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THE WASHINGTON DECLARATION

OF THE BULGARIAN NATIONAL FRONT OF AMERICA, Inc.

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A POLITICAL PROGRAM FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION  
OF FREE BULGARIA, ADOPTED BY THE SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF  
THE BULGARIAN NATIONAL FRONT OF AMERICA, Inc., HELD AT THE HO-  
TEL WASHINGTON, WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 31, 1963.

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THE BULGARIAN NATIONAL FRONT OF AMERICA, Inc.:

Having emerged in conditions of exile as an independent political organization upon the heritage of the national democratic anti-communist formations of the era preceding September 9, 1944;

Cognizant of the great importance of the political ideology as an instrument of the struggle for freedom;

Mindful of the experiences of the Governments and the regimes which have ruled Bulgaria since her liberation (1878) down to the present day in the fields of their foreign, interior, social, economic and cultural policies;

Acknowledging the respective importance of the radical changes forced upon the Bulgarian people by the present communist Government in every area of its national life;

Recognizing the changes effected upon the mind of the Bulgarian people as the result of the established regime;

Taking into consideration the changes in the policies of the great western Powers and the trends of international deve-

31 May 63

lopments, and

In response to the demands of the new times and to the ideals of the Bulgarian nation,

P R O C L A I M S

TO THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE AT HOME AND TO THE BULGARIAN PUBLIC  
ABROAD

T H E P O L I T I C A L P R I N C I P L E S

THE ORGANIZATION STANDS FOR IN ITS STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION  
OF BULGARIA FROM COMMUNIST CAPTIVITY AND IN THE NAME OF WHICH  
PRINCIPLES IT SEEKS TODAY, AND WILL SEEK TOMORROW IN FREE  
BULGARIA THE CONFIDENCE OF THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE:

I. POLITICAL PRINCIPLES:

1. Liberation of Bulgaria from communist slavery.
2. Establishment of a democratic constitutional parliamentary Government.
3. Freedom and respect for the individual person; inviolability of the home; freedom of speech, press, organization, assembly, religion; equality before the Law for all Bulgarian citizens - irrespective of race, religion, economic status and origin.
4. Moral recognition and material compensation for all those who have suffered the communist terror.

II. ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES:

A. Agrarian policies:

5. Right to private property over the cultivable land.
6. Immediate dissolution of the collective farms.
7. Restitution of the land to the peasants engaged in its cultivation in proportion to the needs of the affected families.
8. State aid for the modernization of the individual farms.

B. Industrial and business policies:

9. National ownership of the large industrial enterprises and of the natural resources.
10. Transition of the small industrial enterprises into the hands of the workers.
11. State control over foreign trade.
12. Full freedom for private initiative in industry, business, the professions and the crafts.
13. Encouragement of the cooperative movement.

C. Labor policies:

14. Just remuneration for all working people.
15. Workers' participation in sharing the profits.
16. Free labor unions.
17. State unemployment insurance

D. Financial policies:

18. Progressive income tax system.

III. SOCIAL PRINCIPLES:

19. Free medical assistance for all Bulgarian citizens.
20. Social Security System for all Bulgarian citizens.
21. Free, guaranteed by the State education for all Bulgarian youths. National scholarship fund for all capable, but unable to finance their full education, Bulgarian youths.
22. State aid for the sciences, arts and sports.

IV. NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES:

23. The historical yearnings of the entire Bulgarian people for freedom and independence - necessary conditions for political, social, economic and cultural progress - remain the national ideal for future realization.
24. Federation of the Balkan and the European nations based on the principles of self-determination, full equality, independence and internal democratic government.
25. Unity of all Bulgarian political formations in exile for a common struggle for the liberation of the Bulgarian people.

V. GENERAL PRINCIPLES:

26. This Declaration is subject to approval and changes by the first convention of the Bulgarian National Front called on Bulgarian territory - before or after the liberation of Bulgaria from communism.
27. This statement of principles, approved by the Seventh annual convention of the Bulgarian National Front of America, Inc., on March 31, 1963, at Hotel Washington, Washington, D.C., will be known as THE WASHINGTON DECLARATION.

SPECIAL RESOLUTION OF THE BULGARIAN NATIONAL  
FRONT, ADOPTED BY THE SEVENTH ANNUAL  
CONVENTION

ON

THE SUBORDINATION OF THE BULGARIAN EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH  
IN EXILE TO THE COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES IN SOFIA

The Seventh Annual Convention of the Bulgarian National Front of America, Inc., taking into consideration the decisions of the past Conventions and of the plenary sessions of the Central Executive Board on the matter of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in exile and on other relevant matters, namely:

1. Article 4 of the By-Laws of the organization adopted by the First Convention - Toronto, December 23, 1956:

Section d.: To support the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church in exile so that it should be a mighty pillar of Bulgarian conscience, spirit and ideals and to watch for the prevention of all attempts for using it as an instrument for communist or whatever propaganda against the people.

