

TEACHING THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNISM



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CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES



TEACHING THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNISM

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Editor: Vasil Kadrinov

Print: AVTOPRINT
www.avtoprint.com

E-mail: hannah.arendt.center.sofia@gmail.com
Phone: +359 889 032 954
2 Kiril Hristov Str., 4000 Plovdiv, Bulgaria



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Teaching the History of the Communist Regimes in Post-1989 Eastern Europe

Methodological and Sensitive Issues

Raluca Grosescu

The breakdown of dictatorial regimes generally implies a process of rewriting history through school curricula and textbooks. This is an important aspect for all countries in political transition, as states regularly institutionalize master historical narratives in order to shape a certain understanding of the national past and to legitimize existing state institutions and their historical roles and representations (Müller, 2002). “Memory, historical consciousness and identity are reflected in and created by what is documented in textbooks and what is taught in history education” (Haider, 2012).

After 1989, rewriting the history of the recent past in Eastern Europe became both a crucial and a controversial topic, considering that for more than 40 years historians had no real freedom to interrogate the historical canon imposed by the communist party and to produce alternative narratives which could have competed with the official discourse. History educators, and teachers in general, had to fulfill the mission of communist education: “The task of the new communist schools is to impose upon bourgeois and petty-bourgeois children a proletarian mentality. In the realm of the mind, in the psychological sphere, the communist school must effect the same revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois society, must effect the same expropriation, that the Soviet Power has effected in the economic sphere by the nationalization of the means of production” (Bukharin & Preobrazhensky, 1969). It is true that no matter what the political regime, the school system is used to socialize young generations and to make them internalize the values and the ideology of the political regime in place. However, in democratic societies, postmodern times informed the end of master historical narratives understood as “secure and closed knowledge systems that form the core of cultural epochs”. Various strategies of political

and social legitimization produced a multitude of performed knowledges and ‘history’ started to transform into ‘histories’ (Bamberg & Andrews, 2004). Instead, Eastern Europe remained until 1989, and even many years after, prisoner to the idea that history is ‘one, unique’, and able to tell ‘the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth’. Moreover, this “history privileged the rulers, the nation and the ideology, ignored the contribution of the ethnic and religious minorities, provided few alternative views on the state-society relationship, offered misleading or no information on the political victims of state-sponsored repression, and depicted in a negative light anticommunist opponents and the democratic world” (Stan, 2012).

Teaching the history of communism after 1989: a slow and sensitive process

After the fall of the communist regimes, rewriting history and especially re-understanding the functions of history as a discipline were generally slow and sensitive processes in all Eastern European countries. In the first years of transition, the political continuity of the former nomenklatura and the absence of reforms within the ministries of education generated an significant lack of political will with regard to re-interpreting the dictatorial past in history curricula and textbooks (Stan 2012). Also, many years after 1990, the history departments of most Eastern European academies and universities continued to be dominated by historians who made careers under communism and who accepted compromise and self-censorship. Given this context, deconstructing the old master narratives and creating new ones appeared to be a difficult process, contested and sometime even obstructed by the dominant elites.

Moreover, for more than four decades, both historians and history teachers had been educated to promote the official, ideological interpretation of historical events, such as it was constructed and imposed by the communist party. This official narrative operated so as to ‘frame’ memories articulated from below in forms which served the interests of the communist state. The fall of the regime meant a process of internalizing new information and

new perspectives, which were competing with the historical canon in place until 1989. However, this was not an achievement to be taken for granted, considering the lack of access to international literature and to the national archives, especially in closed societies like Romania, Bulgaria and Albania. What for political opponents or for some historians appeared to be a more correct and just history of the communist regime, including political repression and economic dysfunctions, was not an obvious narrative for most history teachers or technocrats within the education system. In many transitional contexts, there is great difficulty in reaching consensus over historical truths. The persistence of differing narratives renders history education and textbook revision exceptionally challenging (Haider, 2012). How can we differentiate in a very speedy manner the ‘true’ and the ‘false’ history when people’s knowledge was affected by years of propaganda? To which extent had the communist historiography to be revisited, and on which sources was one to rely in order to deconstruct it? How can we make a quick change from one historical perspective and interpretation to another? Given all these sensitive questions, Eastern European educational systems generally preferred, in the first years of transition, to ‘forget’ the history of communism in undergraduate curricula and to exclude it from the official memory promoted in schools. It is only at the end of the 1990s that the ‘forgetting’ strategy was abandoned, and textbooks started to refer more and more to the history of the communist regime.

But two other sensitive issues arose, once history educators were faced with teaching and narrating this period. The first one was the clash of memories in times of political transformation. As Ricoeur puts it, “What was glory for some was humiliation for others. Celebration on one side corresponds to execration on the other. In this way, symbolic wounds calling for healing are stored in the archives of the collective memory” (Ricoeur, 2004). What can be ‘true’ for me, because it is my *memory* of the past, for my opponents it can be a *manipulated history*, a deliberative process of falsifying the facts of the past. If the communist regimes meant political repression, labor camps, violation of fundamental human rights, they also meant, for important parts of Eastern European societies (many history educators included), social rights

and opportunities for personal and professional development. The “irruptions of memory” (Wilde 1999) characterized and divided post-communist societies. Within this context, which memory, which history is the ‘good’ one? Especially as the dominant narrative is always contested by alternative, counter-narratives, which challenge its legitimacy and the legitimacy of those who produced it (Ashplant et. al., 2000). At the same time, the beliefs, values and behaviors of youth are influenced by factors outside of the educational system. Schools often compete with other sources of information, especially the media and the family, which may often put in doubt the narratives presented in history textbooks (Haider, 2012).

The second sensitive issue was the very memory of history educators. After 1989, teaching the history of communism in Eastern Europe did not mean teaching ‘normal’ historical events, remote in time and space, but debating and examining our own existence. Teaching the history of communism was in a certain sense teaching our own personal lives and questioning our own personal choices during the dictatorial regime. As a Romanian history teacher reminisces: ‘Things may get very complicated when you find that you yourself are the topic for discussion. Children don’t hold back, they have no inferiority complexes, they are ruled by enthusiasm, they trust you, and they ask, just casually: ‘Sir, have you been a party member?’ Answer: ‘Yes’. Shocked! Their jaws dropped, for real. And then they go on, mumbling: ‘But have you been an informer?’ Answer: ‘No! But I have been asking myself, once in a while, over the last 20 years, what I would have done, how I would have reacted had I had a proposal to become an informer. And I still haven’t answered that, thinking of how the situation was back then!’ That put them at ease some. ‘At least that’s something, you weren’t an informer! Those were real sleazebags. At least you were straightforward.’ It makes you shiver! The entire Black Sea won’t wash you when children judge you.’ (Stamatescu 2013). Teaching the history of communism also becomes a complicated topic when you have in the same classroom a student whose parents had been worked for the political police and another student whose grandparents had been deported or imprisoned on political grounds. How does one talk about crimes and human rights violations without harming, endangering the relationship between these two students,

and between students and their families? And, more generally, how to deal with “the irruption of memories”, when you teach the history of communism? The same Romanian teacher conveys a possible solution: ‘Each one of us feels somewhat comfortable in our own historical memory, and usually it is up to the adults to not have with young people a relationship beyond the issues of daily life and living together. One needs to admit the fragility of personal memory and the role of nostalgia in any discussion about the communist regime, but also needs to own up to one’s past and be honest in what position one takes in relation to communism. (Stamatescu 2013).

Which Method, Which Narrative?

In post-dictatorial or post-conflict societies there is an ongoing debate about which method of teaching the history of the recent past is more appropriate for the development of a cohesive and peaceful vision of society. Should history education focus on presenting facts and knowledge, based on a shared historical narrative, or should it aim more at building and improving students’ critical thinking and capacity to evaluate contested historical narratives? In the last decades, the philosophy of history education has increasingly been focusing on this issue. Which narrative to teach, but also what are the goals of instruction in history? The research has been paying more and more attention to the complicated problems of the historical understanding and interpretation students have, rather than simply on how much factual information students do or do not possess (Levinsohn, 2010).

When faced with apparently unresolved philosophical disputes, what is the history educator to do? In many cases, practice tells us that teachers rely on conservative articulation of tradition and consensus. This approach can explain why, for many after 1990, the communist past has been presented in schools under almost the same optics that it had been presented before. But

the fundamental cognitive activity of historical inquiry is one of negotiating among narratives. “The desire to tell a story is motivated by some inadequacy of understanding, either in oneself, or in others” (Levinsohn, 2010). History educators should give students the opportunity to access different perspectives on history and to stimulate them to negotiate among these narratives. History education, therefore, ought to help students improve their historical interpretations at the same time as it ought to foster qualities that make them good interpreters. A shared narrative may ultimately be too difficult to achieve when tensions and conflicts are still ongoing. “A new method of textbook revision has been developed to address such contexts, whereby contested issues can still be examined without the need to produce a uniform version of the past. It entails the portrayal of differing narratives side by side, with the aim of promoting an understanding of contrasting perspectives, mutual dialogue and self-critical thinking” (Haider, 2012). In the introduction of a Romanian textbook on the history of communism (presented as best practices in this volume) emphasized the importance of such approach “The only interpretation on this period of history that you can fully adopt is the one you have formulated yourselves at the end of this course. If you still have doubts, it is a good thing. It means that you are thinking! Good luck!” (Stamatescu et. al. 2008). This is in fact the greatest difficulty in being a teacher: to educate students to think by themselves and never take your words and opinions for granted.

