	1481–1512
Selim I	1512–1520
Sŭleyman II	1520–1566
Selim II	1566–1574
Murat III	1574–1595
Mehmet III	1595–1603
Ahmet I	1603–1617
Mustata I	1617–1618
Osman II	1618–1622
Mustafa I (again)	1622–1623
Murat IV	1623–1640

Ibrahim	1640–1648
Mehmet IV	1648–1687
Süleyman III	1687–1691
Ahmet II	1691–1695
Mustafa II	1695–1703
Ahmet III	1703–1730
Mahmut I	1730–1754
Osman III	1754–1757
Mustafa III	1757–1773
Abdulhamit I	1773–1789
Selim III	1789–1807
Mustafa IV	1807–1808
Abdulmejit	1839–1861
Abdulaziz	1861–1876
Murat V	1876
Abdulhamit II	1876–1909

Kingdom of Bulgaria

King Alexander Battenberg	1879–1886
King (tsar from 1908) Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	1887–1918
Tsar Boris III of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	1918–1943
Regent Kiril of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	1943–1944

People's Republic of Bulgaria

Chair of the Presidency

Vasil Kolarov	1946–1947
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Chairs of the Presidium of the National Assembly

Mincho Neychev	1948–1950
Georgi Damyanov	1950–1958
Dimitûr Ganev	1958–1964
Georgi Traykov	1964–1971

Chair of the Council of State

Todor Zhivkov	1971–1989
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Republic of Bulgaria*Chair of the Council of State*

Petър Mladenov	1989–1990
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President

Petър Mladenov	1990
Zhelyo Zhelev	1990–1997
Petър Stoyanov	1997–2002
Georgi Pърvanov	2002–

Appendix B

Bulgarian Prime Ministers and Their Terms of Office

KINGDOM OF BULGARIA

Todor Burmov	5 July 1879–24 October 1879
Metropolit Kliment	24 October 1879–24 March 1880
Dragan Tsankov	24 March 1880–28 October 1880
Petko Karavelov	28 October 1880–27 April 1881
Johan Kazimir Ernrot	27 April 1881–1 July 1881
No prime minister	1 July 1881–23 June 1882
Leonid Sobelev	23 June 1882–7 September 1883
Dragan Tsankov	7 September 1883–29 June 1884
Petko Karavelov	29 June 1884–9 August 1886
Metropolit Kliment	9 August 1886–12 August 1886
Petko Karavelov	12 August 1886–16 August 1886
Vasil Radoslavov	16 August 1886–28 June 1887
Konstantin Stoilov	28 June 1887–20 August 1887
Stefan Stambolov	20 August 1887–19 May 1894
Konstantin Stoilov	19 May 1894–9 December 1894
Konstantin Stoilov	9 December 1894–18 January 1899
Dimitŭr Grekov	18 January 1899–1 October 1899
Todor Ivančov	1 October 1899–27 November 1900
Todor Ivančov	27 November 1900–12 January 1901
Racho Petrov	12 January 1901–20 February 1901
Petko Karavelov	20 February 1901–22 December 1901
Stoyan Danev	22 December 1901–6 May 1903
Racho Petrov	6 May 1903–23 October 1906
Dimitŭr Petkov	23 October 1906–26 February 1907
Dimitŭr Stanchov	27 February 1907–3 March 1907
Petŭr Gudev	3 March 1907–16 January 1908
Aleksandŭr Malinov	16 January 1908–5 November 1910

Aleksandûr Malinov	5 September 1910–16 March 1911
Ivan Geshov	16 March 1911–1 June 1913
Stoyan Danev	1 June 1913–4 July 1913
Vasil Radoslavov	4 June 1913–20 December 1913
Vasil Radoslavov	23 December 1913–21 June 1918
Aleksandûr Malinov	21 June 1918–17 October 1918
Aleksandûr Malinov	17 October 1918–28 November 1918
Teodor Teodorov	28 November 1918–7 May 1919
Teodor Teodorov	8 May 1919–6 October 1919
Aleksandûr Stamboliyski	7 October 1919–9 June 1923
Aleksandûr Tsankov	9 June 1913–22 September 1923
Aleksandûr Tsankov	22 September 1923–4 January 1926
Andrey Lyapchev	4 January 1926–12 September 1928
Andrey Lyapchev	12 September 1928–15 May 1930
Andrey Lyapchev	15 May 1930–29 June 1931
Aleksandûr Malinov	29 June 1931–12 October 1931
Nikola Mushanov	12 October 1931–7 September 1932
Nikola Mushanov	7 September 1932–1 December 1932
Nikola Mushanov	31 December 1932–19 May 1934
Kimon Georgiev	19 May 1934–22 January 1935
Pencho Zlatev	22 January 1935–21 April 1935
Andrey Toshev	21 April 1935–23 November 1935
Georgi Kyoseivanov	23 November 1935–4 July 1936
Georgi Kyoseivanov	4 July 1936–14 November 1938
Georgi Kyoseivanov	14 November 1938–24 October 1939
Georgi Kyoseivanov	24 October 1939–16 February 1940
Bogdan Filov	16 February 1940–11 April 1942
Bogdan Filov	12 April 1942–14 September 1943
Dobri Bozhilov	14 September 1943–1 June 1944
Ivan Bagryanov	1 June 1944–2 September 1944
Konstantin Muraviev	2 September 1944–9 September 1944