2. Resolution # II, § 15, of the First Convention:

The BNF disapproves the policies of the leadership of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church in America of recognizing the present Government of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in Sofia, appointed by the communists and fully subservient to the communist regime in serving its international propaganda.

3. Resolution # II, § 8, The Second Convention of the BNF, New York, March 3, 1958.

The BNF continues to call the attention of all Bulgarian and non-Bulgarian agencies upon their relations with the Bulgarian Government and upon their attitude to actions secretly or openly undertaken and encouraged by that Government in view of serving the interests of the communist propaganda.

4. Resolution of Central Executive Board Plenary Session, Buffalo, September 4, 1960, § 9.

Under the conditions of red communist tyranny in Bulgaria

some political and spiritual leaders failed to hold the pressures of the tyrants and ungloriously surrendered to the red lord and, where the Bulgarian people expected to hear encouragement and consolation, it heard a call for subordination and obedience...

5. Resolutions of the Fifth Convention, New York, March 3, 1961, §§ 35, 38, 39, 58:

§ 35: The policies of cultural exchanges with the communist Governments favor those segments of the cultural life in the respective countries behind the Iron Curtain - intellectuals, spiritual leaders, men of arts, scholars, sportsmen, etc. - who have sided with the communist regimes, and are offensive to those cultural leaders who have chosen, in responding to their moral obligations to their nations, either to openly oppose communism and end their lives as martyrs on the gallows, in the prisons, concentration camps and in exile or, by silently retiring to oblivion in defiance of communist tyranny and all the privileges offered to them in exchange for their souls.

§ 38: It is by all means clear that a policy of cultural and economic exchanges between Sofia and Washington is to the advantage of the Bulgarian communist Government and to the disadvantage of the Bulgarian people and that such a policy will result in a moral and political defeat for the Bulgarian people, in a much needed victory for its oppressors and in material profits for those private American business interests which are fervently working for the promotion of such a policy.

§ 39: The BNF of America, Inc. is bound by duty to vehemently oppose and condemn any policy of cultural or economic exchanges undertaken by any Government, under any circumstances, with the Communist Government in Sofia, considering such a policy detrimental to the best interests of the struggling for freedom Bulgarian people. At the same time the BNF regretfully deplores the policy of using political, cultural or any other Bulgarian leaders abroad who are identified and associated with Bulgarian political groups abroad advocating the overthrow of the Communist regime in Bulgaria, for the purposes of any policy of cultural and economic exchanges.

§ 58: The Bulgarian Orthodox Church, unlike all other national Orthodox Churches in exile, and in defiance of its sacred traditions of service to the Bulgarian people in times of trials and tribulations, has failed to provide even the minimum of national and spiritual leadership abroad and has, instead, either fallen in a state of sterile mysticism or become a tax collector for individual political groups to finance their activities.

6. Resolution of the Central Executive Board, Plenary session, Buffalo, September 3, 1961, § 18: a, d.

a. The BNF... calls the attention of the Bulgarian public abroad to the doubtful connections of some Bulgarians in exile occupying positions of leadership in certain political and cultural organizations with the Bulgarian communist Government in Sofia.

d. The BNF revealed that certain well known Bulgarian public figures have sold out to the communists by placing themselves in service to the policies of rapprochement between the Government of Sofia and Washington.

7. Resolution of the Sixth Convention of the BNF, New York, March 3, 1962, § 15.

The BNF warns all Bulgarian political leaders and all Bulgarian genuine political exiles against any ties with the Bulgarian communist authorities or emissaries of the Bulgarian communist Government - be it in private capacity or as agents for foreign Governments as well as under the pretext of non-political matters since such ties are contrary to the cause of the Bulgarian exiles and the struggle for liberation of Bulgaria,

And, taking into consideration the fact that the head of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church, Diocese of America: North and South, and Australia, Metropolitan Andrey, has publicly demonstrated his dependence on the Sofia Communist Government and has actively committed himself to the execution of the tasks of the Bulgarian communist State policies by organizing and personally participating in the program of the visiting in this country functionary of the Bulgarian communist authorities Metropolitan Pimen,

UNANIMOUSLY DECIDED

1. The BNF condemns the policy of collaboration and subordination to the communist authorities in Bulgaria of Metropolitan Andrey.
2. The BNF appeals to all Bulgarian Churches in America and elsewhere in the world to repudiate the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Andrey.
3. The BNF shares the feelings of indignation and supports the decisions of those Bulgarian Churches abroad and individual persons who have already condemned publicly the policies and repudiated the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Andrey - head of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church, Diocese of America: North and South, and Australia.

R E S O L U T I O N S

OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE BULGARIAN  
NATIONAL FRONT OF AMERICA, INC. HELD AT HOTEL WA-  
SHINGTON, WASHINGTON, D.C. - MARCH 30 - 31, 1963.

