REVIEW

of

**PROFESSOR, DOCTOR OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES MILKO STOYANOV PALANGURSKI**

MEMBER OF THE SCIENTIFIC JURY FOR THE DEFENSE OF A DISSERTATION PAPER FOR OBTAINING THE SCIENTIFIC DEGREE **"DOCTOR OF SCIENCES"**.

SUBJECT: **ARMY, PUBLIC ORDER AND INTERNAL SECURITY. THE FAILURE OF AN ORCHESTRATED UPRISING. SEPTEMBER 1923**

AUTHOR: Prof. Dr. Veselin Kostov Yanchev**, Faculty of History, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski "**

AREA OF HIGHER EDUCATION: **2. HUMANITIES**

PROFESSIONAL FIELD**: 2.2 HISTORY AND ARCHEOLOGY**

The dissertation work for the award of the scientific degree "Doctor of Sciences" - "ARMY, PUBLIC ORDER AND INTERNAL SECURITY. SEPTEMBER 1923. THE FAILURE OF AN ORCHESTRATED UPRISING" is a study devoted to all aspects of the attempt to forcefully change the government and public order in the period 1923-1925. It is one of the most complex, conjuncturally manipulated and important events in our recent history – its consequences and influence are projected not only in the historiographical process, but it continues to directly influence the political and public life as well.

The text consists of an introduction, five chapters, each with paragraphs and subsections, a conclusion and a list of literature and sources spread over 499 pages. The dissertation has 10 tasks, and an ambitious but completely defensible goal, since all the intentions formulated by the author are completely logical and show his professional training. These tasks begin with the reconstruction of the process’s day by day, hour by hour, which allows to discard the ideologues dominating the narrative of the events of 1923, comprehensively analyzing social and political trends, the role and place of the power structure such as the army, right up to legal normative base of the state, the goals, the program and the actions of the 9 June coup d'état government and its opponents. The following aims to define the existing threats to internal security, the intervention of external forces such as the Communist International and the adoption of a course of armed anti-state action by the BKP and the preparation for this, together with the response of the authorities in military, political, legislative, financial terms, to appease the public and the failure of this idea.

The professional analysis of the existing literature is done in the introduction of the dissertation. The patheticism and lack of criticality prevailed for more than half a century and created a very persistent narrative that not only justified the perpetrators, but also imposed their vision of the role and place of the other participants. This predetermines the first main task of the dissertation – to remove the propagandist attitude towards individual participants and processes.

In the first chapter, this is achieved through an overview of the role of the army, by knowing in detail the legal, political and institutional framework of the military structure. The new government was an attempt to find a democratic way out of the crisis, but as always happens in such cases, violence justified subsequent violence. The calculations for the victims in June, as well as the later victims - those from September, are absolutely correct.

"The Road to the Collision" is the title of the second chapter. It gives a clear picture of the management program and action of the Democratic Plot. Undoubtedly, the most important are the pages on the intervention of external factors and the formation of external political cores, which in the name of power begin a process of full collaboration against national security and sovereignty with external factors - Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia, with a policy that in due time casts doubt on the very existence of Bulgaria as an independent state. The analysis of the process related to the break of the Bulgarian communists and their transformation from a parliamentary political organization to a revolutionary one has its contribution.

The third chapter "The clash or the doomed balance of forces" is the heart of the dissertation, revealing the mechanism of external pressure, the scope of the rebellion and its growth in a regional aspect, the choice of the center of rebellion, etc. The difficulties in front of the army are shown objectively, balanced and without seeking justification for the actions. The conclusion that: "To the extent that this response moves within the framework of the Constitution, laws and established humanitarian principles in an armed conflict in peacetime and wartime, it cannot be reprimanded and cannot be held accountable by the high command, by the commanders in place, the soldiers and the volunteers. The issue is whether there was disproportionate and indiscriminate violence against the insurgents and civilians during and especially after the cessation of active fighting, an extralegal and extrajudicial massacre, whether they were ordered or self-initiated, whether responsibility was sought and sanctions were imposed for their admission?” is completely relevant and answers all the questions asked by researchers and readers. The army's action algorithm is extremely well shown.

The fourth chapter clarifies pacification, parliamentary elections, normalization of public life and the State Protection Act. This chapter reviews the development and state of the army structure, starting with personnel, intelligence, tactics, financing, and the attempted return of the conscript army.

The fifth chapter "BKP and the Comintern, defeat as a step towards victory" is a practical history of the complete sovietization of the Communist Party, the internal clashes, the final transformation of the party into a paid creation of the Comintern with a terrorist notion, while also embracing the ideas of a Macedonian and Thracian nation.

In the conclusion, the author draws deductions about the nature of the 9 June coup d'état, the nature of the June resistance, the external pressure to start the civil war, the parameters of the September riots, their regional nature, the partisan nature of the clashes, etc. The means of violence, the number of victims, the limits of legality and its transgression.

The peer-reviewed work of Prof. Yanchev is the result of his many years of research in the field of armed forces, security and modern history. This work is built on his entire career development and, what is more important, solves all the problems and tasks set by the author at the beginning of the research. The goals set by the author have been fulfilled fully and adequately. Therefore, the text is a kind of "scientific burial" of ideological clichés imposed and distributed as historical theses for political reasons for more than a century. From now on, this type of ideologeme cannot expect resuscitation and allowed back into scientific circulation.

The presented scientometrics fully meets the requirements of the Development of Academic Staff in the Republic of Bulgaria Act, in the professional direction 2.2. "History and Archaeology". The conclusions, analyzes and source material used are the personal creation and contribution of the author, and there are no doubts of plagiarism. All this gives me full confidence to vote positively for the award of a scientific degree DOCTOR OF SCIENCES in professional direction 2.2. History and archeology of Prof. Dr. VESELIN KOSTOV YANCHEV in the competition announced by the Faculty of History, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski "

Veliko Tarnovo Professor, Doctor of Historical Sciences Milko St. Palangurski

25.11.2022