

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Dobriansky, Paula: Files
Folder Title: Bulgaria (4)
Box: RAC Box 1

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories>

Contact a reference archivist at: **reagan.library@nara.gov**

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-support/citation-guide>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer

RBW 12/21/2016

File Folder COUNTRY FILES: BULGARIA (4)

FOIA

F1640/3

Box Number 1

HERSHBERG

9

| ID | Doc Type | Document Description | No of Pages | Doc Date | Restrictions |
|--------|----------|--|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| 186203 | CABLE | ROME 16497 | 4 | 6/28/1985 | B1 |
| 186204 | PAPER | RE. BULGARIA | 1 | 12/1/1985 | B1 |
| 186205 | MEMO | ROLAND KUCHEL TO ROZANNE RIDGWAY RE. U.S. INTEREST IN BULGARIA | 3 | ND | B1 |

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

FBIS 046

BULGARIA REPORTEDLY TO INTRODUCE ANTI-TERRORIST LEGISLATION

AU150949 PARIS AFP IN ENGLISH 0943 GMT 15 MAY 85

(TEXT) VIENNA, MAY 15 (AFP) -- THE BULGARIAN GOVERNMENT IS TO INTRODUCE TOUGH ANTI-TERRORIST LEGISLATION AFTER ADMITTING FOR THE FIRST TIME THAT EXTREMISTS HAVE CARRIED OUT ATTACKS IN THE COUNTRY OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS.

LAST SEPTEMBER SOFIA DESCRIBED WESTERN REPORTS OF BOMB INCIDENTS IN PLOVDIV AND VARNA AS "LIES AND SLANDER."

BUT ATTORNEY-GENERAL KOSTADIN LUTOV ADMITTED AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN SOFIA ON MONDAY THAT THE AUTHORITIES HAD NOTED "TROUBLES CAUSED BY OPPONENTS AND CRIMINALS ACTING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE WORLD-WIDE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE."

OBSERVERS WERE SURPRISED THAT MR. LUTOV ESTABLISHED A LINK BETWEEN "HOSTILE ELEMENTS" AND A SERIES OF EXPLOSIONS, FIRES AND OTHER UNEXPLAINED INCIDENTS WHICH HAVE CAUSED SEVERAL DEATHS IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS.

HE SAID THAT LAST AUGUST A BOMB HAD EXPLODED IN PLOVDIV RAILWAY STATION, KILLING A WOMAN, AND ANOTHER AT VARNA AIRPORT. PLOVDIV IS BULGARIA'S SECOND LARGEST TOWN AFTER SOFIA, AND VARNA IS A BLACK SEA HOLIDAY RESORT.

HE ALSO MENTIONED AN EXPLOSION ON MARCH 9 IN A SOFIA-BURGAS TRAIN WHICH KILLED SEVEN AND INJURED NINE, AND AN INCIDENT ON MARCH 2 WHEN A DRUNKEN MILITIAMAN IN SOFIA KILLED FOUR PEOPLE.

INITIALLY THE BOMBS IN PLOVDIV AND VARNA, WHICH EXPLODED ON THE EVE OF BULGARIA'S 40TH ANNIVERSARY AS A PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, WERE REPORTED BY THE WESTERN PRESS IN SEPTEMBER, AND DENIED BY THE GOVERNMENT AS "LIES AND SLANDER."

MR. LUTOV SAID THE BULGARIAN PARLIAMENT WOULD LATER THIS WEEK DEBATE A BILL SETTING OUT HARSHER SENTENCES FOR TERRORISTS (NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SCHEDULED TO CONVENE 16 MAY -- FBIS).

THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION LAYS DOWN 3 TO 15 YEARS FOR SEIZING HOSTAGES, 15 TO 20 YEARS OR THE DEATH SENTENCE FOR THOSE FOUND GUILTY OF "FIRES, EXPLOSIONS OR FLOODS" AND UP TO FIVE YEARS FOR THREATENING TO CARRY OUT A TERRORIST ACT.

OBSERVERS HERE SAID THAT THE BULGARIAN GOVERNMENT, BY PUBLICLY ANNOUNCING THESE MEASURES, WAS CLEARLY INTENT ON FRIGHTENING ITS OPPONENTS, INCLUDING CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE TURKISH MINORITY.

LAST OCTOBER THE PRESS REPORTED THE EXECUTION OF LAHEN ANTONOV PENCHEV, A BULGARIAN CITIZEN, FOR KILLING THREE PEOPLE AND INJURING NINE WITH A BOMB IN THE POST OFFICE AT GORNA ORIACHOVITSA, IN THE NORTH.

15 MAY 1115Z JR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES
INFORMATION AGENCY

EU →

INCOMING
TELEGRAM
BULGARIA

①
②
A. M. Geyer
Mark Rowlett

PAGE 01

029701 ICA916
20/17302

025701 ICA916

3

ACTION OFFICE PG-01
INFO ACO-01 DSO-02 DIS-01 VG-01 EU-03 PFAD-01 PGF-02 PR-01
PP-01 PPF-01 VBB-01 VBXC-01 VBXM-01 VBE-01 VBU-02 VBR-01
VQA-02 PPHI-02 PPFE-01 /027 A2 2

R 201726Z MAY 85
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 6961
INFO RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 8966
RUEHDD/NATO COLLECTIVE
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 2508
RUDKSA/AMEMBASSY SOFIA 1531

BT
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 ROME 12729

STATE FOR INR/CI/IC

USIA FOR P/G, EU

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PROP, SCUL, PREL, US, IT, UR, BU
SUBJECT: SOVIET DISINFORMATION: PRESS CONFERENCE
-- TO INTRODUCE BOOK ON BULGARIAN CONNECTION

REF: ROME 12599 AND PREVIOUS

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)
2. SUMMARY:

IN A STORMY PRESS CONFERENCE IN ROME DESIGNED TO INTRODUCE A BULGARIAN-SPONSORED BOOK ON ANTONOV, A BULGARIAN SPOKESMAN CLAIMED THAT INVESTIGATING JUDGE MARTELLA HAD FALLEN FOR AN ANTI-BULGARIA PLOT. HE ANNOUNCED THAT ANTONOV REMAINED IN POOR HEALTH (SEPTEL) AND THAT PRESUMED ACCOMPLICE CELIK WAS BEING HELD BY FRENCH POLICE. FEW WERE FOOLED BY THE DISINFORMATION EFFORT WHICH THE BOOK REPRESENTS. CHRISTIAN ROULETTE, THE AUTHOR, WAS SO ILL AT EASE WITH HIS "OWN" DOCUMENTATION THAT ONE JOURNALIST SUGGESTS THAT HE DID NOT EVEN WRITE THE BOOK. AS A RESULT OF COMMENTS BY ROULETTE AND THE BULGARIAN ABOUT JUDGE MARTELLA'S INVESTIGATIONS, THE ITALIAN JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES ARE REVIEWING THE PRESS CONFERENCE TO SEE IF A SLANDER CHARGE IS IN ORDER. END SUMMARY.