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

Kimon Georgiev	9 September 1944–31 March 1946
Kimon Georgiev	31 March 1946–23 November 1946
Georgi Dimitrov	23 November 1946–11 December 1947

Georgi Dimitrov	11 December 1947–2 July 1949 (died)
Vasil Kolarov	20 July 1949–20 January 1950
Vasil Kolarov	20 January 1950–23 January 1950 (died)
Vûlko Chervenkov	3 February 1950–16 January 1954
Vûlko Chervenkov	16 January 1954–18 April 1956
Anton Yugov	18 April 1956–15 January 1958
Anton Yugov	15 January 1958–17 March 1962
Anton Yugov	17 March 1962–27 November 1962
Todor Zhivkov	27 November 1962–12 March 1966
Todor Zhivkov	12 March 1966–9 July 1971
Stanko Todorov	9 July 1971–15 June 1976
Stanko Todorov	17 June 1976–18 June 1981
Grisha Filipov	18 June 1981–24 March 1986
Georgi Atanasov	24 March 1986–19 June 1986
Georgi Atanasov	19 June 1986–3 February 1990

REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

Andrey Lukanov	8 February 1990–22 August 1990
Andrey Lukanov	19 September 1990–29 November 1990
Dimitûr Popov	20 December 1990–5 November 1991
Filip Dimitrov	8 November 1991–20 May 1992
Filip Dimitrov	20 May 1992–28 October 1992
Lyuben Berov	30 December 1992–23 June 1993
Lyuben Berov	23 June 1993–9 September 1994
Reneta Indzhova (interim)	17 October 1994–25 January 1995
Zhan Videnov	25 January 1995–28 December 1996
Stefan Sofiyanski (interim)	13 February 1997–21 May 1997
Ivan Kostov	21 May 1997–24 July 2001
Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	24 July 2001–11 July 2005
Sergey Stanishev	16 August 2005–

Appendix C

Bulgarian Political Parties and Organizations

- Alternativna Sotsialisticheska Partiya (ASP): Alternative Socialist Party (ASP)
- Alternativna Sotsialliberalna Partiya (ASP): Alternative Social Liberal Party (ASLP)
- Alternativno Sotsialisticheskoto Obedinenie (ASO): Alternative Socialist Association (ASA)
- Balkanska Komunisticheska Federatsiya (BKF): Balkan Communist Federation (BCF)
- Bûlgarska Akademiya na Naukite (BAN): Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS)
- Bûlgarska Demokraticheska Mladezh (BDM): Bulgarian Democratic Youth (BDY)
- Bûlgarska Demokraticheska Partiya (BDP): Bulgarian Democratic Party (BDP)
- Bûlgarska Evro-Levitsa (BEL): Bulgarian Euro-Left
- Bûlgarska Hristiandemokraticheska Partiya-Tsentûr (BHDP-Tsentûr): Bulgarian Christian Democratic Party-Center (BCDP-Center)
- Bûlgarska Komunisticheska Partiya (BKP): Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)
- Bûlgarska Natsionalno-Radikalna Partiya (BNRP): Bulgarian National Radical Party (BNRP)
- Bûlgarska Partiya-Liberali (BP-Liberali): Bulgarian Party-Liberals (BP-Liberals)
- Bûlgarska Rabotnicheska Partiya (BRP): Bulgarian Workers' Party (BWP)
- Bûlgarska Rabotnicheska Sotsialdemokraticheska Partiya (BRSDP): Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (BWSDP)
- Bûlgarska Sotsialdemokraticheska Partiya (BSDP): Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP)

