



ARCHIVAL RESEARCH PAPER

**The media in Bulgaria
during communism
and their transformation into
democratic institutions**

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OSA Archival Research Paper

The media in Bulgaria during communism and their transformation into democratic institutions¹

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Abstract

As everywhere in the communist block, the media in Bulgaria during communist time was a propaganda institution and an important element of the monolithic state and party ideological machinery. This could be clearly seen through the Subject Files (50s, 60s, 70s), through the Bulgarian press surveys in English (1958–1967) and through the RFE/RL Background and Situational Reports (1964–1988) – hereinafter: BR and SR – which were examined. Although they pursued clearly stated ideological objectives, it is striking that during that time the media system did not remain unaffected by internal and external changes. One can observe modifications in the structure, functions and priorities of the media, as well as adjustments to social needs which were apparently due to the innate dynamics of the media (which cannot be restricted even by the most severe measures) and to political demands as they varied over time.

Among the different media, the press and the radio were traditionally entrenched as the party mouthpieces after the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and it was only in 1958–1959 that they were joined by television.

The first attempts at the introduction of television broadcasting in the country started in the fifties of the last century as studio experiments at Sofia Technical University. Two articles proudly document this historical fact. Following a decision of the ruling communist party, which was well aware of the far-reaching effect of television programs, technical preparations for the wide dissemination of television programs started in 1958 with the building of a television tower with all the necessary facilities in Sofia. At the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties television began operating, at first only in the capital and later on throughout Bulgaria.

There are interesting data in the press surveys related to the radio and its utilization, for instance. Before 1960 radio broadcasting was considered a semi-amateur occupation while in the 60s it became “a mighty tribune of peace and socialism”. Even compared to the first successes of television in 1959–1960 radio remained the preferable means of communication. Its technical improvement was obviously taken seriously by the state and party authorities, the

¹ This paper is based on the author’s research done during a one-month internship in OSA, March 2003

proof being the suggestion made in 1960 to switch radio broadcasting to ultra short waves (Editorial in *Rabotnichesko delo*, 7 May 1960, In: Bulgarian press survey in English, N243, 17 May 1960).

Although statistics from the period cannot be considered absolutely correct or reliable, there are figures in the same material which illustrate the extension of radio broadcasting across the country (total availability of over 810 000 radio sets in 1960 and their increase by 150 000 in 1960 as compared to 1959). On the one hand, radio programs assisted the communist party in achieving its totalitarian goals but on the other, they provided a chance to bring the population closer to the benefits of technology and to provide some kind of information and entertainment.

The improvement of the radio programs along the lines of party propaganda also stands out as one of the main objectives of the ideological policy of the communist party. The quality of national broadcasts influencing and trying to unite and unify the minds of a whole nation was highly relevant in this respect. The quality of the media performance was a central topic for journalists, especially when contrasted with the quality of foreign programs and their “harmful ideological effect”(M.Minkov, On the ether on the offensive, *Rabotnichesko delo*, 28 July 1963, In: Bulgarian Press survey in English, N470, 6 August 1963; Both pleasant and beneficial, a discussion on the problems of the Bulgarian television, *Narodna kultura*, 13 April 1963, In: Ibid, N437, 4 May 1963).

Another important issue was program content and its dedication to the patriotic and military patriotic education of the people. (Bulgarian radio the mighty voice of our country, *Narodna kultura*, 7 May 1967, In: Ibid, N 639). The young generation with its specific needs was not missed as a target group (Dr. J. Toshev, The radio and the younger generation, *Narodna kultura*, 7 May 1966, Ibid.: N612, 31 May 1966).

A significant propaganda task which was allocated to the electronic media was the dissemination of information (normally selected, reduced and censored) and the reconsideration of its role in the creation of public opinion (A. Koen, Democracy and information – the role of information in the democratization of Bulgarian culture, *Narodna kultura*, 15 April 1967, In: Ibid, N 635; P. Mitev, Public opinion and its role in socialist society, *Novo vreme*, N1, January 1964, In: Ibid., N 512).