3. TEMPESTUOUS PRESS CONFERENCE:

IN WHAT ONE AMERICAN JOURNALIST CALLED THE CRAZIEST SUCH EVENT HE HAD EVER SEEN, FRENCH LAWYER CHRISTIAN ROULETTE AND BULGARIAN PRESS AGENCY DIRECTOR BOJAN TRAIKOV HELD A MAY 17 PRESS CONFERENCE TO INTRODUCE ROULETTE'S NEW BOOK - "THE CONNECTION" (REFTEL). THEY WERE CONTESTED AT EVERY TURN BY ITALIAN AND AMERICAN JOURNALISTS AS WELL AS EXILED BULGARIAN HUMAN RIGHTS REPRESENTATIVES. THE TASS CORRESPONDENT IN ROME NATURALLY TRIED TO DEFEND ROULETTE AND TRAIKOV. THE PRESENCE OF CLAIRE STERLING, WHOM ROULETTE SAID HAD BEEN HIRED BY THE CIA, ADDED SPICE TO THE "POISONOUS EXCHANGES." STERLING ANNOUNCED SHE WAS SUING TO STOP DISTRIBUTION OF THE BOOK.

4. THE BULGARRAN STATED THAT AGCA'S CHARGES AGAINST ANTONOV REPRESENTED A VERY FRAGILE CASE. HE PREDICTED ANTONOV WOULD BE PROVEN INNOCENT. TRAIKOV QUOTED JUDICIAL "EXPERTS" TO THE EFFECT THAT THE ITALIAN INVESTIGATION WAS AN ABSURDITY. ONLY TWO NEW FACTS EMERGED DURING THE PRESS CONFERENCE:

-- ANTONOV WILL BE AT THE HEARING BUT HIS HEALTH IS SO FRAGILE THAT HE MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO DEFEND HIMSELF (HIS SISTER, ALSO PRESENT, SAID HE WAS IN A PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAUMA);

-- THE BULGARIANS, CLAIMING TO QUOTE FRENCH SECRET POLICE SOURCES, INSISTED THAT AGCA'S PRESUMED ACCOMPLICE, ORAL CELIK, WAS NOW BEING HELD BY FRENCH POLICE WHO WOULD SEND HIM TO ROME IF HIS HELP WERE NEEDED TO CONVICT ANTONOV.

5. MARCO NESE OF THE CORRIERE DELLA SERA TOLD US THAT THE LATTER POINT TRAIKOV MADE ABOUT THE ARREST OF CELIK APPEARED TO BE ANOTHER DELIBERATE PIECE OF DISINFORMATION. THE BULGARIANS KNOW WELL THAT THE FRENCH REALLY ARRESTED ABDULLAH CATLI, WHO FURNISHED AGCA AND CELIK WITH FALSE PASSPORTS. HOWEVER, THE BULGARIANS ARE PROTECTING THEMSELVES AGAINST THE POSSIBLE REVELATION OF A WITNESS - CATLI - WHO CAN CORROBORATE PORTIONS OF AGCA'S TESTIMONY BY ATTEMPTING TO DISCREDIT SURPRISE WITNESSES IN ADVANCE. NESE CONCLUDED THAT THE BULGARIANS WERE TRYING TO INSINUATE THAT THE WESTERN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES ARE PREPARING WITNESSES TO SPRING AT THE TRIAL.

6. THE BOOK IS ADVERTISED TO BE A DOCUMENTED COUNTER-INVESTIGATION INTO THE "FALSE" BULGARIAN CONNECTION. IT CONCLUDES THAT IT WAS A PLOT CONCOCTED BY CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN THE CIA TO DEFAME BULGARIA. ACTUALLY, IT IS BEING PUBLISHED IN ITALY BY ROBERTO NAPOLEONE, WHO IS NOTED FOR STALINIST SYMPATHIES. THE FACT THAT

BT
02729

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
Authority State Waiver 116615
BY RW NARA DATE 12/21/16

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES
INFORMATION AGENCY

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

4

PAGE 01

029698 ICA920
28/1730Z

029698 ICA920

ACTION OFFICE PG-01

INFO ACO-01 DSO-02 DIS-01 VG-01 EU-03 PFAD-01 PGF-02 PR-01
PP-01 PPF-01 VBB-01 VBXC-01 VBXM-01 VDE-01 VBU-02 VBR-01
VOA-02 PPHI-02 PFFE-01 /027 A2 2

R 201726Z MAY 85
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 6962
INFO RUENIA/USIA WASHDC 8967
RUEHDD/NATO COLLECTIVE
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 2509
RUDKSA/AMEMBASSY SOFIA 1532

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 ROME 12729

STATE FOR INR/CI/IC

USIA FOR P/G, EU

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PTER, PROP, SCUL, PREL, US, IT, UR, BU

SUBJECT: SOVIET DISINFORMATION: PRESS CONFERENCE

TRAIKOV WAS A CO-SPONSOR OF THE CONFERENCE AS WELL AS THE PRESENCE OF ANTONOV'S SISTER CONVINCED MOST JOURNALISTS THAT THE BOOK WAS JUST A BULGARIAN-ORDERED FABRICATION. THE SAME ROAD TEAM HAD INTRODUCED THE GREEK EDITION TO THE BOOK THE DAY BEFORE IN ATHENS.

7. "RIDICULOUS HYPOTHESIS BASED ON NOTHING"

THESE WERE THE WORDS WITH WHICH NESE DISMISSED THE BOOK. HE SAW IT AS A COUNTER INQUEST AGAINST THE EFFORTS OF INVESTIGATING JUDGE MARTELLA. NESE NOTED ROULETTE HAD NO CONTROL OF HIS SOURCES. ROULETTE OFTEN CLAIMED HIS KNOWLEDGE WAS BASED ON WHAT HE READ IN THE NEWSPAPERS. NESE MARVELS AT WHY THE BULGARIANS SUPPORTED SUCH AN UNQUALIFIED EFFORT.

8. NESE LATER TOLD A POLOFF THAT HE BELIEVED ROULETTE DID NOT WRITE THE BOOK, BUT RATHER LUIGI CAVALLO, WHO RUNS AGENCIA "A," WROTE IT. CAVALLO IS A KNOWN PROVOCATEUR AND DISINFORMATION SPECIALIST FOR THE EAST. HE WAS EARLIER IDENTIFIED AS THE ITALIAN SOURCE WHO SUPPLIED ROULETTE WITH COPIES OF FORGED U.S. EMBASSY ROME CABLES, PURPORTING TO LAUNCH AN ANTI-BULGARIAN PRESS CAMPAIGN. FROM TURIN, HE TRIED TO SPLIT UNION MOVEMENTS AT FIAT IN THE 1950'S. HE NOW LIVES IN PARIS WHERE ROULETTE IS HIS LAWYER.

9. ITALIANS TO INVESTIGATE PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENTS:

INCENSED AT ROULETTE'S AND TRAIKOV'S ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE ITALIAN CONDUCT OF THE CASE, AN ITALIAN PUBLIC PROSECUTOR IS INVESTIGATING THE POSSIBILITY OF SLANDER. THE TWO REPORTEDLY CALLED MARTELLA INCOMPETENT, INSINUATING HE HAD SWALLOWED A PLOT MOUNTED BY THE CIA AND THE ITALIAN INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION SISMI. THE ITALIANS WILL BE ATTEMPTING TO RECONSTRUCT THE TEXT OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH WAS OBVIOUSLY DESIGNED TO DISCREDIT THE ANTONOV TRIAL TEN DAYS BEFORE IT OPENS. THE ITALIANS ARE ALSO INVESTIGATING ROULETTE'S REMARKS TO THE EFFECT THAT EVERY CITIZEN SHOULD "REFUSE TO TAKE PART IN THIS IMPOSSIBLE TRIAL."