- Bûlgarska Sotsialisticheska Partiya (BSP): Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)
- Bûlgarska Telegrafna Agentsiya (BTA): Bulgarian Telegraph Agency (BTA)
- Bûlgarski Biznes Blok (BBB): Bulgarian Business Bloc (BBB)
- Bûlgarski Demokraticheski Forum (BDF): Bulgarian Democratic Forum (BDF)
- Bûlgarski Demokraticheski Tsentûr (BDTs): Bulgarian Democratic Center (BDC)
- Bûlgarski Komunisticheski Mladezhki Sûyuz (BKMS): Bulgarian Communist Youth Union (BCYU)
- Bûlgarski Konstitutsionen Forum (BKF): Bulgarian Constitutional Forum (BCF)
- Bûlgarski Makedono-Odrinski Revolyutsionen Komitet (BMORK): Bulgarian Macedonian Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Committee (BMARC)
- Bûlgarski Narodni Sûyuz (BNS): Bulgarian People's Union (BPU)
- Bûlgarski Profesionalni Sûyuzi (BPS): Bulgarian Labor Unions (BLU)
- Bûlgarski Rabotnicheski Sûyuz (BRS): Bulgarian Workers' Union (BWU)
- Bûlgarski Revolyutsionen Tsentralen Komitet (BRTsK): Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee (BRCC)
- Bûlgarski Sotsialdemokraticheski Sûyuz (BSDS): Bulgarian Social Democratic Union (BSDU)
- Bûlgarski Taen Tsentralen Revolyutsionen Komitet (BTTsRK): Bulgarian Secret Central Revolutionary Committee (BSCRC)
- Bûlgarski Zemedelski Mladezhki Sûyuz (BZMS): Bulgarian Agrarian Youth Union (BAYU)
- Bûlgarski Zemedelski Narodni Sûyuz (BZNS): Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)
- Bûlgarsko Knizhovno Druzhestvo (BKD): Bulgarian Literary Society (BLS)
- Bûlgarsko Tayno Revolyutsionno Bratstvo (BTRB): Bulgarian Secret Revolutionary Brotherhood (BSRB)
- Demokrati za Silna Bûlgariya (DSB): Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria
- Demokratichen Sgovor (DS): Democratic Alliance (DA)
- Demokratichen Sûyuz-Roma (DS-Roma): Democratic Union-Roma (DU-Roma)

- Demokraticheska Alternativa za Republikata (DAR): Democratic Alternative for the Republic (DAR)
- Demokraticheska Partiya (DP): Democratic Party (DP)
- DEMOS [Dvizhenie za *Demokraticheski Sotsializûm*]: Movement for Democratic Socialism
- Dimitrovska Pionerska Organizatsiya-Septemvriyche (DPO-Septemvriyche): Dimitrov Pioneers Organization-*Septemvriyche* (DPO-*Septemvriyche*)
- Dimitrovski Komunisticheski Mladezhki Sûyuz (DKMS): Dimitrov Communist Youth Union (DCYU)
- Dimitrovski Sûyuz na Narodnata Mladezh (DSNM): Dimitrov Union of the People's Youth (DUPY)
- Dvizhenie Grazhdanska Initsiativa (DGI): Citizens' Initiative Movement (CIM)
- Dvizhenie za Natsionalno Vûzrazhdane-Oborishte (DNVO): Movement for National Revival-*Oborishte*.
- Dvizhenie za Prava i Svobodi (DPS): Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF)
- Federatsiya na Bûlgarskata Sotsialisticheska Mladezh (FBSM): Federation of Bulgarian Socialist Youth (FBSY)
- Federatsiya na Klubovete za Glasnost i Demokratiya (FKGD): Federation of Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy (FCGD)
- Federatsiya na Nezavisimite Studentski Druzhestva (FNSD): Federation of Independent Students' Associations (FISA)
- Forum na Svobodnite Demokrati (FSD): Forum of Free Democrats (FFD)
- Grazhdansko Obedinenie za Republikata (GOR): Civil Association for the Republic (CAR)
- Gyurgevski Revolyutsionen Komitet (GRK): Gyurgevo Revolutionary Committee (GRC)
- Hristiandemocraticheski Sûyuz (HDS): Christian Democratic Union (CDU)
- Hristianski Sûyuz-Spasenie (HS-Spasenie): Christian Union-Salvation (CU-Salvation)
- Klub za Glasnost i Demokratiya (KGD): Club for Glasnost and Democracy (CGD)
- Koalitsiya na Rozata (KNR): Coalition of the Rose (COR)
- Koalitsiya za Bûlgariya (KZB): Coalition for Bulgaria (COR)

