

# Freedom House

20 West 40th Street  
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Freedom's Advocate the World Over

August 9, 1982

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*Executive Director*

Mr. Walter Raymond, Jr.  
Office of National Security Adviser  
to the President  
Old Executive Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Walter:

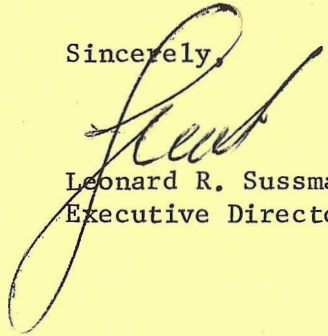
Leo Cherne has asked me to send these copies of Freedom Appeals. He has probably told you we have had to cut back this project to meet financial realities. The independent journal is now combined with Freedom at Issue (as the latest issue of the latter reveals).

We would, of course, want to expand the project once again when, as and if the funds become available. Offshoots of that project appear in newspapers, magazines, books and on broadcast services here and abroad. It's a significant, unique channel of communication.

Best wishes,

jm  
enc.

Sincerely,

  
Leonard R. Sussman  
Executive Director

*Answer - 1. Appropriate ref letter*

*2.*

*Compendium of letters*

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CENTER FOR CARIBBEAN  
AND CENTRAL AMERICAN STUDIES  
AT FREEDOM HOUSE

R. BRUCE McCOLM  
DIRECTOR

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TELEX: 429439-FREEDOM

September 15, 1984

Mr. Walter Raymond, Jr.  
National Security Council  
The White House  
Old Executive Office Building  
Room 351  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Walter:

Enclosed please find a short proposal for the Center's Nicaragua project 1984-85. The project combines elements of the oral history proposal with the publication of The Nicaraguan Papers. The book itself will be a compilation of the key documents, speeches, interviews given by the Sandinista comandantes from 1961 through the present and arranged according to subject matter. The interviews done with defectors or participants in the FSLN's internal discussions will serve to introduce the theme or document and place it in an historical context.

Maintaining the oral history part of the project adds to the overall costs; but preliminary discussions with film makers have given me the idea that an Improper Conduct-type of documentary could be made based on these materials. Such a film would have to be the work of a respected Latin American filmmaker or a European. American-made films on Central America are simply too abrasive ideologically and artistically poor. Of the three film projects currently under development for television, none fit the bill. The groundwork laid by the oral history part of the project will feed into a documentary at the same time furnish the introductions for each section of The Nicaraguan Papers.

David Nolan's book The Ideology of the Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan Revolution (Institute of Interamerican Studies, University of Miami, 1984) is a valuable addition to the massive bibliography on the Nicaraguan situation. It should but probably will not receive wide distribution. Its value lies in tracing the Sandinistas ideological roots from



their beginning through the various tactical and strategic debates during the 1977-79 conflict. Using many of the movement's own works, Nolan does a good job in synthesizing the FSLN's ideological zigs-and-zags as they relate to guerrilla war strategy (something he should have made more explicit). The rather arcane subject matter of Marxist-Leninist factional fights limits the audience to academics and foreign policy specialists.

The Nicaraguan Papers attempts something quite different. The Grenada documents, at least the selection available to the public so far, allow the reader an insider's view of how ideological architects set about constructing a Marxist-Leninist state through factional fights, internal repression, diplomatic peace offensives, and covert military and security assistance from East Bloc countries. However, nothing much has been revealed about the seven years of planning and strategy that preceded the New Jewel Party's coup d'etat. Whatever The Nicaraguan Papers lack in terms of juicy accounts of training in the Soviet Union or the personality clashes is more than made up by its following a Marxist-Leninist movement from its creation, its initial failures, the war itself, to its attempts to create a revolutionary state. This would be the book's primary value, especially in light of the ongoing debate in the United States over Central America.