The problem of opinion polls and the necessary link between the radio and its listeners was also approached (M. Minkov, A barometer of the radio audience, *Bulgarian journalist*, N3, 1966, In: Ibid., N611, 11 May 1966).

The press and its opportunities for propaganda impact were also widely explored. In respect to this the increase in press circulation was one of the major topics (The press widely spread among the people, *Rabotnichesko delo*, 5 Oct 1967, In: Ibid., N652 and the figures given there related to copies sold in 1967).

Another trend deemed worth pursuing by the socialist press was the formation of a special critical attitude towards problems based on communist ideology's perception of life. Through it an attempt was made to invigorate the debate on controversial topics in the newspapers and to comment on them from the perspective of party policy (D. Atapov, A debate about the debates and on party decisions about criticism of criticism – the role of criticism in the press, *Bulgarian journalist*, N6, June 1966, In: Ibid. N621, 25 August 1966; K. Baichinsky, Debates and criticism in the press, *Bulgarian journalist*, N5, 1966, In: Ibid., N 617, 5 July 1966)

In the same vein was the requirement for the specific responsibilities of the socialist press (V. Chankov, The responsibility of being a journalist, *Bulgarian journalist*, N6, June 1968, In: Ibid., N681, 16 August 1968)

The problems of the socialist centralized economy and its appalling effect on the organization of the press in particular are apparently the reasons for a call for better editorial management and greater flexibility (L. Dimitrov, Topical problems in theoretical propaganda and journalism, *Bulgarian journalist*, N3, 1969, In: Ibid, N695, 29 April 1969)

The necessity to pay attention to local demands and to decentralize the press was also viewed as a powerful tool for propaganda in small towns and villages and for grass roots influence over the minds of the working people (The main task of the local press, *Rabotnichesko delo*, 8 Oct 1962, In: Ibid., N352, 23 Oct 1962)

Apart from Bulgarian press surveys in English, another substantial source of information about the organization, the operation and the transformations of the media system in the period 1964–1988 is the RFE/RL Situational and Background Reports.

While during the first years of the period covered (1964–1967) the information is routine, even tedious, pertaining to the international relations of the Bulgarian media within the framework of socialist cooperation, to the establishment of the “Sofia Press” Agency or to some party decisions in the field, reports from later years clearly reflect the twists in the social and political environment.

Thus in 1968 the accent is on Czechoslovakia and the media (SR 21-May-68, Box 5: BTA director in Czechoslovakia, BR 26-Aug-70, Box 7: Bulgarian press runs a contest on Czechoslovakia – repercussions in 1970) and the governmental (SR 14-May-68, Box 5: Director of Bulgarian radio relieved, SR 12-Aug-68, Box 5: New director of the Bulgarian radio, SR 14-May-68, Box 5 Soviet radio and television delegation in Bulgaria) reaction to the events there.

In 1969 a piece of news appears about the party facing problems with the information media (SR 5-Feb-69, Box 5).

In 1971–1972 the socialist government undertook steps to strengthen the position of the propaganda media in society – changes in the status of the Bulgarian radio and TV (SR 16-Jun-71, Box 5) and new status of Radio “Rodina”(SR 13-Jan-72, Box 5); reorganization in the provincial press (SR 8-Mar-71, Box 5: Confusion about reorganization evident in the provincial press) and the daily newspapers (SR 8-Mar-71, Box 5: Confusion about reorganization of daily newspapers); “new look” for Radio Sofia (SR 20-Feb-71, Box 5) – and appealed to the public to support changes in the television and the press (SR 3-Jan-72, Box 5: Committee on press set up; SR 4-Feb-72, Box 5: Details on committee of the press management).

1973–1976 were years when new radio stations were set up (SR 20-Dec-73, Box 5); novel programs were introduced (SR 27-Jan-74, Box 6) and a new CC Department for mass information media was set up (SR 22-Aug-74, Box 6). The state was trying to maintain the hierarchical and ideological coherence of the media and to prevent any collapse in the system.

