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暂定项目表 \* 项目 71、92、97 和 137

审查《加强国际安全宣言》的执行情况

消除一切形式种族歧视

消除基于宗教原因的一切形式的不容忍

发展和加强各国间睦邻关系

1986年2月24日

土耳其常驻联合国代表给秘书长的信

关于保加利亚常驻联合国代表1986年2月11日写给阁下的信(A/41/159)，奉我国政府指示，我谨请你将所附关于保加利亚政府对该国境内土耳其裔少数民族采取压迫政策情况的信文及附录作为大会暂定项目表项目71、92、97和137的正式文件散发。

常驻代表

大使

伊尔泰尔·蒂尔克门(签名)

\* A/41/50。

86-05569

附件

土耳其常驻联合国代表团提出的  
有关保加利亚政府迫害该国土耳其少数民族的材料

保加利亚代表的信函(1986年2月12日第A/41/159号文件)是又一次徒劳无效地企图否认保加利亚境内土耳其少数民族受到大规模残暴压迫的情况。保加利亚常驻代表团似乎还没认清一个简单的事实,那就是国际社会已十分明确地谴责和痛恨这些旨在使土裔少数民族“保加利亚化”的强迫措施。

保加利亚的信又是绕着歪曲的历史论据纠缠不清,没有一点值得认真对待。土耳其常驻代表团在1985年11月26日的上封信(A/40/904)中已明白辩驳了保加利亚的各种论点。保加利亚政府应该终于认识历史是不能为了自圆其说而随意改写的。无论如何,这种历史辩论脱离了正题。历史资料的用途只是作为更好地了解当前问题的背景,它是不能用来改变已经在保加利亚发生一年多的情况,也无法以任何方式为这些情况辩护。

过了两个半月保加利亚常驻代表团才回答土耳其常驻代表团的这封信,其目的似乎是因为人权委员会目前正在日内瓦召开年会,而消除种族歧视委员会也将在纽约开会,所以该国代表团要在这时施放烟幕来掩盖保加利亚政府的不人道种族主义政策。这种策略注定是要产生反效果的,因为它们只会更多地暴露了保加利亚当局的捏造事实。例如,在消除种族歧视委员会之内,甚至粗略地比较一下保加利亚政府所编写提出的有关联合国文件,如内载许多有关保加利亚土裔少数民族资料的1978年5月17日第CERD/C/20/Add.19号文件和1984年10月18日第CERD/C/118/Add.17号文件,以及删去上述所有这些资料的1986年1月10日第CERD/C/118/Add.17/Rev.1号文件,就足以得出结论:鉴于保加利亚政府原先自身所提供的关于保加利亚土裔少数民族的资料,所以保加利

亚的“修订”立场是站不住脚的。保加利亚政府既然否认自己的文件，它就不要期望全世界也会突然都犯上健忘症。除非它将这些残暴的种族主义政策反转，否则保加利亚要将这一罪行从联合国档史资料中删除的努力是不会成功的。

土耳其常驻代表 1985 年 11 月 26 日的信 (A/40/904) 中已详尽地讨论了这一严重人权主义问题的各种方面，其中着重指出保加利亚土裔穆斯林教徒少数民族的所有权利都受到如下令人愤怒的侵害：

- (a) 所有土裔少数民族人民都被强迫采取保加利亚姓名；
- (b) 土耳其语言完全被禁止使用；
- (c) 对所有的伊斯兰宗教仪式、传统和信仰发动无休止的诬蔑宣传运动；
- (d) 所有抗拒这些政策的人都遭受身体上的暴力侵犯和被驱逐到保加利亚其他地方，包括多瑙河贝列内岛的集中营。 不断还有各种关于虐害致死的报导；
- (e) 土裔少数民族被禁止移民到外国，尽管土耳其已宣布随时接纳不论多少希望移民到土耳其的土裔少数民族人民；
- (f) 保加利亚境内所有土裔少数民族聚居的地区都已被对外封锁。

最近保加利亚当局，对其国内的土裔少数民族更变本加厉地采取了新的措施，例如：

- (a) 一切伊斯兰教仪式的崇拜和传统的遵守，包括斋月期间的禁食和前往麦加朝圣，都被禁止；
- (b) 保加利亚土裔少数民族的人民被禁止同土耳其的亲戚通信；后者申请签证都被保加利亚当局任意一律拒绝，甚至这些分离家庭成员之间也不再允许互通电话；
- (c) 出于前所未见的狂热，所有穆斯林坟场墓碑上的土耳其姓名或者都被油漆涂掉，或者被毁灭。

保加利亚政府这种对土裔少数民族的无端仇恨已经并且正在受到国际社会的普遍谴责，尤其是伊斯兰国家的谴责。在这方面，1986年1月20日第A/41/93号文件内附件所散发的“第十六届伊斯兰外交部长会议关于保加利亚境内土裔穆斯林少数民族悲惨境况的决议”应该加以重视，这是国际上对保加利亚政策关切的表示。

尽管受到各种严重限制，仍有许多保加利亚土裔少数民族的人民经由各种途径和方法逃离保加利亚的迫害以求在土耳其展开新的生活。其中一个显著例子便是去年十二月雅典的希腊最高法院驳回了保加利亚政府引渡三名土裔保加利亚公民的要求。希腊最高法院接受下述事实：1984年12月，保加利亚当局曾企图改变这三个土裔少数民族人士的姓名，所以他们（及其家属）为了逃避迫害而离开保加利亚。

鉴于1985年内全世界新闻媒介刊载了无数有关保加利亚境内土裔少数民族悲惨境况的独立报导（见A/40/904, 附录一），所以保加利亚声称“我国是一个开放的旅游国家”和“外国的外交人员在保加利亚享有充分的行动自由。他们之中没有一个人能够证明任何暴力事件的存在”的说法是难以令人信服的。

此外，保加利亚信件中还可怜地自相矛盾，一方面夸口在1985年中有2300多名外国新闻记者访问了保加利亚，另一方面则声称“……大众媒介关于暴力、谋杀、强奸等的一切渲染事实上都是毫无根据的。”或许下面引自1986年1月25—31日版《经济学人》的一段文章可以解释保加利亚这种无理性和怪诞的心态：