Teaching the history of communism should thus be first and foremost an exercise in historical inquiry, namely negotiating between different narratives, with logic and honesty. It is also an exercise of conscience, both for teachers and for students. *What was my role in that regime and where did I do wrong?* for teachers. *What would I have done in that context and on which values should I base my behavior today?* for students. As Falkner said: “The past is never dead. It is not even the past”. So efforts must be made to permanently interrogate the past and the historical narratives that shape its understanding.

Sharing experience and good practices among countries

In 2010, 49% of young Romanians between 14 and 20 years old said they didn't know whether political repression existed or not during communist times. Other 14% believed that human rights had not been violated between 1945 and 1989, while 39% evaluated the political, social, and economical conditions of the communist regime as being better than the present ones (IICCMER 2010). Similarly, in 2013, only 4.5% of young Bulgarians between 15 and 35 years of age considered Todor Zhivkov a dictator. 79% didn't know what the Gulag was, and 55.5% what the Holocaust was (Hannah Arendt Centre Sofia, 2013). These percentages are more or less similar in other former communist countries, reflecting an important lack of information about the general functioning of the communist regimes. Critical attitudes towards violation of human rights during the communist regime are also absent, while racist, xenophobic and discriminatory attitudes are still present in the young generation. Different curricula and educational tools regarding the history of communism have been created in countries such as Romania, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic or Estonia, but education in human rights through the history of the recent past is poorly developed in countries like Bulgaria, Albania, Ukraine, Moldova, or Georgia.

Given this context, in 2012, several Eastern European institutions specialized in the memory of the communist regime (among which Respiro Human Rights Research Centre and Hannah Arendt Center Bulgaria) organized in Bucharest the international conference *Education for Human Rights through the History of the Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Union*. The event aimed to discuss challenges and opportunities concerning education for human rights through the history of the recent past. The workshop's objectives were, on the one hand, presenting, testing and improving educational tools already existing in the region and, on the other hand, sharing expertise, including practices that could be applied from country to country. The workshop addressed further topics: a) the current situation of education on the history of communism in the region (curricula, textbooks, approaches); b) methodological challenges in teaching the history of

communism; c) best practices in teaching the history of communism (teaching and learning tools for the classroom; professional development for educators and other adults; extra-curricular activities).

The immediate result of this conference was the editing in 2013 of a Compendium of Good Practices in teaching the history of the communist regimes and their consequences in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The Compendium, translated also in Bulgarian by Hannah Arendt Center aims at sharing curricular and extra-curricular experiences on this topic, dedicated to primary and secondary schools, and to teacher training institutions. The volume aims to support quality teaching in this area and to inspire policymakers in education, teachers, teacher trainers, non-formal educators, and all other interested actors, as well as to facilitate networking and sharing of experience between education professionals.

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NATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH CENTER



**NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE SURVEY ON THE
PROJECT:**

**“EDUCATION ABOUT THE COMMUNIST REGIME AND THE
EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC VALUES OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN
BULGARIA TODAY”**

*THE RESEARCH WAS CONDUCTED IN THE PERIOD 07-19 JUNE 2013 AMONG 1100
RESPONDENTS IN THE 15-35 AGE GROUP IN THE ENTIRE COUNTRY USING THE
METHODOLOGY OF SEMI-STANDARDIZED INTERVIEW*

JUNE 2013

NPOC, 1 Kniaz Aleksandar I Sq., tel.: +359 2 9393129, +359 2 981 85 56;

fax: + 359 2 987 34 93

e-mail: nciom@parliament.bg

Reflection on the data

This is a national representative survey, conducted in the period June 7 – 19 2013 among 1100 respondents in the age group 15 to 35 using the methodology of semi-standardized face-to-face interviews.

The survey was conducted as part of the project “Education about the Communist Regime and the European Democratic Values of Young People in Bulgaria Today”.

The approach to the topic includes:

- ✓ Test-type questions on knowledge: recognizing or not facts and personalities
- ✓ Questions about the evaluation of events and occurrences
- ✓ Socio-demographic questions

I. Main characteristics of the surveyed sample

The sample is nationally representative using the following socio-demographic variables: gender, age and type of type of settlement.

A third of the interviewed are in education (18% at high school, 13% at university, 2% at college or another type of educational institution). 14% of the interviewed between the age of 15 and 18 state that they are not in education. Among the ethnic Turks, 5% state that they are at university; among the ethnic Roma none are in higher education.

15% of the surveyed are unemployed. Young people in the age group 19 – 25 are more often without a job (every fifth surveyed), as well as small town and rural residents, respondents with primary or lower levels of education, ethnic Turks and Roma. Among the youths who do not speak a foreign language there are twice as many unemployed as among those who speak a foreign language.

46% work in the private sector; 11% - in the public sector.¹

5% of the interviewed study and work at the same time. Consequently, the 1

Among private sector employees there are more men than women, while in the public sector, on the contrary, there are twice as many women as men. The greatest concentration of private sector employees is in the capital; the lowest – in rural areas. The share of public sector employees is evenly distributed according to the type of settlement.

56% of survey participants are single. 29% are married, while 13% cohabit with a partner. The shares of divorced and widowed respondents are minimal (2% and 0.3% respectively).

36% of survey participants have children, while the rest do not. 84% of married young people and 58% of the ones cohabiting with a partner have children.

Among respondents with children, 61% have one child, 32% - two children and the rest – 3 or more children.

Two thirds of the surveyed state they have command of a foreign language/languages; the rest state that they do not do not. 39% of the surveyed say they have command of one foreign language, 22% - of two foreign languages and 6% - of three or more foreign languages.

Youths between 30 and 35 (42% of this group), small town and rural residents and the Roma indicate more often than the rest that they do not have command of a foreign language.

17% of respondents with higher education state that they do have command of a foreign language.

The most spoken foreign language (by 52% of the participants) is English. It is followed by Russian (15%), German (12%), Turkish (8%), French (4%) and Spanish (3%).

Three fourths of respondents who have stated they have command of English indicate they have both written and spoken command. Among those who have command of Russian, the share is 62%; among those with German – 65%.

54% of respondents who have command of Turkish state that they only have spoken command of the language.

sum of the percentages is greater than 100.

II. Test-Type Questions – Geography Facts

46% of survey participants indicate correctly the five countries that Bulgaria borders. Youths between 30 and 35, respondents with higher education, residents of the capital, public sector employees and university students give correct answers more often than the rest.

26% of the surveyed indicate correctly four of the countries that Bulgaria borders, while 10% indicate correctly three countries. 5% of the interviewed have indicated countries that Bulgaria does not border, while 7% admit that they do not know which countries Bulgaria borders.

31% of survey participants do not know in which city the seat of the European Parliament is. Youths 15 to 18, respondents with primary or lower levels of education, rural residents, ethnic minority representatives and the unemployed give the answer “I do not know” more often than the rest. 43% of high school students say they do not know in which city the seat of the European Parliament is. 4% have given incorrect names of cities.

According to 60% of the interviewed the European Parliament meets in Brussels; according to 6% - in Strasbourg. Only 0.5% indicate both cities.

III. Information sources about Bulgarian and world 20th century history

60% of survey participants state that, for them, history textbooks represent a main information source on Bulgaria’s 20th century history. This is the most frequently given answer by high school students (age 18 and under) and residents of the country’s small cities. Overall, this is the most commonly given answer to the question on the information sources on Bulgarian 20th century history.

Half of the interviewed young people state that their knowledge on contemporary Bulgarian history was formed under the influence of documentary films. This is most often claimed by highly educated respondents and young residents of the capital. They are obviously looking for more than one information source (the question asked implied the possibility to choose more than one answer).

The search for authentic information is what distinguishes the preferences

of highly educated young people from the rest. Highly educated young Bulgarians prefer documentary historical evidence to the interpretation of facts.

The popularity of the Internet as an information source on contemporary Bulgarian history among young people is high. Surfing on the Internet is a distinctly “youth” type of information search. Therefore, it is logical that also on topics related to history there is an interest to find information using this channel. Searching for facts from contemporary history is most common for young people aged 19 to 25, highly educated respondents, residents of the capital and public sector employees.

48% of the interviewed trust their history teachers when it comes to information about Bulgarian 20th century history. Logically, such an answer is given mostly by young people who have not yet finished their secondary education.

The influence of TV shows on the formation of historical culture in the young Bulgarian generation is very strong. 46% of respondents indicate this information source. More often these are people aged 30 to 35, highly educated respondents and residents of the capital.

The collective family memory of relatives is also a factor in the formation of knowledge on history in the young generation. 44% of respondents claim that older relatives and acquaintances have contributed to their knowledge on history. Young people in the age group 19 to 25, residents of the capital and respondents with higher education claim most frequently that they have learned historical facts and events from stories told by relatives and acquaintances.

The historic theme is the subject of many motion pictures and, because of this, cinema is an additional source of history information for young people today. This is indicated by 37% of survey participants, of which residents of the capital and young people with higher education are the majority.

29% of the interviewed Bulgarian youths, mostly those aged 30 to 35 and residents of the capital, have learned historical facts and reflections on contemporary Bulgarian history from books.

19% indicate that their knowledge on history has been formed based on

what they have seen in Bulgarian museums. This answer is given more often by women, the age group 19 to 25 and residents of the capital.