In the Situational and Background Report series on Bulgaria there is a gap of seven years (1977–1983) when no material related to the media could be found (with the exception of some information about films and book publishing).

An interesting aspect of the 1984 reports is the commentaries on the start and development of the video business in Bulgaria (SR 15-Feb-84, Box 7).

The year of 1986 marked the beginning of “glasnost” in the country and the intense contacts between the audience and RFE (SR 6-Aug-86, Box 8: A year of telephone calls to the Bulgarian service of RFE). The wind of change continued blowing more and more strongly through 1987 when both the press and the television were compelled by the new political situation and new social demands to strive for democratization, openness and transparency (SR 5-Oct-87, Box 8: Commotion in the press; and Television under fire).

As far as the format of the reports is concerned it is important to underline the fact that the change in the substance obviously led to amendments in the form. The annual subject index is altered probably due to computerization. From 1988 onwards a new rubric: “glasnost and perestroika” was included. Special publications focusing on the particular consequences of “glasnost” for the media add to the impression that this was a watershed for Bulgaria and for Bulgarian mass communications (SR 8-Apr-88, Box 8: Stephen Ashley, 1. Corruption and glasnost; SR 29-Jul-88, Box 8: Simon Simonov, 2. Journalist calls for removal of barriers of “glasnost”).

The year of real and deep social changes was 1989. This inference could be made even looking at the diversification of the rubrics in the RFE SBR where titles such as “dissent”, “protest”, “demonstrations” and “opposition” could be found. In the same materials “Eastern Europe” as a geographic and political notion is mentioned for the first time. In 1989 and 1990 the crucial democratic transformations of the media are reflected on methodological, content

and organizational levels. A new approach to social problems is applied, presentation liberated from ideological constraints is encouraged, and an institutional reorganization is particularly underscored. The reconstruction of the Bulgarian media is analyzed as indispensable to the complex process of media democratization in Eastern Europe. (SR 14-Apr-89, Box 8: Rada Nikolaev, 3. Journalists and the government information policy; SR 7-Aug-88, Box 8: Kjell Engelbrekt, 6. Bulgarian coverage of democratization in Hungary and Poland; Report on East Europe 7-Dec-90, Box 2: Information Services Department: The East European media: the struggle for and with freedom).

Different kinds of documents illustrate the dynamic democratic development, which followed the collapse of the communist regime. They represent a mixed group of sources: newspapers (the predominant type), laws and conventions, printed versions of radio broadcast, CE country reports, Bulgarian Human Rights Watch reports and the book on Bulgarian media legislation (Chapters two and four).

After the political and social shifts in Bulgaria it was necessary for media laws to be passed as a part of the new legislation, which aimed at institutionalizing the democratic process in the country. Politicians and people at large were well aware of the significance of the media and especially of their major role in the breakdown of the totalitarian state. However, politicians were not so liberally minded or fair. Since the beginning of the democratic changes, every Bulgarian government has tried to entrench its position by taking advantage of the media, thus jeopardizing its independence. At the same time society has called for the press and the broadcasting agents to be turned from party propaganda tools into organizations which perform a public function by offering comprehensive and impartial information, education, culture and entertainment.

The decisions of the Round Table talks in 1989–1990 were not sufficient to delineate the structure and functions of the new democratic media system. Although it was clearly stated that it was vital for the Bulgarian National Radio (BNR) and the Bulgarian National Television (BNT) to turn into non-political unbiased public institutions, which disseminate a range of information and viewpoints, concrete steps and measures were not envisaged. However, the reforms began within the general context of the democratic reconstruction of the country.