“保加利亚动员全国科学家企图证明该国政府的说法，即该国80万左右的土耳其裔人民事实上是纯种保加利亚人。一家全国性日报《祖国阵线报》登载了一篇文章，其中分析了号称过去30多年来由索非亚形态研究所的人类学家在三个地区从事人类学考查所得出的结果，这三个地区住有许多保加利亚

的土耳其人、马其顿人和希腊人少数民族。科学家的结论是：保加利亚民族的血种是纯粹而未曾混染的，自从中世纪以来就保持不变。

“根据这些人类学家的说法，保加利亚人民的形成是在九、十世纪的时候，当时融合了斯拉夫人、色雷斯人和亚洲人三个民族。这一融合逐渐演变成一个同脉同源的实体，就是现称为保加利亚人的民族。似乎过去1000年里的历代外“入侵都没有留下种族的遗迹。未说明的意思是，该国土裔少数民族人民只不过是一些刚好会说土耳其话的保加利亚人。

“南斯拉夫的南通社报导，保加利亚大脑研究所的专家们同时也在研究保加利亚人的大脑。刚发表的他们的初步结论是，他们的大脑经过数世纪的艰苦生活而很坚强，已发展出自己的一套特殊思维方式。但是研究人员也发现，有证据表明保加利亚人没有充分使用他们的脑组织。该研究所的所长据说呼吁保加利亚900万大脑的拥有者尽量利用大脑思维。或许他们可以从反想一下随着纳粹德国消失的那种纯种族理论研究的有效性而开始他们的思维吧。”

附录一附载1985年12月8日《纽约时报》所发表的一篇一名外国记者对保加利亚的详尽报导的全文，可作为表明保加利亚论点浮浅的另一个例子。

保加利亚境内土裔少数民族所面临的问题太严重，不能掩盖不理，也不能几句话解释过去。这些人民的悲惨境遇可从附录二所摘录的几段他们的信件而看出。保加利亚当局请放心，这些信件都是真实的，附录三所载的一些其他保加利亚文件也是真实的。

显然保加利亚对加入国际文书这一主权国家的特有权利存在严重的错误认识。一国不参与签署某些国际文书并不违反国际法或破坏国际秩序。然而，当主权国家正当遵循国际文书时，这表示它们承担忠实信守它们的义务。上次土耳其信中已指出，保加利亚背信违犯其关于该国境内土裔少数民族的缔约国义务，这是对上述基本原则的蔑视。

保加利亚指称土耳其干涉其内政显然无足取信。迫害保加利亚的土裔少数民族已违反了该国的条约义务和国际人道主义准则。因此，这件事已成为国际关切的人道主义问题，对土耳其尤其有利害关系。

保加利亚指控土耳其发动反保加利亚的宣传运动是没有根据的。鉴于土裔少数民族的受到迫害，土耳其努力将这件大量侵害人权的情况提请有关国际论坛和世界舆论注意不应使保加利亚感到惊讶。反而，保加利亚不仅应该关切世界舆论的责备，也应该关切其行动和政策对国内引起的后果。不论保加利亚政府采取什么措施，明显的事实是，150万人民的少数民族不会消失不见，也不会丧失其真正的特征。但是，保加利亚对其本国公民采取这样不人道的措施，它很可能永远失去一次机会，促成国内人民的真正融洽无间。

土耳其政府不需破坏保加利亚政府的信誉，它自己的行动就严重损害了它的国际形象。土耳其的缔约国权利和义务促使土耳其要对保加利亚正在发生的人道主义悲剧表示关心。对保加利亚持续违反《联合国宪章》、违反关于人权的各项国际文书以及违反土耳其与保加利亚间有关双边条约的行为，不仅不能也不应期望土耳其政府漠视不理，所有关心人权的人也都不能和不应加以漠视。

附录一 \*

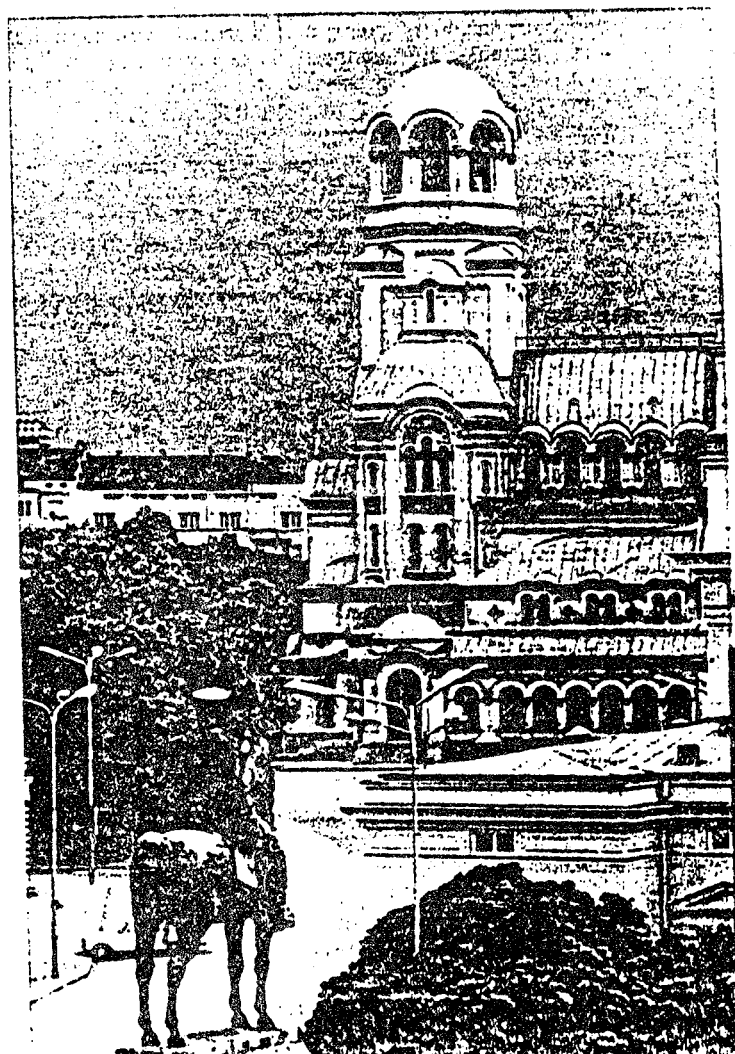
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\* 只有英文本。

# The New York Times Magazine

December 8, 1985

## GOING BACK: **Bulgaria, 20 Years Later**





*The author, twice barred from the country, finds improved living conditions. But the nation is wrenched by foreign intrigue and domestic oppression.*

By David Binder

**RETURNED WITH A** certain uneasiness to Bulgaria, where I had served 20 years earlier as a correspondent. In part, my comfort grew from memories of wretched hotel food, which invariably made me break out in boils, and the rather hostile attitude of Bulgarian officials functioning under a mandated policy of anti-Americanism. Primarily it was based on the fact that the People's Republic had issued a ukase barring me from the country for life. Twice.