10. THE PRESS REPORTS THE ITALIAN JUDICIARY IS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT ANTONOV'S HEALTH. HE WILL BE GIVEN ANOTHER MEDICAL CHECK-UP BEFORE THE TRIAL BEGINS.

11. COMMENT

SINCE TRAIKOV AND ROULETTE HAVE APPARENTLY ALREADY LEFT THE COUNTRY, THE INVESTIGATION TO SEE WHETHER THEY DEFAMED MARTELLA IS LARGELY FOR THE RECORD. HOWEVER, IT COULD BE PUSHED TO THE POINT WHERE IT WOULD MAKE IT UNCOMFORTABLE FOR THEM TO RETURN.

RABB
BT
02729

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PG

5

PAGE 01

052747 ICA587
17/1151Z

052747 ICA587

CONSPIRATORS EVER MORE DIFFICULT."

ACTION OFFICE PG-01
INFO ACO-01 DSO-02 DIS-01 VG-01 EU-03 PFAD-01 P-01 PGF-02
PR-01 PP-01 PPF-01 VBB-01 VBXC-01 VBXM-01 VBE-01 VBU-02
VBR-01 VOA-02 PPMI-02 PPFE-01 /028 A2 2

5. COMMENT: AFTER SEEING SEVERAL RECENT "ACTIVE MEASURES" OPERATIONS FOILED BY PERSUASIVE EVIDENCE THAT SIMILAR "DOCUMENTS" WERE IN FACT FORGERIES, THE SOVIETS HAVE HERE ATTEMPTED TO TURN THE TABLES ON THE U.S. BY TRANSFORMING THE EVIDENCE ITSELF INTO GROUNDS FOR FURTHER SUSPICION.
HARTMAN
BT
#0718

O 171154Z JAN 85
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO RUENIA/USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9733
INFO RUENC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6292
RUFHFG/AMCONSUL LEHNINGRAD 0667
RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 7031
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 0819
BT
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ MOSCOW 00718

STATE FOR EUR/SOV

USIA FOR EU (LEMAISTRE), P/G, P/RSE, VOA/BRU

E.O. 12356: N/A
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE SOVIET "ACTIVE MEASURE": US EMBASSY IN
- ROME ACCUSED OF CONCOCTING THE "BULGARIAN
- CONNECTION"

1. IN A JANUARY 16 LITERATURNAYA GAZETA ARTICLE ENTITLED "THE BULGARIAN TRAIL' OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY," THE NEWSPAPER'S PARIS CORRESPONDENT, ALEXANDER SABOV, CLAIMS TO HAVE SEEN TWO "DISPATCHES" SENT BY THE U.S. EMBASSY IN ROME WHICH ALLEGEDLY PROVE THAT CHARGES OF BULGARIAN COMPLICITY IN THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE POPE WERE CONCOCTED BY THE UNITED STATES. SABOV CLAIMS THAT THE FIRST "DISPATCH", CLASSIFIED "SECRET", WAS SENT ON AUGUST 28, 1982 FROM THE ROME EMBASSY TO U.S. CONSULATES IN MILAN AND PALERMO, AND TO NATO HEADQUARTERS; ITS TEXT, AS REPORTED BY SABOV, READS AS FOLLOWS: "THE ORGANIZATION IN ITALY OF A CAMPAIGN TO PERSUADE PUBLIC OPINION OF BULGARIA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF THE POPE IS AT ONCE POSSIBLE AND MOST PROMISING...ACCUSING BULGARIA PROVIDES AN OCCASION FOR DISCREDITING SOVIET METHODS AND PORTRAYING MOSCOW AS THE CENTER OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM..."

2. A SECOND SUCH "DISPATCH," SENT SIX MONTHS LATER, READS: "AS WAS FORESEEN, OUR OPERATION TO INVOLVE BULGARIANS IN THE AFFAIR OF THE ATTEMPT ON THE POPE HAS COME OFF SUCCESSFULLY. THE EUROPEAN PRESS HAS ENTHUSIASTICALLY PICKED UP THIS THEME. THE PRESTIGE OF THE AMERICAN SPECIAL SERVICES (SIC) AS A REGULAR AND RELIABLE SOURCE OF INFORMATION FOR JOURNALISTS OF THE HIGHEST RANK HAS INCREASED..."

3. SABOV CLAIMS TO HAVE BEEN SHOWN THESE "DOCUMENTS" BY ONE K. ROULETTE (TRANSLITERATED), "A LAWYER CONDUCTING AN INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION INTO THE ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF THE POPE." THE "DOCUMENTS" ARE SAID TO HAVE COME TO LIGHT "THANKS TO LUIGI CAVALLO, A JOURNALIST WHO LIVES IN FRANCE." CAVALLO IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE "DOCUMENTS" WERE INDEED SENT FROM THE U.S. EMBASSY IN ROME, BUT WERE "SPECIALLY COMPOSED SO THAT THEIR STYLE WOULD NOT CORRESPOND TO THAT OF THE USUAL EMBASSY DOCUMENTS...THIS WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE DISINFORMERS, BY "REPUDIATING" THEIR OWN MESSAGES, TO DISCREDIT THEM AS EVIDENCE."

4. "WITH EACH DAY," SABOV INTONES IN CONCLUSION, "THE NUMBER OF SUCH MATERIALS BECOMES EVER LARGER AND THE REPUDIATION OF THEM BY EVEN THE MOST VULNERABLE

JAN 17 7 19 AM '85

DECLASSIFIED
Authority State Waiver 11/6/15
BY RW NARA DATE 12/2/14

~~UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~
UNITED STATES
INFORMATION AGENCY

OUTGOING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01

007451 HIA913
23/2340Z

ORIGIN OFFICE PG-01
INFO ACO-01 DSO-02 EU-03 P-01 DOS-15 /023 A1 6

DRAFTED BY P/G JPMCGREGOR
APPROVED BY P CECOURTNEY
P/G MBERG
EU MREMICK
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
STATE/EUR/SOV, STATE/INR/IC

R 232336Z JAN 85
FM USIA WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 2938
BT
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ USIA 04306

USIA

EO 12356 N/A

SUBJECT: DISINFORMATION: U. S. AND THE "BULGARIAN CONNECTION"
REFERENCE: MOSCOW 00718 NOTAL

1. FYI, THE SABOV LITGAZ ARTICLE REPORTED REFTEL WAS PRECEDED BY A DECEMBER 14 IZVESTIYA PIECE BY GENEVA CORRESPONDENT V. KUZNETSOV WHICH MADE MANY OF THE SAME CLAIMS ABOUT U. S. INVOLVEMENT IN A DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN TO ESTABLISH A "BULGARIAN CONNECTION" TO THE PAPAL ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT. THE ARTICLE WAS SOURCED TO ONE CHRISTIAN ROULETTE, IDENTIFIED AS A FRENCH LAWYER WHO WAS ALLEGEDLY IN GENEVA TO DELIVER A SERIES OF LECTURES ON THE "ANTONOV AFFAIR" AND WHO UNBURDENED HIMSELF TO CORRESPONDENT KUZNETSOV. THE ARTICLE ALSO MAKES REFERENCE TO A BOOK BY ROULETTE ON THE SUBJECT.

