

National Security in Transition – Book Publishing Aspects in the Bulgarian Practice

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Sofia, Bulgaria

The changes initiated on November 10, 1989, in the recent history of Bulgaria embraced all the aspects of the country's social, political and economic life. In the moral and ethical realms, society has begun a painful transformation which continues to this day, with variable success, ten years after the beginning of the transition from a totalitarian to a democratic system.

One of the fields where changes are implemented with the most difficulty is within the sphere of security matters – international, regional, national, corporate, business, and personal, which is understandable since the security complex contains political, economic, military, legislative, public, social, demographic, ethnic, religious, ecological, informational, and a number of other components.

A great lack of understanding was demonstrated when the issue of the secret services was addressed – a fundamental tool for resolving part of the problems in the field of security. The exaggerated politicization of the approach to the question on whether a democratic society needs such institutions, and which form they should take under the new conditions, has a negative effect on the national interest. The public opinion has swung from one extreme to the other. The services, which had been protected under the veil of secrecy, and hailed for their unlimited power and possibilities, the populist bravery of their defenders of socialism, ergo of the public interest, against the “aspirations of world imperialism”, were suddenly given a nasty connotation. Political forces have apparently forgotten the elementary fact that these services are a tool for implementing power, not power itself, and that attacking them is reminiscent of the folk tale in which the farmer beats the

packsaddle instead of teaching a lesson to the mule upon which the packsaddle sits.

As a result of political machinations, often due to external influences and suggestions, an atmosphere of total or large-scale negation of the role of these services as institutions aimed to uphold the national sovereignty and interests was created. This was not only possible but easily achievable, due to the fact that society was deprived of even the most basic information on the structure, objectives, competencies and functions of these services in a normal democratic state. The public also knew nothing about their role and use in a totalitarian state. This ignorance and lack of information provided great opportunity for manipulation and, in practice, for an attack against the state's defense system, which was in need not of destruction, but reform.

These factors caused a normal and ever-increasing public interest in issues related to the special services, which, on its part, generated a publishing boom in this peculiar area.

As a defensive reaction, the market was literally flooded with memoirs. Professionals of different ranks, qualities and motivation began publishing their memoirs on the activities of the special services. The books, written mainly by domestic authors, were so diverse that the largely uninformed reader was unable to make a competent analysis. Hundreds of books appeared, usually of humble literary merit, in the *whodunit* genre, which was neglected in the time of the totalitarian state. Only a few could be defined as worthwhile, excepting for some translated titles which have been successful in the international book market.

Among the over 200 existing publishing houses – a figure which seems exorbitant to the author, considering the relatively small Bulgarian market – were those which began to intensely specialize in this genre. Nevertheless, their products include mainly translated materials intended for entertainment purposes.

Some of the leaders among the publishing houses, such as *Media Holding – Trud, Atika, Atlantis, Lik, Albatros*, launched their own specialized series. Translations appeared of "Origins of Intelligence Services" by Francis Dvornik and "The Anonymous Power" (*Die anonyme Macht*) by Gert Buchheit, published by LIK Publishing House; "The Mafia in Eastern Europe" (*Das neue Mafia – Kartell*) by Werner Raith, and "The Dirty Tricks of the Economic Espionage" (*Die schmutzigen Geschäfte der Wirtschaftsspione*) by Erich Schmidt and Eenboom Jo Angerer (of Atlantis Publishers).

In the "Top Secret" series of *Media Holding – Trud* in a little more than two years books such as "Spymaster" by Markus Wolf, "My Secret War" by Kim Philby, "Spy Catcher" by Peter Wright, "English-Bulgarian and Bulgarian-English Dictionary of

Intelligence and Counterintelligence Terminology”, “Victory” by Peter Swizer, “Criminal Russia” by Alexander Maximov, “A Handbook of Intelligence and Security” by Anatoliy Taras, “Mata Hari” by Russell Warren Haw, “Counterintelligence” by Boycho Assenov and Petko Kiprova, “The Intelligence” by authors’ panel, “The Encyclopedia of Espionage” by Norman Pollard and Thomas Alain, “Firm Security – Spying as a Trade” by an authors’ panel appeared. The last two titles are still in circulation.

Several specialized magazines also emerged, dedicated mainly to security problems and to the equipment used – signaling, protective, fire-prevention, special intelligence tools. Especially worthy of mention are “Business Detective” and “Security”.

In 2000, the first CD-ROM appeared, which collected several thousands of secret and top secret documents from the archives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Interior and the Defense of Bulgaria, and of the Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and which have been declassified during the last few years and are directly related to the participation of Bulgaria in the Warsaw Treaty - “Bulgaria in the Warsaw Pact”. For obvious reasons, this CD became highly popular among historians and researchers, not only in Bulgaria but also in a number of other countries. The formal presentation of this CD was held, along with the presentation of the book “The Intelligence”, during the International Conference on the theme “The Cold War and the Balkans” which took place in Plovdiv at the end of May, 2000.

As a reaction to the changes and the manipulation of public opinion through the exploitation of the public’s lack of information, there emerged also several professional associations and open civil societies oriented towards security matters.

Some of these guild-like organizations are the “Association of the Retired Intelligence Officers”, the “Association of the Retired Counterintelligence Officers”, the “Military Intelligence Officers Club”, the “Red Berets’ Association”, etc. As a rule, these are closed organizations, where membership is allowed only to former officers – military or civil – of these services.

One of the open organizations, an NGO of a purely civil character, which brought together professionals and intellectuals from many fields who participate in the processes of public opinion-making, is the “Bulgarian Euro-Atlantic Intelligence Forum” – BEAIF.