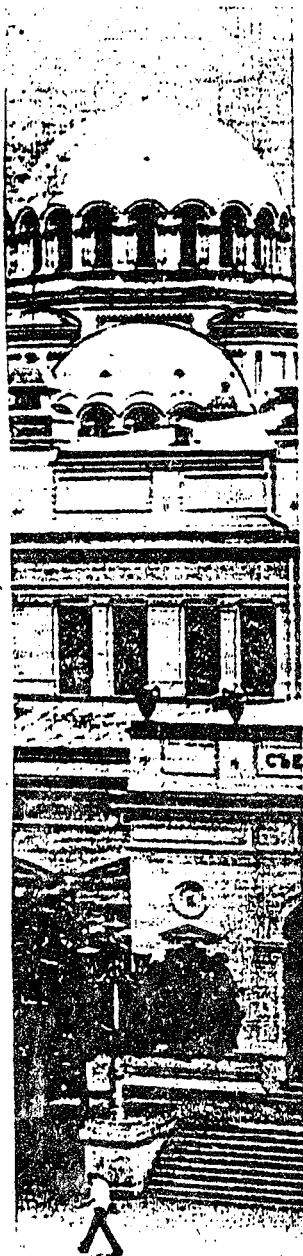
The reason given for the action was a joke I had used in an article to illustrate the attitudes of Rumania toward neighboring states. The joke took a cut at Todor Zhivkov, then Bulgaria's Prime Minister. It appeared first in 1965 in the daily paper, prompting the initial ukase. When it appeared a second time, in this magazine, the Bulgarians reiterated the lifetime ban. I had not tested the ban until now, and although I had no trouble getting a visa, I was a bit hesitant.

Not surprisingly, I found many changes in Bulgaria, from the easy availability of food, clothing and housing to the smooth handling of foreign correspondents — for a fee — by a special state agency. The furnishings of the Sofia hotel where I stayed hinted that life was more comfortable now: the bathroom taps were metal instead of the leaky plastic of yore; the restaurant food did not induce boils; the Gamza burgundy was excellent.

Pleasantly situated in a broad valley, Sofia is described by Bulgarians as "the greenest city in Europe" and streets are lined with black

(Continued on Page 158)

David Binder, who served as The New York Times's East Europe correspondent from 1965 to 1967, is



# BULGARIA

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locusts, maples, birches, elms and horse chestnuts. Looming to the south is Mt. Vitosha, the queen of the Rila range; to the north are the long spines of the Balkan Mountains.

The city was established as *Serdica* in the second century by the Roman Emperor *Trajan* on the site of an ancient Thracian settlement; elements of Roman fortifications have been carefully preserved to this day. The architecture of the capital is a congenial mixture of Viennese, Byzantine and Turkish styles, although a Parisian critic recently described the mustard-tinted former royal palace as "a French town hall."

With its screeching yellow streetcars, its cobblestoned avenues and tin-roofed shacks housing thousands of Gypsies, Sofia seems an appropriate setting for old-fashioned international intrigue, but scarcely the ideal spot for masterminding a far-flung plot to murder a Pope.

Nonetheless, that is what an Italian magistrate has charged. In 1982, Mehmet Ali Agca — the lone Turkish gunman seized after attempting to kill Pope John Paul II the previous year — swore that *Sergei I. Antonov*, chief of the Bulgarian airline office in Rome, and two other Bulgarians had directed the plot. Worse still was the sugges-

tion by the Italian magistrate, *Ilario Martella*, that the assassins were acting as agents of the Bulgarian Government.

The Bulgarians promptly rejected the charges as preposterous. But even if the "Bulgarian connection" is proved false (the outcome of Agca's interminable trial is as unpredictable as Agca's testimony, which has included — among other assertions — his claim that he is Jesus Christ), the incident further tarnished the image of a country that has already been implicated in a number of cloak-and-dagger activities.

There was, for instance, the case in 1978 of the notorious umbrella killer who fired from his bumbershoot a minuscule platinum pellet containing a powerful poison into the leg of *Georgi Markov*, a dissident Bulgarian writer living in London. Mr. Markov, who had assailed President *Todor Zhivkov* in broadcasts transmitted by *Radio Free Europe* to his homeland, died four days later at age 49. His assassin was never found.

Then there are the charges that Bulgaria's large export company, *Kintex*, is an international arms trafficker. Deputy Foreign Minister *Lyuben Gotsev* acknowledged to me in an interview that "there have been cases

in which *Kintex* arms have been found in the hands of people who are, as you say, hostile to the United States" — people, according to American intelligence agents, such as Arab terrorists in Lebanon and Libya.

In addition, the United States Drug Enforcement Administration says that Bulgarian authorities harbor international dealers responsible for shipments of heroin and other narcotics from the Middle East to northern Europe.

Domestically, the Government is waging a remorseless campaign to force homogeneity on what has been a typically multi-ethnic Balkan salad of Turks, Moslem Pomaks, Gypsies, Armenians, a handful of Albanians, Greeks and Rumanians, not to mention several hundred thousand Macedonians.

In the recent drive to "Bulgarize" the Turkish minority, at least 200 civilians and soldiers were killed. (Amnesty International has reported the figure at 500.) The aim, as described by the Communist Politburo member *Stanko Todorov*, is to make Bulgaria a "single-nationality state" — something southeastern Europe has not known in its 3,000 years of recorded history.