2. SABOV'S DESCRIPTION OF THE ROME CABLES REFERS TO ESTABLISHED FORGERIES WHICH SURFACED IN A LEFT-WING ITALIAN WEEKLY "PACE E GUERRA" IN JULY 1983. THE CABLES WERE DENOUNCED AT THE TIME BY THE EMBASSY AS FORGERIES WHICH CONTAINED, AMONG OTHER INDICATORS, ERRORS IN FORMAT.

3. EMBASSY'S COMMENT THAT THE SOVIETS ARE ATTEMPTING TO USE EVIDENCE OF THEIR ACTIVE MEASURES AS GROUNDS FOR FURTHER SUSPICION IS VERY PERCEPTIVE.

(P/G)
WICK
BT
*4306

rwj
12/21/16

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

7

PAGE 01

019829 ICA862
31/1105Z

ACTION OFFICE PG-01

INFO ACO-01 DSO-02 DIS-01 VG-01 PFAD-01 P-01 PR-01 PP-01

PPF-01 VBB-01 VBXC-01 VBXN-01 VBE-01 VBU-02 VBR-01

VOA-02 PPMI-02 PFFE-01 /023 A2 10

P 311102Z JAN 85

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2651

RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 8044

INFO RUFHLG/AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 0172

RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 2274

RUFHNA/USMISSION USNATO 8782

RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 7651

RUDKSA/AMEMBASSY SOFIA 1445

BT

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ ROME 02676

E. O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PROP, UR, IT

SUBJECT: SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES: RETURN TO FORGED CABLES

REFS: (A) SOFIA 371 (NOTAL)

- (B) MOSCOW 718 (NOTAL)

- (C) 83 ROME 16245 (NOTAL)

- (D) 84 ROME 22757 (NOTAL)

1. REPORTS OF "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" ARTICLE JANUARY 16 (REF A) AND JANUARY 26 REPEAT OF STORY IN BULGARIAN DAILY (REF B) SHOW SOVIETS HAVE RESORTED AGAIN TO THE FORGED EMBASSY ROME CABLES FIRST REPORTED IN REF C.

2. ROME WISHES TO REMIND ADDRESSEES AGAIN (PER REF D) THAT THE TELEGRAMS MENTIONED IN THE STORY ARE FALSE AND HAVE BEEN LISTED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AS SOVIET FORGERIES. YOU CAN FIND A CONVENIENT REBUTTAL OTO THE LETTERS IN THE DEPARTMENT'S SPECIAL REPORT NO. 110, "SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES," DATED SEPTEMBER 1983. THAT REPORT, AVAILABLE FROM PA, CONTAINS A COPY OF THE ITALIAN MEDIA ARTICLE REVEALING THE CABLES, WHICH CONTAIN NUMEROUS ERRORS IN BOTH FORMAT AND ENGLISH USAGE. RABB

BT

*2676

525

DECLASSIFIED

Authority State Waiver 11/6/15

BY DW NARA DATE 12/21/16

ACTION COPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES
INFORMATION AGENCY

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

8

PAGE 01

017400 ICA865
08/1358Z

ACTION OFFICE PG-01
INFO ACO-01 DSO-02 VG-01 EU-03 PP-01 PPF-01 IPFE-01 VBB-01
VBXC-01 VBXN-01 VBE-01 VBR-01 /016 A1 5

R 081355Z APR 85
FM AMEMBASSY VALLETTA
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 6415
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 2142
INFO RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4119
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 5298

BT
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VALLETTA 00739

ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN OFFICE
USIA FOR P/G
STATE FOR INR/IC

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINR, UR
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE SOVIET DISINFORMATION

MARCH ISSUE OF IL HSIEB, MALTA LABOR PARTY MONTHLY MAGAZINE, INCLUDES A FOUR-PAGE ARTICLE, ENTITLED "ONCE THERE WAS A GOOD POPE . . . BUT THEY KILLED HIM VERY QUICKLY," BY CHARLES MICALLEF, WHICH ALLEGES THAT POPE JOHN PAUL II HAS CIA LINKS. THE ARTICLE ADDUCES EVIDENCE FROM TWO BOOKS, DAVID YALLOP'S "IN GOD'S NAME" AND "THE YEAR OF THE DECIDING BATTLE" BY JORDAN THOMAS AND MAX MORGAN WHITE. ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE, POPE JOHN PAUL II RECEIVES A CIA REPORT EACH FRIDAY EVENING. (NOTE: IT IS INTERESTING THAT THIS ISSUE OF IL HSIEB, WHICH IS NOMINALLY EDITED BY FOREIGN MINISTER SCEBERRAS TRIGONA, APPEARED ON THE NEWSSTANDS THE WEEK OF GOOD FRIDAY. END NOTE). THE ARTICLE FURTHER ALLEGES THAT THE POPE SOMETIMES, AFTER READING THE WEEKLY REPORT, REQUESTS AND IS GIVEN A BRIEFING BY A CIA REPRESENTATIVE IN ROME. THE ARTICLE ALSO SPECULATES THAT THE POPE'S TRIPS TO LATIN AMERICA ARE AT THE BEHEST OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, TO SUPPORT U. S. POLICY IN THAT REGION, BECAUSE IT "RESTORED (SIC) DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE VATICAN."

LEVY
BT
#0739

DECLASSIFIED
Authority State Waiver 11/6/15
BY RW NARA DATE 12/21/16

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer

RB 12/21/2016
W

File Folder

COUNTRY FILES: BULGARIA (4)

FOIA

F1640/3
HERSHBERG

Box Number

1

9

| <i>ID</i> | <i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i> | <i>No of</i> <i>pages</i> | <i>Doc Date</i> | <i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i> |
|-----------|---|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 186203 | CABLE ROME 16497 | 4 | 6/28/1985 | B1 |

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]**
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]**
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]**
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]**
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]**
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]**
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]**
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]**

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

2. BULGARIA: FOLLOWING SOVIET SCRIPT AT THE PARTY CONGRESS

Todor Zhivkov, party leader for 32 years, will preside over what is probably his last congress, which begins today. Following Gorbachev's lead, he will call for radical changes in the economy, even though this reform effort will be resisted. He may even name a deputy, or give up some duties, to placate those Soviet and domestic critics eager for his departure.

* * *

Last hurrah. The 74-year-old Zhivkov is being urged to smooth the way for his successor. To date, he has given no clear indication who that might be, although speculation has run to Chudomir Alexandrov, 50, head of the energy council, or Ognyan Doynov, 51, head of the economic council.

Eastern European capitals are buzzing with rumors that Zhivkov may quit soon, but more probably he will shed only some state duties, or perhaps name a party deputy, and continue shuffling other high-ranking personnel. (The most dramatic change to date has been the replacement of Grisha Filipov as premier by Georgi Atanasov, who now must be counted among the would-be successors. Filipov, who was named a party secretary, remains on the politburo, and thus is still in the running as well.)

Critics. Last July, the Soviet ambassador criticized the sluggish Bulgarian economy and denigrated the quality of goods shipped to the USSR. During an October visit, Gorbachev treated Zhivkov brusquely and acknowledged "sharp corners" in each country's view of the other's development. Western nations publicly, and bloc allies in private, have condemned the regime's savagely persistent campaign to "Bulgarianize" the ethnic Turks. Moreover, long-time Defense Minister Dzhurov privately denounced Zhivkov's plan to cut military spending.

Calling the shots. At the congress, Zhivkov will call for radical changes in the economy and rally party members for the coming technological revolution, to be implemented arm-in-arm with the Soviets. And since Zhivkov, unlike Brezhnev, is alive and in charge, he will be praised, not criticized, by other speakers.