The transformations in the media were accelerated due to the wide endorsement and legal recognition of the basic international acts which enshrine freedom of speech – the UN Charter, the covenant on civil and political rights and the covenant on economic, social and cultural rights. An act of great national and international significance was the ratification of the European Convention on Human Rights and the official joining of the Council of Europe in 1992. The ratification of the ECHR and the adoption of the Constitution in 1991 gave real legal backing to the complex process of transition in all social sectors and in the media in particular.

Print media adjusted more quickly to the new environment. The totalitarian model of regulation and control was replaced by a liberally oriented regime. Many press publications had in fact undermined the communist system and had paved the way for the entrenchment of democratic principles. Later on the massive boom in newspapers, magazines and books had given impetus to the political processes and were considered as an important factor in the transition to a free democratic society. The adoption of the Bulgarian constitution as well as other laws laying the foundations of the market economy created the necessary basis for the operation of the press within the private sector.

In contrast to the press the establishment of proper regulation and control over the electronic media proved to be a complicated and gradual process.

At the Round Table talks it was only briefly noted that “a parliamentary and public committee” would supervise the national electronic media. The practical implementation of this general formula had to be filled in with specific content. Alongside the national media, which had to be converted into working public institutions, private commercial radio and television stations had to be launched in order to introduce competition in the ether. The start of private broadcasting was related to the technical problem of the distribution of frequencies and the triggering of a licensing procedure – conditions which all required the drafting of a special broadcasting law.

The legal and practical steps towards the transformation of the BNT and the BNR as independent public institutions were overseen by the Grand National Assembly Committee on Radio and TV. For the purpose a decision was adopted providing for the main principles of the temporary statutes of the two national media institutions. This decision was not a law but an individual act of parliament having palliative regulatory functions. It was designated to be effective for no longer than several months, until the law was worked out and came into force. As is usually the case, it actually remained for more than five years (until the Law on Radio and TV came into force in 1996).

The main shortcomings of the statute were rooted in the fact that supervisory functions over the two national electronic media, which was administrative by nature, were concentrated in a standing committee at the National Assembly. This arrangement was considered unacceptable from the perspective of the separation of powers, because the committee was operating in two ways - as an organ of parliament and as an administrative agency.

On the basis of a decree for the new functions of the Committee on Posts and Telecommunications (CPT) adopted by the Council of Ministers its head commenced issuing licenses to private broadcasting operators. For the licensing of broadcasters a Temporary Council on Radio and TV Channels was established as a consultative body of the CPT to assess the programming intentions of the candidates for private channels. At the same time, while these bodies operated as a part of the executive branch until the broadcasting law was

ready, the parliamentary committee discussed and tried to promote the special cable operators' standards in 1993.

Thus it was mainly two bodies – the Parliamentary Committee on Radio and Television and the CPT - that carried out the reform of the media. The process was highly politicized and accompanied by clashes and controversies. The conflicts had both public and personal dimensions. The usual practice was that when one parliamentary majority came to power it fires the directors general of the national media. Two directors general of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency (BTA) were also dismissed on purely political grounds at that time. In 1993 the government of Prime Minister Liuben Berov sacked even the head of the CPT, who had ventured to start the whole process of licensing private radio and television stations, accusing him of disloyal conduct. The repercussions of this undesirable and anti-democratic practice of personal attacks on media leaders and journalists can be felt even today in Bulgaria.

The only way out of this unstable situation was the adoption of a broadcasting law; however, this was not easily accomplished. Finally in 1996 the then socialist government passed the Law on Radio and Television. It was designated to regulate both public and private broadcasting but it was not precise about the clear-cut division among various types of broadcasters. It differentiated between state and private radio and TV stations, taking into consideration only the property upon which they were set up but not their functions. The principles of public broadcasting were not observed and although the law embodied all program standards related to broadcasters, following the European Convention on Transfrontier Television and the "Television without Frontiers" Directive, it was unacceptable for many experts and journalists as being administratively overloaded, ambiguous and leaving too much room for state control. The center of the argument was the structure and functioning of the controlling body – the National Council on Radio and TV, which under the formula provided by the law favored the parliamentary majority, a fact which could easily lead to one party dominating of the council. The law was also criticized for the lack of a coherent system of the different types of broadcasters and especially the omission of non-governmental organizations as possible applicants and potential broadcasters.