The profile of people who use the same types of information sources clearly shows that educated young residents of the capital have a relatively larger information spectrum compared to their peers from smaller towns and rural areas. The topic of historical knowledge is obviously not unanimously positioned in the cultural and family stereotypes of different types of settlement. The types of environment in which young people live are heterogeneous and diverse. Therefore, the degrees of relative knowledge that they have are not equivalent and easily comparable. Access to cultural and historical values does not depend on young people's personal preferences only. Historical culture depends on many factors, some of which are purely objective. This makes purposeful, serious and in-depth schooling as well as the presence of the historical theme in communication channels popular among young people (the Internet, films, the media) mandatory.

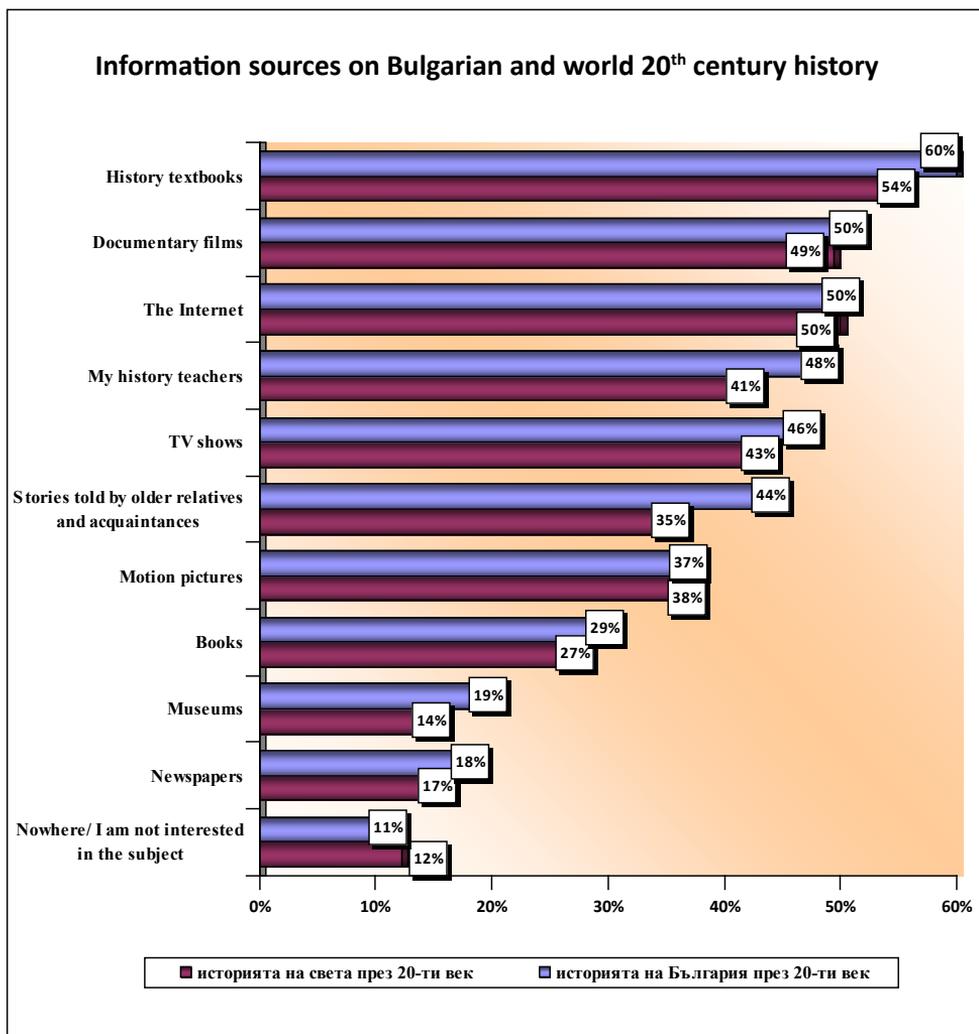
11% of young Bulgarians reply that they are not interested in their country's 20th century history. This answer is given by youths with low levels of education, rural residents and ethnic minority representatives.

While history textbooks are a primary factor in the formation of young people's knowledge on contemporary Bulgarian history, when it comes to information about 20th century world history events, we observe that several information sources are equally significant: history textbooks, the Internet and documentary films. Half of the youths indicate to an approximately equal degree the influence of these information channels on their history knowledge of the world in the 20th century.

The youngest participants in the survey (age 18 and under) most often trust history textbooks (though, for objective reasons, at this age they get their knowledge on history within the school curriculum). Young people aged 19 to 25 more often than the rest trust, in addition to history textbooks, information obtained on the Internet. People aged 26 to 30 use mainstream information channels such as the Internet, while documentary films are a preferred information source for people over 30. Highly educated respondents most frequently indicate the Internet and documentary films as their main source of information, while people with low levels of education indicate history textbooks.

Stories told by relatives and acquaintances are more frequently a source of information for young people when it comes to Bulgarian 20th century history and more rarely when it comes to world history. Motion pictures, however, are a more important information source for young people when it comes to world events from the 20th century compared to events from Bulgaria's contemporary history.

12% of young people claim that they are not interested in 20th century world history and that they do not seek information on this topic. This is claimed by youths with low levels of education, rural residents and ethnic minority representatives.



IV. Test-type questions – Historical figures

50% of the interviewed claim they do not know anything about Valko Chervenkov. More often these are youths 15 to 18, respondents with primary or lower level of education, rural residents, ethnic minorities, the unemployed and high school students.

47% of youths indicate that he was a politician. This answer is more often given by young people aged 30 to 35, respondents with higher education and residents of the capital.

There is a lack of incorrect opinions about the who Valko Chervenkov was: incorrect answers are less than 3%.

Three fourths (76%) of the interviewed know that Joseph Stalin was a politician. We observe the highest share of correct answers among respondents with higher education, the age group 30 to 35, residents of Sofia and university students.

22% of survey participants state that they do not know anything about Stalin. Among youths aged 15 to 18 this share is 42%, among respondents with primary education – 47% and among young rural residents – 38%.

V. Historical and Contemporary Examples of Dictatorship and Fight against Dictatorship

Half of the interviewed do not mention countries, whose government could be described as a dictatorship. Answers to this questions more frequently are not given by the youngest (age 15 to 18), respondents with primary or lower level of education, rural residents, ethnic minority representatives, the unemployed and high school students.

The rest name a total of 50 countries. The most frequent answers are: North Korea (19%), Cuba (9%), Turkey (7%), Syria (7%), Iran (6%), Libya (6%), Iraq (6%), Russia (6%) and China (5%)².

42% of survey participants do not name a contemporary or historical dictator. The rest give a total of 47 names. Most often these are Hitler (according to 34%), Stalin (according to 20%) and Saddam Hussein (according to 8%).

² The sum of the percentages is over 100, because interviewees have given more than one answer.

We could draw the conclusion that young people responding to these questions have a correct idea about dictatorships (especially contemporary once) and about dictators, though mostly in a historic perspective.

A considerably higher number of youths have trouble naming fighters against dictatorships: 79%.

The rest give a total of 70 names of contemporary or historic personalities. Only two names gather more than 3%: Vasil Levski, given by 7%, and Che Guevara, given by 6%.

VI. Opinions about Bulgarians who have defended/are defending freedom and democracy

In this question we tested 17 names of famous Bulgarians: historic and contemporary personalities.

The most famous names are Vasil Levski, Georgi Parvanov and Todor Zhivkov.

Ten of the names tested were unknown to more than 45% of interviewed youths. These are: Iliya Minev (80% do not know anything about him), Krastyo Pastuhov (79% do not know anything about him), Nikola Mushanov (67% do not know anything about him), Kimon Georgiev (58% do not know anything about him), G. M. Dimitrov (57% do not know anything about him), Bogdan Filov (57% do not know anything about him), Traicho Kostov (55% do not know anything about him), Aleksandar Tsankov (47% do not know anything about him), Petar Dertliev (46% do not know anything about him) and Nikola Petkov (45% do not know anything about him).

The most prominent defender of freedom and democracy is Vasil Levski, according to 96% of young people.

The second place goes to Aleksandar Stamboliyski, who has defended freedom and democracy to a great extent according to 55% of survey participants.

The third place is for Zhelyu Zhelev, named by 48% of interviewed youths.

Tsar Boris III is named a defender of freedom and democracy by 36% of interviewees.

Georgi Parvanov has defended freedom and democracy to a great extent according to 31% of respondents. This opinion is more widespread among supporters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (Dvizhenie za prava i svobodi - DPS).

29% of surveyed youths name Georgi Dimitrov as a defender of freedom and democracy. 55% of young people who have voted for BSP share this opinion.

37% of youths believe that Todor Zhivkov did not defend freedom and democracy. The same percentage believe that he did defend freedom and democracy to a greater or lesser extent, while 20% prefer not to express an opinion about him. 38% of those who have voted for BSP share the opinion that Zhivkov defended freedom and democracy to a great extent.

VII. Associations related to historical notions

Young people who participated in the survey were given the opportunity to describe, in their own words, what they associate certain key terms from Bulgarian and European twentieth century history with.

22 such terms were tested: 10 related to Bulgarian history and 12 related to European and world history.

Among the terms related to Bulgarian twentieth century history the best known one to contemporary Bulgarian youths is “BCP” (Bulgarian Communist Party): 77% of them name specific associations. The most common answer is “Bulgarian Communist Party”, given by 62% of interviewees. 5% relate the term to socialism and BSP and another 5% to Todor Zhivkov. 4% give negatively tainted emotional associations (totalitarianism, dictatorship, poverty). Only 1% give positive associations such as equality, justice, better life.