**B**ULGARIAN AUTHORITIES call criticism on any of these points part of an "anti-Bulgarian campaign." With a studied air of resignation, Deputy Foreign Minister *Gotsev* said that a clipping service had collected 4,033 articles from United States periodicals on *Sergei Antonov* — the Bulgarian now being held and tried in Italy — adding, "Antonov has not even been sentenced and yet we are called assassins, terrorists."

The Bulgarian official who has become the international spokesman on the Antonov case is Boyan Traikov, director of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency. A tall, long-faced man, suave in a pink shirt, Mr. Traikov receives me in his vast office on Sofia's Lenin Boulevard and recites his lines smoothly, calling the Turk Agca a fantasist: "It is of purely formal significance that Agca, traveling from Turkey to Western Europe, has passed through Bulgaria. He has been here, seen the people, streets, hotels," seen enough, in essence, to be able to fabricate the "Bulgarian connection" scenario.

The campaign, he says, smiling under heavy eyebrows, "is not directed exactly toward Bulgaria, but toward the Soviet Union." He continues: "It fits the thinking in the West about Bulgaria as the most faithful, the most orthodox — they call us a satellite.

"We are not so important as to be the object of such great attention around the world. The campaign is aimed at the Soviet Union and the Socialist system. Like billiards, you hit one ball to hit another." His allusion to the "Bulgarian connection" thus embodies the supposition of its believers: that the Soviet K.G.B. ultimately pulled the wires in the plot to kill the Pope, while the Bulgarians served as mere marionettes.

At least on the surface it would seem this country, the size of Pennsylvania and with a population of nine million, is indeed Russia's most faithful ally. The capital boasts not only a statue of Czar Alexander II and the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral, erected in gratitude for the 1878 liberation of Bulgaria, but also a huge monument to the Soviet Army, a large statue of Lenin and numerous avenues named for Russian figures. No Soviet troops or rockets are based here, but the Russian Embassy has more than 500 personnel, according to Western diplomats, who believe still more Russians function as military and police advisers.

Sovietization of Bulgaria began immediately after Marshal Fyodor I. Tolbukhin's troops took over the country in 1944. Thrust into power under Soviet guns, the Bulgarian Communist Party, numbering fewer than 11,000 members, began the bloodiest of all Communist take-overs in Eastern Europe. In less than a year, it passed 2,138 death sentences. Late in 1945, Bulgaria's most famous Communist, Georgi Dimitrov, became the Party Secretary and Prime Minister. After a brief flirtation with Yugoslavia's Tito in 1947 and 1948, however, he was reduced to simply a political puppet of Stalin. He died in 1949 and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Vulko Charvachkov, a Moscow-trained Stalinist.

In 1954, a year after Stalin's death, Bulgaria acquired what is known as a "home Communist," a party member whose political experience was Bulgarian, not Russian. This was Todor Zhivkov, a printer who, in the last years of World War II, had become political commissar of the partisan Chavdar Brigade that fought Bulgarian fascist government forces.

Mr. Zhivkov is now the senior governing Communist in Europe, having ruled as party secretary for 31 years, and having survived the years of Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov, Chernenko and nine months of Gorbachev — as well as a military coup attempt in 1965.

To be sure, Mr. Zhivkov has paid public dues with such remarks as, "The Soviet Union and Bulgaria breathe with the same lungs and the same blood flows in our veins," and such actions as sending a token force to aid in the Soviet-bloc invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 (neighboring Rumania did not).

But to suggest that Mr. Zhivkov's Bulgaria is an unwavering Soviet satellite may be to exaggerate. A year ago, Mr. Zhivkov's long-planned trip to Bonn was called off at the last minute by Mikhail S. Gorbachev. This annoyed the Bulgarian leader, who re-

sponded to the humiliation with a series of visits to and from the heads of state of Rumania, Japan, Finland and France, thus asserting a degree of independence from Moscow.

In October, Mr. Gorbachev visited Bulgaria, this time as Soviet party chief. In private talks, he let Mr. Zhivkov know that the Soviet Union was no longer going to accept the second-rate goods Bulgaria was dumping in the Soviet market, while selling higher-quality products to the West. Putting the squeeze on further, he said Moscow was cutting back on its shipments of subsidized oil to Bulgaria.

Western diplomats maintain that the Soviet Union has never treated Bulgaria as a valuable partner. "The Soviets don't consult, they don't even inform their own allies," one ambassador observed.

Certainly, the Russians contemplate Bulgaria with a mixture of suspicion and envy. This Slavic nation, which sided with Germany in two wars, has accepted the Soviet system and improved upon it, so that agriculture and some industries are more productive than in the motherland.

Meanwhile, the Russians have remonstrated in private with the Bulgarians about the antiminority campaign, pointing out that the tensions it has raised could have serious repercussions among Russia's own fast-growing Turkish population. The Soviet press has maintained a disapproving silence about the Bulgarian drive.

**C**ERTAINLY THE push to "Bulgarize" the minorities is the most dramatic event within the country since Mr. Zhivkov's rise to power. The campaign, which, according to some Bulgarians, was conceived in a secret party directive in 1971, has been massive: Although 250,000 Bulgarian Macedonians were recorded in the 1946 census, by 1975 none were listed — nor were there any headings indicating other national minorities.

Not content simply to drop minority listings, over the last four years, the Government has forced some 5,000 ethnic Albanians, along with thousands of Gypsies and Armenians, to take Bulgarian names. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has lodged a formal protest.

In August 1984, the push gathered force, in anticipation of a national census scheduled for this month — when the Government is expected to declare the country ethnically pure, with no hints of any cultural diversity.

Last December, the Government focused its efforts on Bulgaria's one million ethnic Turks, starting in the southern district of Kurdzhali. There was bloody resistance in Momchilgrad and the state militia, the military and the Zapasi, or special reserves, were called in. Dozens of people were killed. In early January, the drive was expanded to the north. Whole districts were sealed off to foreigners.