In addition to specific programs in the field of security, some of these organizations are also involved in publishing books in the same field. At the BEAIF’s initiative, and in cooperation with different Bulgarian publishing houses, the memoirs of Kim Philby, the

book "KGB and the Power" by Army General Filip Bobkov, former First Vice-Chairman of the KGB, the memoirs of the last USSR Intelligence Head, Gen. Leonid Shebarshin, under the Bulgarian title "Life Seems Hard Only in the Evenings", the book of Dennis McCarty and Philippe Smith, "President's Bodyguard Agent", "Raising the Curtain" by Gen. Vadim Kirpichenko, "The Mafias Against Democracy" by Admiral Pierre Lacoste, "The Intelligence", and "Firm Security – Spying as a Trade" have been published.

As mentioned above, due to the informational vacuum that existed for years in this sphere, there is now a great interest among readers for such titles. The lack of serious readers is reflected to a considerable extent by the quality of the selected and published titles. Unfortunately, most books still belong to the area of mass culture.

A positive trend is shown by the fact that many of the books within the large number of titles already outlined contain a serious, thorough, and in a number of cases even academic approach to the elaboration of different aspects of the special services and their activities.

It should be mentioned here that the fundamental work "The Art Of War" of the ancient Chinese philosopher Sun Zi has had three different printings within a short period. The book "The Intelligence" became a bestseller and its initial print run was sold out within less than two weeks – an excellent achievement for the Bulgarian book market.

Also published were interesting titles such as "The Bulgarian Special Services - Looking Towards A Unified Europe", "The Spies' Plot – Do We Need Secret Services?", "A History of Espionage", "Private Guard Activity", and many other books written by Bulgarian authors.

In conclusion, it could be said that, though this is not a purely Bulgarian phenomenon, the readers' increasing interest in literature related to the special services is one of the indications that society as a whole is beginning to readjust its conceptions of these institutions and its understanding of this peculiar activity; that the public is rejecting political manipulation and assuming a more sober, analytical and evaluative approach to these issues.

Such a state of affairs inspires hope that these services will find their appropriate and recognized place within the defense organs of the new democracies.

Below is a brief review of the CD and some of the books by Bulgarian authors dealing with the special services' activity, which have been published in the last two years.

Jordan Baev, ed. (2000).
Bulgaria in the Warsaw Pact

Sofia: B-M Publishing House.
CD ROM Documentary Volume
ISBN 954-8563-29-0

The documentary interactive bilingual CD collection "*Bulgaria in the Warsaw Pact*" is a result of a two-year research of the Cold War Research Group - Bulgaria, an NGO affiliated with the Bulgarian Association of Military History. More than 160,000 documents relating to NATO and the Warsaw Pact have been examined in various archives. The first volume concentrates on certain unknown topics, such as: the functioning of the highest level Warsaw Pact decision-making mechanisms; exchange of top secret information on defense and security issues in the Soviet Bloc; and internal contradictions within the Pact. The collection includes 130 newly declassified documentary proofs (1947-1991) from eleven archives, which illustrate the position and role assigned to Bulgaria in the postwar world. The most interesting materials include: Bulgarian military and intelligence reports and analyses; confidential letters and meetings between Stalin, Dimitrov and Chervenkov, as well as Todor Zhivkov with Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Gorbachev; correspondence between KGB and Bulgarian Security Services; CIA intelligence estimates on Eastern Europe and the Balkans; US, British and French diplomatic and military reports about Bulgaria. More than half of the materials contain facsimiles of the original documents. As an annex to the Collection, there is a table with infor-

mation on the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Council, Foreign and Defense Ministers Committees meetings (1955-1991), based on data from Bulgarian and East German Political and Diplomatic Records.

The CD documentary volume was prepared by Editor-in-Chief Associate Professor Dr. Jordan Baev, with computer processing by Assistant Professor Dr. Boyko Mladenov. The preface was written by Professor Dr. Vojtech Mastny, Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact Coordinator, and the foreword by Colonel-General /Retired/ Atanas Semerdjiev, former Chief of General Staff /1962-1989/, Minister of the Interior /1990/, Vice-President of Bulgaria /1990-1992/. The edition was created with the support of the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact, as well as with the assistance of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University; the Central State Archive, Sofia; the Diplomatic Archive, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and "Information & Archive" Department, Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Bulgaria.

The Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact is an international consortium, formed by the National Security Archive in Washington, the Center for Security Studies & Conflict Research in Zurich, and the Institute of Military Studies in Vienna. Research Centers from Prague, Warsaw, Sofia, Budapest and Dresden participate in the **Project. Cold War Research Group - Bulgaria** was founded in August 1998 as an independent non-governmental organization. Dedicated to the promotion of accessibility of knowledge to the contemporary world, it works with government authorities to facilitate access to sources from the Cold War era.

"Bulgaria may not have been most

prominent among the Warsaw Pact's members while it lasted, but today it is leading the way in making its records available to scholars and the wider public. The present volume is the first anywhere to offer a representative selection of archival material illustrating the murky origins, uncertain development, and unhappy end of the alliance that held much of Europe in awe during its 36-year existence."

Vojtech Mastny, PHP Coordinator

Senior Fellow, The National Security Archive and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C.

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More information about the CD Volume "Bulgaria in the Warsaw Pact" and Bulgarian Cold War Archives can be obtained by Fax: +1240-337-8304 and E-mail addresses: baev@sf.icn.bg or ik96plus@web.com

Zheli azko Stoyanov (1999).
A HISTORY OF ESPIONAGE

Sofia: Albatros Publishers. pp. 264.
ISBN 954-8555-56-5

The author of this book is a professor at the Faculty of History, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" and a senior lecturer at the Higher Institute for Training of Cadres of the Ministry of the Interior. He is the author of several monographs ("History and Society"; "Notions on History"; "Clio – Known and Unknown"; "History and Art"), and dozens of studies and papers. For sev-

eral years he has lectured on the history of intelligence and secret services at the Free University of Varna.

