

THE GUARDIAN

The Washington Post

WEEKLY

Le Monde

Vol. 129 No. 19 Week ending November 6, 1983

Grenada and the rule of law

UNITED STATES forces invaded Grenada early in the morning of Tuesday, October 25, and after keen fighting for most of the week against Grenadian and Cuban forces consolidated their military occupation of the Caribbean island, an independent sovereign state and a member of the British Commonwealth with the Queen as its head of state.

The invasion, compared by some to the Soviet action in Afghanistan, met world-wide condemnation — it was against international law, the charter of the United Nations, the Treaty of the Organisation of American States, and could be justified by the treaty of the Organisation of East Caribbean states only by a deliberate misreading of article eight, providing for "collective defence."

In the United Nations Security Council the US vetoed a resolution deeply deploring the invasion. Voting was 11 to one. For the resolution were France, the Netherlands, the Soviet Union, Poland, China, Jordan, Malta, Pakistan, Guyana, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe. Britain abstained, as did Togo and Zaire.

The invasion has left the US in the weakest political position it has had in Latin America for years. Every elected Latin American government has condemned the assault in unequivocal terms. Coupled with the disapproval of Guyana and Trinidad, this means that Jamaica is isolated as the only elected government of significant size in the Western hemisphere which went along with the plan.

Other reports, pages 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15.

Rarely has there been such unity among the democracies of Latin America and the Caribbean. Even the government of the Dominican Republic, where US marines last intervened 18 years ago against a nationalist movement with populist and Marxist overtones, has called the invasion "deplorable." The only Latin American governments to support the US have been the military dictatorships of Chile, Guatemala, and Uruguay.

President Reagan brushed aside the earnest advice of Mrs Thatcher against launching the invasion. The advice, offered in an urgent telephone conversation lasting less than five minutes in the early hours of the Tuesday morning, now looks like becoming the most serious Anglo-American difference since the Suez crisis nearly 30 years ago.

Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary, was particularly humiliated by the contrast between events in the Caribbean and his own assurances in the Commons the previous day. The foreign Secretary told MPs then that he knew of no intention by the United States to launch an armed invasion, and Whitehall sources insisted that this was a statement of the plain truth at the time.

The underlying importance of the issue was emphasised in the Commons by Mr Enoch Powell, the Ulster Unionist MP. He drew attention to the lack of consultation between London and Washington over the relatively trivial matter of an invasion of a tiny Caribbean island, and questioned whether it could any longer be believed that there would be more extensive consultation between the President and the Prime Minister over something as important as the use of nuclear weapons based on British soil. In the long run, that point may prove to be the most damaging aspect of all in an already embarrassing Anglo-American fiasco.

Already a poll in Britain shows that 73% of British voters distrust Washington's assurances on the joint Anglo-US control of cruise missiles due to be installed in Britain this month.

The US and the Caribbean countries in-

Continued on page 7

The basic objection to the invasion

IF ONLY Mrs Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey had been so straightforward from the start. They were (and are) livid with the Americans. They are unlikely to be overpleased with Sir Paul Scoon either. But their basic objection to the invasion of Grenada is not one of amour propre. It is a fundamental matter of principle, worth restating in Mrs Thatcher's own words. "If you are going to pronounce a new law that wherever there is communism imposed against the will of the people then the US should enter then we are going to have really terrible wars in the world. . . . When things happen in other countries which we don't like, we don't just march in." Amen to that: and, working forward from this fierce perception, one may begin to see all the Grenadan difficulties that lie in train and why it is that the British Government is so stubbornly insistent on not getting physically involved.

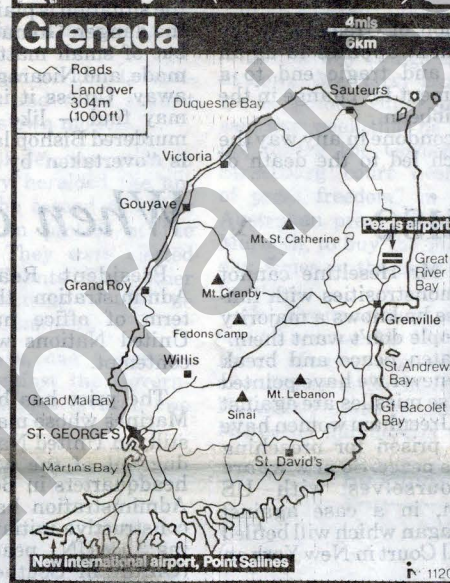
For the moment Mr Ronald Reagan has the stars and stripes wrapped round his stetson. Early domestic polls approve of the marines' exploits (though by widely varying margins). The mood of public opinion is enough to keep his critics muffled. Such a honeymoon, however, may be short-lived. The latest poll — in Newsweek — shows a narrow majority wanting US forces out of Grenada the moment "the safety of Americans is assured". But no current timetable can possibly meet that demand. In the beginning Mr Shultz thought it all might take only a week. Now Admiral Wesley MacDonald, commander-in-chief of the whole show, is more circumspect. "If we can identify the hostile Grenadan and Cuban forces and get them neutralised, then we can get out." Senior Pentagon officials, briefing on background, use the dread word "indefinitely". Others decline to rule out the thought of a permanent American base on Grenada.

Some of these prognostications, to be sure, may prove excessively lurid. They rest, like so much else in the Reagan administration's case, on a technicolor version of the Cuban threat, a version not much helped by finding that there were not as many Cubans on Grenada as the marine commanders claimed; that the arms dumps there

Freedom and the fire in the night

MR REAGAN, amongst other things, is "restoring democracy and freedom" to Grenada. Yet Grenada has never, in any meaningful sense, enjoyed democracy. There is absolutely nothing to "restore".

Sir Eric Gairy, the first Prime Minister of independent Grenada, was one of the more colourful — though swiftly forgotten — characters of the early seventies. "I was appointed by God to lead Grenada. I have known this from the beginning. I don't care what you hear about the situation. Might is right," he informed this paper in 1974. The scenes surrounding independence, in the same year, were filled with might. The (then) Mr Gairy had some 600 or so secret police (or Mongoose Gang) who took as their model the tactics of "Papa Doc" Duvalier's Tonton Macoutes across the Caribbean in Haiti. Mr Max Hastings, in this week's issue of the Spectator, eloquently recalls his reporter's memories of the evening of independence. While Mr Peter Blaker of the Foreign Office and assembled dignitaries were at the cricket ground watching a pageant, writes Max, "Gairy was using the island's preoccupation as a cover to send his mongooses to round up the opposition. We drove to the hilltop home of Maurice Bishop, the young Marxist leader of the New Jewel Movement, just too late to



didn't exactly stagger experienced reporters; that the alleged Cuban reinforcement ship had been sitting in harbour since the day before the coup that killed Maurice Bishop; and that good old free enterprise Plessey Airports was building the supposedly subversive new runway with Her Majesty's Government's approved funds.

But beneath all the hyperbole there does indeed rest a genuine problem. Mr Reagan can ship the Cubans home. What, though, is he to do with the 1,200-strong Grenadan army and with hundreds of activists who

see him whisked away. His wife, a pale pretty girl in her early twenties, told us now that she was frightened for her life. She seemed to have a point. At that moment we saw a large fire start to blaze merrily across the harbour. The house of Michael Silverman, the New Jewel Movement's lawyer, had been put to the torch by Gairy's henchmen. It burned on all night, above the independence celebrations."

Prime Minister Gairy became the ruler of a Sovereign State by a back door wangle with a Conservative Government which simply wanted shot of a distressing little problem. It presented, we wrote here at the time, the curious spectacle of Whitehall "encouraging a potty dictator to hit his ever increasing opponents, composed mainly of traders, clergymen and professional bodies". It would prove a disaster. It did prove a disaster. Within weeks Gairy was ranting away about Ted Heath "being worse than Hitler". When he was booted from office 4½ years ago, there was absolutely no doubting that the vast majority of Grenadians were glad to see the end of a corrupt and brutal regime led by a man who often seemed unstable.

Can any outside nation, as Mr Enoch Powell most trenchantly doubts, "create democracy and freedom by military force"?

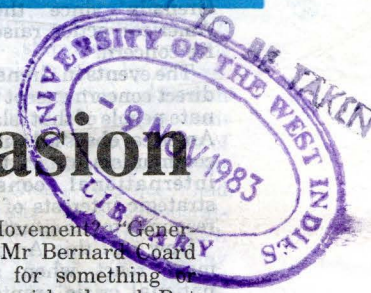
ran the New Jewel Movement. General Hudson Austin and Mr Bernard Coard may doubtless be tried for something or other and consigned to an island gaol. But the throng of Grenadan soldiers and politicians America went in to flush out cannot be so easily disposed of. The army has more or less disbanded itself and will doubtless so remain. Its soldiers, however, having doubtless buried their armaments, must seep back into civilian life. And the memory of Mr Bishop seems unlikely to die with him. One is struck already by the number of Grenadians who — though they loathed and feared Hudson Austin — still speak warmly of the murdered Prime Minister. Yet he, let it be remembered, was a Marxist too. His presence led to the formulation of America's invasion plans. Any arms on the island — and any "advisers" — arrived while he was in charge. And Fidel Castro himself bitterly denounced Bishop's "savage" assassins.

Sir Paul Scoon may see the possibility of an interim "non-political" administration. But the harsh polarisation of Grenadan society since independence — between far, corrupt right and far left — has left precious few "non-politicians" in sight. (Sir Paul had a way of sacking governors he did not like.) Essentially — as the Commonwealth Secretary-General appears to grasp — the long-term prospect of a peaceful Grenada hangs on a democracy in which everyone can participate, which means free elections with the heirs and successors of Maurice Bishop there on the ballot paper, in just the way that Bishop challenged Gairy before Sir Eric locked him up. But is that, one may inquire, quite what Mr Reagan has in mind?

Mrs Thatcher is entirely right to tread warily through this minefield and to see no good reason why we should become enmeshed in the miasma the Americans leave behind. Of course many Grenadians were happy to welcome the marines. A similar force descending on Haiti or Guatemala would have been similarly greeted. Ordinary people are always glad to be free of fear and tyranny. But building (not restoring) democracy on Grenada is an altogether more fraught exercise.

There is, currently, the Turkish example on view, with the typical little local difficulty that the generals of Ankara decide who can run and who can't. A similar situation exists in Pakistan. And the entire tenor of America's efforts in its own backyard — from El Salvador to Guatemala to Nicaragua — betrays the same structural fault. The military men say who the democrats are. People like the late Maurice Bishop — who got nothing but hostility from Washington — may have attempted to fight elections against Gairy, but he was adjudged to have been no democrat. Freedom, in the Caribbean, is a sanitised condition, not a way of life. Leaders and elections may be tolerated as long as — like the Finns in the shadow of Moscow — they operate within pre-ordained limits.

Perhaps in a world full of superpower realpolitik, one does not pause or gag too much over such conclusions. One does not blame the Heath government all over again for thrusting Eric Gairy into orbit. One reluctantly expects that a great nation across the sea will set the limits for the tiddlers in its pond. But there is a point at which too much moralising sticks in the throat. Poor, raddled Grenada — like so many caught a whiff of freedom. Will it truly do so now?



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

How we are all being consumed by the American obsession

With scant regard for international law and for the advice and sensibilities of one of her major allies, the United States has invaded Grenada. The broad thrust of President Reagan's justification is that the Grenadian military are "leftist thugs" whose activities warrant invasion. Whatever ones views about the horrifying events in Grenada since the coup, the American action raises grave cause for concern.

The events in Grenada are of little direct concern except to the unfortunate people of that island alone. Yet America, obsessed with the "evil" of communism, raises the spectres of international conspiracy and strategic interests of the West and responds to the situation with force.

How will this American government react when a real international crisis erupts on its doorstep: a modern equivalent of the Cuban missile crisis, for example? The day, of that crisis already looms on the horizon for the USSR has repeatedly said it will reply to the deployment of Cruise and Pershing in Europe with similar deployment off the coast of the US. Will the American government be capable of responding to such a development with the coolness and rationality it requires?

By now more powerful voices than my own will have raised the question of Cruise missiles and the value of US assurances that her allies will be consulted before they are fired. However, I would like to contribute one piece of information

to the debate; an extract from a report to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs made in December 1980.

After emphasising that the missiles will be totally under the command and control of US forces, the report states: "It is possible that the US will reach bilateral understandings with host governments concerning appropriate consultations in the event of a requirement to fire. But such consultation does not imply an actual inhibition on the capability of the US to operate the systems."

How long we may ask, will it be before American obsession again overrides all other considerations, this time with catastrophic results for mankind?

David Andrews,
30 Church Lane,
London N2.

In view of the Reagan administration's reaction to left-wing regimes in Nicaragua and Grenada, it's perhaps as well that Labour didn't win the last election.

John Spencer,
Stamford Arcade,
Ashton-under-Lyne.

The invasion of Grenada by the US Government appears to us an indefensible and tragic end to a brave experiment for change in the Eastern Caribbean.

We do not condone in any way the actions which led to the death of

Maurice Bishop and others in events which were wholly uncharacteristic of the pattern of change established by the Provisional Revolutionary Government since March, 1979. That said, we refute entirely the reasons for military action as asserted by President Reagan in his message to the American people of October 25.