- Komitet za Religiozni Prava (KRP): Committee for Religious Rights (CRR)
- Konfederatsiya na Nezavisimite Profesionalni Sûyuzi v Bûlgariya (KNPSB): Confederation of Independent Labor Unions in Bulgaria (CILUB)
- Konservativna Ekologicheska Partiya (KEP): Conservative Ecological Party (CEP)
- Konservativna Partiya (KP): Conservative Party (CP)
- Konstitutsionen Blok (KB): Constitutional Bloc (CB)
- Konstitutsionen Forum (KF): Constitutional Forum (CF)
- Liberalna Demokraticheska Partiya (LDP): Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)
- Liberalna Partiya (LP): Liberal Party (LP)
- Makedonska Federativna Organizatsiya (MFO): Macedonian Federalist Organization (MFO)
- Naroden Blok (NB): People's Bloc (PB)
- Naroden Sgovor (NS): National Alliance (NA)
- Naroden Sûyuz (NS): People's Union (PU)
- Narodna Partiya (NP): National Party (NP)
- Narodno Sotsialno Dvizhenie (NSD): National Social Movement (NSM)
- Narodno Sûbranie (NS): National Assembly (NA)
- Narodnoliberalna Partiya (NLP): People's Liberal Party (PLP)
- Natsionalen Klub za Demokratisiya (NKD): National Club for Democracy (NCD)
- Natsionalen Komitet za Zashtita na Natsionalnite Interesi (NKZNI): National Committee for the Defense of National Interests (NCDNI)
- Natsionalliberalna Partiya (NLP): National Liberal Party (NLP)
- Natsionalna Demokraticheska Partiya (NDP): National Democratic Party (NDP)
- Natsionalno Dvizhenie Simeon Vtori (NDSV): National Movement Simeon the Second (NDSS)
- Nezavisim Sûyuz-Ekoglasnost (NS-Ekoglasnost): Independent Union-*Ekoglasnost* (IU-*Ekoglasnost*)
- Nezavisima Konfederatsiya na Truda-Podkrepa (NKT-Podkrepa): Independent Labor Confederation-*Podkrepa* (ILC-*Podkrepa*)
- Nezavisimi Rabotnicheski Profesionalni Sûyuzi (NRPS): Independent Workers' Labor Unions (IWLU)

- Nezavisimo Druzhestvo za Zashtita na Pravata na Choveka (NDZPC):
Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights (IADHR)
- Nov Izbor (NI): New Choice (NC)
- Nov Sûyuz za Demokratiya (NSD): New Union for Democracy (NUD)
- Nova Bûlgariya (NB): New Bulgaria (NB)
- Nova Levitsa (NL): New Left (NL)
- Nova Politika (NP): New Politics (NP)
- Nova Sotsialdemokraticheska Partiya (NSDP): New Social Democratic Party (NSDP)
- Novo Vreme (NV): New Era
- Obedinen Blok na Truda (OBT): United Labor Bloc
- Obedinena Makedonska Organizatsiya-Ilinden (OMO-Ilinden): United Macedonian Organization-*Ilinden* (UMO-*Ilinden*)
- Obedinenie za Sotsialna Demokratiya (SD): Alliance for Social Democracy (ASD)
- Obiknoveno Narodno Sûbranie (ONS): Ordinary National Assembly (ONA)
- Obsht Rabotnicheski Profesionalen Sûyuz (ORPS): General Workers' Labor Union (GWLU)
- Okrûzhni Komiteti za Zashtita na Natsionalnite Interesi (NKZNI): Provincial Committees for the Defense of the National Interests.
- Otechestven Front (OF): Fatherland Front (FF)
- Otechestven Sûyuz (OS): Fatherland Union (FU)
- Otechestvena Partiya na Truda (OPT): Fatherland Labor Party (FLP)
- Parlamentaren Sûyuz na Nezavisimite (PSN): Parliamentary Union of Independents (PUI)
- Parlamentaren Sûyuz za Sotsialna Demokratiya (PSSD): Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy (PUSD)
- Politichesko Dvizhenie-Sotsialdemokrati (PDSD): Political Movement-Social Democrats
- Politicheski Klub-Ekoglasnost (PF-Ekoglasnost): Political Club-*Ekoglasnost* (PC-*Ekoglasnost*)
- Progresivna Liberalna Partiya (PLP): Progressive Liberal Party (PLP)
- Rabotnicheska Partiya (RP): Workers' Party (WP)
- Rabotnicheski Mladezhki Sûyuz (RMS): Workers' Youth Union (WYU)
- Radikaldemokraticheska Partiya (RDP): Radical Democratic Party (RDP)
- Republikanska Partiya (RP): Republican Party (RP)