The "History of Espionage" was designed and realized by Dr. Stoyanov as a reference book; this approach determined to a great extent both its chronological scope and the manner in which the material was presented and delivered.

The author sets himself several tasks. The narrative follows a chronological principle, which is logical for an historical reading. The object is to provide answers to several questions: When and why did the need arise for the social activity of intelligence? When and how were its highest achievements realized thus far in world history? This gave Dr. Stoyanov the basis needed to begin his book with a paragraph on espionage, "the stuff of legends", envisaging the history of intelligence from the most ancient times, and ending the book with a passage dedicated to the "mole" Aldrich Ames, and the CIA's troubles in the 1990s.

Even a cursory look at the individual chapters and sections of this work shows that the author's attention was drawn first of all to the European history of intelligence and secret services, but also to the development of the US secret services during the 19th and 20th centuries. Such an undisguised "Eurocentrism" (the author relates mainly the history of intelligence in England, France, and Russia) can be justified in several ways: first, Dr. Stoyanov is obviously better acquainted with the history of the European intelligence and secret services. This explains to a considerable extent the fact that this section of the secret services' history has been best elucidated in regard to source-criticism and historiography. Second, an overall history of espionage (as its global history) is not possible, due to the lack of knowledge about these

activities - which can be attributed to its cognitive intricacy - and to its fairly specific groundings in terms of source-criticism and factography.

As pointed out by the author, the approach he uses does not allow an overview of the complete historical wealth of intelligence and secret services, but provides a possibility for revealing those assets that have been and will be of great significance for their further development. Such circumstances justify the approach implemented by Dr. Stoyanov; nevertheless, in his book there is a clear omission: it lacks special sections on the Bulgarian intelligence and secret services. The author himself addresses this evident omission with the promise to prepare and publish "a special study on this important and extremely intriguing topic".

It is important to mention that this author has endeavored to show, and when possible to reveal, the close commitment of intelligence to the political objectives and actions of the respective states and statesmen. This aspect becomes quite clear in the sections dealing with the development of the English (Wallsingham) and the French (Richelieu and Mazzarini) secret services in the 16th and the 17th century. A similar approach is demonstrated in some of the "games" between the CIA and the KGB, a part of which is an important component of the establishment and development of a number of particular political situations during the second half of the 20th century, some of them assuming global political importance.

Until recently there was a shortage of such books on the Bulgarian book market. In this case, it is to Dr. Stoyanov's credit that he has included in his book several undisputed events in the world's intelligence and secret services history. It should also be mentioned that the language and style of his historical descriptions make the book

extremely "reader-friendly". Nevertheless, on some occasions the author goes too far in providing certain "spicier" moments of intelligence history, which freshens the text but creates the danger of a superficial treatment of the subject matter.

On the occasion of this book's presentation to the world intelligence community, I would like to take the liberty of addressing a few requests to Dr. Stoyanov and to the other authors of such books. First, we need to consistently and systematically explain not only the European but also the non-European history of intelligence and secret services. Second, efforts must be undertaken to achieve a more successful transition from the strictly chronological (linear historical) approach used in the "History of Espionage" by Dr. Stoyanov, to the chronological-of-principle approach, which strengthens the presence also of theoretical/analytical aspects in such readings. In the third place, every author should address in similar studies the history and the practical experience of the respective national services.

Gen. T. Boyadjiev

Trifon Balev (1998). ***English-Bulgarian and Bulgarian-English Dictionary of Intelligence and Counter-intelligence Terminology***

Sofia: Trud Books Publishing House. pp. 174.
ISBN 954-528-104-9

This dictionary contains professional terms, jargon and lexical items related to intelligence, counterintelligence and administrative activity which are used in colloquial speech and works of fiction, and

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intended more for a broad reading public than for a limited circle of specialists and professionals. The dictionary will also be useful for Bulgarian and foreign specialists who remain in contact with each other due to their official duties in the area of security, intelligence and counterintelligence activity, organized crime, etc.

Since not all words and phrases have an equivalent meaning in the US and UK, and in fact differ substantially even within different intelligence or counterintelligence institutions, an appropriate explanation is provided in brackets after such words. An example would be the word "sleeper", which in CIA jargon means "a deep cover agent", but in FBI jargon "an object of investigation that had ceased temporarily its activity, subject of investigation".

Also words and phrases that are of US or UK origin, or are used chiefly by the special services of the USA or the United Kingdom, are supplied with an explanation in brackets after the respective word. The spelling has been preserved according to the original - US or UK - source.

The dictionary has been compiled by processing more than a dozen UK and US books and many other publications. Without claiming to be comprehensive and exhaustive, this dictionary represents an interesting publication - the first of its kind in Bulgarian book publishing circles. For obvious marketing purposes, the print was designed in a miniature "spy" format which allows it to be kept easily in the shirt pocket.

The dictionary was compiled by a reserve colonel who served for many years at one of the information gathering and analytical directorates of the Bulgarian special services.

Gen. Todor Boyadjiev

Todor Boyadjiev ed. (2000).
THE INTELLIGENCE
Forewords by Markus Wolf &
Viacheslav Trubnikov

Sofia: Trud Books Publishing
House. pp. 464. Hardcover and
paperback.
ISBN 954-528-168-5

"The Intelligence" is a unique book - and not just for the Bulgarian book publishing industry - which can be divided into two complementary parts.

In the first part, covering 382 pages, the autobiographies and ideas of renowned professionals and former heads of intelligence services, who had actively worked against each other during the Cold War, have been collected for the first time.