23% of survey participants do not associate the acronym BCP with anything specific. These are usually the youngest (age 15 to 18), respondents with low levels of education, rural residents and ethnic minority representatives.

“September 9” is associated with specific notions by 64% of interviewed youths. The most common answers are “with communism, with BCP coming to power”, according to 26%, and “with freeing Bulgaria from fascism, from the German occupation”, according to 25%. These two interpretations are equally

right, but contradictory in meaning. The answers “with communism, with BCP coming to power” are more significantly present among respondents aged 30 to 35, respondents with a high levels of education, residents of the capital and of small towns. The answers “with the freeing from fascism” are more widespread among respondents with low levels of education, residents of large cities (other than the capital), the unemployed and the Roma.

According to 8% of surveyed youths September 9 is a national holiday from the past. Another 3% associate it with the arrival of the Soviet Army in Bulgaria.

2% give emotional associations such as “repressions, a sad date, enslavement.”

The island of Persin (Belene) rings a bell to 60% of interviewed youths. 40% associate it with a concentration camp (a camp for the politically unreliable). 15% associate the term with the construction of the nuclear power plant of the same name.

3% give purely geographic notions: an island, a natural park, a city.

2% of youths have emotional associations such as “repression, torture, horror.”

40% of survey participants do not associate the island of Belene with anything specific. Usually these are the youngest participants in the survey (age 15 to 18), respondents with lower levels of education, rural residents and ethnic minority representatives.

These three Bulgarian history terms are the most recognizable ones from all the terms tested in the survey.

With the other seven terms not knowing (“I do not associate it with anything specific”) is dominant.

The most unknown term to youths who participated in the survey is the name of Mara Racheva: 97% do not associate her name with anything specific.

90% of young people do not know what the “goryani” were, while 4% give incorrect answers. Correct answers (a resistance movement, fighters against communism) are given by 6% of the interviewed. Usually these are youths with

higher education and residents of the capital.

89% of survey participants do not associate “In Absentia Reports” with anything specific. The rest give correct answers: “a programme on radio Free Europe, the name of a book by writer Georgi Markov”. Correct answers are more frequently given by youths aged 26 to 35, respondents with higher education and residents of Sofia.

78% of young survey participants do not give any specific associations related to the quarry near Lovech.

Correct answer, a camp, political prison, is given by 20% of respondents. Young people who belong to the highest age group, residents of the capital and highly educated respondents give correct answers more often than the rest.

2.4% give emotional associations: torture, harassment, genocide.

74% of interviewed young people do not have any specific associations with the detachment “Anton Ivanov”.

24% state that they associate the name with a detachment of partisans. More often these are young people aged 30 to 35, highly educated respondents and residents of small towns. Supporters of Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (Grazhdani za evropeysko razvitie na Balgaria - GERB) and BSP give correct answers more often than the rest.

70% of the interviewed do not associate “the church Saint Nedelya in 1925” with anything specific. Imprecise answers are given by 6% of survey participants (church, religion, geographic location).

24% give correct answers: “an assault, an attempt to overthrow the government, the first assault in Bulgaria, etc.” Usually these are interviewees between 30 and 35, respondents with higher education and residents of the capital.

Two thirds of the interviewed youths do not associate the term “collectivism” (collective farming) with anything specific. Moreover, another 13% wrongly associate it with “a collective, union, affiliation”.

Correct definitions: TKZS (Labour-collective farm), nationalizing land and property, are given by 17% of youths. 3% give emotional associations such as

“communism, communist terror”.

Among the terms related to European and world history of the 20th century, the most recognizable name to contemporary Bulgarian youths is Adolf Hitler: 85% give specific associations related to him.

The most widespread associations are “fascism, Nazism”, given by 26% of the interviewed and “dictator, despot, tyrant, murderer” given by 25%. 11% relate Hitler’s name to the Second World War; 10% call him a “politician, chancellor, Fuhrer”; 7% associate him with concentration camps, the Holocaust and genocide; 6% call him “a maniac, mentally ill, a psychopath, a sadist, a crazy man.” Only 0.8% give positive associations such as “a great man, an idealist, a leader.”

78% of interviewed youths give specific associations related to Chernobyl. The most frequent ones are “breakdown at a nuclear power plant”, given by 34% of survey participants and “contamination with radiation, ecological disaster”, given by 27%. More neutral answers include “nuclear power plant”, given by 14% of interviewees, and “geographic location” – by 2%. Another 2% give emotional associations such as “tragedy”, “withholding information”, “a lesson so that we do not allow a nuclear power plant in Belene”.

4444% of youths aged 15 to 18 do not associate the word Chernobyl with anything specific. The part of uninformed respondents decreases proportionately as age increases and in the highest age group it is 10%.

We observe the highest proportions of uninformed respondents in the socio-demographic groups in which we have noticed a lack of notion of Bulgarian 20th century historical events: respondents with primary or lower education, rural residents and ethnic minority representatives.

The Berlin Wall as an historical term is known to 68% of interviewed youths. 42% of them associate it with the division of Berlin and Germany, with the border between East and West Germany.

12% name the division of Europe: for them the Berlin Wall is a border between the democratic and the socialist countries in Europe. Another 12% associate the Berlin Wall with the fall of communism. 3% of interviewees give emotional associations such as “war, suffering, death.”

32% of survey participants do not associate the Berlin Wall with anything specific. Usually these are the youngest participants (55% of them), respondents with low levels of education, rural residents and ethnic minority representatives.

Half of surveyed youths associate Auschwitz with specific notions; the rest do not.

Among those who give specific associations, “concentration camp, death camp, camp for Jews, gas chambers” dominate: 45% give such answers.

3% of interviewed young people associate Auschwitz with Hitler’s Germany, while 2% have emotional associations such as “genocide, murders, torture, atrocity, cruelty”.

Once again mostly the youngest participants in the survey do not associate Auschwitz with anything specific: 70% of this group. The other weakly informed socio-demographic groups are those mentioned several times so far: respondents with low levels of education, rural residents and young people of Turkish and Roma origin.

With the increase in age the proportion of those who do not associate the term with anything specific decreases.

These four European and world history terms are the most recognizable of all the terms tested in the survey.

For the other eight terms not knowing (“I do not associate it with anything specific”) dominates.

The most unknown terms to the youth are the “Molotov-Ribbentrop” Pact and Treblinka: to 90% of them.

We also register a high share of not knowing about the trade union Solidarity (Poland): 86% of young people do not know anything specific about this organization.

According to 5% Solidarity was a progressive organization for fighting for democracy in Poland (united independent trade unions in the 80s of the 20th century). Another 5% associate Solidarity with Lech Walesa: “a party, movement of Lech Walesa”. According to 4% Solidarity was the first rebellion for the removal of communism and the totalitarian regime.

2% of young people do not associate the word "kulak" with anything specific.

The given associations of the word are:

- ✓ According to 14%: a large land owner, a rich peasant, a wealthy peasant in Russia, enemies of collective farming
- ✓ According to 3%: a rich man before September 9, 1944, an enemy of TKZS
- ✓ According to 1%: an exploiter, an enemy to the people (negative opinion)

Correct answers are given more often by respondents aged 30 to 35, respondents with higher levels of education and residents of the capital.

80% of the interviewed do not associate the term Gulag with anything specific.

Among those who give an answer 15% claim that this was a concentration camp in Russia; according to 3% - a search engine on the Internet. 2% give emotional associations such as "horror, murders, death."

More informed about the Gulag are respondents with higher education and residents of Sofia.

67% of youths participating in the survey do not know anything about the Iron Curtain.

The things they most frequently associate with it are:

- ✓ The border between the East and the West: according to 14%
- ✓ Division, disunion: according to 9%
- ✓ Restricted information, information blackout: 4%
- ✓ Travel restrictions: 3%
- ✓ Emotional associations (repression, terror, conspiracy): 3%

Correct associations are more often given by young people aged 30 to 35, respondents with higher education, residents of the capital and small towns.

58% of respondents do not associate “Free Europe” with anything specific.

Among specific associations given the most common one is “radio, a forbidden, jammed radio station until 1990”, according to 34%. 3% of the interviewed associate “Free Europe” with democracy and freedom of speech, while 4% - with “Europe without borders, free movement of people, opportunities for work”.

More frequently correct answers are given by young people aged 30 to 35, respondents with higher education, residents of the capital and the large cities.

56% of surveyed youths do not associate the Holocaust with anything specific.

The rest give correct answers. 40% say that this was “genocide of the Jews, repression, atrocity, massacre”. According to 3% the Holocaust is associated with death and concentration camps, while 1% associate it with Hitler, Nazism and the Second World War.

Yet again young people aged 30 to 35, respondents with higher education and residents of Sofia are the most accurately informed.

Amongst the youngest, aged 15 to 18, 81% do not associate the term “Holocaust” with anything specific.

VIII. General beliefs of the young about basic human rights

47% of interviewed young people share the opinion that the “right to life, liberty and security of person” is a fundamental human right. It is important to clarify that this is the definition given by interviewees. Most frequently this is the answer given by people aged 30 to 35, respondents with higher education, as well as residents of the capital.

A third of the interviewed claim that freedom of speech and conscience as well as free expression are fundamental human rights. This answer is given more often than the rest by youths aged 26 to 30, respondents with higher education as well as residents of large cities.