Reports of Zhivkov's political demise seem premature. Hopeful successors Aleksandrov and Doynov are well aware of the fate of a predecessor, Todor Bozhinov: central committee member at 45, full politburo member at 47, five years as deputy prime minister--and then fired as minister of metallurgy last May and dropped from the politburo at the January plenum.

DECLASSIFIED
Authority State Waiver 11/6/15
BY RW NARA DATE 12/21/16

8/2/85

14

3. BULGARIA: TROUBLES WITH MINORITIES AND MOSCOW

The brutal campaign to slavicide Bulgaria's ethnic Turks may have sparked a counter-campaign of economic sabotage. The Soviets will be even more concerned about the stability of Zhivkov's regime should this sabotage provoke renewed violence or worsen Bulgaria's already poor economic-situation.

* * *

Embassy Sofia reports that resentment is rife among Bulgarian Turks over the regime's attempts to slavicide them. The campaign wound down by March but not until several hundred had been killed in clashes with Bulgarian militia forces. Although no accounts of further violence have surfaced, Bulgarian authorities are reportedly still pressing the ethnic Turks to give up speaking Turkish and practicing Islam.

The Bulgarian party paper Rabotnichesko Delo has now acknowledged a "significant lag" in reaching the tobacco quota for the Kurdzhali region, where the field hands are predominantly ethnic Turks. Other sources indicate that the lag stems from a work slowdown, perhaps a first manifestation of the peaceful-resistance campaign some ethnic Turks promised to wage against the regime.

If the economic sabotage persists, renewed violence between Turks and the government will become a distinct possibility: military units reportedly have already been sent to the tobacco-growing regions to ensure that work continues. Moreover, successful economic sabotage here could significantly reduce the amount of hard currency Bulgaria ordinarily earns from its tobacco crop.

The Soviet concern about the situation in Bulgaria has evidently been growing for some time. In March, the Soviets privately criticized the government for bungling the slavicide campaign. In a July 1 interview with the Bulgarian weekly Pogled, the Soviet ambassador to Sofia scored the regime for the country's poor economic performance.

Zhivkov is faced with the necessity of quieting ethnic Turkish unrest quickly--to lessen damage to the Bulgarian economy--and to do so non-violently in order to avoid more bad press. Should he fail, the Soviets--already privately suggesting Zhivkov's time is past--may decide to step up pressure on the Bulgarian party to rejuvenate its leadership.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority State Waiver 11/6/15
BY RW NARA DATE 12/21/14

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS



BUREAU OF
INTELLIGENCE
AND RESEARCH

CURRENT
ANALYSES

THIS ADVANCE COPY IS PROVIDED FOR
YOUR PERSONAL USE PRIOR TO APPROVAL
FOR WIDER DISTRIBUTION. DO NOT
FURTHER REPRODUCE, DISTRIBUTE, OR
CITE IN LISTINGS OF FINISHED
INTELLIGENCE.

(U) BULGARIAN-SOVIET RELATIONS: TURNING SOUR?

(C/NF) Summary

The recent public criticism of the Bulgarian economy by the Soviet Ambassador is only the latest sign of an apparent souring of Bulgarian-Soviet relations. The two bloc allies seem to be at odds over Bulgaria's ethnic-Turk assimilation campaign, the papal plot case, military spending, the resurgence of Bulgarian nationalism, and Zhivkov's competency.

Both the Bulgarians and the Soviets are plagued with economic difficulties that are not immediately remediable. Inasmuch as these difficulties seem to lie at the heart of Bulgarian-Soviet differences, relations between the two allies are likely to remain strained for some time. The aging, and sometimes ailing, Zhivkov may find himself cast by the Soviets as a Bulgarian problem, rather than as his regime's problem solver.

* * * * *

(C/NF) The Bulgarian Economy

Interviewed by the Bulgarian weekly Pogled on July 1, Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria Leonid Grekov frankly criticized Bulgaria's recent economic performance. He expressed considerable dissatisfaction with the quality of goods the Soviets were getting in trade with the Bulgarians and strongly implied that his country could no longer subsidize the Bulgarian economy. Although Grekov praised Zhivkov for his efforts to develop the Bulgarian economy along lines of a "classic communist model," the Ambassador was unapologetic for his unusually harsh criticisms.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify: OADR (Mautner, M.)

DECLASSIFIED

Authority State Waiver 11/16/15
BY RW NARA DATE 12/21/16

Report 1159-CA
August 23, 1985

After the interview appeared in print, the Soviet Economic Counselor in Sofia told a US counterpart that these comments on Bulgarian economic performance and dependence on Moscow accurately reflected Gorbachev's views.

(C/NF) Assimilation Campaign

In March 1985, Grekov also reportedly criticized Bulgaria for bungling the campaign to assimilate its ethnic Turks, terming the operation brutal and ill timed--occurring as it did on the eve of the papal plot trial in Rome. (Moscow was already provoked that Sofia's clumsy handling of Bulgarian involvement in the papal assassination case had made the USSR a prime suspect as well.) As it developed, the reported killing of several hundred Turks by Bulgarian militia drew strong protests from the Turkish Government as well as condemnation from other Western governments. That in turn put Bulgaria, and the entire bloc, on the defensive at the Human Rights Experts meeting in Ottawa in June and the Helsinki anniversary celebration gathering in July. Bulgaria's treatment of its ethnic Turks is almost certain to be raised at the UN General Assembly and the Budapest Cultural Forum this fall, again embarrassing the regime and the bloc.

(U) Military Spending

Another issue about which the Soviets and Bulgarians disagree has surfaced in the official Bulgarian press. An April 1984 article in the Bulgarian military monthly Serzhant raised questions about Bulgaria's ability to sustain a defense buildup to match that of the West and simultaneously to meet its domestic consumer needs. In October 1984, the Bulgarian military daily Narodna Armiya suggested a possible solution to this problem: increased economic aid from the Soviet Union.

The Soviets make it clear that they have no intention of bearing the burden of a Pact military buildup alone. At the Bulgarian 40th liberation celebrations in Sofia last September, Gorbachev--then No. 2--said that strengthening the Soviet defense capability "diverts no small part of our resources" and that the other Pact countries "are all obliged" to make their fair contribution to the bloc buildup.

(C/NF) Bulgarian Nationalism

The sudden death in 1981 of Zhivkov's daughter Lyudmila seemed to alleviate one point of Soviet-Bulgarian friction: It slowed down the artistic experimentation and fostering of native Bulgarian culture she had encouraged so effectively.

The Soviets had made no secret of their displeasure with Lyudmila's receptivity toward Western ideas and their irritation

that her emphasis on Bulgaria's "nationalistic culture" was subverting bloc "socialistic culture." Since her death, many of the "nationalistic" cultural trends she sought to develop have withered. Nevertheless the elder Zhivkov has not allowed this Bulgarian cultural renaissance to die completely, thereby continuing to nettle the ideological purists in Moscow.

(C/NF) Todor Zhivkov

The Soviet Economic Counselor (see above) not only described Bulgaria as a "developing nation of peasants ruling peasants," but also stated that Bulgaria would be better off when "more proletarian types are at the helm." The spurt of such private as well as public Soviet criticism must be especially galling to Zhivkov, who had long boasted of Bulgaria's loyalty to and faith in the Soviet Union. At age 74 and reportedly in declining health, he undoubtedly is aware of the current Soviet attitude and of its possible implications for the future of his regime.