The authors of the first part are Admiral Pierre Lacoste – head of the French Intelligence; General Leonid Shebarshin – the last head of the USSR's intelligence service and KGB's First Deputy Chairman till 1991; Richard Kerr – Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence (the US intelligence community) till 1992, Acting Deputy for the CIA Director, Central Intelligence Agency's Deputy Director and Head of the Intelligence Directorate (the CIA directorate for information and analysis); Richard Stolz – CIA's First Deputy-Director until 1991; General Nikolay Leonov – long-standing Deputy-Head of the Soviet intelligence and head of the KGB's Information & Analysis Directorate; Professor Dr. Miroslav Tadjman – one of the creators and Director of the National Intelligence Service of the Republic of Croatia until 2000; General

Brigo Asparuchov, who was the head of the Bulgarian National Intelligence Service during the period when this service was reformed – 1991 – 1997; Gen. Todor Boyadjiev – initiator, compiler and leading author of the book, former deputy head of Bulgarian intelligence, General Secretary of the Ministry of the Interior, 1990-1992, member of the Great National Assembly (Bulgarian Parliament), 1990-91, President of the Bulgarian Euro-Atlantic Intelligence Forum (BEAIF) since its foundation in 1993.

To the authors' panel should be added, although posthumously, "the 20th century spy" Kim Philby, who appears in two thus far unpublished items – a lecture read before the senior executive staff of the Bulgarian special services, and a paper entitled "Confession Is A Mistake".

Each autobiography answers four principal questions: "How and why did I join the intelligence service?"; "What was I doing in intelligence?"; "How did I leave intelligence?", and "What am I doing now?".

This approach allows for a collection and comparison of individual fates, preserving at the same time their individuality. The conclusion, reached quite unostentatiously, is that intelligence is a profession with a human face, and that people who work in intelligence are individuals of high motivation and morals, patriots, professionals with a strong intellect and a comprehensive, encyclopedic knowledge, ethical and tolerant, ready to look beyond the framework of their special services and to assess the qualities of those who were their opponents and even ideological enemies. From these assumptions, the contributions of Admiral Pierre Lacoste and Professor Miroslav Tudjman have emerged.

Using an historical parallel between US, Russian, and French intelligence, Admiral Lacoste examines in an interesting manner the changes which developed after

the end of the Cold War, and the future of one of the most ancient professions.

The compiler aptly entitled the paper of Professor Tudjman "A Biography of An Intelligence." This paper offers a first-hand, detailed and thorough investigation of the process of the origin, the establishment, and the strengthening of a new intelligence service, called upon to defend the national interests of a new independent and sovereign democratic state.

The paper of each individual author offers an open, fascinating, and easily read vision of this worthy, though high-stress profession "on the edge".

The second part of the book covers 75 pages, and begins with some interesting reflections by the US Central Intelligence Agency Director George Tenet. Although these reflections are addressed to the rhetorical question "Does America need the CIA?", they extend far outside the national parameters of an intelligence service and present, rather, a serious and profound general view on the future of this profession under new conditions.

What follows is a virtual "round table". Seven independent sections present the subjects for discussion – how do intelligence agents come into being, or education for intelligence; women in intelligence; in what way is control exercised over intelligence; what does "friendly" intelligence mean, or how to steal economic, financial, and technological secrets of allies, partners, competitors and opponents, and is there any room for cooperation between state and private intelligence; has intelligence become a part of the new business culture, and how to make it smarter; cooperation in "the game without rules" and whether there will finally be rules for this game. Of course, in the discussion there is also the question of "are there really ex-agents in intelligence?" and what do intel-

ligence veterans do after they cease their active work.

The "round table" participants do not know each other personally; do not meet face to face, do not answer questions at the same time, but with a time delay of several months. Physically they are separated by a distance of thousands of miles and by an ocean; nevertheless they are united by their common interest in the topics of this discussion and by the organizer, Gen. Todor Boyadjiev, who is the only one who knows all the others, asks the questions, and uses an authentic part of the answers obtained.

Seated at the virtual round table are the chairman and 38 well-known politicians, legislators, professors, journalists, publishers, businessmen and, of course, intelligence officers – retired and active – from the United States and the Russian Federation. Discussions are held in New York, Moscow and Washington, but the excellent editing work of the author, Gen. Boyadjiev, creates the feeling of a simultaneous physical presence of all participants.

An indisputable contribution to the book "The Intelligence" are the forewords by Gen. Markus Wolf – one of the doyens of this profession with his long years of experience as head of the non-existent intelligence of an already non-existent state - the German Democratic Republic (DDR) - and by General Viacheslav Trubnikov – Director of the Foreign Intelligence Service of the Russian Federation until the spring of 2000.

Reading the book "THE INTELLIGENCE", readers will be able to draw conclusions of their own on this profession, its past, present, and future, and to share the thought of the former CIA Director and United States President George Bush that "patriotism is not a frenzied burst of emotion, but rather the quiet and steady dedication of a lifetime."

Gen. G. Grozev

Boncho Assenov, Petko Kiprova (2000).

The Counterintelligence

Sofia: Trud Publishing House, pp. 344. Paper bound.
ISBN 954-528-166-9

The authors of the book "The Counterintelligence" have garnered extensive professional and life experience.

Associate Prof. Dr. Col. (Ret) Boncho Assenov is ex-head of a department at the Higher Institute of the Ministry of the Interior. He presently delivers lectures on the Theory of Counterintelligence at the Free University of Varna "Chernorizets Hrabar" and has published twelve books on issues of security, religion, and nationalism.

Associate Professor General (Retired) Petko Kiprova is a former dean of the Higher Institute at the Ministry of the Interior. He has held high offices within the MI's structures. He is now lecturing in Criminal Law and Theory of Counterintelligence at the Free University of Varna "Chernorizets Hrabar". He has many publications in the field of security.