- Sotsialdemokratičeska Partiya (SDP): Social Democratic Party (SDP)
- Sotsialdemokratičeski Klub-Evropa (SDK-Evropa): Social Democratic Club-Europe (SDC-Europe)
- Sûdinenite Demokratičeski Sili (SDS): United Democratic Forces (Uddf)
- Sûyuz na Bezpartiynite (SB): Union of the Unaffiliated (UU)
- Sûyuz na Bûlgarskite Pisateli (SBP): Union of Bulgarian Writers (UBW)
- Sûyuz na Demokratičnite Sili (SDS): Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)
- Sûyuz za Ikonomičeska Vzaimopomosht (SIV): Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA *or* Comecon)
- Sûyuz na Makedonskite Druzhestva (SMD): Union of Macedonia Associations (UMA)
- Sûyuz na Narodnata Mladezh (SNM): Union of the People's Youth (UPY)
- Sûyuz za Natsionalno Spasenie (SNS): Union for National Salvation (UNS)
- Sûyuz za Otechestvoto (SO): Union for the Fatherland (UF)
- Sûyuz na Represiranite v Bûlgaria (SRB): Union of the Repressed in Bulgaria (URB)
- Sûyuz za Sotsialna Demokratiya (SSD): Union for Social Democracy (USD)
- Sûyuz na Svobodnite Demokrati (SSD): Union of Free Democrats (UFD)
- Sûvet za Sûtrudnichestvo (SS): Council for Cooperation (CC)
- Taen Tsentralen Bûlgarski Komitet (TTsBK): Secret Central Bulgarian Committee (SCBC)
- Tayna Makedono-Odrinska Revolyutsionna Organizatsiya (TMORO): Secret Macedonia-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (SMARO)
- Tsenter za Nova Politika (TsNP): Center for New Politics (CNP)
- Turska Demokratičeska Partiya (TDP): Turkish Democratic Party (TDP)
- Tursko Natsionalnoosvoboditelното Dvizhenie (TNOD): Turkish National Liberation Movement
- Veliko Narodno Sûbranie (VNS): Grand National Assembly (GNA)
- Vûrhoven Makedono-Odrinski Komitet (VMOK): Supreme Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Committee (SMAC)

- Vûrhoven Makedonski Komitet (VMK): Supreme Macedonian Committee (SMC)
- Vûtreshna Makedono-Odrinska Revolyutsionna Organizatsiya (VMORO): Internal Macedonian-Adrianopolitan Revolutionary Organization (IMARO)
- Vûtreshna Makedonska Revolyutsionna Organizatsiya (VMRO): Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)
- Vûtreshna Makedonska Revolyutsionna Organizatsiya-Sûyuz na Makedonskite Druzhestva (VMRO-SMD): Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Associations (IMRO-UMA)
- Vûtreshna Revolyutsionna Organizatsiya (VRO): Internal Revolutionary Organization (IRO)
- Zelena Partiya (ZP): Green Party (GP)

Appendix D

Bulgarian Cabinets November 1989 to Present

GEORGI ATANASOV CABINET

Second Georgi Atanasov Cabinet: 17 November 1989 to 3 February 1990

Prime Minister: Georgi Atanasov

Vice-Prime Ministers: Grigor Stoichkov (until 14 December 1989),
Stoyan Mihaylov, Georgi Pirinski, Mincho Yovchev and Kiril Zarev;
appointed on 18 December 1989: Nadya Asparuhova

Agriculture and Forestry: Georgi Menov (from 19 December 1988)

Construction, Architecture, and Territorial Development: Petûr Petrov

Culture, Science, and Education: Georgi Yordanov (until 14 December
1989)

Defense: Dobri Dzhurov

Economy and Planning: Kiril Zarev

Finance: Belcho Belchev (from 24 November 1989)

Foreign Affairs: Boyko Dimitrov

Foreign Trade: Hristo Hristov

Industry and Technology: Mincho Yovchev

Internal Affairs: Georgi Tanev (until 27 December 1989); Atanas Se-
merdzhev (from 27 December 1989)

Internal Trade: Ivan Shpatov

Justice: Svetla Daskalova

Public Health and Social Care: Radoy Popivanov

Transport: Trifon Pashov (until 24 November 1989)

ANDREY LUKANOV CABINETS

First Andrey Lukanov Cabinet: 8 February to 22 August 1990

Prime Minister: Andrey Lukanov

Vice-Prime Ministers: Chudomir Aleksandrov, Nora Ananieva, Belcho Belchev, Konstantin Kosev