The law of 1996 was challenged in the Constitutional Court, which repealed many of its provisions as unconstitutional (especially those concerning the principle of structuring of the regulatory body in broadcasting and the different types of broadcasters) in a decision of 14.11.1996. For more than half a year afterwards the law was in force but not effective at all due to the gaps that remained in it. Here it could be mentioned that the Bulgarian Constitutional Court was frequently involved in media cases and played a prominent role in the establishment of the new democratic media legislation and the transformation of the radio and broadcasting system.

The unsuccessful initial model of electronic media regulation in Bulgaria was not only an illustration of the failure of the socialist government to reach political and public consensus

on the matter; it also showed that there were not adequate political and institutional guarantees for this. The issue of the creation of adequate institutional framework for the media is a major question in any country, especially in the new democracies. Only intense dialogue at different levels and with the involvement of different subjects can prevent the ruling majorities from taking biased political decisions. This is true for Bulgaria, too, where debates on the structure, membership and competence of the electronic media regulator are on the public agenda even today.

Despite the controversial development of the electronic media in Bulgaria the country reports on human right practices for 1990, 1991, 1993 and 1994 explicitly point out the expansion of the dual public and commercial broadcasting system. Other peculiar facts such as state funding of the national media preserving de facto its state character, parliamentary supervision over them, the three channel transmissions (TV1, TV2 and the Russian channel), the efforts towards pluralist performance and the enormous political pressure are accurately and objectively described. Dissatisfaction with the politically motivated dismissal of the directors general of the BNR and the BNT was also expressed in the CE report of 1994.

The democratization of the media system is a long and complex process, which evolves through time. Besides the organizational changes it comprises many other social and political aspects. From a legal perspective it includes not only the adoption of a special broadcasting law but also other laws, amendments and supplements related to the functioning of the media in general.

An illustration of these conclusions is the adoption of the law on local elections in 1995 requiring special behavior on the part of the media during the election campaign. Another example is the draft-law on decommunization in Bulgaria (1993) (Bulgarian Human Rights Watch reports) requiring lustration of the directors general of the national media in an attempt to achieve the depoliticization of these institutions.

Together with the democratic changes in the field of press and broadcasting and the improvement of the quality of media presentation it was thought necessary to establish an attitude of respect towards the representative institutions. This attitude was chiefly related to the parliament and was intended to counter the anti-parliamentary sentiments which were widespread in the country. On the part of the National Assembly the major conditions for the formation of such an attitude were the openness, transparency and professionalism in its work, while on the part of the media the necessary prerequisite was the positive stance of its activity, which meant criticism grounded in objective evaluation rather than blind negativism (explicitly mentioned in a print version of a broadcast of the BNR about the visit of the President of the National Assembly in Hague on the occasion of a conference on parliamentary democracy, 1994).

The review of the transition in the Bulgarian media landscape will not be complete if the activity of the RFE and RL in setting the democratic standards of media performance is not

referred to. After the changes in 1989 their stations continued operating in the capital and expanded around the country (offices were opened in the towns of Plovdiv, Burgas, Pleven, Varna, Vidin, etc.). The programs were reconstructed with an orientation towards direct rapportage, in-studio discussions, local preferences and interests. Especially in the 1993 audience and listenership research the sociological dynamics of the transitional processes stand out. The public at that time was keen on the news and information received. Listeners and viewers were very active, being in a position to compare the performance of different media – foreign and domestic. A number of opinion polls were carried out indicating the ranking of choice – the BBC was considered the most objective media followed by RFE. As far as the national media were concerned only informative programs were deemed satisfactory. All these facts demonstrate that during that period the quality of the commentaries, a genre relying mainly on journalistic training, professionalism and experience, was still not very high in Bulgarian radio and television broadcasts and had to be improved through time.