17% of young Bulgarians name social rights, such as the right to healthcare, education and social security, as fundamental human rights. Usually this opinion is expressed by people aged 30 to 35, in an equal proportion respondents with the highest and lowest levels of education, rural residents, and ethnic minority representatives.

Since the topic of youth unemployment is one of the main topics that young people in Bulgaria are concerned about, it is perfectly normal that among the most frequently stated human rights is the right to labour and work, named by 16% of young people. These are mostly respondents aged 30 to 35, small town residents (where we could assume that unemployment is a chronic problem with a more difficult solution) and ethnic minority representatives.

The right to choose and in particular political choice (right to vote) is seen as a fundamental human right by 15% of participants in the survey. This human right is most frequently mentioned by young residents of the capital as well as public sector employees.

The research clearly shows that young people define fundamental human rights guided by a strong need for justice. This is why 9% directly say that equality before the law is one of the fundamental human rights. Highly educated respondents as well as young residents of the capital and other large cities in the country share a similar opinion.

Looking at the data received in the answers to the questions “What, in your opinion, are the fundamental human rights?”, it can be seen that there is well-informed and not well-informed public opinion. Residents of the capital and other large cities with secondary and higher education have the broadest beliefs. Moreover, these young people put an emphasis on the global and value-driven aspect of human rights: the freedom to expression of free will and conscience, human dignity, etc.

Young people who are poorer and have lower education degrees as well as residents of smaller towns and rural areas, on the other hand, put an emphasis on social security and the right to work.

Ethnic minority representatives and the youngest respondents more frequently than the rest put an emphasis on social security.

Then in a natural way such answers suggest that the consciousness about human rights especially among respondents with low levels of education, unemployed and poor young people is simply the product of their day-to-day life and individual status.

A fifth of young Bulgarians who participated in the survey do not want to name what the fundamental human rights are. Among them we find the youngest respondents (age 15 to 18), respondents with primary or lower levels of education, rural residents as well as ethnic minority representatives.

IX. Historical periods in the opinion of young people

The answers to the question “If you could choose, in which historical period would you like to live in Bulgaria?” are very interesting and give insight into young people’s values. This is a closed-type question and young people were given several options from which they could choose only one.

31% of survey participants say that they would choose to live in the period after the beginning of the democratic changes, i.e. after November 1989. This answer is most often given by respondents aged 26 and 30, highly educated respondents, residents of the capital and private sector employees.

18%, however, claim that they would choose to live in the times of Todor Zhivkov. The profile of the youths who have chosen this answer is interesting. These are people aged 30 and 35, respondents with low levels of education, rural residents, Roma and unemployed youths. Obviously, for these young people the time of Todor Zhivkov was marked by security and tranquility, work and subsistence for everyone.

5% of the interviewed would like to go back in time and would choose to live during the reign of Boris III. This answer seems almost “exotic” and is chosen by highly educated young people and residents of the capital.

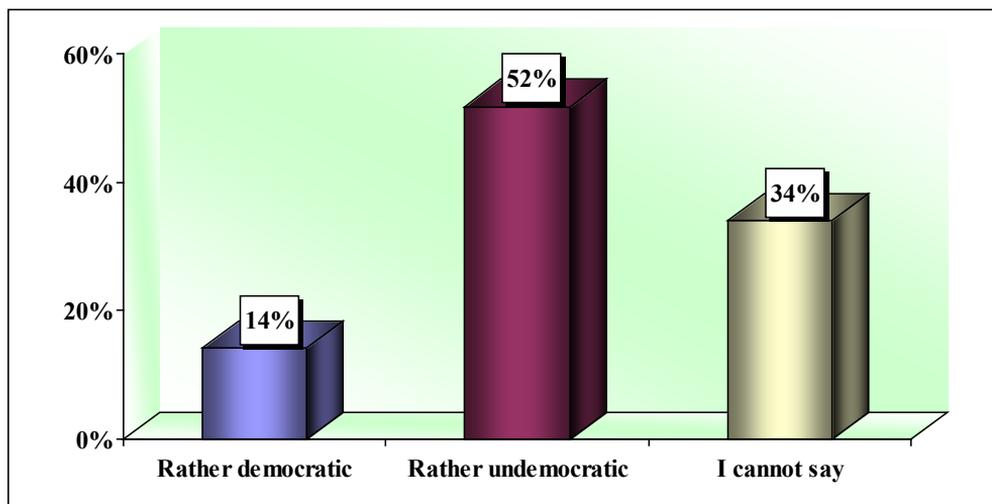
3% of respondents, if they could choose, would like to live during the reign of Ferdinand I.

2222% of youths do not answer the question at hand and claim that if they had any choice they would not like to live in Bulgaria at all, irrespective of the historic period. Obviously, the idea to give them the chance to choose a time period does not work even as a game of hypotheticals with these young people, who find it necessary to say that they do not want to live in Bulgaria. This answer is given by the youngest in the survey, age 18 and under, respondents with low levels of education and ethnic minority representatives.

Secondary analysis of the data shows that 40% of young Bulgarians who would like to live (if they could choose) in the period of Todor Zhivkov are convinced that his government was rather democratic.

As a whole, however, only 14% of Bulgarian youths aged 15 to 35 consider Todor Zhivkov's government democratic. 52% of today's youth consider it undemocratic.

In your opinion, Bulgaria's government in the period 1944-1989 was rather democratic or undemocratic?



People aged over 30 who have some, even if minimal recollection of this

period, more often than other youths consider Todor Zhivkov's government rather undemocratic. This is the main opinion among interviewees with secondary and higher education as well as the greater part of young residents of the capital.

Todor Zhivkov's government is seen as rather democratic by people with primary or lower education, rural residents and the Roma.

The only socio-demographic groups among which the opinion that the government in the period 1944 – 1989 was rather democratic are people with education level lower than primary and the Roma.

X. Advantages and disadvantages of Todor Zhivkov's government

Asked about the advantages and disadvantages for an ordinary person living in Todor Zhivkov's time, young people seem to have a clearer idea of the plus sides than of the downsides of his rule.

26% of the interviewed do not know what the advantages of living under Todor Zhivkov's government were, while almost twice as many (42%) cannot answer the question what the disadvantages of living in that historic time were.

The youngest Bulgarians (under 18) as well as respondents with primary or lower level of education clearly lack information regarding the advantages of living during Todor Zhivkov's government.

The same socio-demographic groups most frequently state that they do not know what the disadvantages of living under Todor Zhivkov's government were. This shows that the youngest, as well as the uneducated youths, in equal proportions do not have a notion and do not want to express an opinion about the period of Todor Zhivkov's government. In addition to not being contemporaries of Todor Zhivkov's government, these young people obviously do not feel educated and competent enough to answer questions regarding his rule.

In the young people's answers on the pluses and minuses of life for an ordinary person during Todor Zhivkov's government, there is an accumulation of pluses. This means that in spite of the fact that overall his rule is perceived as

undemocratic, the acquisitions during that time have not been forgotten and even today they impress young people.

A third of young Bulgarians are convinced that during Todor Zhivkov's time people had jobs and professional realization. This is most frequently said by young people aged 26 to 35, highly educated respondents, residents of large cities and rural areas, public sector employees and ethnic minority representatives. This type of evaluation suggests that this is a mass opinion that is not particularly influenced by personal standard of living. Obviously, the aforementioned groups are using stereotypes of the evaluation of the recent past that are widespread in their environment.

A quarter of survey participants say the time to 1989 was calm, secure and guaranteed normal life for ordinary people. Without doubt, such an opinion can be seen as a counterpoint to one of the dominant opinions of the contemporary period: life is described as insecure, without social guarantees for survival and without enough protection against petty crime.

An integral part of the feeling of insecurity is the lack of financial means. This is why 14% of young people pay special attention to the fact that in the recent past there unlikely was a lack of basic means for the subsistence of young people. This is said more often by young people aged 30 to 35 as well as youths of Turkish origin.

Free education and free healthcare are pointed out as advantages of the time before 1989 by 11% of interviewees. People aged 30 to 35 as well as residents of large cities put an emphasis on the social acquisitions during the socialist period.

8% of the interviewed mention low prices of goods and services. As a whole, we can infer that young people have the consciousness that, even if not high, the standard of living was comfortable for the majority of people.

51% of youths are convinced that the limits to personal liberties during Todor Zhivkov's government were a major disadvantage for life of ordinary people. Within this young people include, in addition to the lack of freedom, lack of free movement, lack of political freedom, religious freedom, freedom of speech, freedom to listen to the type of music you like, etc. This is more frequently claimed by people who

are closer to the upper age limit and obviously have some personal experience and memories from that period. Highly educated respondents and residents of Sofia also put an emphasis on the restrictions of different types of liberties in the period of Todor Zhivkov's government.

Regarding day-to-day life, the restrictions and shortcomings come down to a lack of diverse consumer goods, as well as difficult access to cars and dwellings. 4% of the interviewed are of the opinion that private initiative was repressed, while 1% claim that there was ethnic discrimination during that period.

Young people who are supporters of BSP more often than other youths claim that the period of Todor Zhivkov's government was not marked by any major shortcomings.

XI. Notions that young people have about the Committee for State Security

A very interesting question related to the evaluation of the totalitarian government is related to the notions that young people today have about the role and functions of the Committee for State Security.

Above 40% of contemporary young people in Bulgaria do not want to give an opinion about the Committee for State Security.