Agriculture and Food Industry: Todor Pandov

Construction, Architecture, and Territorial Development: Ivan Kamenov

Culture: Krûstyo Goranov

Defense: Georgi Dzhurov

Economic Reforms (minister without portfolio): Stefan Stoilov

Economy: Ivan Tanev

Education: Konstantin Kosev

Environment: Aleksandûr Aleksandrov (till 22 September 1990)

Foreign Affairs: Boyko Dimitrov

Foreign Trade: Petûr Bashikarov

Industry and Technology: Krûstyo Stanishev

Internal Affairs: Atanas Semerdzhiev

Justice: Pencho Penev

Public Health and Social Care: Ivan Chernozemski

Science and Higher Education: Asen Hadzhiolov

Trade and Services: Ekaterina Marinova

Transport: Veselin Pavlov

Second Andrey Lukanov Cabinet: 19 September to 29 November 1990

Prime Minister: Andrey Lukanov

Vice-Prime Ministers: Nora Ananieva, Belcho Belchev, Georgi Pirinski

Agriculture: Todor Pandov

Construction: Ivan Krûstev

Culture: Dimo Dimov

Defense: Yordan Mutafchiev

Employment and Social Care: Emiliya Maslarova

Environment: Aleksandûr Aleksandrov

Finance: Belcho Belchev

Foreign Affairs: Lyuben Gotsev

Foreign Trade: Atanas Paparizov

Internal Affairs: Pencho Penev
Science and Higher Education: Iliya Konev
Trade and Services: Valeri Tsekov
Transport: Atanas Popov

Dimitûr Popov Cabinet:
20 December 1990 to 5 November 1991

Prime Minister: Dimitûr Popov
Vice-Prime Ministers: Dimitûr Ludzhev, Aleksandûr Tomov, Viktor Vûlkov
Agriculture and Food Industry: Boris Spirov
Culture: Dimo Dimov
Defense: Yordan Mutafchiev
Environment: Dimitûr Vodenicharov
Finance: Ivan Kostov
Foreign Trade: Atanas Paparizov
Industry, Trade, and Services: Ivan Pushkarov
Internal Affairs: Hristo Danov
Labor and Social Care: Emiliya Maslarova
Justice: Pencho Penev
Public Health: Ivan Chernozemski
Science and Higher Education: Matey Mateev
Transport: Veselin Pavlov.

FILIP DIMITROV CABINETS

First Dimitrov Cabinet: 8 November 1991 to 20 May 1992

Prime Minister: Filip Dimitrov
Vice-Prime Ministers: Stoyan Ganev, and Nikolay Vasilev
Agriculture: Stanislav Dimitrov
Culture: Elka Konstantinova
Defense: Dimitûr Ludzhev
Education and Science: Nikolay Vasilev
Environment: Valentin Vasilev
Finance: Ivan Kostov
Foreign Affairs: Stoyan Ganev
Industry and Trade: Ivan Pushkarov
Internal Affairs: Yordan Sokolov

Justice: Svetoslav Luchnikov
Labor and Social Welfare: Vekil Vanov
Public Health: Nikola Vasilev
Territorial Development, Housing Policy, and Construction: Nikola Karadimov
Transportation: Aleksandûr Aleksandrov

**Second Filip Dimitrov Cabinet:
20 May 1992 to 28 October 1992**

Prime Minister: Filip Dimitrov
Vice-Prime Ministers: Ilko Eskenazi (new), Svetoslav Luchnikov (new), Nikola Vasilev (new), Nikolay Vasilev
Agriculture: Georgi Stoyanov (new)
Culture: Elka Konstantinova
Defense: Aleksandûr Staliyski (new)
Education and Science: Nikolay Vasilev
Environment: Valentin Vasilev
Finance: Ivan Kostov
Foreign Affairs: Stoyan Ganev
Industry: Rumen Bikov (new)
Internal Affairs: Yordan Sokolov
Justice: Svetoslav Luchnikov
Labor and Social Welfare: Vekil Vanov
Public Health: Nikola Vasilev
Territorial Development, Housing Policy, and Construction: Nikola Karadimov
Trade (new): Aleksandûr Pramatarski (new)
Transportation: Aleksandûr Aleksandrov

LYUBEN BEROV CABINETS

**First Lyuben Berov Cabinet:
30 December 1992 to 23 June 1993**

Prime Minister: Lyuben Berov
Vice-Prime Ministers: Valentin Karabashev, Neycho Neev, Evgeni Matinchev

