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BULGARIAN NATIONAL FRONT OF AMERICA, INC.

P. O. BOX 2158

GRAND CENTRAL STATION, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

July 5, 1963

The Honorable Dean Rusk
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Sir,

On April 1th, this year, a delegation of the Central Executive Board of the Bulgarian National Front, by authorization of the Seventh Congress of the organization, held in Washington, D.C. on March 30th and 31th, visited the State Department where it was received by the Assistant of the Chief of Protocol who accepted the special Memorandum of the Congress addressed to President John F. Kennedy, and by the Chief of Bulgarian Section of the Department, Mr. Andrews, with whom it discussed at length the Bulgarian political situation. In further pursuing the policies outlined in the said Memorandum to President Kennedy, the Central Executive Board found it necessary to call your attention to certain matters which were deemed to be of vital importance for the exile cause, for the United States interests, and for the Bulgarian National Front. This Memorandum is the result of the Organization's evaluation of the international developments at present time, United States policies, and Bulgarian political affairs in exile.

1. It is our understanding that under the shadow of a possible nuclear war arising out of unresolved conflicts between the two antagonistic political block neither the United States, nor the Soviet Union will venture an active policy in order to expand their respective power and doctrines over the territory controlled by their opponents, and, therefore, the world is faced with a prolonged stalemate of co-existence based on mutual fear of total destruction. The resolution of the Cuban crisis and its immediate reflection upon the exile cause are clear indication for the pattern of international relations that is shaping up and our organization, having as its primary and ultimate goal the liberation of Bulgaria from communism is faced with the alternatives to either conform to this pattern, ergo, to abandon its basic goal, or to evolve policies, strategy and tactics openly opposed to what appear to be official United States policies.

2. We are further convinced that the United States Government and the Free World entertain no illusions regarding the ultimate and immediate goals of the Communist block and that while making supreme efforts to work out a modus vivendi at the expense of the captive nations, they are actively preoccupied with their defenses, should a military show-down with communism become inevitable.

3. We do not question the sincerity and the pragmatic considerations underlying certain policies followed by the US Government based on the assumption that the winds of freedom are blowing behind the Iron Curtain and that a political ferment is now at work within the communist world, although we cannot quite well see that these winds and this ferment are going in our direction.

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and not in exactly opposite direction, that is, in the direction of further strengthening and consolidation of communism. We do not object any exploring and explicit even these possibilities which appear to us to be only fallacious reliefs and as long as policies based on such reliefs appear to serve some limited goals and objectives, and as long as such policies do not obscure the vision of those in charge of the defenses of the free world regarding the ultimate goals of communism and exclude other alternative roads to freedom.

4. We firmly believe that the day for considering the other alternative roads to freedom for the captive nations will inevitably come, perhaps sooner than we or the US would anticipate it and we feel that neither the United States, nor we can afford to be caught by the events unprepared and off-guard. The Hungarian events of 1956 and the Cuban crisis of 1962 fully substantiate our convictions on this matter.

5. We consider the current policies of public disavowal of exile representations only as a tactical move for public consumption in the interest of higher national policy considerations and not as a fundamental departure from established policies of using exile movements as a challenge for the imposed red regimes in the Soviet Block. We therefore anticipate resumption and revitalization of the US policies of public support for the exile movements and we trust that planning and preparations are now under way for a new era of US exile relations.

6. We are confident that a realistic appraisal of all factors contributing for the attainment of US goals in the confrontation with world communism will place an overriding importance in the exile movements and we are therefore interested to see that in this appraisal the US Government will decide on a RIGHT COURSE of action in the area of Bulgarian exile affairs.

7. The Captive Nation, the Bulgarian people included, are an enormous reservoir of potentialities to be used in a propitious moment and that these potentialities could be most effectively mobilized by a national political leadership from inside and from outside.

8. It is the realization of this opportunity for the US that an active policy of support for the exile movements had been in operation since the end WW II and we believe that it will be continued, in one or another form.