A weaker interest in the Committee for State Security is observed in young women, interviewees age 18 and under, respondents with primary or lower level of education, rural residents, as well as ethnic minority representatives.

Among young Bulgarians who give an opinion about the Committee for State Security, the main impression is that of an institution that was repressive and harmful.

45% of interviewed youths claim that the Committee for State Security repressed people, while three times fewer people claim that it defended them. Youths under 26, highly educated respondents and residents of the capital stand behind the claim that the Committee for State Security had a repressive role.

According to 37% the Committee for State Security was rather harmful, while according to 17% the work of this institution was rather useful. Youths above 26, respondents with high levels of education and residents of the capital most frequently think of the Committee for State Security as an institution harmful to people.

When it comes to whose interests the Committee for State Security served, the opinions about the role and functions of the institution are not so much at the extremes. 26% are convinced that the Committee for State Security served Bulgarian interests, while a large proportion, 30%, are of the opinion that it served foreign interests. The latter opinion is shared most frequently by men, young people above 30, respondents with high levels of education and urban residents. However, young people are at a difficulty to give an opinion about the question.

The secondary analysis shows that certain groups of young people have a stance on questions related to the activities of the Committee for State Security. These are youths from Sofia and highly educated respondents above 26.

The cross-analysis shows that the total share of young people who have said simultaneously that the Committee for State Security served Bulgarian interests, defended people and was rather a useful institution is 10%.

XII. Which people got richer since the beginning of the transition to democracy in Bulgaria?

Young people have built a rather colourful collective image of the nouveau riche, which includes the following qualifications and attributes: mafia people, gang members, criminals, thieves, swindlers, corrupted people. 41% of interviewed young people give such definitions and pronouncedly connect getting rich with negative predicates and criminal activity. This is the opinion of young people aged 26 to 30, public sector employees as well as residents of large cities (with the exception of Sofia).

The second group of definitions and qualifications summarizes the opinion of 37% of the interviewed. According to them, during the last decades the ones who got rich were politicians, statesmen, those in power, members of parliament, mayors, etc. In this way we see that the mass opinion is that the road to power is the road to illegal enrichment.

This opinion is relatively evenly spread across different social groups of young people in Bulgaria.

Young people put an emphasis on the following groups and cliques who have gotten rich:

- ✓ Communists, people from BCP and the Committee for State Security (11%)
- ✓ The ones who took the initiative, the able, the smart ones, the entrepreneurial ones (10%)
- ✓ The cunning, “smart ass” ones, the ones without scruples (10%)
- ✓ Cliques, oligarchs (6%)

It is clearly seen that only 10% of young Bulgarians describe their compatriots who got rich during the transition period with positive qualities. The mass opinion of the Bulgarian who got rich since the beginning of the democratic period is related to breaches of the law, negative personal morals or participating in the government.

XIII. Evaluation of the role of the Soviet Army, which entered Bulgaria on September 8, 1944

Half of young Bulgarians have difficulty replying to the question “With what words would you describe the Soviet Army, which entered Bulgaria on September 8, 1944, towards the end of the Second World War?”. Most frequently people aged 15 to 18, youths with primary or lower levels of education, rural residents and ethnic minority representatives are the ones who do not have an opinion on this issue.

Among those who have an opinion on the issue the majority are respondents who describe the behavior of the Soviet Army with the words “victor, liberator, savior of Bulgarians.” This is claimed by 34% of young Bulgarians. This group is mostly represented by respondents over 30 with secondary or higher education, as well as residents of smaller towns.

Only 9% of Bulgarian youths describe the Soviet Army as an invader, enslaver, conqueror and intruder. This type of answers is given mostly by respondents with high levels of education and residents of the capital.

XIV. Opinion about the entry of Bulgarian troops in Czechoslovakia in 1968

Two thirds of today's young Bulgarians are not aware of what the Bulgarian troops were doing in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Among the ones who have an opinion on the issue, 23% say that Czechoslovakia was occupied in order to prevent it from leaving the Soviet bloc. This is answer is given by youths aged 30 to 35, highly educated respondents and residents of the capital.

Two times fewer people (11%) are the ones who think that the troops who entered Czechoslovakia's territory were there to help with the fight against the counter-revolution.

XV. Notions of young people about the reasons for the death of Nikola Petkov

The greatest group of young people have difficulty naming the reason for the death of Nikola Petkov (62% of the interviewed). Worst informed are respondents aged 15 to 18, rural residents and respondents with low levels of education.

Among the ones who have named specific reasons for Nikola Petkov's death, the main opinion is that he was murdered (according to 32%). These are mostly youths aged 30 to 35, highly educated respondents as well as residents of the capital.

The data show that there is not another significant opinion in the responses of this question. Only 3% assume that he died due to illness, 2% - due to an accident, and 1% claim it was suicide.

XVI. Notions among young Bulgarians about the reasons for the death of Georgi Markov

Here as well we do not observe a very high degree of informed opinions. Those who do not know the reason for Georgi Markov's death are 51%. Usually these are young women under 25 with primary or lower levels of education, rural residents. Ethnic minority representatives also lack information on the issue.

The most frequently given reason for Georgi Markov's death is murder. This is claimed by 43% of interviewed Bulgarian youths. Among them there are mostly respondents aged 30 to 35, highly educated respondents and residents of large cities.

4% of the young claim that Georgi Markov died due to illness and 2% are of the opinion that he suffered an accident.

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Please, indicate what countries Bulgaria borders.	Correctly indicated all countries Bulgaria borders	45,9%
	Correctly indicated four countries Bulgaria borders	26,4%
	Correctly indicated three countries Bulgaria borders	10,2%
	indicated countries Bulgaria don't border	5,1%
	Correctly indicated two countries Bulgaria borders	4,3%
	Correctly indicated one country Bulgaria borders	1,3%
	I don't know	6,9%
total		100,0%

Please, indicate in which city the European Parliament is located?	Brussels	59,5%
	Strasbourg	5,5%
	Other cities	3,7%
	Brussels and Strasbourg	0,5%
	I don't know	30,8%
общо		100,0%

In your opinion, the government of which countries could be described as a dictatorship?

North Korea	18,7%
Cuba	9,3%
Turkey	7,4%
Syria	7,1%
Iran	6,3%
Libya	5,7%
Iraq	5,5%
Russia	5,5%
China	4,5%
Hitler's Germany	3,1%
USA	1,8%
Bulgaria	1,5%
Chilly	1,1%
Great Britain	0,9%
Venezuela	0,8%
South Africa	0,8%
Afghanistan	0,7%
United Arab emirates	0,6%
South Korea	0,6%
Vietnam	0,6%
Egypt	0,5%
Japan	0,5%
Saudi Arabia	0,5%
Italy	0,4%
France	0,3%
Palestine	0,3%
Israel	0,3%
Belarus	0,3%
Greece	0,3%
Qatar	0,3%
Kosovo	0,2%
Albania	0,2%
Lebanon	0,2%
Macedonia	0,2%
Ukraine	0,2%
Zimbabwe	0,2%
Brazil	0,2%
Romania	0,2%
Pakistan	0,2%
Argentina	0,1%
Kenya	0,1%
Somalia	0,1%
Hungary	0,1%
Belgium	0,1%
Mexico	0,1%
Philippines	0,1%
Kazakhstan	0,1%
Yemen	0,1%
Oman	0,1%
Serbia	0,1%
I don't know	47,2%
Irrelevant answer	2,2%

In your opinion, which personalities (contemporary or historical) could be described as dictators?

Adolf Hitler	34,2%
Joseph Stalin	19,9%
Saddam Hussein	7,8%
Fidel Castro	5,4%
Muammar Gaddafi	5,3%
Todor Zhivkov	4,5%
Benito Mussolini	3,3%
Augusto Pinochet	3,1%
Boyko Borisov	2,1%
Recep Tayyip Erdogan	2,1%
Vladimir Ilyich Lenin	1,9%
Kim Jong Il	1,8%
Vladimir Putin	1,5%
Nicolae Ceausescu	1,2%
Kim Il Sung	1,2%
Kim Jong Un	1,1%
Hugo Chavez	1,0%
Osama bin Laden	0,7%
Mao Zedong	0,7%
Josip Bros Tito	0,6%
Volen Siderov	0,5%
Georgi Dimitrov	0,5%
Ahmed Dogan	0,5%
Bashar al-Assad	0,5%
Napoleon Bonaparte	0,4%
Winston Churchill	0,3%
Leonid Brezhnev	0,3%
Francisco Franco	0,3%
Sergey Stanishev	0,3%
Angela Merkel	0,3%
Tsvetan Tsvetanov	0,2%
Ivan Kostov	0,2%
Elizabeth II	0,2%
Che Guevara	0,2%
George Bush	0,2%
Barack Obama	0,2%
Ayatollah Khomeini	0,1%
Silvio Berlusconi	0,1%
Margaret Thatcher	0,1%
Hosni Mubarak	0,1%
Alexander Lukashenko	0,1%
Valko Tchervenkov	0,1%
Anton Yugov	0,1%
Attila	0,1%
Slobodan Milosevic	0,1%
Nikita Khrushchev	0,1%
I don't know	42,0%

In your opinion, which personalities (contemporary or historical) could be described as fighters against dictatorships?