There is no real evidence that the lives of US or British citizens were in immediate danger and no reason to believe, after appropriate mediation, that a reconciliation could not have been achieved between the contending factions in leadership and the majority of the Grenadian people.

The advances which the PRG brought to Grenada were tangible and popular, seen as such not only by leftist and nationalist forces in the region, but also by respected international institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank.

The moment for reconciliation has, of course, now gone and we are faced with the reality of an overwhelming US presence in an island for which it had, until 1979, shown little concern and scant regard. Witness the many years silence about the thugs of the Gairy regime.

The partiality of the US reading of the situation is plain, and herein lies the danger. Grenada may be small, but of small matters escalation is made, and Nicaragua is not that far away. Unless it is careful the US may find — like the faction that murdered Bishop last week — that it is "overtaken by events" (signifi-

cantly the title of a book by the US ambassador to the Dominican Republic in 1965 when the US last intervened militarily in a Caribbean country).

It is, of course, to be earnestly hoped that this will not happen. It can be prevented in the future only by securing for the Caribbean the status of a zone of peace, in which intervention by others for whatever cause will be effectively prohibited.

The sooner the US government accedes to this, the sooner will real freedom and tranquility be restored to Grenada and the Caribbean people as a whole.

(Dr) Paul Sutton,
Department of Politics,
University of Hull.
(Dr) A. E. Thorndike,
Department of International
Relations and Politics,
North Staffordshire Polytechnic.
(Dr) A. J. Payne,
Department of Politics,
Huddersfield Polytechnic.

Commonwealth country occupied by invading foreign power? Forgive me for asking, but when does the task force set sail from Southampton. I would like to see them off this time.

S. R. Gregory,
4 Kirk Avenue,
Kegworth, Derby.

I write in horror at the news of the American invasion of the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada. This is no new plan. When I was in

Grenada on holiday in March, there were rumours circulating of fears of an American invasion. When the Grenadian Government presented its budget plan to the "mass organisations" — trade unions, women's groups, parish and local councils — at a conference which I attended, there was an American battleship moored 1,000 yards offshore. Even at that time the ministers and Maurice Bishop feared for their lives.

Time will tell whether the recent "coup" was initiated by the CIA "special tricks" squad.

The complete failure of Mrs Thatcher's administration to stop the invasion of a Commonwealth country makes a mockery of any "understanding" with the US, with ghastly implications for the use of Cruise missiles in this country.

Ann Vinden,
112 Mildmay Road,
Chelmsford, Essex.

After the Grenada invasion, can we now expect the Government to approve a boycott of the Los Angeles Olympics for next year?

Christian Wolmar,
84 Wynford House,
London N1.

I am aware that this is One World Week, but isn't Mr Reagan taking the idea rather too far?

Titus Grant,
Stratford-upon-Avon,
Warwickshire.

Countdown to Cruise

I found David Fairhall's article, Will Cruise be confined to barracks?, October 23, very interesting, but wish to correct the impression that Greenham women are prepared even to tolerate the arrival of Cruise missiles. We may not be able physically to prevent the bits and pieces from being flown in but, by undermining base security and blocking the roads, we are determined to prevent them achieving even an initial operating capability.

Mr Fairhall describes how, according to the "naive logic" of deterrence, one would expect this major addition to our country's defence to be greeted with public fanfare. However Cruise is a nuclear-weapons system designed for first use and intended to be dispersed in the countryside and concealed among the British population, so that any attempt by Soviet missiles to knock out these 96 warheads would have to obliterate huge areas of southern England.

Of course Mr Heseltine cannot greet these monstrosities with fanfares, because he knows a majority of British people don't want them.

They threaten peace and break the law. Whenever we have pointed out that Cruise missiles are against British law, Greenham women have ended up in prison for breaching Her Majesty's peace. So now we are plaintiffs ourselves with US Congressmen, in a case against President Reagan which will be filed in the Federal Court in New York on November 9.

We intend to prove that whether used or not, Cruise missiles are contrary to international law and undermine the American Constitution.

It is time the US President was forced to defend his "rational case" for Cruise, and we intend to make him do so.

Rebecca Johnson,
Greenham Women Against
Cruise,
London SW8.

When contempt for the UN costs lives

President Reagan and his Administration throughout their term of office have treated the United Nations with undisguised contempt.

The price has been paid by the Marines whose mangled bodies are still, on United Nations Day, being dug out of the wreckage of their headquarters in Beirut. The Carter Administration had taken a firm, constructive initiative in establishing a UN peacekeeping force (Unifil) in Southern Lebanon in 1978. The United States and the West generally could have thrown their full military, economic, and diplomatic power behind that force in the name of the world community (it was authorised by the Security Council).

Instead President Reagan and the other leaders of Western governments sat in abject cowardice while the UN troops and their commanders were harassed, attacked, insulted, and killed by mercenary thugs paid and armed by Israel. Not surprisingly Israel came to the conclusion that if the US did not give a damn for the UN, why should it; and the bloody train of events — which has cost a thousand times more Lebanese than American lives

— was sparked off by the second invasion in 1982.

When will the West learn that the alternative to upholding the authority of the UN in the name of the world community is the carnage and chaos we now see in Lebanon?

Frank Hooley,
6 Maryland Drive,
Sutton Coalfield.

Your Leader (October 30) and the two reports by your correspondents, David Hirst and James MacManus make sad reading, although the reactions are understandable. It is some years since I was in Beirut, enjoying a holiday in the lovely country of which it is the capital city. Were I to have been there in recent months and, particularly, on Sunday — Black Sunday as it may well be named — I shudder to think what my feelings would have been.

Blame can easily be assigned to the various warring factions in that strife-torn country, haven for many thousands of Palestinian refugees from the south, as well as many infiltrators from other parts of the Arab world and, maybe also from the international underworld of terrorism. But surely, now, enough is enough.

Cannot the millions of sympathisers all over the civilised world combine in some way to halt the iniquitous traffic in arms to the Lebanon from the USSR via Syria, as well as from the strife-torn Iran of Ayatollah Khomeini, and the rest of the "underworld"?

At this moment I can certainly sympathise with the sentiments your James MacManus reported as coming from the US Marine captain. But such are not the words of a believing and practising Christian, even in the situation of extreme provocation described, and Lebanon has a majority Christian population. Other words come to mind as more appropriate: "Father, forgive them..."

The three great monotheisms of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are all well represented in the Middle East. Is it too much to hope that between them, and indeed in co-operation, religious leaders — Jewish, Christian and Muslim — may yet give a lead that may result in a call for an end of all such heathen sacrifices, and usher in an era of true and lasting peace and understanding, worldwide?

(The Ven) C. Witton-Davies,
199 Divinity Road,
Oxford.

Burchett's view from the 'other side'

As an Australian strongly influenced by Wilfred Burchett's writings, especially his reporting of the Vietnam war, John Pilger's description of Burchett as one who did not believe in objectivity "as an end in itself, but as only one means to the truth" is either very silly or a euphemistic way of saying that Burchett's political views did indeed colour what he reported and how he reported it.

Morley Safer, the CBS correspondent whom Pilger quotes, might think that one could easily mistake an Australian for a Communist ("He's not a communist — he's an Australian"), but at least here in Australia we do not automatically confuse the two. Most people believed Burchett was a Communist because it's pretty well established that he was. He may not have carried a Party card but he espoused the cause of Communist revolution and reported favourably and most uncritically on Commun-

ist parties and Communist-led organisations. If you want to be pedantic, perhaps he was just "pro-Communist". This therefore must have coloured his reporting.

Nevertheless, by writing from the "other side" during the Vietnam war, Burchett provided us with the North Vietnamese and NLF side of the story, and this, taken together with our own government's propaganda, enabled thousands of Australians to make a fairly objective decision about the war, and thousands of us still opposed our involvement. So he is due some credit as regards "truth".

Harrison Salisbury's description of Burchett as a "champion of the underdog" unencumbered by Marxism is a bit too generous. All of Burchett's heroes were either Marxists, pro-Soviets or Soviet Communists. All his villains were pro-American or anti-Soviet. The last few years of his life were spent attempting to justify the persecu-

tion of the Hoa minority by the Vietnamese Communists and establishing the "ideological bona fides" of the pro-Soviet Ethiopian junta which was napalming and fragment-bombing Eritrean villages under the direction of Soviet military advisers. This seems to have little in common with a "champion of the underdog". The only underdogs he automatically championed had to first carry a red flag.

It is a pity Mr Pilger did not mention this last fact, because to his credit, it seems that Pilger's own leftism has not prevented him from exposing the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge and the Ethiopian junta. More credit to yourself, John Pilger, and less to the likes of Wilfred Burchett.

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THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY

November 6,

Vol. 129 No. 19

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Public not satisfied by US assurances on Cruise control

DISTRUST of the United States, following President Reagan's failure to consult Britain over the invasion of Grenada, was voiced even by some Conservatives when the House of Commons this week debated the deployment of Cruise missiles in the United Kingdom.

The debate about Cruise and Pershing has ground on wearily for at least two years, and this week's Commons debate would have attracted much less attention than it did had it not fallen between two events: the American action in Grenada and the imminent arrival of the first missiles on British soil.

Though the voters firmly rejected unilateralism at the June general election, there is little doubt that the anti-nuclear case has been strengthened by events in the Caribbean. An opinion poll last weekend suggested that 73 per cent of the electorate now mistrusts Washington's guarantee on the joint Anglo-US control of Cruise missiles. Only 32 per cent thought America was right to invade the Commonwealth island; 52 per cent thought the action wrong, and the rest were undecided. The same poll showed deep misgivings even among Conservative voters.

The Defence Secretary, Mr Michael Heseltine, satisfied none of the opposition parties with his repeated claim that no missile would be fired from Britain without the approval of the Prime Minister. Labour's defence spokesman, Mr Denis Healey, said the case for physical British control of the missiles was now unanswerable. Over Grenada, the United States had pushed Britain aside. Was it now seriously suggested that President Reagan would listen to what Mrs Thatcher thought if the lives of thousands of American troops in Europe were at risk?

Mr Healey had, a few days earlier, extracted the maximum benefit from the discomfiture of Mrs Thatcher

and her new Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, over the way they were disregarded by President Reagan. They rescued themselves only by deciding, at the weekend, to come off the fence and declare more clearly their objection to the lack of con-

sultation and their fundamental disagreement with the explanations for the invasion offered by the President.

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN by James Lewis

Cruise missiles have not yet arrived in Britain, though some equipment is in place and the launchers are on the way. Mr Heseltine, only too well aware of the likely disturbances, has promised to make an announcement when they arrive, if only to justify the extra security precautions that will have to be taken.

He was offered a taste of things to come at the weekend when peace women staged their most destructive demonstration yet at Greenham Common in Berkshire, where some of the missiles will be based. Armed

Labour under its new Leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, and an excellent one for Mr Healey who, in the reallocation of Shadow Cabinet posts remains as foreign affairs spokesman. The biggest change was the award of the Treasury portfolio to the new deputy leader, Mr Roy Hattersley, while the previous Shadow Chancellor, Mr Peter Shore, takes over Trade and Industry.

The anti-nuclear campaigners found further ammunition in a report which showed that the incidence of leukaemia among children under ten at Seascale in Cumbria, is ten times above the national average. Seascale is only a mile and a half away from the Windscale nucle-

ar power station and Dr Philip Day, a Manchester scientist who produced the report for a television company, said he had found plutonium dust in homes not only in Cumbria, but forty miles away in Scotland.

British Nuclear Fuels, which runs the Windscale plant, rejected the report's findings. It said the study was incomplete, ignored studies carried out on people actually working at the plant, and was based on too small a sample of population to be scientifically valid.

Mrs Thatcher, who does not take kindly to rebellion within party ranks, was defied by twelve Tory members of the European Parliament who supported a successful move to block the payment of a rebate of £450 million to Britain from the EEC Budget. Britain has been claiming, and receiving, rebates from Europe for the past four years, and most Strasbourg parliamentarians argue that the repayment would not be necessary if the Community is now all but bankrupt, and the purpose of blocking the repayment is to force the budgetary problem to the top of the agenda at the EEC summit in Athens next month.

If Europe is not much loved, the European Court offers a useful platform for those who feel aggrieved with the way things are done back at home. Mr Harry Evans, the illustrious former editor of the Times, said this week that he was considering taking the Government to the Strasbourg court over its "denial of press freedom" in allowing the Australian press tycoon, Mr Rupert Murdoch, to buy the Times and Sunday Times on the basis of misleading figures.

Mr Evans claims that he was sacked because Mr Murdoch and the Prime Minister objected to his lack of enthusiasm for monetarist policy. His more serious criticism is that Mr Murdoch's purchase of the two titles

should have been sanctioned first by the Monopolies Commission, but was not referred to the commission because the Government said that the Sunday Times was losing money (and, by implication, would not have found another buyer). But Mr Evans claims that the alleged loss of £700,000 was in fact a profit of the same amount.

Plans for further redundancies in state-owned shipyards brought threats of strike action by the remaining 62,000 employees of British Shipbuilders. They warned the company, which is heading for a loss of £100,000 for the second year running, that their patience had snapped after six years of cooperating in "survival" plans which have cost 30,000 jobs. The company is now proposing a pay freeze and another survival plan which will involve the closure of another seven shipyards.