(C/NF) Prospects

Zhivkov knows that the Soviets will be watching his performance closely over the next few months--particularly with respect to the pressing economic and ethnic minority problems he must confront. For example, the officially acknowledged "significant lag" in meeting the July tobacco quota in the Kurdzhali region is said to be the result of sabotage by ethnic Turkish field workers. Military units reportedly were sent to the area to cope with the situation. Should Zhivkov be unable to halt this apparent economic sabotage, Bulgaria will lose a significant amount of hard currency usually earned from the crop. But using excessive force to meet the Turkish resistance will surely arouse Western, and presumably Soviet, criticism.

Failure to cope with this problem and, beyond that, to improve Bulgaria's general economic performance could result in Soviet pressures on the Bulgarian party to reshuffle its leadership. Any such Soviet meddling is likely to set off squabbling within the party's top ranks which will only add to Bulgaria's problems and may even contribute to further complication of its relations with the Soviet Union.

Prepared by Edward Booth
632-9198

Approved by Martha Mautner
632-9536

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 5, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY ^(M)

SUBJECT: International Fairs

I have reviewed and concur with the proposed Presidential messages for international fairs in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Bucharest. Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Anne Higgins for your signature noting our concurrence.

jm
Matlock, *Rob* Robinson, and State concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Tab I Memo to Anne Higgins

| | |
|-------|------------------------|
| Tab A | Czechoslovakia Message |
| Tab B | Bulgaria Message |
| Tab C | Bucharest Message |

Tab II Incoming Memo

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

19

September 5, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ANNE HIGGINS

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN
SUBJECT: International Fairs

We have reviewed and concur with the proposed Presidential messages (Tabs A, B, and C) for the international fairs in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Bucharest.

State concurs.

Attachment:

| | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|
| Tab A | Presidential Message - Czechoslovakia |
| Tab B | Presidential Message - Bulgaria |
| Tab C | Presidential Message - Bucharest |

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

The United States is pleased to participate again at the Plovdiv International Technical Fair. I extend warm greetings to all visitors at the exhibition sponsored by the government and people of the United States.

This exhibition is designed to promote international trade through the open exchange of ideas and information. It offers Bulgarians and others an opportunity to learn about the latest American products and services and to make valuable commercial contacts.

Let us build on the foundation of good will provided by this event and work toward stable growth in U.S.-Bulgarian trade. I wish the Plovdiv International Technical Fair and its participants every continued success.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

The United States is pleased to participate again at the Bucharest International Fair. I extend warm greetings to all visitors at the exhibition sponsored by the government and people of the United States.

This exhibition is designed to promote international trade through the open exchange of ideas and information. It offers Romanians and others an opportunity to learn about the latest American products and services and to make valuable commercial contacts.

Let us build on the foundation of good will provided by this event and work toward stable growth in U.S.-Romanian trade. I wish the Bucharest International Fair and its participants every continued success.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

The United States is pleased to participate again at the Brno International Engineering Fair. I extend warm greetings to all visitors at the exhibition sponsored by the government and people of the United States.

This exhibition is designed to promote international trade through the open exchange of ideas and information. It offers Czechoslovaks and others an opportunity to learn about the latest American products and service and to make valuable commercial contacts.

Let us build on the foundation of good will provided by this event and work toward stable growth in U.S.-Czechoslovak trade. I wish the Brno International Engineering Fair and its participants every continued success.

6904

23

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



September 4, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN, JR., NSC

SUBJECT: Messages for International Fairs

Attached for NSC clearance are three Presidential messages for international fairs in Brno, Czechoslovakia; Plovdiv, Bulgaria; and Bucharest, Romania. They were requested by the Under Secretary for International Trade, Department of Commerce.

The first one, in Brno, starts September 11, so Commerce would like to have these by Friday, September 6.

Thank you.

ANNE HIGGINS *cap in ant*

(ck)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 20, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY ↗

SUBJECT: Presidential Message Re Rev. George Nicoloff St.
Paul's Macedonian - Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox
Cathedral

We have reviewed and concur with the proposed Presidential message to Reverend and Mrs. George Nicoloff of St. Paul's Macedonian-Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Cathedral in Michigan (Tab A). Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Anne Higgins for your signature noting our concurrence.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the response at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Tab I Memo to Anne Higgins

Tab A Draft Presidential Message with attachment

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR ANNE HIGGINS

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SUBJECT: Presidential Message Re Rev. George Nicoloff St.
Paul's Macedonian - Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox
Cathedral

We have reviewed and concur with the Presidential message (Tab A) for the Reverend George Nicoloff, of St. Paul's Macedonian - Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Cathedral.

Attachment:

Tab A Draft Presidential Message with attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1985

Dear Reverend and Mrs. Nicoloff:

This is a remarkable and joyful occasion: the golden anniversary of your marriage, and the golden anniversary of Father Nicoloff's priesthood. I am delighted to congratulate you.

I've learned something about your early struggles for the freedom of Macedonians suffering under oppressive rule, and about the tireless campaign Father Nicoloff has carried on against the new oppressors. You both deserve great credit. I also want to commend you for the service you have rendered your spiritual children. America is proud of you. The fabric of your lives, like the jubilees you are celebrating, is woven from golden strands of devotion, fidelity, kindness and courage.

Nancy would like me to convey her congratulations and her warmest wishes for many more happy years together. God bless you.

Sincerely,

The Very Reverend and Mrs. George Nicoloff
St. Paul's Macedonian-Bulgarian
Eastern Orthodox Cathedral
700 North Beech Daly
Dearborn Heights, Michigan 48127

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1985

TO: WILLIAM MARTIN, NSC

FROM: ANNE HIGGINS *and in act*

Attached for your comments/approval is a proposed Presidential message for the Reverend George Nicoloff of St. Paul's Macedonian-Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Cathedral in Michigan.

The event honoring him is September Septmber 29, may we have your response by Monday, September 23?

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ACTION

October 2, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY ^{AD}SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Message to Baltic American
Freedom League 30 Sep

I have reviewed and concur - as amended - with the proposed Presidential message (Tab A) for the Baltic American Freedom League's Annual Awards Banquet. Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Anne Higgins for your signature noting our concurrence.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Memo to Anne Higgins
Tab A Proposed Presidential Message
Tab II Backup documents

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR ANNE HIGGINS

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Message to Baltic American
Freedom League 30 Sep

We have reviewed and concur - as amended - with the proposed Presidential message (Tab A) for the Baltic American Freedom League's Annual Awards Banquet.

Attachment:

Tab A Proposed Presidential message

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 24, 1985

I am happy to extend my warm greetings to all those gathered for the Baltic American Freedom League's Annual Awards Banquet. In particular, I wish to offer my congratulations to the "Chronicles of the Catholic Church in Lithuania" as this year's distinguished recipient of the Baltic League's Freedom Award.

Having witnessed the ~~scourge~~ scourge of totalitarianism in your beloved homelands, you have a special appreciation of the freedoms which all too many of us take for granted. Paramount among those freedoms is religious liberty. The human spirit was fashioned by the Creator to express itself in freedom: freedom to worship, to dream, to hope and to build. ~~Despite the best efforts of the police state,~~ The innate human yearning for God cannot be stifled indefinitely.