Agriculture: Georgi Tanev
 Culture, Education, and Science: Marin Dimitrov
 Defense: Valentin Aleksandrov
 Environment: Valentin Bosevski
 Finance: Stoyan Aleksandrov
 Foreign Affairs: Lyuben Berov (caretaker)
 Industry: Rumen Bikov
 Internal Affairs: Viktor Mihaylov
 Justice: Misho Vûlchev (died on 15 May 1993)
 Labor and Social Welfare: Evgeni Matinchev
 Public Health: Dancho Gugalov
 Territorial Development and Construction: Hristo Totev
 Trade: Valentin Karabashev
 Transportation: Neycho Neev

**Second Lyuben Berov Cabinet:
23 June 1993 to 2 September 1994**

Prime Minister: Lyuben Berov
 Vice-Prime Ministers: Valentin Karabashev (until 15 June 1994), Neycho Neev (until 1 September 1993—no successor), Evgeni Matinchev
 Agriculture: Georgi Tanev
 Culture: Ivaylo Znepolski
 Defense: Valentin Aleksandrov
 Education and Science: Marko Todorov
 Environment: Valentin Bosevski
 Finance: Stoyan Aleksandrov
 Foreign Affairs: Stanislav Daskalov
 Industry: Rumen Bikov
 Internal Affairs: Viktor Mihaylov
 Justice: Petûr Kornazhev
 Labor and Social Welfare: Evgeni Matinchev
 Public Health: Dancho Gugalov
 Territorial Development and Construction: Hristo Totev
 Trade: Valentin Karabashev (resigned on April 28, 1994; replaced by Kiril Tsochev on 15 June 1994)
 Transportation: Kiril Ermenkov

**Renata Indzhova Cabinet:
17 October 1994 to 25 January 1995**

Prime Minister: Renata Indzhova
Vice-Prime Ministers: Ivaylo Trifonov, Nikola Vasilev, Hristina Vucheva
Agriculture: Rumen Hristov
Culture: Ivaylo Znepolski
Education and Science: Marko Todorov
Defense: Boyko Noev
Environment: Valentin Bosevski
Finance: Hristina Vucheva
Foreign Affairs: Ivan Stanchov
Industry: Vitko Elenkov
Internal Affairs: Chavdar Chervenkov
Justice: Teodor Chipev
Labor and Social Welfare: Yordan Hristoskov
Public Health: Nikola Vasilev
Territorial Development and Construction: Daniel Leviev
Trade: Kiril Velev
Transportation: Milcho Kovachev

**Zhan Videnov Cabinet:
25 January 1995 to 28 December 1996**

Prime Minister: Zhan Videnov
Vice-Prime Ministers: Rumen Gechev, Doncho Konakchiev, Svetoslav
Shivarov, Kiril Zochev,
Agriculture and Food Industry: Vasil Chichibaba.
Culture: Georgi Kostov Georgiev.
Education, Science, and Technology: Ilcho Dimitrov
Defense: Dimitûr Pavlov
Economic Development: Rumen Gechev
Environment: Georgi Dimitrov Georgiev
Finance: Dimitûr Kostov
Foreign Affairs: Georgi Pirinski
Industry: Kliment Vuchev.
Internal Affairs: Lyubomir Nachev.
Justice: Mladen Chervenjakov
Labor and Social Welfare: Mincho Koralski

Public Health: Mimi Vitkova
Territorial Development and Construction: Doncho Konakchiev
Trade and International Economic Cooperation: Kiril Tsochev.
Transportation: Stamen Stamenov

**Stefan Sofiyanski Interim Cabinet:
12 February 1997 to 21 May 1997**

Prime Minister: Stefan Sofiyanski
Vice-Prime Ministers: Haralampi Anchev, Aleksandûr Bozhkov
Agriculture and Food Industry: Todor Pandov
Construction, Architecture, and Territorial Development: Ivan Kamenov
Culture: Krûstyo Goranov
Defense: Georgi Dzhurov
Economic Reforms (minister without portfolio): Stefan Stoilov
Economy: Ivan Tanev
Education: Konstantin Kosev
Environment: Aleksandûr Aleksandrov (until 22 September 1990)
Foreign Affairs: Boyko Dimitrov
Foreign Trade: Petûr Bashikarov
Industry and Technology: Krûstyo Stanishev
Internal Affairs: Atanas Semerdzhiev
Justice: Pencho Penev
Public Health and Social Care: Ivan Chernozemski
Science and Higher Education: Asen Hadzhiolov
Trade and Services: Ekaterina Marinova
Transport: Veselin Pavlov