The Social Services Secretary, Mr Norman Fowler, already in trouble with health workers and patients alike over the cuts he is imposing on the National Health Service, ran into further medical opposition for his endorsement of a management inquiry report which suggests that the service should have, at each level, a general manager to run the NHS on business lines.

The report observed that, if Florence Nightingale were to carry her lamp through the corridors of the NHS, she would almost certainly be searching for the people in charge. This was a comment on the so-called "consensus management" which prevails throughout most of the service and produces wide disparities in the level of efficiency.

The new management system, which Mr Fowler is expected to adopt, was opposed partly by doctors, who said they feared for their clinical freedom, and more pertinently by Mr Fowler's political opponents, who feared that his department might use it as a further excuse for "efficiency savings".

by Clive Woodcock

BUSINESS WEEK

Exports recovery leads to record surplus

AN UNEXPECTED recovery in exports helped Britain to a record trade surplus of £270 million in September compared with a surplus of only £22 million in August and a deficit of £190 million in July.

Export sales rose by 7 per cent in value and 2.5 per cent in volume and the Government is bound to see it as further evidence supporting its claim that the economy is expanding faster than many critics will admit.

September's exports were boosted partly by oil, which rose by £70 million, and partly by erratic items like aircraft and precious stones, which rose by £120 million. There was also a strong contribution from the motor industry, whose exports went up £85 million. Much of this was due to rising exports to North America, up 10 per cent in value in the third quarter, where BL has been doing particularly well.

The current account was in surplus in the third quarter by £102 million compared with a deficit of £313 million in the second quarter and a surplus of £779 million in the first. The cumulative surplus in the first three quarters was £568 million, well short of the Budget forecast of £1.5 billion for the full year. In the first nine months of the year

the volume of manufactured imports was up by a comparatively modest 1.5 per cent while export volume rose only 0.5 per cent.

Britain's balance of payments in manufactured goods is still heading towards its first ever deficit this year. In the first half of the year it was in deficit by £1.2 billion.

The current account surplus of £270 million in September was the result of a surplus of £110 million on trade in goods to which was added a surplus of £160 million on invisibles like banking, tourism, and insurance.

Britain is in fact heading for a record tourist year with 10 per cent more tourists coming in August this year than came in the same month last year. According to the chairman of the British Tourist Authority, Sir Henry Marking, British tourism was in line to earn £4.5 billion this year.

Overseas visits by Britons dropped by 4 per cent in August and the travel account is in deficit by £100 million compared with £115 million last August. The most spectacular rise in visitors came from the United States, which in June, July and August increased by an average of 50 per cent a month.

Export sales played a substantial part in the increase in the rate of recovery reported by ICI, still Britain's second largest manufacturing company although it is now much more overseas-oriented.

Although sales showed the usual seasonal reduction in the summer months and there was no further gain over the exchanges, the results so far ensure that the 1979 profit record of £613 million will be regained or surpassed. Export sales led turnover to £6.1 billion for the nine months, including chemical sales 14

per cent higher at almost £5.5 billion.

Overseas revenue was almost 20 per cent greater at £3.9 billion. Pre-tax profits for the third quarter were £147 million, up £58 million from the corresponding period of last year. The running total is now £242 million ahead of last year at £445 million for the nine month period and there must be a very good chance of the second quarter peak of £170 million being beaten in the final three months, which were flat last year.

A further £750 million worth of publicly owned assets are to be sold off, it was announced last week. The Government is to sell half its stake in Cable and Wireless, the international telecommunications giant, through an offer for sale of shares to

the public.

The Government aims to raise £260 million by selling half of its 45 per cent share in the company. It sold 51 per cent to the private sector in 1981 raising £225 million. The new sale stems from an estimated shortfall of proceeds from sales of state assets in the current year; without this sale the undershoot would have been in the region of £325 million.

The timing of the sales disclosure surprised the City because of the recent weakness in the stock market which has depressed Cable's share price and also because of the delicate negotiations taking place over Hong Kong where the group is a major operator.

Some £500 million worth of public assets in North Sea oil and gas are being sold off by the public flotation of Enterprise Oil, which is to take over the British Gas Corporation's offshore oil business. The Opposition has already described the sale as asset stripping.

A less successful selling off was the Government's forcing of the British Technology Group to dispose of its stake in the Logica computer software business for only £3.44 million last August. The company makes its debut on the stock exchange this week and eager investors have already valued it at £77 million, which means that BTG's stake would have been worth £23.1 million.

On stock markets generally equities were tending to drift because of uneasiness over the tense situations in the Caribbean and the Middle East and although the Financial Times 30-share index rose slightly on the week it was still well below the 700 mark. Gilts were also quiet.

Sharp rise in poverty

by David Hencke

POVERTY accelerated dramatically in the first two years of the last Conservative Government says the Department of Health and Social Security in figures released to MPs.

They show that 15 million people—more than one in four—were living on the margins of poverty in 1981 compared to 11.5 million in 1979.

Some of the highest increases were among people living below the supplementary benefit level which is taken by the Government as the official poverty line.

The number of people in families where the head of the household was unemployed in this category increased by 220 per cent to nearly half a million.

Huge increases were also recorded in other groups of people living below the poverty line. Households with children living below supplementary benefit levels rose by 73 per cent, one-parent families by 50 per cent, and households without children by 59 per cent.

Only pensioners recorded a reduction in the numbers living below the poverty line, reflecting the relaxation of the earnings rule and the fact that pensions kept pace with prices.

The figures are contained in the Family Expenditure Survey, the Department of Health's main research study into living standards. They were put in the house of Commons library last week following a parliamentary written answer to Mr Ernie Ross, Labour MP for Dundee West.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES		
	Sterling Rates October 31	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	1.6435-1.6455	1.6275-1.6305
Austria	27.63-27.68	27.50-27.55
Belgium	79.90-80.00	79.60-79.70
Canada	1.8425-1.8435	1.8420-1.8430
Denmark	14.18-14.19	14.15-14.16
France	11.97-11.98	11.93-11.94
Germany	3.93-3.94	3.91-3.92
Greece	137.70-141.20	137.70-141.20
Hong Kong	11.62-11.66	11.65-11.67
Ireland	1.2610-1.2620	1.2635-1.2645
Italy	2.389-2.391	2.380-2.382
Japan	349-350	347-348
Netherlands	4.40-4.41	4.39-4.40
Norway	11.04-11.05	11.00-11.01
Portugal	187.00-187.50	186.50-187.00
Spain	227.30-227.50	226.70-227.00
Sweden	11.69-11.70	11.65-11.66
Switzerland	3.19-3.20	3.18-3.19
USA	1.4915-1.4965	1.4950-1.4960
FT Index 703.1 Pound \$1.4955 Gold \$382.88		

The Guardian Weekly

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Howe pilloried in Commons

THE Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, at the start of the three-hour emergency debate in the Commons, said the lack of consultation by the United States with Britain over the invasion of Grenada was regrettable but refused to condemn the US action.

Sir Geoffrey was shouted down by angry Labour MPs at the end of his speech, after resisting their demands to criticise the United States. There were loud cries of "resign" from the Labour benches, and hardly a cheer of support from the Tories.

The Government was given a majority of 125 at the end of the emergency debate. The voting figures were 336 to 211.

The Shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr Denis Healey, turned most of his attack on the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, who, he said, was President Reagan's obedient poodle.

Her failure to prevent the invasion was an unforgivable dereliction of duty, he said. "It is time she got off her knees and joined other allies who are deeply concerned in the trends of US policy."

Sir Geoffrey denied that the British Government had been formally informed of the likelihood of an invasion on Friday, October 14, by the Barbadian Government. He insisted that he had not misled the House on Monday when he said there was nothing to indicate that an invasion was likely. He set out the diary of events leading up to the invasion, culminating in the telephone call by the Prime Minister to President Reagan to urge him against taking irrevocable action.

Sir Geoffrey was given a hostile reception, but it was his refusal to condemn the invasion by the US and the seven Caribbean states which brought Opposition MPs to their feet in protest. Mr Jack Straw (Lab, Blackburn) demanded to know whether Sir Geoffrey condemned what the Americans had done.

There was uproar when Sir Geoffrey said: "It is no more for me to condemn the United States than it is for them to condemn us."

Mr Healey intervened and said: "The US has committed a breach of the UN Charter of International Law. The matter is now under discussion in the Security Council. Unless HMG wishes to continue the role which I attributed to it, it must express a view on violation of the charter. It is the obligation of the Foreign Secretary representing the Government to make his views plain, and not run away from the problem."

Sir Geoffrey said: "The situation, in short, was that the United States and some Commonwealth countries in the Caribbean took our view of the risk to which their citizens were exposed and of the action which was called for. The United Kingdom and a number of other Caribbean Commonwealth countries took a different view."

"The fact that, despite the reservations we had expressed to them, the American decision to intervene in Grenada may be a matter of regret, but it should not be a matter for surprise. We do not agree with the Americans on every issue, any more than they always agree with us. Nor would we expect to. On some issues our perceptions and those of the Americans are bound to be different."

"In this case, the United States had particular reason to consult most closely with those Caribbean countries which had called on it to help resolve the crisis. Nevertheless, their lack of consultation was regrettable," Sir Geoffrey said.

"But the fact that that has happened in this case does not, and must not, be allowed to weaken the essential fabric of our alliance. In particular, it does not and must not be allowed to cast any doubt on the firmness of our commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and all that means."

When news of the Grenada invasion broke on Tuesday, October 25, it transpired that President Reagan had brushed aside the earnest advice of Mrs Thatcher not to launch the attack.

In a telephone conversation lasting less than five minutes in the early hours of Tuesday morning, Mrs Thatcher is understood to have left the President in no doubt that she regarded the invasion idea to be a mistake and to have insisted on Britain's preference for economic sanctions against the new Grenadian regime.

The Government's apparent inability to prevent the plan going ahead and the lack of consultation between President Reagan and Mrs Thatcher aroused angry responses from the Opposition benches in the House of Commons, especially when, on Tuesday afternoon, the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, persistently refused to condemn the United States.

Tory MPs were also angered by the fact that the neighbouring island nations involved in the plan had turned to the United States and not Britain, the former colonial power, for aid.

Labour's Shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr Denis Healey, was granted an emergency debate which took place the following day. Colin Brown reports.

Dr David Owen (Plymouth Devonport) and leader of the SDP and former Foreign Secretary, said he understood Sir Geoffrey's reluctance to damage Anglo-US relations, and his reluctance to use words such as "condemn" for our principal friend and ally.

Dr Owen disagreed with Sir Geoffrey's judgment that these events did not mean that Britain ought to have dual control of Cruise missiles.

"Nevertheless, you have a duty to this House to make it clear, as you will have to do in the Security Council, whether you believe that the United States and the other Caribbean states were justified under Article Eight of the Charter in invading Grenada. Surely the answer is they were not justified, and you ought to say so from that despatch box."

There were loud demands from the Opposition benches for Sir Geoffrey to answer. He was jeered when he replied: "On a matter of this kind, it is still possible for more than one view to be held."

He told Dr Owen that he understood his reason for trying to tempt him into an indiscretion and added: "Of course we have to take care what we say about one of our principal allies. At this point of time, when operations to restore democracy are still under way, nothing could be less helpful than to condemn the conduct of the United States."

Sir Geoffrey said the countries which had intervened were democratic and Britain fully shared their objective of restoring democratic government to Grenada. But he was jeered when he insisted that there was no parallel with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan because the Soviet troops had occupied the country and it was the intention of the United States, with the countries who acted with her, to move as quickly as possible towards a withdrawal of troops and towards the holding of free elections.

It might be necessary and desirable for the other Commonwealth states to play a part in the restoration of the democratic government in Grenada, and Britain would be in touch with its Commonwealth partners about this. Sir Geoffrey stressed that the Governor-General, Sir Paul Scoon, who was safe, could have an important role to play.

"He represents one of the few elements of constitutional continuity in Grenada at present. The American administration are aware of the constitutional position and have undertaken to respect it."

Sir Geoffrey confirmed that the Americans had secured both airports on the island at Pearls and Salines, as well as the radio station, and Fort Rupert. There were no confirmed reports of more deaths, apart from 12 Cubans and two US servicemen, and no reports of any British casualties.

The US was willing to evacuate British citizens to Barbados. Contingency arrangements were being made for Britons to be evacuated by British aircraft.

Mr Healey, who initiated the de-

bate with a successful appeal to the Speaker, accused Mrs Thatcher of showing "lack of grip and flaccid indolence".

Mrs Thatcher, who was sitting on the front bench opposite, roared with laughter, but Labour MPs laughed when Mr Healey said her conversation on the telephone with President Reagan must have been like "the dialogue of the Glums".

Mr Healey said: "It is very difficult to resist the suspicion that the US organised the invitation from the Organisation of East Caribbean states so as to justify its invasion."

It was clear that reports had been circulating in America and the Caribbean at the weekend about a possible invasion, said Mr Healey. "Was the Government aware of this? Was the Foreign Secretary aware of this?"

To Labour cheers he added: "Either the Government was deceived by its major ally, or the Government was deceiving this House."