The second part of this project comprises the review of documents belonging to a relatively short period of media reforms: 1989–1996. During these years only one law in the sector – the broadcasting law – was actually adopted and it was ineffective for a long time, since it was almost totally annulled by the Constitutional Court.

The building and the reorganization of the Bulgarian media system have passed through a number of twists, impediments and halts and its dynamic development is still under way. As in the other CEE countries this has been a painful and controversial process; in Bulgaria in many aspects it has been highly politicized, sometimes chaotic and full of compromises. The general conclusion is that for the time being the foundations of genuinely free and democratic media institutions have been laid down. The rest is a matter of democratic experience and time.

Supporting OSA Archival Material

Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Subject files, 1949-1994 (predominant 1951-1994) HU OSA 300-20-1

0500 Communications: general, 1952-1993, 1 folder, Box 11

0800 Culture: general, 1952-1991, 2 folders, Box 36

0804 Culture: Film, video, photo, 1980-1984, 1 folder, Box 37

2600 Propaganda: general, 1952-1992, 1 folder, Box 173

2601 Propaganda: Anti-Western, 1951-1992, 2 folders, Box 174

2602 Propaganda: Lies, Desinformation, 1952-1986 1 folder, Box 174

2603 Propaganda: Newspapers and printing, 1951 - 1992, 6 folders, Box 174

- 2605 Propaganda: Radio (against RFE [Radio Free Europe], 1952 - 1984, 7 folders, Box 176,177
- 2605 Propaganda: Radio (against RFE [Radio Free Europe]) [BBC], 1962-1992, 1 folder, Box 176
- 2605 Propaganda: Radio (against RFE [Radio Free Europe]) [DW], 1971-1992, 1 folder, Box 176
- 2605 Propaganda: Radio (against RFE [Radio Free Europe]) [Peking], 1968-1968, 1 folder, Box 176
- 2605 Propaganda: Radio (against RFE [Radio Free Europe]) [Private], 1990-1992, 1 folder, Box 176
- 2605 Propaganda: Radio (against RFE [Radio Free Europe]) [VOA], 1963-1993, 1 folder, Box 176
- 2605 Propaganda: Radio (against RFE [Radio Free Europe]) [Others], 1975-1991, 1 folder, Box 176
- 2605 Propaganda: Radio (against RFE [Radio Free Europe]) [Television], 1977-1994, 2 folders, Box 177, 178
- 2607 Propaganda: Speeches of VIPs [very important persons], 1985-1990, 1 folder, Box 179
- 4405a State Apparatus: elections 1991-1992, 1 folder, Box 225
- 4405a State Apparatus: elections 1991 (1 of 3), 1 folder, Box 225
- 4408 State Apparatus: Constitution, 1879-1971, 1 folder, Box 225
- 4408 State Apparatus: Constitution, 1989-1991, 1 folder, Box 226
- 4411 State Apparatus: Roundtable, 1989-1992, 3 folders, Box 226

**Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute:
Publications Department, Background Reports.
HU OSA 300-8-3**

- East European media on Rumanian National Assembly session, 3-Aug-67, Box 6
- East European media reaction to Czechoslovakia: the final weeks before Bratislava summarized, 20-Aug-68, Box 7
- Bulgarian press runs a contest on Czechoslovakia, 26-Aug-70, Box 7
- Icy winds: East European and Soviet media attitudes toward US foreign policy, 9-Nov-70, Box 7
- Radio Sofia's "new look", 23-Feb-71, Box 7
- Review of East European and communist Chinese foreign broadcasts, 28-Jun-71, Box 7
- Review of East European, Soviet and Chinese foreign broadcasting, 25-Sep-73, Box 8
- Critical eastern media commentary on Poland, 16-Jun-81, Box 8
[Between 1979 and 1983 no information was reported about the mass media in Bulgaria. In the reports some other related topics are treated as culture in general or other means of communications such as movies and books.]

**Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute:
Publications Department, Situation Reports.
HU OSA 300-8-47**

- Radio Sofia extends broadcasting, 6-Oct-64, Box 3
- The Bulgarian radio and the Yugoslav congress, 8-Dec-64, Box 3
- Bulgarian-Soviet agreement on radio and TV exchange, 15-Dec-64, Box 3
- Radio collaboration with Mongolia, 9-Feb-65, Box 4
- National conference of press and radio correspondents, 23-Feb-65, Box 4
- Politburo decisions on press, radio and television, 16-Mar-65, Box 4
- Miscellaneous: 2. Exchange of radio and television programs between Bulgaria and Romania, 19-Oct-65, Box 4
- Television station at Botev peak inaugurated, 4-Jan-66, Box 4
- The new radio and television station at Botev peak inaugurated, 12-Jul-66, Box 4
- Bulgarian Yugoslav newspaper exchange, 19-Jul-66, Box 4
- New director general of radio and television, 20-Dec-66, Box 4
- Bulgarian-Soviet plan on radio cooperation, 17-Jan-67, Box 4
- Bulgarian television expands program 24-Jan-67, Box 4
- Foreign newspaper subscriptions in Bulgaria 26-Jan-67, Box 4
- Miscellaneous: 3. Bulgarian radio and television delegation to Belgrade 7-Feb-67, Box 4
- Radio Sofia on national dignity, 7-Feb-67, Box 4
- Miscellaneous: 6. Five year Bulgarian-Hungarian radio and television agreement signed, 14-Mar-67, Box 4
- Miscellaneous: 8. "Sofia-Press" agency formed, 19-Dec-67, Box 4
- Miscellaneous: 3. Daily "Otechestven front" became an evening paper, 9-Jan-68, Box 5
- Miscellaneous: 1. A new radio for Bulgarians abroad, 18-Jan-68, Box 5
- Miscellaneous: Bulgarian television expands programs, 23-Jan-68, Box 5
- Miscellaneous: A television cooperation protocol with Poland signed, 25-Jan-68, Box 5
- Miscellaneous: 2. Cooperation with the Soviet Radio, 13-Feb-68, Box 5
- Information media report anti-Soviet demonstration in Prague, 11-Nov-68, Box 4
- Details on "Sofia Press" Agency, 14-Mar-68, Box 5
- Miscellaneous: 4. Agreement signed between the Bulgarian and the Rumanian radio and television network, 14-Mar-68, Box 5
- Miscellaneous: 2. Bulgarian radio statistics, 9-May-68, Box 5
- Director of Bulgarian radio relieved of his post, 14-May-68, Box 5
- Miscellaneous: Soviet radio and television delegation in Bulgaria, 14-May-68, Box 5
- Zhivko Zhivkov's radio and television speech, 21-May-68, Box 5

Miscellaneous: 3. BTA director in Czechoslovakia, 21-May-68, Box 5

Bulgarian information media on Czechoslovakia, 15-Jul-68, Box 5

Miscellaneous: BTA - Norway telegraph bureau agreement signed, 15-Jul-68, Box 5

New director of Bulgarian radio, 12-Aug-68, Box 5

Bulgarian radio discusses Macedonian question, 20-Jan-69, Box 5

Information media on COMECON, 27-Jan-69, Box 5

Party faces problems of information media, 5-Feb-69, Box 5

Miscellaneous: 5. Radio broadcasting cooperation between Bulgaria and North Vietnam, 5-Mar-69, Box 5

5. Plans for expansion of Bulgarian television revealed, 21-Aug-69, Box 5

7. Radio Rodina receives new status, 22-Jan-70, Box 5

8. International conference in Bulgaria, B. Conference of producers of radio and television youth programs, 26-Feb-70, Box 5