The spirit of St. Casimir lives on among the Lithuanian people, a spirit of courage and faith. I am confident that this shining spirit, reflected in every page of your "Chronicles", will ultimately prevail over the darkness of tyranny. A kindred spirit sustains the hopes of all the Baltic peoples for the freedom and national dignity to which they have every right.

Nancy joins me in wishing you a memorable celebration. God bless you.

7624

31

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 24, 1985

TO: WILLIAM MARTIN, NSC

FROM: ANNE HIGGINS *an h*

RE: BALTIC AMERICAN FREEDOM LEAGUE

Attached for your review/approval is a proposed Presidential Message to the above-named group's Annual Awards Banquet.

The event is October 5, please respond by Monday, September 30.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Drawer

RB 12/21/2016
W

File Folder

COUNTRY FILES: BULGARIA (4)

FOIA

F1640/3
HERSHBERG

Box Number

1

9

| <i>ID</i> | <i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i> | <i>No of</i> <i>pages</i> | <i>Doc Date</i> | <i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i> |
|-----------|---|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 186204 | PAPER RE. BULGARIA | 1 | 12/1/1985 | B1 |

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]**
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]**
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]**
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]**
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]**
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]**
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]**
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]**

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer

RB 12/21/2016
W

File Folder

COUNTRY FILES: BULGARIA (4)

FOIA

F1640/3
HERSHBERG

Box Number

1

9

| <i>ID</i> | <i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i> | <i>No of</i> <i>pages</i> | <i>Doc Date</i> | <i>Restrictions</i> |
|-----------|---|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 186205 | MEMO ROLAND KUCHEL TO ROZANNE RIDGWAY RE. U.S. INTEREST IN BULGARIA | 3 | ND | B1 |

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]**
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]**
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]**
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]**
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]**
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]**
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]**
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]**

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Dr Paula,
with my thanks
Juliana
36

The Bulgarian Nexus

—Juliana Geran Pilon

POPE JOHN PAUL II was shot by Turkish nationalist Mehmet Ali Agca while welcoming pilgrims in St. Peter's Square on May 13, 1981. Oral Celik, who was supposed to help Agca escape, was reportedly spirited out of Italy in a sealed truck. The truck, which belonged to the Bulgarian Embassy, was officially exempted from customs inspection under the UN Customs Convention of 1976. Two Bulgarians employed by the embassy, as well as a Bulgarian airline official, were charged with complicity in the assassination attempt. Though the trial, held in the spring of last year, failed to prove the culpability of the Bulgarians, it did provide valuable information about Bulgaria's role in 'narco-terrorism'—information the Bulgarians have been at great pains to deny.¹

One year after the shooting of the pope, a Syrian, Sallah Wakkas, was arrested while en route from Sofia to Beirut. He had brokered an estimated \$4 million worth of morphine base, and purchased \$52 million worth of Soviet anti-aircraft guns and ammunition from KINTEX, the official import-export agency of the Bulgarian government. Upon the conclusion of his investigation into the Bulgarian connection, Nathan Adams testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on July 24, 1984:

What emerged was a sharply focused image of a plan conceived in Moscow by KGB planners and carried out by Bulgaria to utilize the rap-

idly growing barter trade of military weapons and narcotics as a vehicle to destabilize critical Middle Eastern nations as well as Western nations—notably the U.S.

Chosen to carry out the plan was KINTEX, which was given virtual command of other state agencies including SOMAT, Bulgaria's international trucking firm. Weapons and narcotics brokers, said Adams, then started flocking to Sofia where they were provided free housing, false papers, and guaranteed transshipment of narcotics.

For the past 14 years, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) has received statements from many sources detailing Bulgaria's involvement in drug trafficking.² In 1969, West German authorities seized 200 kilograms of morphine base at Frankfurt; it had been produced in Sofia. Since then, traffickers linked to

¹Soviet-inspired disinformation seeks to link Agca's activities exclusively to non-communist "right-wing" groups, even to the CIA. Notable among these efforts: former CIA agent Philip Agee's *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Spring 1985); the books *Weapons Smuggling and Terror* and *Papa, Agca, Mafia* by Ugur Mumcu (Istanbul: Tekin Yayinevi, 1981 and 1984, respectively); and even forgeries of U.S. State Department cables.

²Department of Justice, Drug Enforcement Administration Special Report, "The Involvement of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in International Narcotics Trafficking," Unclassified, May 1984.

Juliana Geran Pilon is a senior policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation.

KINTEX have included Turkish nationals Abuzer Ugurlu and Bekir Celenk (papal assassination co-conspirators), Mustafa Kisacik, Syrian nationals Henri Arsan and Sallah Wakkas, and the Armenian Noubar Soufyon, a narcotics supplier and terrorist bankroller now believed to be hiding in Lebanon. Of these, Abuzer Ugurlu is a key figure—the overlord of drug- and arms-smuggling operations extending from the Middle East and South Asia to Western Europe and the U.S. through Bulgaria.³ After his arrest in 1981, information concerning his associates' activities in Turkey revealed the existence of a multibillion-dollar operation with all the strands merging in Bulgaria.

One of the original motives for narcotics trafficking was subversion. According to defector Stefan Sverdlev, formerly a colonel in the Bulgarian Committee for State Security (KDS), the heads of the Warsaw Pact security services met in Moscow in 1967 and set the operation in motion. A result of this was KDS Directive M-120/00-0050, dated July 16, 1970, which detailed the plan to exploit and hasten the inherent "corruption" of Western society. Another defector, General Jan Sejna, a former high-ranking Czech official, stated on June 21, 1985, that the Soviet decision to increase involvement in the international narcotics trade dates back to 1963. The USSR decided then to give Bulgaria a leading role in the operation because of its proximity to Turkey. Sejna reports that the Soviets emphasized the potential for demoralizing people—troops in particular—through the use of drugs. John Lawn, acting deputy administrator of the DEA, estimates that some 25 percent of the heroin entering the U.S. in the late 1970s transited Bulgaria, most often with official assistance.

Of course, Bulgaria has a number of other motives for drug trafficking. It brings in needed hard currency. It enables Bulgaria to supply and support groups in the Middle East and Central America with arms and ammunition; such groups occasionally pay for arms with narcotics, which are then resold in the West. For instance, Armenian terrorist groups were estimated in 1983 to be 90 percent financed through the sale or barter of narcotics. Like-

wise, it is believed that over 60 percent of all weapons reaching leftist Kurdish dissidents are acquired through the sale or trade of heroin and morphine base, usually supplied by KINTEX. Finally, drugs are useful in suborning key traffickers and weapons brokers for double duty as intelligence operatives, acting on behalf of the Bulgarian security police via KINTEX.

IN HER respected, if controversial, 1981 study *The Terror Network: The Secret War of International Terrorism*, Claire Sterling reports that Bulgaria is a staging point for Soviet-made weapons distributed to various international terrorist groups, as is demonstrated by regular arms shipments to the Turkish underground from Varna, Bulgaria. She relates that when leaders of the Turkish People's Liberation Army fled for France, they stopped in Bulgaria to receive a consignment of arms and explosives for future use in Paris. On a tip from the Israeli secret service they were caught as they were driving westward, and their confession led French police to their key safe-house in Villiers-sur-Marne.

Another case of weapons smuggling involving Bulgaria occurred in June 1977, when the Cypriot-flag vessel *Vassoula* left the Bulgarian port of Burgas, allegedly bound for Cyprus with a KINTEX shipment billed as "spare parts." When Turkish officials learned that the vessel was actually going to tranship its cargo in Turkish waters to small coastal vessels, they stopped it. They discovered 55 crates containing 495 portable rocket launchers, 21 crates with 55 rockets, 1,667 crates of ammunition, and 60 gas bombs.