Armed forces typically would surround a village and then force the inhabitants, at gunpoint, to line up and sign name-change petitions. Stopped by a roadblock on the outskirts of Yablanovo, on the northern rim of the Balkan range, a foreigner questioned a soldier. Yes, said the young rifleman, Turks had been killed in the rural town, and so had some soldiers. In all, about 30 died, he said, brandishing his AK-47 and sputtering, "Rrra-tat-tat-tat."

The Government has closed all Turkish schools (there had been 1,199 Turkish schools in 1951) and the one Turkish newspaper, *Yeni Isik*; Turkish-language radio broadcasts have been taken off the air and fines imposed for speaking Turkish in public. Increasing numbers of Turks have fled to Rumania and Greece.

A good deal of historical revisionism has accompanied the campaign. In 1964, Todor Zhivkov proclaimed that "all possible opportunities had been created for the Turkish population to develop their culture and language." As late as last year, Bulgaria told a United Nations committee that it had national minorities. But in early March, Stanko Todorov of the Politburo declared in the Turkish village of Novachevo: "At the end of 1984 and the beginning of 1985, a process was carried out with a new force spontaneously and comprehensively restoring the Bulgarian names of our compatriots who had Turkish-Arabic names. This process was concluded in the whole country in two to three months. The workers considered their past, recognized their Bulgarian roots and their Bulgarian national belonging." Ethnic Turks, he boasted, were really descendants of Bulgarians who had been "forcibly Turkicized" under Ottoman rule.

Clearly, some are not willing to accept this new version of their past. An explosion rocked the railway station in Plovdiv in August 1984, but it was not until May 16 of this year that Kostadin Lyutov, the state prosecutor, acknowledged that a woman had been killed in the blast; he added that seven others were killed by an explosion on a train on March 9. Some observers suggest that the death toll might be as high as 30 from bombs in a supermarket, a tramway, a disco and a hotel.

Off the record, Bulgarian officials charge that ethnic Turks are responsible; publicly, the bombs have touched off an explosion of hatred. "Our Turks don't believe in God, they believe in whisky," a middle-ranking government official remarked with a sneer. Later, in an outdoor cafe facing Sofia's Eagle Bridge, a 29-year-old graduate student told me vehemently that all Turks "deserve to be punished." Others trotted out rationalizations typical of such ethnocentricity: the minority populations were reproducing at a fast clip, while the Slavic population was stagnating. The fact that the original Bulgarians — the Bulgars — were a Turkic people did not stop their xenophobic responses.

Still, the Zhivkov Government is palpably nervous about the ethnic Turk issue.

What was it Boyan Traikov had said to me? "They think we are a totalitarian police state, that no bird can pass over without being seen, that telephone conversations are being tapped, foreigners followed. But there is no such system of control."

Nonetheless, as a passenger in the cars of Western diplomats, it was clear to me that many were followed by unmarked automobiles of the Dazjavna Sigurnost, the state security force.

Telephone taps? One day I called the Turkish Embassy from the hotel and was told to come to the chancery on Boulevard Tolbukhin. Guarding the embassy, in addition to a policeman, was a muscular youth in a camouflage uniform with a broad leather holster, from which the grip of a ten-shot Skorpiion machine pistol protruded. He was a member of the Zapasi, the special reserve unit deployed in suppressing the Turks. Neither the policeman nor the Zapasi trooper bothered me, but next morning at 7:05, my phone rang and, when I answered, a male voice, plainly Slavic, snarled: "Tolbukhin!"

"Tolbukhin?" I inquired.

"Yes," came the reply, and then the line went dead.

My uneasiness returned. This was a warning. Yet, several days later when I set out into the mountains to find some ethnic Turks no one seemed to be following.

The Turks were not hard to find, but they were frightened. A group of construction workers told me everyone in their village had been compelled to accept Bulgarian names last December. There had been resistance and one man had been killed, others had been taken away to a camp for political prisoners on Belene, an island in the Danube.

Whenever anyone passed on the road, the men fell silent. With a look of disgust, one proffered his new internal identity pass, with his new Bulgarian name. The workers' Bulgarian foreman had warned them not to talk to strangers, one explained, adding that if they were caught they could be put off the job.

Nonetheless, they ticked off their complaints and fears: mosques had been closed; perhaps ethnic Turks would be denied higher schooling; they were not getting the full wages due them. Why the campaign of repression? "Because they fear we Turks will demand a federated state," said one. Would he emigrate if he could? "I was born here and I'll die here."

**T**ODOR ZHIVKOV BOASTS OF making Bulgaria "the Japan of the Balkans." It is an overreaching claim, but a returning traveler cannot fail to be impressed by the transformation of what had been, 20 years ago, essentially a peasant society.

Today, Bulgaria generates 25 percent of its electrical power in nuclear plants and is planning on 50 percent in the year 2000. There are traffic jams in city streets and shop windows are filled with consumer goods. Evidently, decades of diligence — Bulgarians are known as disciplined workers — are paying off in terms of improved living standards for many citizens. The average wage is about 250 leva a month (\$240 at the official exchange

rate), but there are usually two or more wage earners in a family.

Thus the extremely harsh winter of 1984-85, with its power outages and food shortages, came "as a bit of a shock," in the words of a middle-aged office worker. Bulgarian Socialism, with its mania for fulfilling plans, had not taken account of such vagaries as bad weather or other natural calamities. Prospects for this winter are grim, as well: already, every day there are power outages for two hours.

One young West German technician who travels around the country servicing advanced machine tools told me: "They are 15 to 20 years behind us and they will stay there because they have no way of developing their own products." He was scornful of the lack of incentive — Bulgarian electronics engineers earn little more than ordinary factory workers — but spoke admiringly of some enterprises that were "as clean as those in Stuttgart and working beautifully."

Bulgarian farming is relatively prosperous, with large and growing agro-industrial complexes specializing in the cultivation of grapes, fruits and vegetables and raising cattle. Gradually, Bulgarian agricultural products are penetrating Western markets, although it appears that the better wines are not exported.