9. It has been our contention that the US agencies handling Bulgarian political affairs in exile have not been able to reach a correct understanding of the fundamentals of our Bulgarian exile movement and its correlative components in Bulgaria and have not evolved the best policies aimed at a full utilization of all potential capacities of the Bulgarian people as a whole in opposition to communism.

10. It has further our contention that the policies of the said agencies are resulting in disruption of our exile movement by stimulating unwarranted competition for American favors, mutual recriminations for past "political errors" instead of unity in a common effort to promote the cause of liberation of Bulgaria. The implications of these policies go further than our exile realities and suggest American predetermination of future political constellations in Bulgaria, this way excluding the contribution of the most important elements

of the resistance movement in Bulgaria from participation in the struggle for freedom forcing them either to accommodate to current American preferences or go it alone independently or in opposition to American precepts.

11. Prejudices inherited from the past and a vicious campaign of smear perpetrated by ex-communist collaborators and opportunistic elements striving for careers have found a favorable response with the said agencies and they have settled for policies openly hostile to our organization, in complete disregard of our constructive work in exile, our undisputed influence in Bulgaria and our progressive democratic concepts for a future free Bulgaria.

12. We are enclosing the Washington Declaration adopted by our Seventh Congress this year - and we could submit a volume of documents from our activities in exile - as a clear illustration for our political philosophy, its relevancy for the present and for the future and as demonstration of the integrity and the seriousness of our organization. This Declaration is the result of our political work carried through over sixteen years in exile, a reflection of knowledge of Bulgarian affairs, our responsibilities to the Bulgarian people, and a concise analysis of its political, economic, social and cultural strivings. We are proud with this document and we look forward with confidence for its sanction by the Bulgarian people. And we expect to be judged on the basis of the principles enunciated by this Declaration, not on the basis of information obtained by Bulgarian partisan sources.

13. Presently we are faced with certain realities which oblige us to seek the assistance of the US Government so that the organization to continue its activities for the benefit of the liberation cause, to win friends for the US among Bulgarians of our persuasion, counter-act communist efforts to destroy us as its most dangerous opponent and to be able to take part in the reconstruction of future free Bulgaria.

14. By now we have carried activities in exile which cannot be matched by any other Bulgarian organization abroad, particularly those which have been generously financed by the US Government with hundreds of thousands of dollars. Our activities have been financed exclusively by meager contributions by the member of our organization - factory worker, office employees, professional men. It will be a great service to communism if the activities of our organization, because of finance difficulties, have to be reduced. It is by all means evident that the kind of activities carried by our organization without financial help from outside are an illustration of our potentialities which would be developed much more effectively if we had been treated differently by the US agencies.

15. We, therefore appeal to the US Government for financial assistance. We will refrain in stating the amount needed for our work, but we would like to outline the activities we have in mind for these purposes: Further strengthening of the organization among the Bulgarian exile, expand our influence inside Bulgaria, study of the current economic, political, cultural and social development in Bulgaria, publication of an exile news-paper to acquaint our public with this developments and with developments in the US and free world, welfare activities among Bulgarian exiles.

16. We are fully aware of the technicalities related to matters of this nature and we know that the State Department is not the place to apply for financial assistance, but we also are aware that it is the State Department

to make the principal decision on the matter and relay this decision to the respective agencies for execution. We consider it to be responsibility of the State Department to make decisions on long range foreign policy matters and our appeals belongs clearly in that area. We therefore expect that it is the State Department that will make the decision on this appeal and we hope that this decision will be favorable for our cause.

We trust that our explanations are clearly stated and that they will be given the closest attention. We hope that our experiences of the past have taught everybody what should and what should not be done for a fruitful work for the liberation of Bulgaria and the promotion of American influence among Bulgarian - now and in the future. We also hope that this Memorandum will open a new phase in the relations between the Bulgarian National Front and the United States Government and a new era in American Bulgarian relations.

On behalf of the Central Executive Board of
The Bulgarian National Front of America, Inc.

Respectfully yours,



Ivan Docheff
Dr. Ivan Docheff - President