Vasil Levski	7,1%	Giuseppe Garibaldi	0,1%
Che Guevara	6,2%	Winston Churchill	0,1%
Zhelyu Zhelev	2,5%	Barack Obama	0,1%
Hristo Botev	2,5%	Daniel Ortega	0,1%
Nelson Mandela	2,5%	Emma Goldman	0,1%
Alexander Stambolijski	0,6%	George Orwell	0,1%
Fidel Castro	0,5%	Sergey Stanishev	0,1%
Georgi Dimitrov	0,5%	Kasim Dal	0,1%
Martin Luther King	0,5%	Andrei Sakharov	0,1%
Volen Siderov	0,4%	Kimon Georgiev	0,1%
Georgi Sava Rakovsky	0,4%	Georgi Parvanov	0,1%
Georgi Markov	0,4%	Peter Slabakov	0,1%
Petar Dertliev	0,4%	Vasil Kolarov	0,1%
Mahatma Gandhi	0,4%	Geo Milev	0,1%
Ivan Vazov	0,3%	Radoy Ralin	0,1%
Nikola Petkov	0,3%	Rajiv Gandhi	0,1%
Hugo Chavez	0,3%	Kofi Annan	0,1%
Salvador Allende	0,3%	Iev Trotsky	0,1%
Dilma Rouseff	0,3%	Michael Jackson	0,1%
Philip Dimitrov	0,3%	Georgi Benkovski	0,1%
Captain Petko Voivoda	0,2%	Spartacus	0,1%
Julian Assange	0,2%	Ivan Todorov - Gorunya	0,1%
Ahmed Dogan	0,2%	Anastasiya Mozer	0,1%
Lutfi Mestan	0,2%	George Bush	0,1%
Lech Walesa	0,2%	Leonid Brezhnev	0,1%
Mikhail Gorbachev	0,2%	Joseph Stalin	0,1%
Petar Stoyanov	0,2%	Blaga Dimitrova	0,1%
Mustafa Kemal Ataturk	0,2%	Hillary Clinton	0,1%
Oskar Schindler	0,2%	Benazir Bhutto	0,1%
Janne d' Arc	0,2%	Mara Buneva	0,1%
Alexander Solzhenitsyn	0,2%	Charles de Gaulle	0,1%
Vladimir Ilyich Lenin	0,2%	Boyko Borisov	0,1%
Vladimir Putin	0,2%	Vassili Zaitsev	0,1%
Ronald Reagan	0,2%	Ivan Kostov	0,1%
Stefan Karadza	0,1%	I do not know / can not judge	77,1%
Bradley Manning	0,1%	Irrelevant answer	1,4%

	Politician	Scholar	Athlete	Entrepreneur	I do not know anything about him	Total
In your opinion, who was Valko Chervenkov?	47,2%	1,3%	0,7%	0,7%	50,1%	100,0%
In your opinion, who was Joseph Stalin?	75,5%	1,5%	0,1%	0,6%	22,3%	100,0%

To what extent, in your opinion, each the following famous Bulgarians has defended/defends freedom and democracy?						
	To a great extent	To a small extent	Did not defend at all	I cannot say	I do not know anything about him	Total
Vasil Levski	96,4%	,9%	,3%	1,0%	1,5%	100,0%
Alexander Stambolijski	55,1%	13,8%	1,6%	14,2%	15,3%	100,0%
Alexander Tsankov	16,1%	9,0%	5,8%	22,2%	46,9%	100,0%
Nicola Mushanov	7,4%	4,6%	2,8%	18,3%	66,9%	100,0%
Kimon Georgiev	8,5%	8,5%	5,8%	19,4%	57,7%	100,0%
Tsar Boris III	36,0%	18,7%	13,6%	20,1%	11,5%	100,0%
Bogdan Filov	9,5%	6,5%	5,6%	21,7%	56,7%	100,0%
Georgi Dimitrov	29,3%	17,0%	15,1%	20,3%	18,4%	100,0%
Traicho Kostov	8,6%	9,5%	5,6%	21,4%	54,8%	100,0%
Nikola Petkov	20,8%	10,1%	2,3%	19,5%	47,4%	100,0%
Krusty Pastuhov	3,5%	3,5%	1,0%	13,3%	78,6%	100,0%
G.M. Dimitrov	13,9%	7,6%	3,5%	17,6%	57,4%	100,0%
Todor Zhivkov	17,5%	18,6%	36,5%	20,8%	6,5%	100,0%
Ilia Minev	3,0%	2,7%	3,1%	11,2%	80,0%	100,0%
Zhelyu Zhelev	47,5%	18,5%	6,2%	17,1%	10,8%	100,0%
Peter Dertliev	19,5%	10,9%	3,6%	20,0%	45,9%	100,0%
Georgi Parvanov	30,5%	27,3%	17,4%	21,5%	3,4%	100,0%

Which information sources do you use for Bulgarian 20th century history?	history books	60,3%
	documentaries	50,3%
	the Internet	49,7%
	my history teachers	47,9%
	TV shows	46,3%
	stories told by older people, relatives and acquaintances	43,6%
	Motion pictures	36,5%
	books	29,3%
	museums	19,3%
	newspapers	17,8%
No sources / not interested in the subject	10,7%	

Which information sources do you use for world 20th century history?	history books	54,4%
	the Internet	50,0%
	documentaries	49,4%
	TV shows	42,7%
	my history teachers	41,4%
	Motion pictures	37,9%
	stories told by older people, relatives and acquaintances	35,0%
	books	26,8%
	newspapers	16,5%
	museums	14,4%
No sources / not interested in the subject	12,3%	

If you could choose, in which of the following historic periods would you live?	During the democratic period after 1989	30,8%
	During the rule of Todor Zhivkov	17,5%
	During the reign of King Boris III	4,5%
	During the reign of Ferdinand I	2,6%
	If I could choose, I would not live in Bulgaria	21,9%
	Cannot say	22,5%
Total		100,0%

In your opinion, the government of Bulgaria in the period 1944-1989 was rather democratic or rather undemocratic?	Rather democratic	14,1%
	Rather undemocratic	51,8%
	Cannot say	34,1%
Total		100,0%

In your opinion, which were the advantages of living during Todor Zhivkov's time for an ordinary person?

people had jobs, career	34,5%
safety, peace and normal life	23,4%
financial stability, regular income	13,7%
benefits: free education and healthcare	10,9%
lower prices of goods and services	8,0%
equality between people	5,0%
Bulgarian goods, everything was locally produced	0,4%
high morality in society	0,4%
single-party model	0,2%
aid from Russia	0,1%
conscription	0,1%
Bulgarian athletic achievements	0,1%
young people did not leave Bulgaria	0,1%
no benefits	10,5%
I do not know	26,3%

In your opinion, which were the disadvantages of living during Todor Zhivkov's time for an ordinary person?

Restriction of personal freedom (freedom of speech, political freedom, religious freedom, prohibition of certain music, etc.).	31,2%
restrictions on travel abroad	13,4%
lack of variety of goods, difficult access to cars and homes	10,0%
one-party model, dictatorship, benefits to members of the Communist Party and their children	6,4%
regimentation, suppression of private initiative, economic constraints, low wages	3,6%
mistreatment of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria, renaming „revival process”	1,0%
no flaws	7,8%
I do not know	41,6%

Below there are three pairs of claims related to the Committee for State Security in the period 1944-1989. Which claim from each pair is closest to your opinion?

The Committee of State security served Bulgarian interests	26,2%
The Committee of State security served foreign interests	30,2%
Cannot say	43,6%
total	100,0%

The Committee of State security defended people	13,6%
The Committee of State security oppressed people	44,6%
Cannot say	41,7%
total	100,0%

The Committee of State security was rather useful	17,2%
The Committee of State security was rather harmful	36,5%
Cannot say	46,3%
total	100,0%

What words would you use to describe the Soviet Army, which entered Bulgaria's territory on September 8, 1944 towards the end of the Second World War?	liberator, savior, victor	33,5%
	oppressors and occupiers, conqueror	8,8%
	characteristics of military age and without evaluation of the action	5,2%
	political interests, striving for influence in Bulgaria	3,2%
	neither savior nor aggressor	0,3%
	I do not know	50,0%