Nearly 28 percent of the agricultural output comes from the 13 percent of the land the Government lends to farmers as private plots. One Sunday, I saw Bulgarians tilling these small plots in the fertile Struma River Valley, their backs bent in classic peasant posture as they hoed. But they had driven to the fields in their own cars, mostly Soviet Fiat-licensed Ladas, a new kind of mobility for farmers in the Balkans. Encouragement of private farming is also partly the work of Mr. Zhivkov.

Todor Zhivkov became party chief in 1954 by denouncing the "personality cult" of his predecessor, Vulko Chervenkov. But now there would seem to be a Zhivkov personality cult. Through his largesse, his hometown of Pravets, formerly a small farming village, is today a model town, with a new high school, hotel, computer factory and a state-of-the-art dairy farm. A bust of the most famous native son dominates the square in front of the town's Culture Palace, which also contains a museum tracing Mr. Zhivkov's life in photographs. His collected works, with titles like "Some New Views and Approaches Concerning the Framing and Implementation of the Economic-Scientific Policy," have reached volume 29, and cover only the years of his rule to 1979.

The road to Pravets is Bulgaria's newest four-lane highway, and on a mountaintop overlooking the town is Bulgaria's new state guest house where, according to one visiting diplomat, Mr. Zhivkov entertained Finland's President Mauno Koivisto with a daring girle show.

The leader, it would seem, bears little similarity to the man I saw briefly 20 years ago at a state funeral in Bucharest. Russia's Anastas Mikoyan and China's Zhou Enlai and all the other Communist leaders chatted among themselves, laughing and making small talk — all, that is, but Todor Zhivkov, who sat alone on a chair against the wall. No one spoke to him and, having just been barred from his country, I decided not to myself.

For a brief period, some observers wondered whether a Zhivkov dynasty was in the offing. After his daughter, Lyudmila, graduated from university in 1966, he drew her into the party, and by 1975 she had become chairman of the state committee for culture; four years later, at age 36, she was elected to the

Politburo. She died in 1981 in an automobile accident. Typical of the Balkan rumor mill that works overtime in the absence of a free press, talk spread that Lyudmila had been "poisoned by Soviet doctors" for advocating nationalism.

She is commemorated by the Lyudmila Zhivkova National Palace of Culture, Sofia's largest and perhaps ugliest building. It serves as a backdrop to a memorial dedicated four years ago to 13 centuries of nationhood.

Such nationalism is also apparent in the schools. One Western diplomat tells the story of his son, who was enrolled in a Bulgarian high school. One day, in a military course, an officer-teacher pointed to a map of Europe. "You are not here because of the NATO military threat," he said. "You're here for this!" He rolled down a map showing medieval Bulgaria encompassing large areas of present-day Greece, Yugoslavia and Albania. It is just such extreme nationalism, and the dream of restoring the medieval empire of

"Greater Bulgaria," that brought woe and shrinkage upon the nation in the first place.

Yet, it would seem that most of the young Bulgarians I met do not share such nationalistic dreams. Like their contemporaries all over the world, they are interested in jeans and rock music; one spoke of his dream to become a country-western singer, in Bulgarian. The young people say "ciao" and "merci" instead of "dovizhdane" and "blagodarya." Some, like the sweet-faced young woman I saw at noon on a weekday in Sofia's Sveta Nedelya church, light votive candles in the chapels.

**S**TILL, THERE IS THE puzzle: Why does the Zhivkov Government indulge in such an atavistic nationalist paroxysm, going so far as to force its citizens to change their names? Why does a country that aspires to enter the high-tech age risk international opprobrium by engaging in trafficking in drugs, arms and cloak-and-dagger intrigues?

At least part of the answer lies in Bulgarian history. In the Middle Ages, the Bulgars created an empire stretching from the Black Sea to the Aegean and, for a time in the 9th and 13th centuries, to the Adriatic. Modern Yugoslavia's capital of Belgrade was, for a time, a Bulgarian citadel. So was Greece's Salonika. But for five of the last six centuries, there was no Bulgaria, only the Ottoman Empire, and what the nation's greatest writer, Ivan Vazov, called the Turkish yoke. Freedom movements were growing when Bulgaria was liberated in 1878 by the troops of the Russian Czar. "The Bulgarians never liberated themselves," remarked a Macedonian from Yugoslavia, who is a keen observer of this country, "and after the Russians liberated them, they only won one war, a short one in 1895."

"Bulgarian history is discontinuity," he said, adding that, "they chose the wrong side in three wars," suffering defeat in the Second Balkan War, and again in World Wars I and II, when Bulgaria sided with Germany.

Having made wrong choices at three critical junctures in the space of less than three decades, "there is no fixed reference point," observed the Macedonian. "For Bulgarians, who is to say the choices they make now are not wrong?" ■

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Chinese  
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## 附录二

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lari luri  
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 amu bula  
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 100. Diagramm

I have observed, several bold-headed  
young people in clerical robes  
approaching us surreptitiously to give  
us a rebuke.

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de kurung yalince. Dura yapi  
metul!

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 Hak yulohi Dactylorhiza col.  
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 Ficus macleod.

第 1 号信件 (英译本)

"...The evening prayers had been forbidden during the month of Ramadan. At the subsequent religious holiday, children who had received the traditional candy baskets from their elders had been hit on the head with these very baskets. At the following religious holiday, they have forbidden out of hand the traditional sacrifice of sheep...They have made all institutions to issue declarations forbidding every practice and tradition pertaining to Islam and Turkhood. They have fired all those who attempted to resist...

" In the press and on the television, unabashed anti-Turkish fabrications and programmes with the participation of poor people who are threatened to 'disappear' unless they perform satisfactorily, and a lot more in the same vein...

" In Kırcaali, on 29 June 1985, Saturday, a young man by the name of Sabri Raşit Mümün, who was born in 1942 and was father of two, was barbarously gunned down for having spoken Turkish and was ordered to be buried in the following two hours...

" Fathers are punished for their children who speak Turkish at schools. Those of us who display a minimum of courage are brutally punished and sent away to concentration camps. Forced exiles still continue.

./...



" We are required to sign declarations that our sons to be born will not be circumcised.