He challenged the Foreign Secretary to counter a report from America that President Reagan had told some Congressmen a week last Monday that the British Government was in full support of his policy.

Mr Healey said that the Prime

by Colin Brown

Minister had made "something of a cult" of her special relationship with Mr Reagan at the expense of British interests, relationships with European partners, and relationships with the Commonwealth.

"Nowhere has this servility to the American President been more consistent than on the problems of Central America and the Caribbean region," he said.

The true state of the relationship had been put on Tuesday "with brutal clarity" by US Secretary of State George Shultz when he said: "We are, of course, always impressed with views of the British Government and Mrs Thatcher, but that doesn't mean that we always have to agree with them."

Mr Healey said: "So much for the obligation to consult between allies. So much for the relevance of joint decision over the use of Cruise missiles placed in Britain."

President Reagan had broken the tradition in diplomacy followed by all United States governments since 1945, he said.

"He has abandoned reliance on cooperation and consensus with his allies in favour of what has to be called a sort of global unilateralism."

This tendency of the United States to go it alone in every aspect of world affairs carried with it "immense dangers for world peace, since the American President at the moment sees the world exclusively in terms of red and white," Mr Healey said. This "inability to see the world except in the terms of the most primitive comic strip" was extremely dangerous.

President Reagan had told the world that he planned to ask the Governor-General to try to sort things out. "But," Mr Healey said to Mrs Thatcher, "I hope you are



Labour's Denis Healey and Dr David Owen the SDP leader, both demanded that Sir Geoffrey Howe declare whether he believed the US action was justified.



aware that the Governor-General of Grenada is responsible to Her Majesty the Queen, and to the American President."

To cheers from his own benches and cries of "rubbish" from Tories, Mr Healey said that the Government "must as a minimum refuse to accept the deployment of American missiles on British soil unless Britain has the physical power to prevent the use of those missiles against her will."

What had happened in Grenada should warn America's allies of the danger of servility to a leadership from Washington which could be disastrous to all the interests of the western world, Mr Healey said.

Mr Healey said that the world would be facing anarchy if governments arrogated to themselves the right to change governments in other sovereign states.

He called on the Foreign Secretary to table a resolution at the UN Security Council in similar terms to the one on the Falkland Islands 18 months ago demanding the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops and cessation of hostilities.

"What has become very clear in the last 24 hours is that if there is not an immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Grenada the fighting may go on for months, if not years," said Mr Healey.

Sir Geoffrey should stand up for the principles of international law and make his condemnation of the invasion of Grenada plain for all to see. He did not wish to use an unparliamentary term, but Sir Geoffrey's statement to the Commons on Monday had been "imperfect, disingenuous and lacking in candour."

Mr Healey said the Government had been guilty of the same sort of feebleness it showed over the invasion of the Falklands. Turning to Mrs Thatcher, he said: "You have failed in your duty to the House, failed in your duty to the British people, failed in your duty to the Commonwealth and failed in your duty to the Palace."

The Liberal leader, Mr David Steel, told Sir Geoffrey: "It is possible for more than one view to be held, but not possible for more than one view to be held by the Foreign Secretary himself."

Mr Steel added: "What the American administration has done is to throw away the moral stance which respects other countries' national integrity and right to resist outside interference."

Attacking Anglo-American policy on Grenada since independence in 1974 Mr Steel said: "There was criticism expressed on both sides of this House at the time that we had not adequately ensured that there were fair elections. Since then, there had been a chapter of errors."

"Earlier this year Grenada had sought aid from the United States but was snubbed, forcing it to turn to Cuba and Eastern Europe. Mr Reagan had shown on television a picture of airport development in Grenada as though this was some kind of defence secret. Yet the Americans had known about this for some time," Mr Steel said.

There were British construction workers involved in the airport development. Perhaps the US should be told that they were not part of

some international Communist conspiracy.

Mr Enoch Powell (OUP, Down South) claimed that the invasion showed the Americans could not be trusted to heed the advice of Britain, which had become "something horribly resembling a satellite of the United States."

It also proved that anyone trusting in the joint-control arrangement governing the use of Cruise missiles on British soil was living in a dangerous fool's paradise.

Mr Powell adapted a quotation of America's first President George Washington, saying: "A habitual hatred has diverted the United States from a true perception and appreciation of the world in which it lives."

"And a habitual fondness has turned this country into something horribly resembling a satellite of the United States."

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Rolls-Royce men claim S. African

to be on breadline

by Peter Hetherington

THE PATIENCE of the world-renowned craftsmen with the distinction of building the ultimate driving machine has finally snapped.

For the first time in memory, they have downed tools and taken to the alien picket line in a bitter dispute which seems to present the ultimate irony.

Their product — "the best car in the world" say the publicists — may cost between £55,000 and £83,000, but many of the 3,000 shop floor workers at the Crewe plant of Rolls-Royce Motors say they are on the breadline.

Some say they are claiming rent rebate and Family Income Supplement in an attempt to make ends meet. Production halted on Monday when the men carried out their threat to strike in protest at a 4 per cent "final" pay offer by the company, now part of the Vickers Group.

Rolls-Royce Motors — separated from the aero-engine group when it was nationalised 12 years ago — is now making a recovery after a difficult period. About 1,000 workers have lost their jobs in the past year.

Shop stewards say that their members, who have tolerated short-time working and pay cuts to keep the company alive, now want some recognition of their sacrifices.

Many men whose pride in the job and loyalty to the marque has invariably outweighed financial considerations, complain of class division in the company, poor communications, and a worsening atmosphere between men and management.

The stewards say that for a skilled man on the shop floor the 4 per cent offer would mean a gross increase of £5.21 a week, bringing basic pay to £114.19, rising to £135.38 for a man on average bonus. Pay disparities are so wide, they say, that a senior

foreman would be £70.98 a week better off than a skilled shop floor worker.

"The lads quite rightly feel they should have had some reward after all this cooperation," said Mr George Ellis, the works convenor. "But instead they are just being treated as inferior. Success has been gained off our backs and all we want is a decent living wage."

Mr John Edwards, chairman of the works committee, said: "We have continually pleaded with the company that everyone should be treated fairly, with all the problems we have."

"We said to the directors that if there was a pot to be distributed among us this year then everyone should be paid the same, but the company wouldn't have it."

Another worker said: "This is a class-conscious place right down the middle. The directors get their Rovers, their free petrol and other perks, even a higher subsidy for food in the canteen than we do."

Mr John Morris, a components inspector who has been in the factory for 42 years, says he is now claiming rate rebate, hile he knows of younger men claiming Family Income Supplement.

"They treat us like dirt and we are supposed to be the finest engineers in the world. The other day we discovered that girls in a local tea-packing factory were earning more than many of our lads."

Mr Bob Cartwright, the company's director of public relations, agreed that the workers displayed a "higher degree of skill than probably any other comparable company in the world."

The company, which made a strong and steady recovery in the six months to September this year, says it still has to exercise extreme pay restraint if it is to pull through.

While stewards say that the company has refused to negotiate since the 4 per cent offer was made at the beginning of August, Rolls-Royce maintains that the stewards have violated agreed procedures by taking precipitate action.

Full-time union officials representing the 3,000 strikers have decided to press for the dispute to be made official.

prize

by a staff reporter

THE 1983 Booker Prize for fiction was awarded last weekend to the South African author J. M. Coetzee for his novel, *Life and Times of Michael K*, which was described by the judges as a work of remarkable power and great inventiveness.

John M. Coetzee was born in Cape Town in 1940 and educated in South Africa and the United States, where he gained a PhD from the University of Texas. Although he trained as a computer scientist and linguist, he now teaches American literature at the University of Cape Town.

his previous novels were *Dusklands* (1974), *In the Heart of the Country* (1977) and *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1980). The *Life and Times of Michael K* is set in the near future after a civil war in South Africa where the novel's central character is caught up in a war beyond his understanding.

The much awaited announcement was made by Fay Weldon, the novelist and chairman of the judges' panel at a celebration dinner at the Stationers' Hall in London. Mr Coetzee was not present to receive the award and its accompanying £10,000 because the South African education authorities had apparently objected to his being absent during the current part of the academic year.

Instead, the cheque was presented to the author's publisher, Mr Tom Rosenthal, the chairman of Secker and Warburg.

There were five other finalists for the award, which was won last year by Thomas Keneally for *Schindler's Ark*. They were Malcolm Bradbury, for *Rates of Exchange*; John Fuller, for *Flying to Nowhere*; Anita Mason, for *The Illusionist*; Simon Rushdie for *Shame*; and Graham Swift, for *Waterland*.

The other judges were: Angela Carter, the author; Terence Kilmartin, literary editor of the *Observer*; Peter Porter, the poet; and Libby Purves, the journalist and broadcaster.

Heath denies appearing

in porn pictures

by Susan Tirbutt

MR EDWARD HEATH, the former Prime Minister, said last week that there was no truth whatsoever in allegations that he had appeared in pornographic photographs. He made his denial in a statement read at the Old Bailey.

Mr Justice Croom-Johnson, who will hear the retrial of the man who alleged that Mr Heath appeared in the photographs with his common law wife, lifted reporting restrictions, and Mr Robert Harman, QC, acting for Mr Heath, said that he wished to make a statement on his behalf.

The defendant, who is accused of raping his common law wife, claimed that he had found photographs of his wife, Mr Heath, and a detective sergeant — named in court as Mr Brian Wallace. The man's two young daughters were pictured looking on, he claimed.

But Mr Heath's statement, read out by Mr Harman, said: "I am told that during a recent trial at the Old Bailey the accused, who is facing charges of rape and assault of his common law wife, claimed that he had found pornographic photographs in his house showing his common law wife indulging in sexual activities with a police officer and a Member of Parliament, and

that he named me as the MP.

"I do not know the accused, or his common law wife, or the police officer named, and I am told that the alleged photographs were not produced to the court."

"It follows from this that as far as it concerns me there is no truth whatsoever in this extraordinary story and I feel strongly that I should be entitled to declare my complete innocence of these allegations."

Mr Heath's name had been kept secret by the trial judge, Sir James Miskin, QC, the Recorder of London, under the Contempt of Court Act, 1981. He later ordered a retrial, saying that the accused had made it plain on more than one occasion that he regarded him as a prejudiced and unfair tribunal, and part of the prosecution team.

The trail will be heard this week before Mr Justice Croom-Johnson. The judge said that the had had an opportunity to find out something about the case which he is to try, and "it seems to me the reporting restrictions imposed by the Recorder should be lifted."

The accused man had claimed that he had repeatedly been framed by police to stop him making the photographs public.

Guidelines for Pill users

by Andrew Veitch

GUIDELINES for family planning doctors and women on the Pill were issued by the Family Planning Association last week in an attempt to clear up the widespread confusion which followed reports of an association between the Pill and cancer of the breast and cervix.

Meanwhile, it was disclosed that the world's leading contraceptive specialists are due to meet in private in the United States within the next two months to clarify the risk factors identified by the reports.

The FPA is recommending that doctors prescribe brands with the lowest possible content (that is oestrogen and progestogen). That means a shift away from Eugynon 30, Ovran 30, Microgynon 30 and Ovranette — these four brands account for nearly 80 per cent of the market. Women are advised to consult their doctors when their

present pack has run out.

The following brands are recommended for women under 25 (those identified in the report by Professor Malcolm Pike at being at risk of breast cancer): Norimin, Brevinor, Ovysmen, Binovum, Logynon, Logynon ED, Trinordial, and Trinordial 28.

The last four brands on that list come at the bottom of the list of pills implicated in breast cancer by Professor Pike's report, but the FPA considers the risk to be minimal or non-existent. The FPA stresses that the list may be incomplete: further brands may be added when the risks are clarified.

Women are also being urged to volunteer for screenings as cervical abnormalities can be identified by smear tests and treated before they become cancerous.

A COUNTRY

DIARY

MACHYNLLETH: Last week I walked with some friends through a remarkable oak-wood, just the sort of wood in which Tolkien caused such strange things to happen in the *Lord of the Rings*. The oaks, all ancient beyond the telling, had huge but stunted trunks, many of them hollow and surely full of bats or owls. But even without these grotesque medieval trees, this forest relic would be a weird and gloomy place because it is almost impenetrable with uncountable holly trees of unusual size and age. There was no clear path through the wood. Instead we pushed our way slowly until we came out to a clearing where, another medieval touch, a herd of deer went bounding away through the trees. I dare say I have said enough to suggest I was a long way from home, for we have no wood of this sort in Wales. Let me add that the countryside around the forest is a mosaic of great pine woods and barley prairies, and that there are wide fields of sugar beet neighboured by pastures where noble cart-horses are still a common sight. Let me mention too the slow rivers on whose banks you can find fair numbers of black poplar trees of ancient lineage — as distinct from modern hybrids — identified by their arching bows and the great swellings on their short thick trunks. Need I say, after all these clues, that I have been to Suffolk? Even in these fast-moving days it was a long and tedious journey, but well worth the effort to be shown all those splendid trees as well as many wild flowers we never see here in the west.

William Condry

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THE WEEK

AN earthquake which struck northeastern Turkey killed at least 1,300 people and left 25,000 homeless. Many mountain villages were flattened and the final death toll is expected to be much higher. About 500 people were injured, many seriously, when the earthquake devastated their houses.