The Counterintelligence was the first of its genre of open scientific publications in Bulgaria that examined in theory the issues of classic counterintelligence. On the grounds of their personal knowledge and experience as former operative officers and lecturers in counterintelligence matters, the authors have summarized the abundant information they possess on the nature and content of counterintelligence, on its basic principles, forces, methods, types, means

and forms of activity. Publishing this book became possible only when counterintelligence was no longer considered a secret, strictly regulated activity in Bulgaria. According to the authors, counterintelligence forces, tools, methods, and forms are widely known in the democratic world and are not considered secret. It is, for example, no secret that special services use confidential information; the only secret is against whom, where and when they use such information. An understanding of these issues became possible also as a consequence of the development of the public system for security protection in Bulgaria – a process that is natural for every democratic state; a process where the state cedes a part of its powers and functions to the entity which is most interested in guaranteeing its security and interests. Security officers, private police, detective and guard agencies in those countries are formed as one of the components of the national security system.

The release of this book also conformed with the will of a democratic society to exercise civilian control over the special services' activity and, in particular, over those of the counterintelligence. Acquainting the public with their specific activity but also with the rights and liabilities related to the execution of this activity represents one of the forms of that control. The more closely society is acquainted with these facts, the more effectively the principle of democracy in the development of any modern society can be enforced.

An important incentive for writing *The Counterintelligence* was also the fact that since 1997, according to the Regulations on the Unified State Requirements of the Council of Ministers, *the Theory of Counterintelligence* was introduced to the educational system of Bulgaria as a compulsory subject for the department on "Protection of the National Security". Today

this subject is taught at the Free University of Varna "Chernorizets Hrabar", at the University of Veliko Tarnovo "St. Cyril and Methodius", and also at the Academy of the Ministry of the Interior. Counterintelligence matters are included as subject matters also in the programs of several other countries' universities where specialists in "Business Security Management" are trained.

Assenov and Kiprov have used different sources for writing their book: lectures on counterintelligence issues delivered at the Higher Institute of the Ministry of the Interior (purged of ideological clichés and outdated dogmatic concepts); the country's National Security Concept; the Criminal Code; the Criminal Process Code and other legal documents that regulate the special services' activity; laws related to the arrangement of the special services of the USA, Britain, Germany, Russia, and Greece, as well as a number of scientific materials and publications.

In creating their books, the authors obviously wavered between two approaches in the presentation of the material. Proceeding from the assumption that the basic principles are valid for any modern counterintelligence service, they could either develop in general the theoretical problems of counterintelligence, or examine these problems based on the Bulgarian realities, taking into consideration the local law, theory, experiences, and traditions of the Bulgarian counterintelligence. Obviously they opted for a mixed approach. In this way their book has a practical and applied value, enabling the reader to acquaint himself with counterintelligence concepts but also with the national peculiarities and the local reality in terms of national and business security.

The research subject of the book *The Counterintelligence* is defined by the princi-

pal objects of study – national and business security, national and business interests, their violation and the counterintelligence activity of the specialized governmental and non-governmental (business) entities with their specific powers and tools, principles, forms and methods of work.

The book is divided into two parts – one general and one specific. The general part deals with basic counterintelligence problems, concentrated in four sections. The first features counterintelligence in general and explains some basic concepts. In this section the content and the principles that rule the counterintelligence services' activities are revealed, as well as their powers and tools. The second section relates to the different types of counterintelligence activity – uncovering and combating crime, and assisting in its neutralization and prevention. The third section deals with the three principal methods used by counterintelligence – combination, penetration, and disinformation. In the last section of the general part of this book, the principal organizational models used as a framework for the execution of counterintelligence activity – operation checkup, surveillance, intelligence collection, and monitoring are explained.

The special part of the book is entitled "Basic Tools in Counterintelligence" and addresses two fundamental problems: the nature of secret collaborators and the basic rules for recruitment, working and liaising with them. A general description of the special intelligence gathering equipment and the basic requirements for the use of operational methods of application of technical equipment is also given.

The underlying idea of Assenov and Kiprova's book is that the end of the Cold War also brought an end to the political, economic and ideological contrasts between the two former systems and to the rivalry between their special services.

Nevertheless, the authors stress that this fact does not decrease the importance of these services as guarantors of state and public security. To the contrary, the work of the intelligence and counterintelligence bodies continues to be affirmed as useful and indispensable to modern society. The problems of national security in the future shall be linked more and more closely to the protection of the rights, freedom and security of individuals. At the same time, counterintelligence activity is expanding across boundaries of individual countries, directed not only to the defense of national security, but also concerned with security problems of different regions, continents, and the world in general. International terrorism, drug traffic, the danger of proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons are no longer problems of a single counterintelligence service, but of the services of different countries of the world, acting in cooperation with one another.

Constantly increasing industrial espionage makes business security protection one of the components of national security. We are facing a growth of counterintelligence activity within the framework of private companies, and closer interaction between state and business security services. According to the authors, counterintelligence activity in Bulgaria is carried on in accordance with these new world realities. In this respect, legislative regulation of the counterintelligence issues assumes primary importance. Assenov and Kiprova take into account the fact that, during last few years, Bulgarian legislation partially resolved in a legal aspect the problems of national security protection, including those of economic security. Still unregulated, however, remain the problems related to the functions, objectives, tasks, and activity of business security sections, and their legal limitations in utilizing tools and methods of business security protection. In fact, they

are presently prohibited from this activity, which is in contradiction to conditions in the rest of the world. Under such legal limitations, the regulation of business security protection activity in Bulgaria is delegated to, and depends to a great extent upon, the knowledge and experience of the section head, who in most cases is an ex-officer of the state's counterintelligence service.