" And particularly our problems with the funerals and burials:

" ...In Asenovgrad, after a resistance of four months, our dead today are buried in Bulgarian cemeteries. The people have, at the beginning, resisted a lot. They have carried their deads' coffins to cemeteries which are kilometers away. Some have even carried their dead all the way to Sofia, just to prevent them from being buried in Bulgarian cemeteries. But this resistance has eventually been brought under control by Police force.

" ...We are slaves who have no rights other than to work hard and relentlessly. We are not even allowed to shed tears, or to be shed tears for...

" ...When the situation of Sali, who engaged in a hunger strike at the concentration camp in Belene, worsened at the 70th day, they brought him back to his house in Haskova. When he regained consciousness, Sali asked his relatives to see to it that he be sent back to Belene. According to the latest information, he is in some hospital in Pleven. His fate is unknown!....

" ...We also strongly urge that the free world be informed that at the kindergarden of the Dolvoden village, near Plovdiv, they attempt to discourage children from speaking Turkish by gluing their mouth with Tikso ( a plastic adhesive material)...

"We have lots of worries and problems.

"Since we are in the path of God, we hope one day we will embrace salvation. So may God wish."



1. ~~Wang~~

2. ~~Wang~~

3. ~~Wang~~

4. ~~Wang~~

5. ~~Wang~~

6. ~~Wang~~

7. ~~Wang~~ Türl

8. ~~Wang~~

9. ~~Wang~~

10. ~~Wang~~

Kurtarın bizi

Buradan bize gessen

Re bir devesi

Mezarlardan öl  
bile deşiriz

Türklerden  
bulgar

Bur

Kurtar

Bizi

Yalın

Ana

Atam

Sarı

sevgisi  
püze ve serin  
Türkçe

görmek

Kurtar  
Türkçe

Kurtar

gibi

çok

görmek

Herkes

Özüm

Özüm

bu mükemmel  
edebiyat

第2号信件(英译本)

"Dear President Kenan Evren,

Dear Prime Minister Turgut Özal,

Dear Comrade Necmettin Karaduman,

Dear Comrade Vahit Halefoğlu,

Dear Comrade Yıldırım Akbulut,

Dear Motherland Turkey,

" We address this letter that consists of a few lines to you...We are faced with great difficulties, particularly since early 1985. They have Bulgarized us by force. They have made us change our names under the threat of arms, yet deep down we will always remain as Turks. There are nearly 2 million of us here. There is no life for us in Bulgaria any more. Many of our youths have fallen victim and this situation continues...Do not leave us at the mercy of these infidels. We beg Turkey from the bottom of our hearts: take us from here.

" Our people is very hardworking. Rest assured that, if we emigrate to Turkey, we will love it as our own country and work around the clock to embellish it like a rose garden... Never believe the Bulgarian Government. Every single word that they utter is a lie. They assert that we have changed our names voluntarily. Never believe them. We are Turks and we will die as Turks.

./..

"We are aware that Turkey will never abandon or forget us...

"With our love and greetings,

Senders: Turks of Bulgaria

"(Names of 12 villages and signatures of representatives)

"Save us from Bulgaria... They have even changed the names of our forebearers at graveyards. They now bury Turks in the same cemeteries as Bulgarians.

"We cry out, we beg you, motherland Turkey, with all our hearts: save us from here... Save us from the infidels... We love you and you alone, beautiful motherland Turkey.

"Sister Hava,

"If this letter reaches you, please send it to Kenan Evren. That is my wish."



第3号信件(英译本)

"...I was a worker in the (.....) and they sent me back to have my name changed. At the border, the Bulgarian police took me to the police station and told me to sign a declaration. When I did not agree, they started beating me. I do not remember what they did with me. I regained consciousness the following day. But the beating went on for 24 days. I did not sign anything. They took my passport and gave me another one with a Bulgarian name. I have two elder brothers. Since ten months we do not know where they are; maybe they were killed...

"...The entire Turkish people of Bulgaria awaits your help. I have seen with my own eyes that all villages and towns are under siege. Recently they have started to have people sign under duress declarations that they do not want to emigrate to Turkey. There are lots of people under arrest. They release some. They send the corpses of others to their homes. They have prohibited the use of our mother tongue. Circumcision ceremonies are also forbidden. They do not allow people to go to mosques anymore, either..."



16. bin aaslaye  
kennusmeye  
tabiidlik.  
dizler gıydimışlar  
mormişler.  
dizisizmişler.  
standan  
re. Onlara  
ma. Bir 30  
nek bir;  
gidaydi  
6

Saglam ve son olun  
kymetli abla, oys ki  
kucukler

oldunuz kiymetli  
 lakub etik  
 izin mektubunuz  
 hem alatti, bi  
 ktubunusa bile o  
 mektup yaa  
 lakub somas  
 mektup kal  
 yola der  
 ctiles.  
 nder

第4号信件(英译本)

"...We heard that, on 22 January (1985), they were going to siege Şumnu. Actually, we had heard that many other towns had been sieged earlier, but honestly we had not fully believed such news, since it had not yet happened to us. But that night, at around midnight, they indeed rang the bell. We started shivering, held each other in fear and thought that they had come to change our names; because we had heard that this is how they carry out their campaign. For a long time, we didn't answer the door, but they persisted. Finally, Halim opened. They told him that he had to go with them for military service for 10 days and that therefore he prepare his luggage immediately. We were outraged and paralyzed, but Halim didn't react, to prevent anything worse...

...They took them for ten days but didn't release them at the end of this period...We went to see him. They allowed him to speak and be with us for a few hours. They were wearing uniforms. Yet none of them had been given any weapons. Their names were changed while they were there. We understand that, in all Bulgaria, they have taken away 35,000 people for "military service". They have been taken away deliberately, so that they do not put any opposition...

./..

"Dearest Sister, I cannot possibly describe to you our plight and sorrow here. We have shed tears that would together make lakes or seas. They are telling the world that we have changed our names voluntarily. This cannot ever be true. In fact, we had already been deprived of our schools and mosques. Our names were our only possessions. Now they have confiscated them as well..."