Heavy rain which later turned to snow disrupted rescue operations.

The earthquake measured only six on the Richter scale but caused such widespread loss of life because it happened in the early morning when most people were still in their homes. Many of those who died were very young.

The Turkish election campaign climaxes this week with the Motherland Party of former Deputy Prime Minister Turgut Ozal well ahead of the other two parties being allowed to run. The Nationalist Democracy Party of Turgut Sunalp, a retired general who led the "party of the State", is trailing a poor third.

THE parties representing all the eight major factions in Lebanon began the conference of national reconciliation in Geneva. It began with a plea for peace by President Gemayel who told them: "Our country is dying. Lebanon's dark night has lasted long enough. This is a chance that we must seize before we are overwhelmed with grief."

Syria and Saudi Arabia have sent observers to the conference. The Syrian Foreign Minister, Mr Abdel Halim Khaddam, meeting with Druze leader Walid Jumblatt, northern Christian leader Su-leiman Franjeh, and Shi'ite politician Nabieh Berri, reportedly argued that President Gemayel should be forced to abrogate the May 17 pact with Jerusalem or face the collapse of the conference.

AT least 229 Americans are now known to have died in the explosion at the US marines HQ in Beirut. A total of 58 French troops died in another suicide bombing attack shortly afterwards. The US is still assuming the Iranians were behind the attacks. US officials said the options under consideration ranged from asking the Lebanese government to close the Iranian Embassy in Beirut, which is believed to have been the command centre for the bombings, to undertaking a commando raid in the Baalbek area where there is an enclave of Iranian Revolutionary Guards protecting a pro-Iranian Shi'ite group headed by Hussein Musavi.

FRANCE meanwhile called for a new United Nations force to be sent to Lebanon. Prime Minister Mauroy made a strong appeal for greater international involvement in efforts to resolve the conflict. He was speaking as France and its three partners in the peace force prepared for emergency talks in Paris.

Paris welcomed the proposed deployment of Greek and Italian observers in the Shouf mountains south-east of Beirut, but insisted that this move be linked to action by the UN.

RUSSIA will insist that any future arms control talks tackle intermediate and inter-continental weapons within the same framework, and that the British and French nuclear forces be formally included.

This is the view of Mr Georgi Arbatov, influential director of Moscow's Institute of US and Canadian Studies, expressed the same day as the Soviet President, Mr Andropov, said that deployment of US missiles in Europe would make continuation of the talks on intermediate range weapons in Geneva "impossible".

It clearly suggests that the next Soviet step, after deployment, will be to demand that the framework of the Start talks on intercontinental weapons systems be revised and expanded.

Meanwhile the Czech Parliament has approved an agreement with the Soviet Union to station new Soviet nuclear missiles on its territory.

VOTERS go to the polls in South Africa this week in a referendum on the Government plan for a three-tier, racially divided Parliament with no voice for the Black majority. Although opinion polls are banned, private forecasters projected a 55 to 60 per cent vote in favour of the reforms.

BRITAIN, the US and the Soviet Union are accused of using the issue of human rights for political propaganda purposes in Amnesty International's 1983 annual report.

Governments covered up torture and killings in one part of the world while using such abuses elsewhere for political propaganda, the report said. It cited as examples Soviet news media reports on Poland and statements by American officials on Central America. Britain was criticised for suddenly focusing attention on the long-standing problem of torture and disappearances in Argentina during the Falklands conflict.

SEVERAL hundred people were killed when Soviet forces bombarded the town of Istalef, 20 miles north of Kabul, Western diplomatic sources said.

Survivors were reported to have claimed that Soviet troops bayoneted more than a dozen children during an orgy of looting of houses and shops for money, jewellery, rugs and food.

Attacks against Istalef, a town of about 2,000-2,500 people, began in mid-October, apparently in reprisal for Soviet losses during a counter-insurgency operation.

ARGENTINA's first general election for ten years has resulted in a stunning victory for the Radical Party of Mr Raul Alfonsin, a 57-year-old lawyer who was an opponent of the Falklands adventure.

With 63,816 voting districts counted and only 3,745 left the military government announced the result so far was Radicals 7,350,000 (52 per cent) and Peronists 5,651,000 (40 per cent).

The election was a massive defeat for the Peronists, whose candidate for the Presidency, Italo Luder, failed to attract middle-class voters. (See below.)

THE Jordanian Ambassador to Italy, Mr Taysir Alaedin Toukan, was shot and wounded last week as he was being driven from the Embassy in Rome. The attack occurred one day after an unidentified gunman shot the Jordanian Ambassador to India in New Delhi. Sources in Amman blamed radical Palestinian elements for the shootings.

Argentina's radical chic

Jonathan Steele and Jeremy Morgan in Buenos Aires on the tasks facing President Alfonsin

DOCTOR Raul Alfonsin's victory in Argentina's first elections for a decade reflected a deep-seated desire to break with a past dominated by a dead general and years of violent self-righteousness in government.

More than anything else, during a wearying campaign that began nine months ago, the 57-year-old Radical leader tapped genuine hope that a permanent change for the better was still possible in Argentina. His appeal to the spirit of cautious optimism contrasted strongly with the trenchant negativism of the only other party given a chance of assuming power, the Peronist mass movement.

Doctor Alfonsin has done more than inflict a bruising electoral defeat — the first in history — on a fractious mass movement unable to hide, let alone overcome, its own bitter internal divisions. The Radical leader's victory was more of a triumph for him personally than for his party, which he had forced, after a 15-year struggle, to abandon the cosy and starchy approach which led them more or less to acquiesce in Peronism's power for many years.

For the first time in decades, he provided a solid alternative to the

Peronists, who might otherwise have won even though their movement was still dominated by prominent figures from the last chaotic Peronist government overthrown by the military in 1976.

Elected a congress deputy in 1958, Doctor Alfonsin quickly became the prime mover behind an internal faction, Renovation and Change, that only this year emerged as the dominant voice in what was then Argentina's second largest political force.

His decision to stay within the Radicals and fight for change, at a time when other ambitious politicians were deserting the party, hints at a tough streak occasionally revealed by brief spasms of irritation during the campaign.

Doctor Alfonsin will start his presidency with the advantage of an undisputed majority in the Congress and in the Electoral College. There had been fears that neither party would gain a wide enough lead, thus producing a recipe for stalemate and a government based on an unstable coalition.

The Radical leader's first priority will be to repair the country's ruined economy and to renegotiate the \$40 billion foreign debt. Radical Party

Scoon tells of his appeal for help

by Alex Brummer in St George's, Grenada

WITH marine helicopters buzzing above the 18th century Government House, the Governor-General, Sir Paul Scoon, described his rescue by US troops, and the events which led to the arrival of the invasion forces in Grenada last week.

In his first interview with journalists since the invasion, Sir Paul said that at no time had he formally or informally asked the British Government for help. He had not been aware of the involvement of US forces until parachute troops landed in the front garden at Government House, high up in the hills overlooking Pointe Salines to the north.

Sitting in a high-backed chair, and wearing a grey checked sports jacket, the Governor-general said that he had first issued his first two proclamations with the permission of the Queen.

He said that he was exercising his authority as Her Majesty's representative on the island, and would form an interim administration of advisers by the end of this week. Sir Paul has also ordered the recall of all Grenadian diplomats from both Eastern bloc and Western countries.

Sir Paul, who appeared relaxed despite the rapid turn of events over last week, tried to clear up some of the political questions which have

surrounded his role in the invasion.

He revealed that he had invited the Organisation of East Caribbean States to intervene in a letter sent by a Barbadian courier to the Prime Minister of Barbados, Mr Tom Adams, last Monday — the eve of the invasion by the joint US and Caribbean task force.

Despite differences over the socialism under Mr Bishop, Sir Paul expressed his admiration for the leader who deposed Sir Eric Gairy in a 1979 coup. Even though Mrs Thatcher has been cool to the Grenada operation, Sir Paul emphasised that he had no quarrel with Britain. He "loved the British people".

But he also said that he understood the views of ordinary Grenadians I had spoken to, who were highly critical of the failure of Britain to come to the aid of the island.

Sir Paul was unenthused by the concept of a Commonwealth peace-keeping force, including British and Canadian troops, to take over the role of the Americans. He said the US troops would stay as long as needed and he hoped they would be replaced by an enlarged Caribbean contingent.

In a graphic account of events on the day of the invasion, Sir Paul said that he was awakened on the Tues-

day with a call from his ADC announcing that military action was under way. He looked out of his window to see parachutists landing in the rich foliage of his front garden. He and Lady Scoon dressed and remained in the basement of Government House, which was reverberating to the sound of shell and mortar fire.

Two days after the invasion, Sir Paul and Lady Scoon scrambled more than a mile down a path through tropical vegetation under the guard of the US marines. They were put on a helicopter, and taken to the USS Guam, stationed off St Georges Bay.

The centre of St Georges appeared to be returning to normal on Monday. Schoolgirls in white, starched shirts and neat blue, pleated skirts, returned to their classes, pleased that their ordeal was over. They spoke highly of Mr Bishop, and the marines who had come to rescue them.

Efforts were being made at the telephone company and Cable and Wireless offices to restore communications with other Caribbean countries, and the rest of the world. Rubbish which had accumulated in huge, foul-smelling piles was being collected.

Grenadans urged to hand in arms

by Alex Brummer and Greg Chamberlain

THE Governor-General of Grenada, Sir Paul Scoon, at the weekend urged the People's Revolutionary Army and other militias still engaged in fighting to lay down their arms and hand them to the joint American and Caribbean invasion force.

Sir Paul made his call, amid signs that resistance to the invasion was fading, in an address to the Grenadian people over the renamed Spice Island Radio. The speech was scheduled for Thursday evening last week, but had been postponed while he consulted the Queen and the Foreign Office.

Shortly before Sir Paul spoke, the United States announced in Grenada that Mr Bernard Coard, the man who overthrew the former prime minister, Mr Maurice Bishop, had given himself up to the US Marines. An informer had shown US Marines the house where Coard was hiding.

A military spokesman said the marines had to protect Coard from

the growing crowd. "We want to take him apart piece by piece," said Martin Henry, a barman. Vice-Admiral Joseph Metcalf III, the commander of the US task force, declined to say where Mr Coard was being held, but told reporters: "We're not going to give him a good-conduct medal."

US paratroopers later captured General Hudson Austin, one of the leaders of the coup.

Sir Paul made clear in his address that an interim administration would contain no political appointees, but would largely consist of those in public life untouched by the rough and tumble of politics.

This appeared to kill claims from Sir Eric Gairy, the former prime minister, who was removed in 1979, and the exiled leader, Mr Francis Alexis, that they would be ready to form an interim government pending the elections, which are expected in about six months.

Mr Bishop's former press secre-

tary, Mr Don Rojas, said he could not think of any members of the overthrown New Jewel Movement (NJM) — which retained substantial support until the murder of Mr Bishop 10 days ago — who would run in the elections which the US wants to organise soon, even if Washington allowed a Socialist party to take part.

The NJM would probably go underground, he said, adding that he hid in the bush for a week after the killing for fear the radicals, led by Mr Bishop's deputy, Mr Bernard Coard, would come for him.

"Perhaps the biggest historical irony," Mr Rojas said, "is that the man considered the most developed, left ideologue in the Grenada revolution (Mr Coard), a brilliant man, through a fundamental error of judgment and personal ambition, in the end gave the Grenadian revolution on a platter to the US with all the trimmings."

economists have expressed annoyance that their neighbour, Brazil, has obtained better terms from the international banks with lower interest rates and a longer repayment period. With the authority of a popular mandate, they hope they can persuade their creditors to give them a new deal.

In order to meet their commitments, one of the Radical's first aims is to cut government spending, particularly on defence. This is a delicate area since it clearly cuts into the power and privilege of the armed forces. It is calculated that roughly 30 per cent of the budget goes on the military at the moment. Mr Alfonsin will have to persuade the military to accept a decrease in new weaponry as well as in their political power.

The Radicals plan a system of selective import controls and some privatisation of the various ailing industries which the military government took over during their seven year rule. Their basic economic philosophy is Keynesian and they hope to expand the economy by pumping money into major domestic industries and construction, and by improving salaries and thereby creating demand.

They argue that Argentina is on paper, at least, a rich country — one of the few in the world which does not need to import oil or food. Its debt problem has risen because of military spending on imported arms, widespread corruption through fraudulent diversion of much of the borrowed money, and an excessively open economy.

Doctor Alfonsin is expected to challenge the armed forces early on by insisting on his right as commander-in-chief to replace many of the top brass. However, he is likely to be cautious in investigating the human rights atrocities of the "dirty war" against the Left in the 1970s.

Human rights groups are sceptical of the Radicals' commitment although Dr Alfonsin was a founder member of the Permanent Assembly of Human Rights. They also wonder how much can be proved since the military has had plenty of time to destroy the evidence about the 30,000 people who disappeared during the 1970s. But it is certain that the Radicals will ask Congress to annul the amnesty the military recently decreed for itself.

On foreign policy the Radicals say they will take a strongly non-aligned position. Dr Alfonsin said last week that he would like to improve Argentina's relations with the United States but only on the basis of Argentina's independence. He has condemned the invasion of Grenada in passionate terms.