The passing of regulatory acts related to the arrangement, management, and functioning of business security sections and, in particular, to their status (rights and objectives) and the means and methods used by them will provide the legal basis for their activity and will strengthen public control over the ever-increasing number of such sections in private enterprise. The authors point out that such a development would have a positive impact not only on the security of the single company, but also on the general economic security of the country.

Assenov and Kiproff also argue that the state's counterintelligence services must openly confront security problems of private companies, and undertake a legislative initiative as well as specific practical measures in order to promote, support, and resolve the problems related to business security. National interests, the authors say, will also be better protected through the interests of private companies, which have great influence on the economic development of the country under market economy conditions.

The book *The Counterintelligence* by Assenov and Kiproff examines a substantial number of problems in specific theory and practice, taking into consideration objective laws governing the development of the counterintelligence services under free market conditions. The authors endeavor to present the problems in an intelligible and straightforward manner, accessible both to specialists and the common citizen interested in these issues. They strive to enrich the

knowledge of young people, to provoke their interest in counterintelligence, and to assist them in applying their achieved skills in the event they should seek careers in the security area in public or private services. In this effort they have been most successful.

The book offered to your attention is intended for students who attend lectures in "National security protection" and "Business security management". At the same time, the book can be useful for officers, specialists and experts working on security issues in the executive, judiciary and the legislature, or in private security services. The subject matter is also of interest to researchers, specialists in this field, and those in the general public interested in this area.

Assenov and Kiproff do not pretend to have exhaustively examined this area, but feel the book could be complemented and made more precise. They hope as well that this first in its genre of open publications in Bulgaria will serve as incentive for the further development of the theory of counterintelligence, and the examination of business counterintelligence issues. In this respect, the book enriches the national book market and will be given a positive reception by the reading public.

The authors dedicated their book to all former, present, and future Bulgarian counterintelligence officers who have defended and shall continue to defend the security and interests of their country.

Yordan Natchev, Sofia, Bulgaria

Yuliy Georgiev (2000).
***The Bulgarian Special Services
Looking Towards A Unified
Europe***

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In his book *The Bulgarian Special Services Looking Towards A Unified Europe* Colonel (Ret.) Yuliy Georgiev, ex-Director of the National Security Service, addresses issues which, in his opinion, have an impact on the work of the Bulgarian counterintelligence and the other special services within the Ministry of the Interior. The author's analysis covers the period following the democratic changes in Bulgaria. In a dozen thematically oriented sections, the author treats many of the problems of the special services in Bulgaria during the period of the "Iron Curtain". In the author's opinion, these questions have inflamed society for years and were periodically exploited and manipulated by the ruling circles.

Already in the foreword, Mr. Georgiev calls upon Bulgarian statesmen to show "patience, more tolerance and mutual understanding". From his position as former head of one of the country's main special services, Mr. Georgiev appeals to society to search for a means to unify the nation. In his opinion, Bulgarian society is in need of such unification, especially while active negotiations for a full membership to the European Union are in progress. The author makes an attempt to explain why the ghost of the former State Security "still disturbs the sleep" of Bulgarian politicians.

Mr. Georgiev answers this question already in the first chapter of the book. History, he says, shows "that any underdeveloped and non-democratic rule, particularly when losing confidence and feeling weak", immediately attempts to create opponents of their own. The more aggressively the "men of straw" promote this image, the more convincing will be their explanations for the failures of the current state government. After 1989, the former State Security involuntarily assumed the role of opponent of the Bulgarian governments. All those who came into power in Bulgaria after the fall of the communist regime declared that this service was a criminal organization. The ruling circles' thesis was that former repressive structures continued to obstruct the democratic development of the state and to control the processes of change, due to its total penetration into political and economic life.

One of the most serious accusations that have been made by the present Bulgarian politicians against the former special services' officers is that the latter are at the root of the country's organized crime structures. In the author's opinion, this is a convenient allegation intended to justify the current political situation. Mr. Georgiev emphasizes that the senior staff and the well-trained professionals in those services are still being periodically fired or retired simply for having served under the previous governments. This is but the tip of the iceberg. According to the author, they are put under surveillance by every succeeding government, subjected to various forms of control, and public opinion is inflamed against them and their actions, regardless of the content of such actions.

As for the attitude shown by the special services' officers towards the changes that were underway at the end of the 1980s, Mr. Georgiev's position is categorical. In his opinion, the services "were aware of the

need for those changes but did not accept the irresponsible manner in which they were made.”

Another topic addressed by the author is the management of the special services in the new situation. He defines this task as highly difficult. As a citizen, Mr. Georgiev has observed the beginning of the depoliticization of those services, and feels that it has been extremely important to find a balance between permanent national interests and activities of the reformed services. Problems have been speedily resolved in spite of the lack of experience. New regulations have imposed changes in some operational methods, discontinuation of concepts, restriction of repressive and brutal functions of the counterintelligence institution. The resolution of many issues was made possible only by virtue of the professionalism of the officers. Former Counterintelligence Director, Mr. Georgiev argues that, as soon as the changes were underway, the Bulgarian counterintelligence freed itself from the influence of geopolitics and various alliances, and acted in accordance with the immediate realities and threats to the state. As proof of the maturity of the counterintelligence institution, the author points out its attitude toward the Bulgarian Turks' party, which was formed as an independent political subject already at the end of 1989. Mr. Georgiev calls the reader's attention to the fact that, already in 1992, the then NSS Director Chavdar Petkov promoted the gradual recruitment and appropriate training of youth of Turkish origin for future employment at the NSS.