The delegates at the Seventh Annual Convention of the Bulgarian National Front of America, Inc., held at Hotel Washington, Washington, D.C., March 30-31 1963, having heard the reports of the President Dr. Ivan Dochev, the Secretary General Dr. Kalin Koicheff and the other officers of the Central Executive Board, and having thoroughly discussed the international situation and trends of development, the situation in Bulgaria and in exile, unanimously approved the following resolutions:

I. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION:

1. The trends of the international development at present time fully confirm the evaluation of the organization on all relevant matters expressed in the resolutions of the past conventions and the Seventh Annual Convention reaffirms these resolutions.
2. The Bulgarian National Front of America, Inc. finds that the camp of the free nations and the communist bloc are respectively undergoing a slow but steady consolidation in their internal inter-relations and that the occasional elements of disintegration and disagreement in both camps rapidly disappear under the pressure of the well understood interests of the respective political systems.
3. The BNF views the current relations between the major protagonists on the world scene - the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. - in terms of a policy of accommodation dictated by mutual fear of the consequences of modern warfare and sees in this policy of accommodation a perpetuation of the status of the captive nations.
4. The BNF is of the opinion that any policy of the free nations based upon unjustified hopes for internal conflict or evolution within the communist bloc is a policy of selfdeception.

5. The BNF has come to the conclusion that in the perspectives of the policy of accomodation the captive nations are left with only one alternative course of action for their liberation - to take their cause in their own hands and to force their understanding of freedom and common human values to the western world where the concept of preservation of its own wellbeing by abandoning the captive peoples to the communist tyranny is dominant.

## II. THE SITUATION IN BULGARIA:

6. The BNF calls the attention of the Bulgarian public abroad to the suffering of the Bulgarian people under the unbearable terror of the communist regime in Bulgaria and particularly to the collapse of the communist economic system in agriculture, industry and business manifested by universal starvation, crisis in housing and a deplorable situation of the clothing of the masses.
7. The BNF sees the salvation of the Bulgarian people only in the liberation from the present communist dictatorship and will continue uncompromisingly the struggle for freedom irrespective of the sacrifices required for this cause and irrespective of limitations imposed by foreign nations.
8. The Seventh Annual Convention of the Bulgarian National Front of America, Inc. proclaims the principles of the political declaration adopted by this Convention as a fighting weapon in the struggle for liberation and as a guiding program for the reconstruction of free and independent Bulgaria. (The said Declaration, known as "The Washington Declaration" of the BNF, is unseparable part of this resolution and is herewith attached).

## III. THE SITUATION IN EXILE:

9. The BNF regrets that the Bulgarian political exiles have not as yet attained the ideal for a united action against communism.
10. The BNF condemns the narrowminded partisanship manifested in our exile movement and deliberately stimulated by foreign factors: unable to understand the fundamental principles of the liberation struggle, powerless to exercise their decisive influence in the field of exile politics, deliberately manipulated by skillful, irresponsible Bulgarian exile leaders, captives of crystallized prejudices on Bulgarian political matters and directly or indirectly influenced by the Sofia Government for the defeat of the liberation movement.

11. The BNF expresses its satisfaction of the fact that certain foreign agencies handling Bulgarian exile affairs have found it necessary to seek the approval and the support of the Bulgarian public abroad for their activities in favor of the Bulgarian liberation cause and finds in their attempts in that direction a confirmation of the validity of the criticism against these agencies and their policies - criticism originating from the BNF and other Bulgarian organizations in exile - and hopes that the leadership of these agencies will not accept a self-organized political camouflage, performed by their paid employees to praise their own work, as an expression of the opinion of the Bulgarian public abroad.
12. The BNF condemns any direct collaboration with the Bulgarian communist Government - in whatever form, with whatever purposes, of whomever Bulgarian public figure committed to the liberation cause in whatever capacity - as well as any indirect cooperation with that Government: on behalf or for the account of any foreign Government seeking such a cooperation of Bulgarian exile leaders for implementation of its own policies of rapprochement with the Government in Sofia, and considers such a collaboration or cooperation incompatible with the fundamental principles of the struggle for liberation, desired and sought by the communists as a stratagem in their efforts to compromise the exile movement in the eyes of the Bulgarian people resisting their authority, and, finally, views such a collaboration and cooperation with the communists in Sofia as a betrayal of the liberation cause.
13. The BNF warns the Bulgarian public abroad of the bitter disappointment prepared for the exile movement in the future by official and unofficial agencies using professed anti-communists for the role of promoting policies of rapprochement between Sofia and some foreign Governments.
14. The BNF appeals to all those in official positions to scrap any information originating from sources publicly identified as dependent on the Bulgarian communist Government upon which policy decisions on Bulgarian exile matters have been and are being made and undertake a general reconsideration of all policies based on such an information.
15. The BNF, in the spirit and in accordance with the general principles of this resolution, unanimously decides to address a special Memorandum to President John F. Kennedy informing him of the views of the organizations. (The said Memorandum is a part of the present resolution. It was discussed and approved by the Convention, but its publication is withheld for the time being)