Ivan Kostov Cabinet: 21 May 1997 to 24 July 2001

Prime Minister: Ivan Kostov
Vice-Prime Ministers: Aleksandûr Bozhkov, Evgeniy Bakûrdzhiev,
Veselin Metodiev
Agriculture, Forestry and Agrarian Reforms: Ventsislav Vûrbanov
Civil Service: Mario Tagarinski.
Culture: Emma Moskova
Education and Science: Veselin Metodiev
Environment: Evdokiya Maneva
Industry: Aleksandûr Bozhkov

Territorial Development and Construction: Evgeniy Bakûrdzhiev
Defense: Georgi Ananiev
Finance: Muravey Radev
Foreign Affairs: Nadezhda Mihaylova
Internal Affairs: Bogomil Bonev
Justice and Legal Aspects of European Integration: Vasil Gotsev
Labor and Social Welfare: Ivan Neykov
Public Health: Petûr Boyadzhiev
Trade and Tourism: Valentin Vasilev
Transportation: Vilhelm Kraus

Ivan Kostov Cabinet, as reshuffled on 21 December 1999

Vice-Prime Minister: Petûr Zhotev
Agriculture and Forestry: Ventsislav Vûrbanov
Economy: Petûr Zhotev
Civil Service: Ivan Kostov
Defense: Boyko Noev
Education and Science: Dimitûr Dimitrov
Internal Affairs: Emanuil Yordanov
Justice: Teodosi Simeonov
Public Health: Ilko Semerdzhiev
Territorial Development and Construction: Evgeniy Chachev
Transportation and Communications: Antoni Slavinski
Without portfolio: Aleksandûr Pramatarski

Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha Cabinet: 24 July 2001–11 July 2005.

Prime Minister: Simeon of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha
Vice-Prime Ministers: Konstantin Paskalev, Lidiya Shuleva, Nikolay Vasilev;
Agriculture and Forestry: Mehmed Dikme
Culture: Bozhidar Abrashev
Education and Science: Vladimir Atanasov
Defense: Nikolay Svinarov
Economy: Nikolay Vasilev
Environment: Dolores Arsenova

European Affairs: Meglena Kuneva (from 29 May 2002)
 Finance: Milen Velchev
 Foreign Affairs: Solomon Pasi
 Internal Affairs: Georgi Petkanov
 Justice: Anton Stankov
 Labor and Social Welfare: Lidiya Shuleva
 Public Health: Bozhidar Finkov
 Sports and Youth: Vasil Ivanov-Luchano (from 11 October 2002)
 State Administration: Dimitûr Kalchev
 Territorial Development and Construction: Kostadin Paskalev
 Transportation and Communications: Plamen Petrov
 Without portfolio: Nedzhet Mollov

Sergey Stanishev Cabinet: 16 August 2005

Prime Minister: Sergey Stanishev (BSP)
 Vice-Prime Ministers: Ivaylo Kalfin (BSP), Daniel Vûlchev (NMSS),
 Emel Etem (MRF)
 Agriculture and Forestry: Nihat Kabil (MRF)
 Culture: Stefan Danailov (BSP)
 Defense: Veselin Bliznakov (NMSS)
 Education: Daniel Vûlchev (NMSS)
 Environment: Dzhevdet Chakûrov (MRF)
 European Integration: Meglena Kuneva (NMSS)
 Finance: Plamen Oresharski (no party affiliation)
 Foreign Affairs: Ivaylo Kalfin (BSP)
 Economy and Energetics: Rumen Ovcharov (BSP)
 Internal Affairs: Rumen Petkov (BSP)
 Justice: Georgi Petkanov (NMSS)
 Labor and Social Welfare: Emiliya Maslarova (BSP)
 Natural Calamities: Emel Etem (MRF)
 Public Health: Radoslav Gaydarski (BSP)
 State Administration: Nikolay Vasilev (NMSS)
 Territorial Development and Construction: Asen Gagauzov (BSP)
 Transportation: Petûr Mutafchiev (BSP)

About the Author

Raymond Detrez (Antwerp, Belgium 1948) studied Eastern European Languages and History at the University of Ghent (1967–1971) and specialized in Bulgarian philology at the University of Sofia (1971). From 1974 to 1997, he was a producer at the Talks Department of the Belgian Radio Third Program. In 1986 he obtained his Ph.D. with a thesis on the autobiography of Grigor Pŕrlichev and the development of national consciousness in the Balkans. Currently, he is a professor of East European and Modern Greek history and culture and the director of the Center for Southeast European Studies at the University of Ghent. He also teaches Balkan history at the Katholieke Universiteit van Leuven. Raymond Detrez has published books and articles on Balkan history, national identity in the Balkans, and Balkan nationalism.