1. New programs for the Bulgarian state radio network, 7-Jan-71, Box 5

2. Confusion about reorganization of daily newspapers, 7-Jan-71, Box 5

3. Poll on youth, art, and mass media communications, 4-Feb-71, Box 5

2. New director of Bulgarian television, 4-Feb-71, Box 5

4. More on Radio Sofia's "new look", 25-Feb-71, Box 5

4. The regime's ideological drive: a) some details of Radio Sofia's news programs; b) program problems of Bulgarian television, 5-Apr-71, Box 5

2. Confusion about reorganization evident in the provincial press, 8-Mar-71, Box 5

3. Change in the status of Bulgarian radio and television, 16-Jun-71, Box 5

4. Committee on press set up, 3-Jan-72, Box 5

2. Radio Rodina discontinues operations, 13-Jan-72, Box 5

3. Appraisal of Radio Sofia's propaganda program, 9-Mar-72, Box 5

4. Details on committee on the press, 13-Apr-72, Box 5

3. Bokov defends the Bulgarian press, 17-Nov-72, Box 5

Discussion on increased effectiveness of mass media, 11-May-73, Box 6

Additional variety in Radio Sofia programs, 17-May-73, Box 6

Reshuffle at Sofia press, 8-Jun-73, Box 6

A new Bulgarian radio station, 20-Dec-73, Box 6

A new Radio Sofia program, 24-Jan-74, Box 6

Sofia dailies to help save newsprint, 7-Mar-74, Box 6

More complaints about the information media, 16-May-74, Box 6

New CC Department for mass information media, 22-Aug-74, Box 6

Provincial press discussed, 31-Oct-74, Box 6

- Rabotnichesko delo joins in newsprint saving measures, 28-Nov-74, Box 6
- Renewed discussion of media commentaries on domestic affairs, 6-Nov-75, Box 6
- Criticism in mass media discussed, 4-Dec-75, Box 6
- Committee on television and radio gets new head, 5-Feb-76, Box 6
- Editor in chief of party daily replaced, 14-May-76, Box 6
- Politburo decision on criticism in mass media, 16-Aug-76, Box 6
- Bulgarian media's criticism of shortcomings that affect everyday life, 26-Aug-76, Box 6
- Politburo directive calls for improvement in "Rabotnichesko delo", 9-Feb-77. [From 1977 in a new rubric - Mass media: radio, television, press and films started. It is broader in content and covers more topics than normally such a rubric deals with.]
- Narodna mladezh series reportedly prompts editorial reshuffle, 8-Mar-77, Box 7
- Editorial changes in "Narodna mladezh" confirmed, 17-Mar-77, Box 6
- Committee on Television and Radio reorganized, 5-May-77, Box 6
- Vigorous attacks on Zionism in Bulgarian media, 18-Jul-77, Box 6
- New editor-in-chief for "Rabotnichesko delo", 5-Aug-77, Box 6
- New educational radio broadcasts, 22-Sep-77, Box 6
- Public opinion forces Sofia Council to retreat, 11-Nov-77, Box 6
- Is there dissidence in Bulgaria?: an interview and its sequel, 8-Dec-77, Box 6
- A new look for Rabotnichesko delo and other Sofia dailies, 13-Feb-78, Box 7
- Party daily's editorials under fire, 13-Feb-78, Box 7
- Party daily attacks "Anteni", 14-Mar-78, Box 7
- Anteni's reaction to party daily's attacks, 28-Mar-78, Box 7
- Press cartoons discussed, 2-Oct-78, Box 7
- Radio Sofia's music programs undergoing reorganization, 2-Oct-78, Box 7
- Video wave hits Bulgaria, 15-Feb-84, Box 7. [From 1984 the video business is included as an issue, which is an indication of the penetration of the video products into the country.]
- Bulgaria goes into the video business, 15-Feb-84, Box 7
- Waste on printing paper in Bulgaria, 23-Oct-84, Box 7
- Media attack Bulgaria over Turkish minority and Macedonia, 12-Feb-85, Box 8
- State control over video equipment, 29-Jun-85, Box 8
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Chapter Four

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Chapter Two