The author also examines briefly the “logic of destruction” of the state system and national identity. In his opinion, it will be years before political passions are calmed and events can be analyzed in an objective manner. Today the rulers seek justification in the fact that there is no compar-

ative model and analogy for such a development in world history. State leaders, the author says, are depending upon the passage of time to excuse them from responsibility for their missteps, for having initiated the destruction of functioning business and state structures without providing a clear concept for their model of replacement, and for failing to obtain the required national consensus on their realization. The author argues forcefully that, during the entire ten-year transition period, Bulgarian politicians have failed to overcome their complexes concerning “the services”. In his opinion, they still cannot transcend their narrow party orientation when speaking about the development and activity of these services. The most severe upheavals have been suffered by the special services, which are targets of numerous attacks and accusations. Such actions, of course, have much wider repercussions, since the problem “goes beyond the circle of narrow political interests”. This explains also the fact that Bulgarians do not feel safe in their own state.

Another basic issue that attracts Mr. Georgiev's attention as a professional is the restructuring of the special services and, in particular, of the counterintelligence institution. The author's firm view is that this process had been influenced by the chaotic course of events and subjected to the illogical hesitations of the politicians with respect to the governing of the state. At the beginning of its creation, for instance, the NSS had been envisaged as a counterpart to its German analog, but at the same time its design provided for the implementation of certain elements of the actual English model; this naturally resulted in confusion. Again, a highly negative impact on the final outcome of the services' restructuring was the fear of the politicians of the former State Security, and the

strong distrust existing between these politicians. According to Mr. Georgiev, the manner in which the former State Security has been divided, into National Intelligence Service – NIS, National Security Service – NSS, National Guard Service – NGS, and Military Counterintelligence – MCI, preordained the failures in the future activities of the newborn structures. The author has doubts about the vitality of the model followed in the structuring of the present Bulgarian special services, but is certain in one aspect: that contacts with partners from the former hostile countries exert a positive influence, and that the principle of reciprocity introduced in regard to exchange of information on issues of international security and organized crime is indispensable for ensuring national security.

Last but not least, the author addresses questions related to control over the special services, which is a topic that is periodically exploited by powerholders and the opposition, particularly when there is a need to find a scapegoat for mistakes committed by politicians. In spite of the continual interest shown both by the executive and the legislature, Mr. Georgiev emphasizes that this issue has yet to be resolved. Discussions about civilian control over the special services in our country began immediately after the changes in the country in 1989, but in practice nothing substantial has yet occurred. The author places the blame on narrow party interests, backdoor political intrigues, lack of understanding of the importance of this problem, and simple indifference. The government has declared its intention to achieve stronger civilian control over the services, but this task cannot be realized through the demilitarization of the services, or the appointments of political figures as MI's Secretaries and Vice-Ministers of the Ministry of Defense

The reader can also find in this book a

brief comparative analysis of the existing forms of control over the special services in states with stable democracies. The author leaves the issue open for discussion, but indicates that such a control is possible, even indispensable for society.

The issue of coordinating the work of the services is open for discussion in Bulgaria as well, and Mr. Georgiev does not overlook this question in his book. He critically analyzes the structure and the work of the acting control and coordination bodies, such as the National Security Council at the government and the Consultative Council for National Security of the President of the Republic. Through this analysis, the author concludes that if one of these bodies is acting efficiently, it would mean that there would be a duplication of efforts.

Loyal to his professional ethics, Mr. Georgiev offers his own concept about the shape, tasks, and activities of a unified central body whose aim is to synchronize the work of the special services. The reader acquainted with this professional matter might find his ideas controversial and reject them, but the author's intent has been to address this crucial issue and initiate discussion.

The book ends with a brief political and economic analysis of the situation in Bulgaria and in the Balkan region. Mr. Georgiev comments on the actions of NATO, the EU, and Russia in the resolution of the Kosovo problem by military means. His short-term forecast on the further development of events is pessimistic, and the author enumerates his reasons for such an appraisal.

The large number of topics introduced creates a certain overload in the reader's mind regarding the activities and management of the special services of Bulgaria in the transition years. However, the author has not intended to provide a comprehen-

sive analysis of all the problems which have arisen in the intelligence services. The principal merit of Yuliy Georgiev's book is that he describes the existing problems in the management, the synchronization of the activities and the forms of control over the special services in Bulgaria. By means of a logical sequence of assumptions, utilizing the arguments and the authority of a former intelligence chief, he succeeds in persuading the reader of the importance of the issues examined.

Yuliy Georgiev's *The Bulgarian Special Services Looking Towards A Unified Europe* complements and enriches the series of similar literature on the Bulgarian book market.

Yordan Natchev, Sofia, Bulgaria

COLD WAR IN THE BALKANS - An International Conference

The Cold War International History Project, Washington
The Cold War Research Group - Bulgaria, Sofia
Plovdiv, Bulgaria: May, 2000

In 1991 at the Woodrow Wilson International Center of Scholars in Washington DC, a major international network of scholars and experts was established, engaged in the study of the Cold War History. It was christened the Cold War International History Project - CWIHP.

During the next decade, in collaboration with the National Security Archive - an independent organization situated at the George Washington University and other university and research centers - the Cold War Project organized more than 20 conferences and round table discussions in var-

ious cities - from Washington to Warsaw and from Reykjavik to Hong Kong.

The most recent conference was held in May, 2000 in Plovdiv, Bulgaria. More than 70 representatives from 15 European countries and the USA attended the first such conference in South East Europe - "Cold War in the Balkans - History and Consequences". It was organized by the Cold War International History Project in Washington and the Cold War Research Group - Bulgaria, in Sofia, with the assistance of various other official and non-governmental organizations and foundations.