Dr Alfonsin will not lift the formal state of hostilities with Britain which remains in spite of last year's defeat in the Falklands. Even if Britain were to lift the Exclusion Zone around the islands unilaterally — a concession which seems unlikely in the light of Mrs Thatcher's most recent statements — Dr Alfonsin has said only that he will study the position. Nevertheless, while the Radicals' formal position may seem little different from that of the present government, his tone will be significantly more flexible.

He insists that Argentina can only regain its sovereignty over the islands by peaceful means, and he will be cutting down on arms spending as a symbol of that. The Falklands will be a relatively low priority of the new government, as will its dispute with Chile over the Beagle Channel.

Thatcher, Howe widen gulf with Reagan

THE differences between Britain and the United States widened into a yawning diplomatic gulf this week after what looked like a concerted decision by the Prime Minister and her Foreign Secretary to make public their complaints about President Reagan's failure to consult them before invading Grenada.

In separate broadcasts Mrs Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe made it clear that they objected to the lack of consultation and disagreed fundamentally with the explanations for the invasion offered by the President. They also made it plain that they would oppose any similar action elsewhere.

The Prime Minister's utterances were broadcast in an unprecedented international "phone in" programme on the BBC's World Service.

Needled by Mr Ronald Stuhler in New York about her failure to respond to US support in the Falklands war, she insisted that there was no parallel. Britain had gone into the Falklands to get its own territory back, and to ensure that British people could continue to go on living their own lives.

But Grenada was an independent sovereign country, and had not been invaded. "I am totally and utterly opposed to communism and terrorism," she went on, "but if you are going to pronounce a new law that wherever there is communism imposed against the will of the people then the US shall enter then we are going to have really terrible wars in the world."

Then, in terms which could hardly have been amended by Mr Denis Healey, she said that she was de-

by Ian Aitken and Martin Wainwright

lighted whenever people had the yoke of communism lifted from their shoulders.

"But that does not mean you are entitled to go into every country, either in central America or in eastern Europe which is under communist oppression. When things happen in other countries which we don't like we don't just march in. We try to do it by persuasion."

Facing cross examination from Mr Brian Walden on LWT's Weekend World, Sir Geoffrey Howe made a better fist of it than in last week's floundering Commons performance.

There was no doubt about Sir Geoffrey's anger at the US failure to let Britain know of its plans. He explained the US reluctance by declar-

ing that Washington no doubt knew that Britain would oppose the proposed invasion. The Americans had not told the British of their changed thinking in time for representations to be made.

Sir Geoffrey said that as far as he knew, he and the Prime Minister had not been lied to by the President and his officials, but it was impossible to see into the mind of another. From this particular Foreign Secretary those are strong words.

He acknowledged that Mr Reagan had offered two different justifications for the Grenada invasion, but was not prepared to recognise either as valid.

The first had been the claim that US citizens had been in danger. Sir Geoffrey rejected that danger as far as British citizens were concerned.

On the second, the presence of

large numbers of Cubans, Sir Geoffrey pointed out that there were Cubans in many other countries. Provided they were there at the invitation of the government then, however misguided that invitation might be, no invasion could be justified.

The Foreign Secretary was emphatic that there had been no request for intervention from Sir Paul Scoon, Grenada Governor General. He had been seen by a British diplomat on the Monday — the day before the invasion — and had not mentioned any such desire. After that, he had vanished.

Challenged by Mr Walden to admit that he was a bit sceptical about claims that his disappearance to a ship of the US invading fleet had not been solely for his health and safety, Sir Geoffrey remained silent.

Grenada and the rule of law Continued from page 1

voiced in the Grenada invasion (Jamaica, Antigua and Barbuda, St Kitts-Nevis, St Lucia, and Barbados) claim that they were responding to a request from the Governor-General, Sir Paul Scoon, the effective head of state when the Queen is not on the island. Sir Paul, reinstated in Government House, Grenada, after being rescued by US forces and spending two days aboard the USS aircraft-carrier Guam, said that he had asked for help on the eve of the invasion. The letter of authorisation is now lodged with the deputy commander of the Caribbean forces that are working with the American troops on the island.

Commonwealth diplomatic sources indicated that this was only signed after the incoming troops had broken the cordon of armoured cars outside Government House and rescued him. The Governor General had reckoned that if he had signed it earlier, with the intention of getting it smuggled out, and it had been intercepted, then he would have signed his own death warrant.

In a nationwide television broadcast later in the week, President Reagan told the American people that the forces on Grenada had captured a base "which makes it clear a Cuban occupation of the island had been planned — we got there just in time." The government had a responsibility to go to the aid of its citizens and to make sure "the nightmare of our hostages in Iran must never be repeated."

[In fact the on-scene director of St. George's Medical School said later that the US invasion of Grenada was not necessary to protect the lives of American medical students in his charge.

Dr Geoffrey Bourne, the vice chancellor, said the question of evacuating his students passed through several stages during the crisis here. At first, soon after Bishop was killed and Austin took over, October 19, the situation seemed to be stabilising and there seemed to be little reason for evacuation, he said. At that point, an informal student poll showed 90 per cent of the students planned to stay on and continue their studies. But things began to change as talk of a possible US or Caribbean-nation invasion increased after October 21, he said. The attitude of students shifted, particularly during and after a visit here by a US consular mission dispatched from Barbados. The US diplomats refrained from immediately urging the students to depart, Bourne said, restricting their work to asking how many Americans wanted to leave. But as students asked questions, he added, the US diplomats made it clear they felt the wise course was to get off the island. Hesitations ceased in any case once the invasion was under way Tuesday.]

In his broadcast Mr Reagan said that, after he had received the appeal from the East Caribbean countries "the joint chiefs worked

round the clock to come up with a plan." Mr Reagan said they had little intelligence about the island and "we had to assume the several hundred Cubans working on the airport could be military reserves."

"As it turned out the number was much larger and they were a military force. Six hundred have been taken prisoner and we have discovered a complete base with weapons and communication equipment which makes it clear that a Cuban occupation of the island had been planned."

He commented that "the events in Lebanon and Grenada, though oceans apart, are closely related. Not only has Moscow assisted and encouraged the violence in both countries but it provides direct support through a network of surrogates and terrorists."

The speech was in a much lower key than had been expected and consisted to a great degree in a bare recital of the events of the week. In defending the presence of the marines in Beirut and American participation in the Grenada operation, he told his audience: "We are a nation with global responsibilities. We are not protecting someone else's interest. We are there protecting our own."

The Presidential spokesman Mr Larry Speakes said at the White House that "there were upwards of 1,000 Cubans on the island, perhaps double the number previously acknowledged by Castro." He said the forces included a Cuban combat engineer battalion, commanded by a colonel. Later the White House agreed that the Cuban figure of 784 staff on the island was correct.

However, documents released in Havana suggest that Cuba made a serious attempt to defuse the crisis, but that its approaches to Washington went unanswered until hours after the invasion. Cuba's representative in Grenada had, it appears, condemned the manner in which the military took power, and urged the radicals in the military to seek reconciliation.

The documents also provide more details of Cuban distaste for the Grenadan regime which had replaced by force the late Prime Minister Mr Maurice Bishop. Cuban representatives in Grenada had told the new leader, General Austin, that the threat of US intervention was the "logical consequence" of the "serious errors" which he and his supporters had committed.

One of the first journalists allowed on the island, Lauren Jenkins of The Washington Post, reported: "A Ranger officer showed us through the Cubans' barracks, which had been looted and rifled. Family photographs of wives and children back in Cuba, personal letters, Cuban political magazines extolling Leninism, clothes, assorted shoes and boots, and other personal effects, were scattered all over the floors."

"Outside the barracks, Ranger

officers pointed out half-a-dozen shallow rifle trenches as proof that the Cubans had planned to resist from their barracks — although there were no signs of any fighting having taken place in the immediate area."

"Ranger officers conducted us into the three warehouses which contained the arms and ammunition that President Reagan on Thursday night in a speech said were so extensive that they were proof that the Marxist military Government and its Cuban allies planned to convert Grenada into an island of subversion."

"Although the officers insisted that all the weapons and ammunition found there were still in place, and that it was enough to arm at least a force of 8,000 men, the weapons in the three warehouses did not exactly seem to support the President's statement."

"One of the warehouses was stacked half-full — not up to the ceilings — with boxes of assorted Cuban, Soviet, and Chinese ammunition — mostly for the standard issue Soviet AK-47 assault rifle and other small arms."

"In the second warehouse that contained most of the weapons, there were only five mortars to be seen,

one recoilless rifle, one Soviet-made quadri-barrelled anti-aircraft gun, and two Korean-vintage British Bren guns on display."

With the capture of Mr Bernard Coard, the deputy Prime Minister, and General Austin, the Grenadan military commander, and with the return of Sir Paul Scoon, the island began to return to something like normality this week. American casualties were put at 18 soldiers killed, 86 wounded, and one missing. Cuban dead were put at up to 50. This week the US acknowledged that its aircraft had bombed a civilian hospital by mistake. There were believed to be at least 13 dead among the 183 mental patients in the hospital and possibly quite a lot more.

Canada, backed by New Zealand and Trinidad, is taking the lead in pressuring the Reagan Administration to ensure that US troops withdraw completely from Grenada, preferably within seven weeks.

All three governments are ready to airlift police or paramilitary units to the island before the end of this month, as the advance party of the Commonwealth Security Force which is now being put together by Mr Shridath Ramphal and his staff at Marlborough House in London.

Richard Cohen

WASHINGTON —

Dear Sir or Madam (choose one):

The president has asked me to respond to your letter inquiring about the American invasion of Grenada. There have been many questions about this operation and it is the policy of your government to answer the queries of its citizens.

From the very first, our main concern was the matter of hostages. Even though there was no clear sign that American lives were in danger, we nevertheless had to act, preferring actual danger to a mere possibility and a repeat of the Iranian hostage situation with all its damaging political impact.

It is also apparent that if the Grenadans suspected an American invasion they might take hostages. Thus, because of an invasion designed to avoid a hostage situation there might have been a hostage situation. I'm sorry if this is not clear, but you can see now why we had to act.

There were, after all, approximately 600 American medical students on the island of Grenada. Their lives were in danger. It is true, of course, that the president of the medical school at St. Georges said this was not the case, that the students themselves reported they were safe, that their parents pleaded for American restraint, and that Grenada guaranteed their safety, agreeing to their exit by charter flights. All that is true. But that does not

In reply to yours . . .

change matters any.

Grenada, as you may know, is a dagger pointed at the heart of St. Lucia. It goes without saying that if Grenada fell to a group of leftist thugs, so then would St. Lucia, Dominica, and maybe even Barbados, an island your President visited just two years ago and which is the home of Claudette Colbert. We could not allow this to happen.

The fact is that the Grenadan government took power in a bloody coup. We do not have all the details of the coup — for example the circumstances under which Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was killed — but it looked pretty bad to us. The new government was even closer to Cuba or the Soviet Union than the old one, though the Cubans denounced its takeover and seemed cool to it. This confused us at first, but we finally concluded that the Cubans or the Grenadans or someone was lying. At any rate, we did not like the old government, either.

It is important to bear in mind that U.S. forces were invited to invade Grenada by other Caribbean nations. Your government knows that this is an invitation that these governments really could not extend — sort of like you inviting someone to dinner at my house without my knowledge. But you have to bear in mind that these nations are close, share a fondness for reggae music, talk in that wonderful lilting accent and, like us, shared a fear of the Grenadans — rational or not. Your government understands

that, strictly speaking, the invasion is a violation of the Organization of American States' charter. This (sir or madam), is precisely the same charter that President Reagan has cited time and time again (see: collected speeches of R. W. Reagan) in reference to the alleged Nicaraguan attempt to subvert El Salvador. But we, as a major power with God on our side, have never subscribed to the dictum that what's good for the goose is good for the gander. In fact, this strikes us as something akin to the ERA to which for very good reasons, we are also opposed (see above: collected speeches of R. W. Reagan).

We in the government are aware of the criticism that if a bloody coup, such as the one in Chile which also resulted in the death of the head of state (Salvador Allende), had produced a government to our liking, we would not have acted. To this criticism, we respond with understandable shock, chagrin and horror (choose one) and note that we were hostile to the Grenadan government all along. Aside from that, all we can do is change the subject.

Your government hopes that this letter answers all your questions. To assuage you, further, we suggest you turn off the television set and not read any newspapers. Additional facts are only likely to confuse you and we sincerely feel that there is no need for you to know more than the president himself does.

Very truly yours,

Your Government.

Alex Brummer reports from Bridgetown, Barbados, on the Caribbean version of "collective defence" behind the invasion

Deep divisions in the Caribbean

THE decision by the Organisation of East Caribbean States (OECS) to invite the American marines into Grenada has deeply divided the wider Caribbean community. Although two of the larger Caribbean states, outside the OECS, Jamaica and Barbados, were party to the invasion, Trinidad and Guyana were not. Belize remains neutral in the conflict. The reluctance of Guyana would largely appear to stem from the increasingly socialist stand taken by its Prime Minister, Mr Forbes Burnham.