Behind internal ideological debates are objective realities. Nolan's book neglects to discuss some of the regional and global situations which FSLN tactics were addressing. The Nicaraguan Papers, for example, will discuss how much of the present Sandinista state was already formed and in place in 1979 as part of the FSLN's strategy for taking power. A dimension also lacking in the Grenada documents and crucial for understanding more overt power struggles later on. Also, key documents of the 1978-1980 period demonstrate in very nuts and bolts fashion how the FSLN planned to subvert or neutralize all existing free institutions. These documents discuss with some frankness the relationship between maintaining a pluralist front on the diplomatic side, while consolidating the revolution internally.

The Nicaraguan Papers will also be readily accessible to the general reader, the journalist, the opinion-maker, the academic and the like. The book would be distributed fairly

broadly to these sectors and I am sure will be extremely useful. They already constitute a form of Freedom House samizdat, since I've been distributing them to journalists for the past two years as I've received them from disaffected Nicaraguans.

Starting September 24th, I'll be in Washington for two weeks for the OAS Inter-American Commission of Human Rights meetings and will be staying at the Anthony House for the duration. Let's see if we can get together to discuss the proposal.

Best Regards,



R. Bruce McColm



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CENTER FOR CARIBBEAN  
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R. BRUCE McCOLM  
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THE NICARAGUAN PAPERS  
A GRANT PROPOSAL

During the joint American-Caribbean rescue operation in Grenada last October, a treasure trove of documents was discovered that provided the first inside glimpse of the strategy and tactics used by ideological architects to build a Marxist-Leninist state in the Caribbean. The materials documented everything from internal factional fights, the manipulation of American media, secret military agreements with Cuba, Soviet Union and the East Bloc, and a strategy to infiltrate the island's churches and trade unions. The archive, currently being published by the United States Government in several volumes and selectively for a general audience by Prof. Paul Seabury at the University of California at Berkeley, will remain of historical significance for years to come.

A similar, slightly less spectacular set of documents concerning the Nicaraguan Revolution has slowly emerged over the past five years as former Sandinistas and their allies have become disillusioned with the direction of that Central American state. Unlike the Grenada documents, these minutes of party meetings, party platforms and briefings to select FSLN cadres are in the private possession of individuals dispersed over the United States and Latin America. Few of these revealing materials have been published, let alone written about. Others have been published by small radical left publishing houses in Mexico and are only available in

Spanish.

While the Grenada documents revealed the most intimate inner-workings of a Marxist-Leninist regime and subsequently dispelled any doubts about the direction of that Revolution, there continues to be a divisive dispute in this country over the Sandinistas' true ideology and the direction of that regime. This debate over the nature of the Nicaraguan Revolution has polarized every significant institution in this country, particularly the church and labor. Consequently, the Nicaraguan government has mobilized in this country the most extensive and sophisticated network of support groups since the Vietnam War. Claiming a commitment to pluralism, economic reform and democracy, the Sandinistas', since their triumph, have been able to organize, along with the Salvadoran guerrillas, this nation-wide network keying each significant sector of the American society for the purpose of mobilizing American public opinion against Washington's policies.

Perhaps more significantly, this network has mobilized vast financial and material resources to disseminate the Sandinista line to the media, religious leaders, academics, local labor leaders as well as congressional staff and members. Material support -- food, medicine, cash donation, and even weaponry -- for the Sandinistas as well as the Salvadoran guerrillas, according to their own statements, amounts to approximately \$25 million a year. Much of this support derives from average American citizens, who have been told of the young Revolution and its democratic



aspirations.

The dreary tale of Western syncophants of revolutions has been well-documented, especially in Paul Hollander's book Political Pilgrims. In past revolutions, accurate information concerning the repression of free institutions, ethnic minorities, political dissidents and the totalitarian nature of the revolutionary elite was either not available or suppressed.