Other investigations of Bulgarian involvement in international weapons traffic are still underway. Italy, for example, has been investigating an arms and smuggling ring centered in Trento and large enough to implicate at least a dozen Bulgarian agents. The operations of this

³See Paul Henze, "Organized Crime and Drug Linkages," in *Hydra of Carnage: International Linkages of Terrorism*, Uri Ra'anani et al., eds. (Lexington Books: Lexington, Mass./Toronto, 1986).

group extended into Iran, the Arab world and Africa, as well as the Balkans and Turkey. During the past two decades, Bulgarian merchant vessels and aircraft have been caught smuggling arms to Lebanon, Yemen, Chile, Tanzania, South Africa, and El Salvador.

One of the most notorious instances of Bulgarian terrorism occurred on August 26, 1978, when Vladimir Kostov, the Bulgarian TV personality and writer who had defected the previous year, was attacked in Paris with an umbrella containing a precision-made metal pellet filled with ricin, a rare and exceptionally deadly poison. While Kostov survived, Georgi Markov, a fellow Bulgarian similarly attacked in London on September 7, 1978, did not. Markov had been one of Bulgaria's top novelists and playwrights before he defected in 1969 and became an active and outspoken member of the émigré community in the West.

More recently, at the March 1982 trial of 17 persons charged with the kidnapping of U.S. Brigadier General James Dozier in Italy, the gang's leader, Antonio Savasta, claimed that Bulgaria had been interested in the kidnapping. Its motives: to destabilize Italy and obtain information about NATO. According to Savasta, Bulgaria had been ready to help the Red Brigades with arms, money, and training. Moreover, according to the report of Judge Rosario Priore, Investigative Judge at Rome Tribunale in Italy, Bulgaria had a marked influence on the type of questions put to General Dozier after his abduction.

In fact, the Dozier case reopened the discussion of Soviet bloc connections to Italian terrorism in the form of "the Bulgarian connection." As Michael Ledeen, former special assistant to Secretary of State Alexander Haig, has noted, it was discovered that the Red Brigades had discussions with the Bulgarian intelligence service during the Dozier affair, and that the Bulgarians had recruited at least one high-level agent in the Italian trade union movement. Ledeen explains that the attempt to kill the pope has been seen by Italian intelligence as part of the broader Bulgarian connection, against the background of decades of documented Soviet activity with paramilitary groups in Italy.

In that broader context, the testimony of General Ion Mihai Pacepa, former deputy director of the Romanian intelligence service, is of interest: He claims that Italian Red Brigades terrorists were being trained in Bulgaria at the time of his defection in 1978. Indeed, Pacepa was personally involved in an Eastern European narco-terrorism chain that involved Bulgaria as well as Romania.

EVIDENCE of Bulgaria's involvement in terrorism and drug and weapons trafficking has been piling up for over a decade. The response of the United States has been to try to work with the government of Bulgaria, through the DEA and the Customs Department, to curb the illicit traffic of drugs and weapons. Bulgaria's continued refusal to cooperate has recently prompted Congress to become involved: in February 1985 Senator Alphonse D'Amato (R-NY) introduced the "Bulgarian Interrelation Review Act," (S. 515) directing the president to review all aspects of U.S. policy toward Bulgaria, and Concurrent Resolution 21, which condemns Bulgaria's abuses of the Customs Convention on the International Transport of Goods.

Senate Bill 515 directs the National Security Council to assess the merits of the following options: 1) suspending U.S. diplomatic relations with Bulgaria; 2) ceasing bilateral agreements with Bulgaria, including the maritime transport agreement; 3) imposing stricter controls on U.S. exports to Bulgaria; 4) encouraging other countries to review their policies with respect to Bulgaria; 5) requesting that the National Security Council place on its agenda the question of Bulgaria's involvement in arms trafficking, drug smuggling, and terrorism; 6) requesting the UN secretary general to convene a conference to determine what steps could be taken to end Bulgaria's abuses of the Customs Convention.

Within three months of the bill's enactment, the president would be required to report to the Congress the results of the review and what actions the U.S. would be taking.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 21 declares that it is the sense of the Congress that the U.S. should request the secretary general of the UN

to convene a review conference concerning the Customs Convention. It also urges the president to encourage other contracting parties to that Convention to concur in this request.

The Department of Justice, through the Drug Enforcement Agency, has been active for the past decade in documenting and protesting Bulgarian drug trafficking, as well as terrorism and weapons smuggling orchestrated by the Bulgarian government. The DEA office in Vienna is responsible for collecting information about narcotics-related activities in Bulgaria. It has performed well. By contrast, and despite its director's interest in terrorism, the CIA seems relatively ill-equipped to investigate the Bulgarian activity, due in part to the deliberate reduction of its clandestine assets in Europe and the Middle East in recent times.

The Customs Service of the Treasury Department, as well, is involved in narcotics and weapons smuggling enforcement, and the detecting and prevention of terrorist acts. Since 1983, with increasing evidence of Bulgaria's smuggling and terrorist operations, the Customs Service has repeatedly protested Bulgaria's participation in conferences dealing with narcotics interdiction.

The State Department has been typically cautious, if not timid. Assistant Secretary of State Richard B. Burt told the House Foreign Affairs Committee on July 24, 1984, that he opposed legislation directed against Bulgaria because it "would be viewed as undercutting [the Italian officials'] investigation" of the attempt to kill the pope. Even worse than the State Department is the Commerce Department. The April 16, 1984, issue of the Department's publication *Business America* encourages "normalized trade relations with Bulgaria," which would allow the extension of most-favored-nation tariff treatment and eligibility for credit and credit guarantees. The article promotes Bulgarian commercial operations and encourages Americans to do business with Sofia. The Commerce and State Departments also lobbied successfully to kill in conference a measure

sponsored by Senator Jesse Helms and designed to block funds that the Commerce Department would use at a September 1984 trade fair in Bulgaria.

THE U.S. response to evidence of Bulgarian involvement in terrorist acts, drug smuggling, and weapons trafficking has been uneven. A more concerted effort is needed. To this end, the president should:

1) Instruct the Justice Department to conduct closed-door hearings. Underground figures who now cooperate with Bulgaria are reportedly willing to disclose information, if absolute confidentiality is assured, concerning the methods, dimensions, and goals of smuggling operations.

2) Work more efficiently with other Western nations in intelligence gathering and enforcement of current legal prohibitions against drug and weapons smuggling.

3) Reorganize the U.S. intelligence-gathering efforts dealing with Bulgaria's role, in consultation with the President's Foreign Intelligence Board and the National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee.

4) Obtain additional funds for the Drug Enforcement Agency, the National Drug Enforcement Policy Board, and the Customs Department to continue investigations of Bulgarian activities.

5) Adopt punitive measures against Bulgaria, including cancellation of bilateral agreements, imposition of strict trade measures, and indictment of Bulgarian officials who have been identified as key figures in smuggling operations.

6) Request an analysis of the cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet KGB as well as other members of the Soviet bloc. There is every reason to believe that Bulgaria's activities ultimately are orchestrated by Moscow.

7) Above all, there must be an integrated policy dealing with Soviet-backed low-intensity warfare, which is financed by narcotics smuggling.