The OECS is in fact a legacy of the colonial past of the Eastern Caribbean islands. When a number of the countries in the region expressed interest to Britain in independence in the mid-1960s they came up with the notion of the West Indies Association, which would provide for mutual defence of the six countries concerned, but would leave each to manage its internal affairs as independent nations.

Much of the controversy over the American invasion stems from the interpretation of article eight of the OECS Treaty which was signed in Roseau, Dominica, in 1982 but has never been fully ratified. This treaty suggests that other states would act in "collective defence" to combat the activities of mercenaries on their shores. It is of course by no means clear that the Cubans in Grenada are necessarily mercenaries, or whether they were closely involved with the bloody military coup which deposed and executed the Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, a fortnight ago.

It was in the 1970s, as a number of East Caribbean states were brought to independence, that the concept of the West Indies Association, as established by the British West Indies Act of 1967, became increasingly outdated. Grenada was in fact the first of the countries to gain independence in 1974. It was followed by Dominica in 1978, St Lucia in the same year, Antigua and Barbuda in 1979 and most recently St Kitts and St Nevis on September 19 last year. Montserrat has colonial status.

The idea of a series of independent nations still being dependent on a British Act for their mutual defence appeared an irrelevance in a modern age when anti-colonialism was the vogue. As a result the countries banded together to turn the West Indies Association into the Organisation of East Caribbean States. Ironically Mr Bishop, the late prime minister of Grenada who annoyed the Americans by introducing the Cubans to the island, was a signatory to the Treaty which led to the American incursion.

The view which is being taken here of the US invasion was well summed up last week by a cartoon in the Nation, the respected local newspaper. It shows a giant Yankee soldier striding across Grenada with the armed forces of Barbados and Jamaica clinging to its seat.

Although Barbados has the appearance of still being a British possession with its Barclays Bank signs and its outmoded British cars and policemen in white tropical helmets, the centre of power has clearly moved from the British High Commission to the US embassy. President Reagan has, since coming to office, made great efforts to bring the Caribbean countries into the US fold. Or, as Mr Shultz described it in his press conference in Washington on Monday, looking after the interests of those in our neighbourhood.

The Prime Minister of the tiny island of Dominica, Mrs Eugenia

Charles, who was at President Reagan's side when he announced the invasion of Grenada, has been the subject of some sniping from other Caribbean countries and in the press. Mrs Charles was clearly concerned that her economically troubled country might prove a target for the same kind of Cuban overtures as other nations in the region, notably Grenada.

She has pointed out that her country decided several years ago that with its dire economic problems the one thing it couldn't afford was a defence force, and has invested its security in a civilian police force. However, when her neighbourhood appeared to be threatened Mrs Charles clearly felt the need to encourage American participation in defending what she saw as the interests of her neighbourhood.

Mr Reagan embraced Edward Seaga of Jamaica, making him his first visitor to Washington as President, and brought forth the Caribbean Basin initiative as a means of combating the leftward drift of the region with dollops of economic aid. In the event, however, the Basin initiative has made scant progress in Congress, and it is brute Yankee force, of the kind last displayed by Lyndon Johnson when he went into the Dominican Republic in 1965, which has been repeated.

The protests from influential groups in the region have been strong. The Caribbean Conference of Churches which represents 30 major churches in the islands, has strongly deplored the American action. It noted that when the wider Caricom group of countries met in Trinidad at the weekend they spoke of a fact-finding mission and a peace keeping force.

The role of the Queen's representative

by Tim Robertson

THE reported actions of Grenada's Governor General conform, not to constitutional law, but to Harold Laski's warning that, in times of crisis, "theories of constitutional form will be adjusted overnight to suit the interests of Conservatism." Unless his actions are rapidly disavowed by Buckingham Palace, and Sir Paul Scoon removed from the position of interim political potentate in which the Americans have placed him, future leftwing governments in Commonwealth countries may not feel safe until they have declared themselves Republics.

The problem with Commonwealth constitutional law is that it rests largely upon "conventions" — and these conventions are made up of precedents. The notion that a Governor General has a reserve power personally to invite a foreign country to invade his nation by force, without first taking the advice of a government minister or of the Queen, is unprecedented and directly in conflict with constitutional authority.

When Grenada secured its independence in 1974, it was endowed with a Westminster model constitution similar in its terms to that possessed by most other Commonwealth countries. Executive authority is vested in Her Majesty, and exercised in her behalf by the Governor General. Convention requires this prerogative to be exercised on the advice of ministers in office at the time, except where the constitution explicitly provides for personal discretion.

Section 58 of the Grenada constitution does require that the Queen's representative "shall act in his own deliberate judgement" in cer-

tain narrowly defined circumstances, involving the appointment or removal of the Prime Minister, who must be an MP able to command support from elected representatives. Section 62 spells out the conventional position, namely that unless the Constitution indicates otherwise "in the exercise of his functions the Governor General shall act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet or a minister..."

Whether the Governor General possesses a reserve power to act without advice in a crisis, and if so how far such power can extend, is a matter of debate. The leading British constitutional text, by Professor de Smith, describes such power as "the most drastic form of Royal initiative... A recourse of last resort, an ultimate weapon which is liable to destroy its user."

The only justification for use of any "reserve power" is in an attempt to defend the constitution and to protect Crown subjects. There is, at common law, a duty on the Crown to protect its subjects (it can even charge them for the protection it affords). But in light of this duty, it must be incumbent upon the Governor General to make any request for protection to the Queen herself.

It seems that Sir Paul made no such request of British officials from the Barbados embassy who visited him after Maurice Bishop's death, and a request to the United States would be constitutionally improper and invalid. If it was made to Dominica, it could only have been for transmission to London: the Dominican Prime Minister, who made much

mal military training of any reservist and do not function as a coherent military unit. The third category, construction workers, are more homogenous. They are organised in what Cuba calls brigades, although this is a common term used in Cuba and Eastern Europe for any kind of production team and has not automatic military connotations. On assignment in the Third World they live and work together as a unit, and have weapons at their disposal for emergency contingencies.

The large Cuban presence on Grenada was neither surprising nor necessarily sinister, Jonathan Steele reports

The presence of Cuban military advisers in the Third World — much less numerous than Cuban civilians abroad — is well known. Most of them are there not to give political advice or in some way control any foreign governments which invited them, so much as to offer sophisticated weapons training, help in operating radio and communications equipment, and, in a few cases such as Angola and Ethiopia installing and manning anti-aircraft artillery and missile defences. Cuban combat troops are based only in Angola and Ethiopia.

The key question about the Cuban presence in Grenada is not whether President Castro has more or less weaponry and men than Mr Reagan says the United States expected. It is what they were for. The normal reason for a Cuban presence has been to defend a regime which Mr Castro believes is politically dependable and worth saving from potential enemies, both foreign and domestic. As a revolutionary Castro is well aware that new revolutionary regimes are always under threat from internal pressure and in some cases attack,

but he has shown himself careful not to be associated with manifestly unpopular and therefore inherently unstable regimes.

One of the many weaknesses in Mr Reagan's charges about the alleged size of the Cuban military presence in Grenada is the fact that it failed to save Mr Bishop. To see the Cuban presence as some kind of gigantic dragon is laughable. It could not even control St George's, let alone be in a position to carry out offensive actions beyond the island.

Since Castro's radical initiative in sending Cuban troops to Angola and Ethiopia in the second half of the 1970s, his military activity abroad has become cautious. In spite of having some 20,000 troops in Angola, Castro has not ordered his men to make any effort to drive the South African army away from the position it has occupied for more than two years across most of southern Angola.

Internationally Castro would have complete legitimacy in confronting the South African invaders but has chosen not to do so for fear of an uncontrollable escalation which might lead to a major East-West clash.

To expect that Castro was on the point of using Grenada as a springboard for some kind of Caribbean push is absurd. Cuba itself is politically more secure and strategically better placed than Grenada if Castro had any such intention.

As for the new airport his men were helping to build, this was a project already supported by the non-socialist regime which preceded Mr Bishop's. Castro may well have calculated that if the new airport were ever to have any military significance (and which airport does not?), a runway is a runway is a runway, the first foreign military planes to exploit it would probably be American rather than Cuban or Soviet. This week has shown he would have been right.

revolt threatened adjacent territories of which Frere was the Queen's Commissioner and hence personally responsible for their protection. "In civil matters lying entirely within the Cape Colony", said the Colonial Secretary, "I desire of course that the responsibility of your ministers should be full and complete."

As a precedent, the Colonial Secretary's response argues against any right in Sir Paul Scoon to call in foreign invaders. However, the danger that it may be accepted as a legitimate use of a "reserve power" in a governor general requires a speedy and authoritative disavowal.

The Palace should also be alive to the danger of allowing Sir Paul to remain in an exposed political position, exercising direct authority and making what will doubtless be controversial arrangements for transition to democratic government. Some forms of interim political control will be necessary to prepare for elections, and to ensure that those who are left of the New Jewel Movement have the opportunity to contest them. Decisions of this sort cannot be made by the Governor General without further compromising a role which, if it is to have any credibility, must remain above politics.

Future leftwing governments in Commonwealth countries may learn a lesson from Grenada. That lesson will tempt them to make other constitutional arrangements to save themselves from the possibility that their "Queen's man" will be neither theirs, nor the Queen's.

Tim Robertson is an Australian barrister and an expert in constitutional law.

Peter Jenkins

The forebodings that follow Grenada

THE concealed story behind the American aggression against Grenada is not one of British incompetence or craven complicity but concerns the extent and the depth of the Anglo-American rift.

Mrs Thatcher would have nothing to do with a lawless act of intervention against a small Commonwealth country. She had gone to war in the Falklands to uphold sovereignty and show that aggression must not pay. Those principles, reaffirmed with soldiers' blood, precluded British participation in an illegal military act, however hateful the political character of the regime which was to be overthrown.

There were plenty of other reasons also for opposing the venture. The American claim to be acting primarily to ensure the safety of its citizens was singularly unconvincing; there were special Commonwealth considerations; an act of war by President Reagan would not exactly boost public confidence in American leadership at the very moment the first of the new missiles were about to arrive in Britain and Germany. The chief reason for the British stand, however, was adherence to international principle.

At moments when national pride is pricked the chauvinist press invariably turns on the Foreign Office. Those who wish that the Prime Minister had taken a different view, and taken part in lawless gun boat diplomacy, are pleased to suppose that she was uninformed or misled by the Foreign Office. It is quite untrue. A detailed analysis of the developing crisis was delivered to Number 10 Downing Street early on Friday evening and sped to Chequers for which she had already set out for the weekend.

Some of the confusion about who was told what and when has stemmed from the assumption by countries such as Barbados that the Americans must be consulting as fully with London as with them. This was not the case and is one of the factors which rankles bitterly with the Thatcher government.

On Monday the Prime Minister was at last informed officially by

President Reagan that he was giving serious consideration to a request from some of the south Caribbean countries to take military action against Grenada. She was asked for her thoughts. Before she had time even to compose and transmit them she was informed of Mr Reagan's decision. This left her fuming with rage.

Relations between London and Washington deteriorated still further when the United States attempted to use the Governor General of Grenada, Sir Paul Scoon, as a cloak of legality for the invasion. Apparently he was in touch with London until Sunday and neither Buckingham Palace, to whom he reports, nor the Foreign Office had the slightest reason to suppose that he was requesting the intervention. When the Americans landed Sir Paul was whisked off to the carrier Guam for the next 48 hours. The view in London is that if the Americans now come up with a piece of paper dated October 22 requesting help and signed by the governor they would want to submit the ink to the most exhaustive forensic examination.

The entire affair has been exquisitely embarrassing for the British Government. The extent of the ill-feeling in both London and Washington, where the Reaganites feel that their support for Mrs Thatcher in the Falklands has not been reciprocated, is the reason why Sir Geoffrey Howe has stubbornly refused to condemn the American action in outright terms. The true state of affairs is already clear enough and it is felt that quite enough harm has been done.

The Prime Minister has herself to blame for creating exaggerated expectations of the Anglo-American "special relationship". She has vied with the President in crude anti-Sovietism and advertised her own special ideological relationship with him. That makes her fair game when the true state of affairs is revealed, especially when her government is on a losing streak and the new Labour opposition eager for early blood.

Mr Denis Healey made a fair debating point when he described her treatment by the Reagan Administration as the "quite unpardonable humiliation of an ally". There was little she could do about it, however; she was up against the limits of British influence. Mr George Walden, a former diplomat making his maiden speech from the Conservative benches, put the affair in a truer perspective of Britain's power when he said, "It is never humiliating to be right".

In the heightened atmosphere of the renewed party battle at Westminster the American aggression against Grenada has been treated as an issue affecting national pride and prestige. That is a trivial consideration compared with the international implications of the event. There is nothing novel about Washington failing to consult with the ally; it seldom goes when the policy-making bureaucracy moves to panic stations at times of crisis management. What is most ominous about the affair is the trigger-happy mood which has gripped the Reagan Administration in the wake of recent setbacks and disasters.

Among the European allies the chief concern now focuses on the Persian Gulf. The danger there is that Iraq, equipped with the new French aircraft, might sink an Iranian tanker causing the Iranians to retaliate by mining the Straits of Hormuz and thereby closing the Gulf to international shipping. There is the fear that in its present mood the Reagan Administration would overreact with its Rapid Deployment Force and take the opportunity of taking revenge on Iran for

its suspected complicity in the Beirut massacre.