The format of the Conference followed a pattern already tested at the other CWIHP international workshops. Such a model was new for the public in the Balkans and aimed to join at the conference table representatives from three distinctive and separate professional and social groups: specialists in the field of contemporary history, international relations and security issues, archive experts, and active participants in the events discussed. Thus, on the basis of scientific knowledge, comparative analysis and critical oral history, new declassified archival evidence, and personal recollections, a broad and comprehensive explanation of the complex Cold War aspects in the recent past was presented.

The main objective of the project was to attempt to define the place of the Balkans in the Cold War bi-polar confrontation and the causes for its new role as a source of tension in post-Cold War Europe from a regional and international perspective. An analysis of contemporary historical experience provided an opportunity to enhance the understanding of how previous events and interactions have influenced subsequent attitudes and behavior of the present EAPC countries, and how specific circumstances in East European

societies have influenced the transition to democracy. A comparative evaluation of former images "from the other side" proved to be quite important in the process of education in the border regions of Europe, where mutual misunderstanding still exists.

The three-day discussion in Plovdiv's International Fair & Congress Center was divided in six thematic parts. The first was dedicated to the superpowers' position in the Balkans and the Balkan countries' diplomacy. Scholars from Russia, Greece, Hungary and Romania, as well as Bulgarian university professors, discussed many aspects of the Balkan legacy of the US-Soviet driven Cold War and their strategic goals in the area. In addition, former diplomats, such as Dr. Vasile Sandru - former Romanian Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs and Ambassador to Belgrade and Moscow, Professor Enyo Savov - former Bulgarian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and a Bulgarian representative at the CFE talks in Stockholm and Vienna, Dr. Raymond Garthoff - former State Department Senior official and US Ambassador in Sofia, shared their views and comments. Professor Evgeny Alexandrov, former head of the Bulgarian Foreign Minister's Office, clarified some interpretations on the confidential Mladenov - Gorbachev contacts and the activities of the Soviet Ambassador in Sofia prior to the overthrow of long-standing Bulgarian leader, Todor Zhivkov. Dr. Dumitru Preda, head of the Romanian Diplomatic Archive, discussed secret information from the Romanian embassies abroad during the last months of the Communist regimes in Europe.

The second round table was dedicated to certain military aspects of Cold War Balkan history. Outstanding scholars, such as Daniel Nelson from the USA and

Natalia Egorova from Russia presented comparative analyses of the leading military Cold War alliances. Some aspects of Khrushchev's role in the reduction of the Bulgarian army in the late 50's, the Soviet military advisers in Bulgaria, etc., were also discussed. Participants in the discussion that followed included the former Chief of General Staff of Bulgarian Armed Forces (1962-1989) and Vice-President of Bulgaria (1990-1992) General Atanas Semerdjiev, former Turkish representative of the NATO Military Committee, General Ihsan Gurkan, Colonel Herve Roche from France, etc. A logical finale of the first day's discussion was the presentation of the new CD ROM Documentary Volume, "Bulgaria in the Warsaw Pact".

The high point of the conference was most probably the first panel on the second day of the Conference; a discussion entitled "Intelligence issues of Cold War History and Consequences" organized by the Bulgarian Euro-Atlantic Intelligence Forum. It was an intensive open discussion among leading intelligence professionals and scholars, the main topic being *The Intelligence History: Balkans as a crossroad between three Continents*. Many different subjects were also covered, including:

- Balkans as a geo-strategic area for intelligence;

- Various participants and approaches; Pre-World War II/ Cold War/ Post-Cold War Era;

- CIA-KGB intelligence estimates: a comparison;

- Cooperation and coordination among the Balkan security services: effectiveness and subordination.

Among the participants in the discussion were General Markus Wolf – former head of the Intelligence of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), Admiral Pierre Lacoste – head of the French Intelligence,

Richard Kerr – Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, Professor Miroslav Tadjman – Croatia, Grozdan Tzvetkovski – Macedonia and Ambassador Raymond Garthoff – USA. The Bulgarian experience was presented by General Brigo Asparuhov – Director of the National Intelligence Service (1991-1997), Colonel July Georgiev – ex-director of counterintelligence, Ambassador Minko Sladkarov, and others.

The topic of the next panel, dedicated to ethnic and religious factors of Balkan Cold War history, also led to intense discussion about national and religious minorities, the Cyprus question within the US-Soviet world confrontation, the Kosovo problem, etc. Participants from Greece and Turkey, Romania and Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia, addressed various disputable and contradictory aspects of very complex ethnic and religious Balkan problems. Other heretofore-unknown details regarding the contemporary political history of the region were presented in the panel “Repression and Opposition”.

The third-day discussion concluded with a panel entitled “The Legacy of the Cold War and the Transition to Democracy”. The main papers treated the problems of Bulgarian transition and the events in Timisoara, Bulgaria in December, 1989. An additional paper by Dr. Veselin Metodiev, former head of Bulgarian Archives and Deputy Prime Minister of Bulgaria from 1997-1999, focused logically on the question of the accessibility of Bulgarian State Security and Diplomatic and Military Archives on the Cold War years.

One of the indications of the successful results of the Balkan Cold War Conference and its impact on the public was wide mass media coverage of the three-day discussions. Even two months after the Conference, comments and interviews with the Conference participants continue to

appear. More than 40 publications have appeared in sixteen central and local Bulgarian newspapers, including business and PC weekly professional newspapers. There were also a large number of TV and radio broadcasts in Romania, Greece and Macedonia, on the BBC, Radio Free Europe, Reuters, France Press, etc. regarding the Conference.

The Conference proceedings, which are expected to be published in September, 2000, do not spell an end to the project. On the contrary, they provide an incentive to more comprehensive Cold War History research in the region, joint studies and scientific projects, exchange of new hypotheses, arguments, and declassified political, diplomatic, military and national security documents on the region’s common history in the second half of the twentieth century.

For more information about the Conference, please contact:
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