This is not the case in Nicaragua. Former officials and guerrillas have brought out of the country many of the documents detailing the FSLN's strategy to manipulate world opinion, while consolidating the revolution internally. The documents, already in the Center's possession, discuss the methods to be used for discrediting the Archbishop of Managua and the traditional Catholic Church, suppressing the free trade unions and eventually eliminating the private sector. One document even urges cadres to tolerate Christmas for the first few years of the Revolution because "Even the Soviet Union took a long time before it eliminated superstition." Another discusses how elections will enable the "legitimization of a Marxist-Leninist state".

The Nicaraguan Papers covers a longer time-frame than the documents found in Grenada. The book itself would reprint internal documents from the FSLN from its founding through the 1977-79 war and its strategy for consolidating the revolution during the 1980s. While not as extensive as the Grenada archives, by any stretch of the imagination, The

Nicaraguan Papers documents the rise of an insignificant Marxist-Leninist organization from guerrillas to the political elite in a state ,which foments regional revolution. The key documents of the 1978-1980 period reveal how the Marxist-Leninists gained total control over the revolutionary organizations and actually put in place the organizational structure which would become post-revolutionary Nicaragua.

The book itself would be approximately 250-400 pages long. An introduction would be written either by R. Bruce McCole or a well-known former Sandinista diplomat. To make it more accessible to the journalist, student and academic, it will be divided in sections according to key themes. These sections will be introduced by the commentary of a variety of former Sandinistas such as Alfonso Robelo, Eden Pastora, Arturo Cruz, Sr., and Donald Castillo who will place the documents into an historical context and elaborate on the discussions between the comandantes at that time.

The project calls for a coordinator, who will interview former Sandinistas and locate those documents not currently in the Center's possession. Materials obtained from taped interviews will also form the basis of a documentary film on many of the subjects covered by the book. An editorial assistant would be in charge of publication and distribution. Since the book will be published in both English and Spanish ,the project has substantial translation costs.



The project coordinator for The Nicaraguan Papers tentatively is Adriana Guillen, a former Sandinista and reporter for La Prensa, the only independent newspaper in the country. Ms. Guillen for many years was an insider to the deliberations of the FSLN before she left the Nicaragua. Since then, she was the American representative of Misura, the Nicaraguan Indian organization for the past three years.

At this date, the Center has not decided on whether to publish the book out of Freedom House or through a commercial publisher. Although a commercial publisher has advantages in the continental United States, Freedom House is more able to distribute the book in Latin America and Europe through two newly established programs created for this purpose.

The Nicaraguan Papers will be an important addition to the massive bibliography on Central America as well as a much needed antidote to the public's confusion over the true nature of the Sandinista revolution. It will be aggressively marketed and distributed, especially in the trade market. Marketing plans include:

- \* free distribution to members of Congress and key public officials;

- \* distribution of galleys in advance of publication for maximum publicity and timely reviews in newspapers and current affairs magazines.

- \* press conference at Freedom House in New York and at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.

\* op-ed circulation to more than 100 newspapers (and translation into foreign languages for circulation abroad.)

\* distribution of a Spanish-language edition through Hispanic organizations in the United States and in Latin America.

\* arrangement of European distribution through Freedom House contacts.

#### BUDGET

##### Salaries

Project Coordinator	\$25,000.
Editorial Assistant	16,000.
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	\$41,000.

Translation	\$ 7,000.
Honoraria and fee for introduction	8,000.
Typing of drafts and final manuscript	3,000.
Transcription of interview tapes (100 hours of taped interviews)	8,100.
Research materials	2,500.

Overhead:  
(International phone calls, office space, copying, secretarial services, etc.) 8,000.

Graphic Artist fee for cover 1,500.

Publishing Costs :  
(2,000 hardcover and 10,000 trade paperback) 45,000.

Distribution Costs: 10,000.

Total Costs (Including printing): \$134,100.

Cost of Project :  
(Commercial publisher assumes printing and distribution costs in the continental United States .) \$ 79,100.