附录三

До Селски Общински Съвет  
С.Сърница /Окр.Пазарджик

М О Л Б А,

От \_\_\_\_\_

У: \_\_\_\_\_

Жители на село: СЪРНИЦА, Пазарджикски, записани в том \_\_\_\_\_  
страница \_\_\_\_\_

Др. Председател,

Моля въз основа на настоящата молба в съгласно из-  
менението на правния ка за водене на регистрите со граж-  
данското състояние удостоверявано в заотник - И З В Е С Т И Е -  
броз: 2. от 1970 Година да бъдат именни в регистрите по  
народност БЪЛГАРИ, да се променят имената им както следва:

|              |           |
|--------------|-----------|
| 1- От: _____ | На: _____ |
| 2- От: _____ | На: _____ |
| 3- От: _____ | На: _____ |
| 4- От: _____ | На: _____ |
| 5- От: _____ | На: _____ |
| 6- От: _____ | На: _____ |
| 7- От: _____ | На: _____ |
| 8- От: _____ | На: _____ |

\_\_\_\_\_ / Година

С.Сърница /Пазарджикско.

С Поздрав:

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

用来改变户籍登记姓名的请愿书形式  
(改变土耳其/穆斯林姓名的申请书)

Д Е К Л А Р А Ц И Я

Полн.свнито:.....  
(име, презиме и фамилия на детето)

д.п.серия.....наричан на .....  
от М В Р .....ЕПН.....

и.....  
(име, презиме и фамилия по избора)

д.п.серия.....от.....год.издаден от.....  
.....ЕПН.....с икономическа целъност

заплатване, че поемане задължение да не извършва обвързване на сума и  
.....роген на .....  
(грите имена на детето)

год.в гр.....  
тъй като това е посегателство върху живота и здравето на  
детето.

Уведомява сме, че при неизпълнение на това поето задължение  
ще носим отговорност по член 324, ал.ІІ във връзка с чл.20 сл.ІІІ от  
Наказателния кодекс.

Настоящата декларация подписана в присъствието на

.....  
(име и презиме и длъжност на длъжностното лице)

.....Г.....Декларатори: 1.....

гр.Хасково.....2.....

Длъжностно лице:.....

保加利亚文件第2号(英译本)

DECLARATION

The following persons who have their signatures below

.....(Name, Surname)

Identity card.....No.....place of issue

Directorate of Security.....

Identity card.....No.....place of issue.....

The Directorate of Security.....I declare  
that I shall not have my son.....  
.....circumcised.

Because it is dangerous for the health and life of  
my son.

I am aware that if I have this action carried out,  
I shall be punished according to the criminal code,  
Paragraph II Article 324 and the Paragraph III of Article 20.

I am signing this declaration in the presence of the  
official in charge.

.....

(Name and Surname of the official in charge)

.....

Declared by .....

City of Haskova

2.....

The official in charge.....

# ДОПЪЛНЕНИЕ

Към наредба № 1 на Общински народен съвет

Асеновград

Ч. 5а — Общуването между българските граждани в селищната система да става на български език.

Чл. 5б — Забранява се гражданите да носят нетрадиционно българско облекло като шалвари, фереджета и други.

Нарушенията на настоящите допълнения се констатираат и санкционират съгласно заключителните разпоредби на Наредба № 1 на ОБНС — Асеновград.

ИК на Общински народен съвет  
Асеновград



保加利亚文件第3号(英译本)

ADDENDUM TO THE DECREE NO:1  
OF THE CITY OF ASENOVGRAD

Article 5a : Bulgarian citizens within the city limits  
shall communicate in Bulgarian.

Article 5b : Citizens are prohibited to wear outfits  
such as salvar, ferace which are not  
of Bulgarian traditions.

Any violation of the addendums made to this  
decree shall be punished in accordance with  
the decree No:1 of the City of Asenovgrad.

Executive Committee  
of the  
City of Asenovgrad

ОБЩИНСКИ НАРОДЕН СЪВЕТ /КМЕТСТВО/ -- гр./с/.....

ОКРЪГ КЪРДЖАЛИЙСКИ

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А К Т

保加利亚文件第4号

За установяване на административно нарушение

.....  
Днес..... 198...<sup>5</sup>Г в гр./с/.....

описаният..... на длъжност  
/собствено, бащино и фамилно име на актосъставителя/

..... при .....  
присъствието на свидетелите:

..... от гр./с/.....  
..... от гр./с/.....

ставих този акт против.....  
..... грите имена на нарушителя

гр./с/..... ул.....  
възраст..... години и месторабота.....  
..... в гр./с/..... окр.....

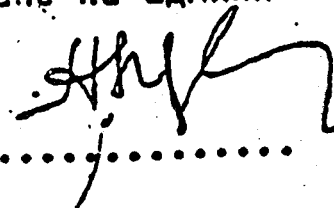
следното:.....

ратко, но конкретно описание на наруш.-действие или бездействие/

С извършеното е нарушен:.....

осочва се нарушения законен текст от определен закон, указ, поста-  
вление, разпореждане, правилник, наредба, инструкция, заповед и др.  
ради което и съгласно чл.36, ал.1 от Закона за административните  
рушения и наказания съставих този акт за установяване на админи-  
ративно нарушение.

Свидетели: ( 1.....  
2.....

Актосъставител:.....  


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Подписаният.....  
гр./с/.....ул.....  
остоверявам, че получих препис от този акт, съставен срещу мен  
ес на...../.....198<sup>5</sup> год.

По акта имам /нямam/ възражения.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

В тридневен срок, съгласно чл.44 ал.1 от ЗАНН мога да напра-  
писменни възражения по акта и съгласно чл.48 ал.1 от ЗАНН се  
дължавам да уведомя ОНССС.....ако променя адреса си.

ПОДПИС НА СВИДЕТЕЛЯ:

.....  
рите имена и адрес на свидетел при отказ да се получи преписа/  
чл.43, ал.11 от ЗАНН.

ИДЕТЕЛ:

АКТОСЪСТАВИТЕЛ /ВРЪЧИТЕЛ/

БЕЛЕЖКА: Автосъставителят /връчиателят/ подписва след подписване  
разписката от получателя на преписа от акта или след надлежното  
оформяне при отказ.

卡尔德扎里的国民市议会（地方行政机构）对  
使用土耳其语言所判予的处罚

（为保护受害者，有关资料已经删除）