In your opinion, why did Bulgarian troops enter Czechoslovakia in 1968?	Occupied Czechoslovakia to prevent it from leaving the Soviet bloc	22,5%
	To assist to Czechoslovakia in the fight against "counter-revolution"	11,3%
	To assist in fighting a natural disasters	1,5%
	solidarity	0,1%
	other	0,3%
	Cannot say	64,5%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate the island of Persin (Belene)?	Concentration camp (camp for the politically unreliable)	40,2%
	NPP „Belene“, construction of the nuclear power plant of the same name	14,6%
	geographic notions: an island, a natural park, a city	2,5%
	emotional definitions (repression, torture, horror)	2,4%
	with Bulgarian Communist Party	0,3%
	does not relate it to anything specific	39,9%
	Irrelevant responses	0,2%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate Gulag?	Concentration camp in Russia	14,8%
	a search engine on the Internet	3,1%
	emotional definitions (terror, murder, death)	2,2%
	does not relate it to anything specific	79,2%
	Irrelevant responses	0,7%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate Auschwitz?	concentration camp, death camp, camp for Jews, gas chambers	45,4%
	Hitler's Germany	3,1%
	emotional definitions (genocide, murder, torture, atrocity, cruelty)	1,8%
	does not relate it to anything specific	49,7%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate the quarry near Lovech?	concentration camp, political prison	20,2%
	emotional definitions (torture, harassment, genocide)	2,4%
	does not relate it to anything specific	76,3%
	Irrelevant replies	1,2%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate the collectivization movement?	a collective, union, affiliation	12,7%
	cooperative	9,9%
	expropriation, nationalization, confiscation of land and property	7,1%
	emotional definitions (communism, communist terror)	3,3%
	does not relate it to anything specific	66,3%
	Irrelevant responses	0,7%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate Adolf Hitler?	Fascism, Nazism	25,5%
	dictator, despot, tyrant, murderer	24,9%
	Second World War, the occupier	10,7%
	Politician, Chancellor, Fuhrer	9,9%
	concentration camps, the Holocaust, genocide	6,6%
	maniac, mentally ill, a psychopath, a sadist, a crazy man	6,3%
	great man, an idealist, a leader	0,8%
	does not relate it to anything specific	15,3%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate the goryani?	a resistance movement, fighters against communism	6,4%
	partisans	1,5%
	emotional definitions (bad people, thieves)	1,0%
	mountain people	1,0%
	does not relate it to anything specific	87,6%
	Irrelevant responses	2,5%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate the Holocaust?	genocide of the Jews, repression, killings	39,6%
	concentration camps, death camps	2,8%
	Hitler, Nazism, World War II	1,1%
	fiction	0,4%
	Irrelevant responses	0,5%
	does not relate it to anything specific	55,5%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact?	Non-aggression treaty between Germany and Russia	7,2%
	World War II	1,8%
	The separation of the two parts of Poland	1,1%
	emotional definitions (crime, tragedy)	0,4%
	does not relate it to anything specific	88,2%
	Irrelevant replies (struggle, anarchism)	1,4%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate BCP?	Bulgarian Communist Party (the Party, Communism)	61,8%
	BSP, socialism	5,3%
	Todor Zhivkov (the party of Todor Zhivkov)	5,2%
	emotional definitions (totalitarianism, dictatorship, poverty)	4,2%
	Equality, justice, a better life	0,9%
	does not relate it to anything specific	22,6%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate “In Abstentia Reports” on Bulgaria?	a program on radio Free Europe	4,4%
	the name of a book by writer Georgi Markov	3,7%
	Georgi Markov, a writer	3,2%
	does not relate it to anything specific	87,5%
	Irrelevant responses	1,2%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate Chernobyl?	Breakdown at a nuclear power plant	34,4%
	contamination with radiation, ecological disaster	26,6%
	nuclear power plant	14,4%
	geographic location	1,5%
	emotional definitions (tragedy)	1,3%
	withholding information about the radiation from Chernobyl	0,2%
	a lesson so that we do not allow a nuclear power plant in Belene	0,2%
	Irrelevant responses	1,3%
does not relate it to anything specific	20,2%	
total		100,0%

With what do you relate the Iron Curtain?	The border between East and West	14,1%
	Division, disunion	9,4%
	Restricted information, information blackout	3,6%
	travel restrictions	3,1%
	Emotional definitions (repression, terror, conspiracy)	2,7%
	Churchill’s speech	0,3%
	Irrelevant responses	1,1%
	does not relate it to anything specific	65,7%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate the church Saint Nedelya in 1925?	an assault, an attempt to overthrow the government, the first assault in Bulgaria	24,3%
	with the church in Sofia, religion	4,5%
	geographical location	1,3%
	emotional definitions	0,3%
	Irrelevant responses	0,5%
	does not relate it to anything specific	69,2%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate the word kulak?	a large land owner, a rich peasant, a wealthy peasant in Russia, enemies of collective farming	13,6%
	a rich man before September 9, 1944, an enemy of TKZS	3,1%
	negative definitions (an exploiter, an enemy to the people)	1,0%
	Irrelevant responses	2,5%
	does not relate it to anything specific	79,8%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate the Berlin Wall?	Division of Berlin, a division of Germany, the border between the GDR and FRG division of Berlin and Germany, with the border between East and West Germany	42,0%
	The division of Europe, a border between the democratic and the socialist countries in Europe	11,8%
	The fall of communism	11,5%
	emotional definitions (war, suffering, death)	2,5%
	does not relate it to anything specific	30,3%
	Irrelevant responses	1,9%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate September 9?	with communism, with BCP coming to power	25,6%
	with freeing Bulgaria from fascism, from the German occupation	24,8%
	national holiday from the past	7,8%
	with the arrival of the Soviet army in Bulgaria	2,5%
	emotional definitions: repression, sad date, enslavement	2,4%
	Wiyh Todor Zhivkov	1,4%
	Irrelevant responses	2,3%
	does not relate it to anything specific	33,3%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate 'Free Europe'?	radio, a forbidden, jammed radio station until 1990	34,3%
	Europe without borders, free movement of people, opportunities for work	3,5%
	with democracy and freedom of speech	2,5%
	emotional definitions	1,5%
	with R. Ouzounova	0,1%
	Irrelevant responses	0,8%
	does not relate it to anything specific	57,2%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate "Treblinka"?	a concentration camp (Nazi death camp in Poland)	8,5%
	the murder of more than 10,000 Jews in the gas chambers	1,3%
	Irrelevant responses (herb, room, square)	1,7%
	does not relate it to anything specific	88,5%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate the detachment Anton Ivanov?	with a detachment of partisans	23,8%
	name of a lake	1,4%
	emotional definitions	0,8%
	does not relate it to anything specific	73,7%
	Irrelevant responses	0,3%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate Mara Racheva?	victim of the communist regime	1,3%
	partisan	1,2%
	secretary of G M Dimitrov murdered brutally	0,9%
	does not relate it to anything specific	95,3%
	Irrelevant responses	1,4%
total		100,0%

With what do you relate "Solidarity" (Poland)?	a progressive organization for fighting for democracy in Poland (united independent trade unions in the 80s of the 20 th century)	5,3%
	Lech Walesa (movement/ Party of Lech Walesa)	4,6%
	the first rebellion for the removal of communism and the totalitarian regime	3,7%
	does not relate it to anything specific	85,5%
	Irrelevant responses	0,9%
total		100,0%

What, in your opinion, was the reason for Nikola Petkov's death?	assassination	31,6%
	disease	3,3%
	incident	2,2%
	suicide	1,4%
	Don't know	61,5%
total		100,0%

What, in your opinion, was the reason for Georgi Markov's death?	assassination	42,5%
	disease	3,8%
	incident	1,5%
	suicide	1,2%
	Don't know	51,1%
total		100,0%

What type of people, in your opinion, got rich in the last 23 years since 1989?

gangsters, thugs, criminals, thieves, swindlers, corrupt people	40,8%
politicians, statesmen, those who have power, control	36,5%
Communists, people from BCP, people from DS, cops, communist elite	11,3%
The ones who took the initiative, the able, the smart ones, the entrepreneurial ones	9,9%
The cunning, "smart ass" ones, the ones without scruples	9,7%
Cliques, oligarchs	6,2%
folk music singers, silicon girls	0,6%
judges, lawyers, prosecutors	0,5%
associated with Jews and Masons	0,4%
restitutes	0,4%
tenants and leaseholders	0,4%
media	0,2%
doctors	0,1%
I do not know	14,3%

In your opinion, which are the fundamental human rights?	right to life, liberty and dignity	46,8%
	freedom of speech / right of expression, freedom of conscience	32,2%
	social rights - health, education, social protection	17,3%
	right to work / work	16,2%
	voting rights, the right to choose	15,0%
	equality before the law	9,4%
	the right to protection	2,9%
	in Bulgaria people have no rights	0,7%
	ownership	0,6%
	I do not know	20,8%

Gender	Male	50,9%
	Female	49,1%
общо		100,0%

Age	15 - 18	14,4%
	19 - 25	34,0%
	26 - 30	21,8%
	30 - 35	29,8%
total		100,0%

Education:	Higher	23,3%
	Some college	2,3%
	Secondary	52,9%
	Primary	18,0%
	Lower than primaryu	3,5%
total		100,0%

Residence:	София	16,6%
	град-областен център	36,5%
	град	23,6%
	село	23,3%
total		100,0%

You are:	Bulgarian	85,5%
	Turk	5,9%
	Roma	7,2%
	Other	1,4%
total		100,0%

Where are you working?	in the public sector	11,0%
	In the private sector	46,4%
	Unemployed	14,6%
	student	13,5%
	student in university	8,5%
	other	6,0%
total		100,0%

Marital status	Married	29,0%
	I live in cohabitation without marriage	12,9%
	Divorced	2,1%
	Widower / widow	0,3%
	Single	55,7%
total		100,0%

Do you have children?	No	63,6%
	Yes	36,4%
total		100,0%

How many children do you have?	1	61,1%
	2	31,7%
	3	5,6%
	4	0,8%
	5	0,5%
	7	0,3%
total		100,0%

What foreign languages do you have command of?	English	51,5%
	Russian	15,3%
	German	11,8%
	Turkish	7,5%
	French	4,1%
	Spanish	2,6%
	Greek	2,1%
	Italian	1,3%
	Yes (without specifying what language)	1,2%
	Serbo-Croatian	0,5%
	Romanian	0,4%
	Dutch	0,4%
	Japanese	0,3%
	Czech	0,3%
	Slovenian	0,2%
	Hebrew	0,1%
	Macedonian language	0,1%
	Danish	0,1%
	Polish	0,1%
	Arabian	0,1%
Chinese	0,1%	
No	33,5%	