The invasion of Grenada precisely confirms the fears of America's allies that the Reagan Administration is prepared to jeopardise their interests, and indeed undermine the solidarity of the Alliance itself, in the pursuit of a policy which sees the world as one large game of dominoes.

If there is a crisis within the Atlantic Alliance it is a chronic crisis of confidence. President Reagan has now performed another confidence-shattering act at the very moment when European governments were seeking to reassure their peoples about the deployment of new American-controlled missiles on their soil.

Public concern about these missiles goes deeper than the question of whose finger is on the trigger; it takes the form of heightened anxiety about the danger of nuclear war in a world in which there is no stabilising political dialogue between the Superpowers. President Reagan adds to that anxiety each time he acts as if he is engaged in a global confrontation with the Soviet Union.

The Europeans have strong interests, political as well as commercial, in stable East-West relations; they have a special dependence on the Middle East for oil; and they have important Third World trading connections. They fear that these interests will be jeopardised by the American insistence on seeing all situations — the Lebanon is another current case in point — in terms of confrontations or proxy-confrontations with the Soviet Union.

The invasion of Grenada — ill-timed, ill-advised and illegal — strengthens these very forebodings.

It illustrates the propensity of the United States not to a neo-isolationism but rather a global unilateralism, not to withdrawing from the world but going-it-alone all over the world with scant regard for the interests or the views of others.

President Reagan's invasion of Grenada is even more disturbing on another score. It is by no means the first dubious use of military force by the United States in the name of freedom. Sad to say the defence of the "free world" has involved the support of a good few unfree and unpleasant regimes. Open aggression, however, has not hitherto been a weapon in the army of democracy and freedom.

Moreover, this was intervention not in some established US sphere of interest, or a possession of the United Fruit Company, but in a small member state of sovereign states, the British Commonwealth. It would seem to represent an extension of the Monroe Doctrine into an American version of the Brezhnev Doctrine which would claim the right to be arbiter of the political complexion of governments within a geographic sphere of influence.

There are plenty around who are already prepared to see the United States as no better than the Soviet Union in the standards of its international behaviour. Anti-Americanism is on the rise across Europe once again. There are many more, however, who still expect superior standards of the United States who are shocked and bewildered at the spectacle of Americans engaging in an act of aggression quite as blatant as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan which was deplored in such fine-sounding words.

Why the US feels threatened by Cuba

A FEW hours after I got back from Havana last week an old friend of mine telephoned me at home, from America: "Tony" he said "the real reason why President Reagan is so frightened of President Castro is that Cuba, which is still a developing country, has, through socialism, now got a higher literacy rate than the United States, which is the richest capitalist country in the world."

This shrewd comment reminded me that it is not enough to protest against American policy, we also have to try to understand why they are so scared of what is happening in Central and Latin America. For the official explanations, now coming out of the White House, are so unconvincing, and it is, for example, almost an insult to our intelligence to be asked to believe that the new international airport that was being built in Grenada was really to allow the Soviet Union to base its bombers there, when you consider that the USSR, like the USA, has enough intercontinental missiles without having to rely upon one tiny little island in the Caribbean to supplement its military strength.

Nor in any case can it be justifiable for one nation to occupy another, on the grounds that the other country has invited a third country to send advisers, construction workers or even soldiers, for, were that to constitute grounds for intervention in international law, the Soviet Union would presumably be entitled to land in Britain to prevent an American take-over, and then announce to the world that they had discovered 30,000 US servicemen here, with a huge arsenal of nuclear weapons. Nor would it make such a Soviet intervention any more acceptable if they brought Hungarian and Polish soldiers with them and announced that it was a "multi-national peace-keeping force which had been sent to restore the powers of self-determination to the British people."

The real explanation for the invasion of Grenada, the imminent

threat of a CIA-backed attack on Nicaragua from Honduras, and for the 25-year-old American blockade of Cuba must be sought elsewhere, and it is not hard to guess what it is. For the economic and political interests of the USA are directly threatened by any examples of socialism that seem to be working in that part of the world.

That is why Cuba is seen as the greatest threat, for that country, with a population about the size of Greater London has, despite the blockade, managed to end unemployment, achieve a growth rate higher than the USA, has been able to provide free medical and health care for

by Tony Benn

all, increase the expectation of life, and reduced the infant mortality rate to Western European levels and, in addition, to make available universal day care provisions for all babies from the age of three months until they reach school age, and to do all that with a great deal more political freedom than is to be found in most of the dictatorships that are so popular in Washington.

No wonder that there are a lot of people asking why they have to go on living under those military dictatorships, just so that the multinationals can go on making profits, at their expense, in the certain knowledge that if there is any industrial or political unrest the "trouble-makers" will be shot or will "disappear."

After the American invasion of Grenada to blank out just that sort of progressive development, there, led by the New Jewel Movement, the question is bound to arise as to whether the same type of American

intervention could happen here, although there is no point in having nightmares about the landing of American troops in Britain, because they are already based in this country in sufficient strength. For if the existence of successful socialism represents a permanent threat to capitalism, we do not have to wait for US tanks to remove an elected Labour Government, since the process has, in one sense, already started under Mrs Thatcher.

It is precisely because this present Conservative government cannot bear to see examples of successful socialism that the Cabinet is now "intervening" to remove the elected Greater London Council and the other metropolitan boroughs, and to appoint "Commissioners" to run the NHS, and to prepare for "mopping-up operations" against the "pockets of resistance" that they expect will remain, in the trade unions, when the new legislation comes into effect.

That is why the defence of Grenada, Nicaragua and Cuba matters — since their struggles for social justice are the same as ours.



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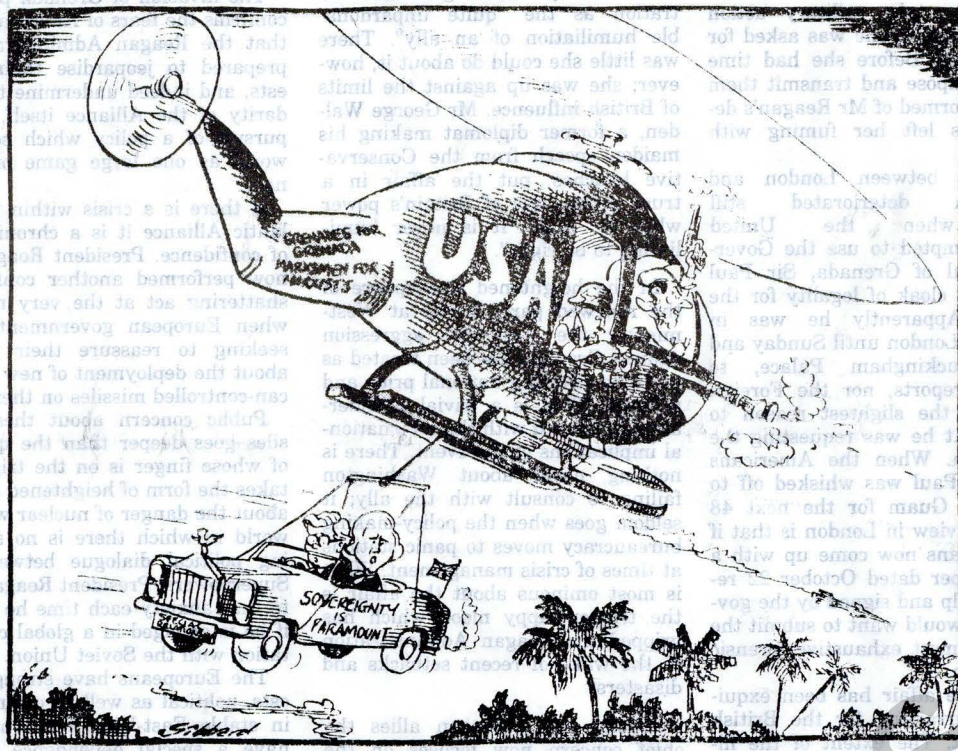
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COMMENT

Dual key — a push in the right direction

SOON the big transport planes will begin flying Cruise missiles into Greenham Common. Deployment before the end of 1983 dictates a tough schedule, with precious little room for manoeuvre. And yet the political climate for the arrival of these essentially political weapons could hardly seem more unpropitious. Mr Michael Heseltine, as his advice to the Prime Minister shows, was pretty twitchy about the exercise before Grenada happened. In its wake, such twitchiness must be much exacerbated. Though the Commons on Monday endorsed the deployment of the weapons unless there was agreement with the Russians on the Zero option proposal, public opinion polls show nearly three-quarters of voters no longer trust Washington's assurances on the use of them. This concern revolves about the question of the dual key.

Cruise and Pershing are political in the sense that their deployment is thought necessary as an act of Western willpower rather than as a meaningful addition to a global stockpile of nuclear weapons which could already blow the world up ten times over. The reason for their conception was political: Helmut Schmidt's fear, long ago, that Europe and the United States might become decoupled. The reason for their installation to a rigid timetable is as a demonstration to the Russians that the leaders of America and Europe can still keep their nerve — despite the uproar in their streets. And if all that is political, then the dual key itself is a profoundly political appendage. British politicians (and Harold Macmillan was one) have always perceived a simple, suspicious streak of nationalism in the British people. We may accept, rationally enough, the need for alliances and for collective defence, but we grow uneasy when collective responsibilities seem to bind Downing Street hand and foot. This nationalism lives: it was manifest only last June when the Labour Party mistakenly took public opposition to Cruise as a signal that the electorate also wished unilaterally to ditch Polaris, our very own geriatric little deterrent. Dual key is the apotheosis of that ambivalence. It says to our allies: you can put your weapons here, but you can't physically fire them until Mrs Thatcher presses her separate button. Thus, in a sense, her weapons become our weapons and the circle of nationalism is squared.



"That's not a fair comparison—why in the case of cruise we guaranteed the right to use the handbrake"

For an able politician, Mr Heseltine has always been curiously slow to meet these arguments. He has asserted, rather, that a physical dual key is unnecessary because (a) there are solid though unpublished agreements covering such things stretching back to Churchill's time and that (b) anyway, when we last asked the Americans we were told it would cost a lot of money.

On Monday he added one imaginative new argument to the more familiar ones for opposing it: the Americans, he claimed might want a dual key system on the British Trident in return, since the use of those missiles could have incalculable consequences for the Americans as well as for ourselves. And in any case, he said, no British government could signal conditions which it might wish to impose since it was the essence of a deterrent strategy that such things should be hidden from the Rus-

sians. That might be taken as a hint that arrangements between the two governments are tighter than official statements have revealed — but it is hardly substantial enough to deter those who want a dual key from continuing to advocate it.

In fact a substantial number of Conservative MPs and — as the opinion polls show — a huge number of Conservative supporters in the country now believe (even more so after Grenada) that the Government is wrong to reject the dual key option. Some MPs signed an early-day motion to the effect, though in the tradition of such Conservative demonstrations of opinion it was always certain that it would melt away when it came to a vote. Even so, Mr Heseltine's presentation of his case and the failure of his backbenchers to rally more enthusiastically to it, helped unite Labour to an extent which has recently been rare when defence

and disarmament are being discussed. Mr Healey made a powerful and authoritative case against deployment — though there would have been many on the Labour benches as well as the Government side who believed that, had Labour won in 1979 and 1983, he would have been making an equally plausible case for sticking to the original twin-track strategy. But what informed Mr Healey's speech, as it later informed Mr Steel's and what was totally lacking in Mr Heseltine's, was the recognition that the nuclear arms race is once more — and at the very moment when multilateralism was once expected to bear fruit — gathering a new and even madder momentum.

Our own view has always been that the dual key debate was a distraction, concentrating unhelpfully on sugaring the pill of deployment rather than the real case for and against any escalation at all. But Grenada has shifted at least the loose surface of the ground a little: a handful of dust blowing in the wind and in the eyes. Nobody should rationally suppose that because the Americans launch a mini-war in the Caribbean against Mrs Thatcher's wishes, so they will plunge into a nuclear holocaust against the entreaties of all the allies. That is dangerous nonsense. There is, however, a real sense in which the decision-making dynamics of the alliance has fallen out of true in the past few years, under the weight of European public opinion's alarm about the nature of this Washington administration. The best long-term path for getting the relationship back in balance must, we believe, lie via a concerted European approach towards its own defences: more of an equal partner, less of a satellite. But in the short term the benefits of imposing partnership by physical joint decision-making, are increasingly alluring. Quite apart from public reassurances, a dual key for Cruise — and then for Pershing — given the inevitable complexities of the consultation processes, would turn potential first strike weaponry into second strike stuff for all practical purposes. Were that reality to be admitted, Europe might then accelerate its evolving thinking, about "no first use" about nuclear weapons and an already changing Nato strategy might change all the quicker. And that, for the first time in this wretched saga, would be something more than politics.

Critical questions on Grenada

by Sol M. Linowitz

SOME critical questions remain unanswered about the invasion of Grenada, and our troubled Latin American friends are groping for explanations.

The threshold question has to do with the role played by the United States in the invasion. If you accept the fact that the United States acceded to the "urgent, formal request" from the five member nations of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States and joined in the operation, the question still remains whether the United States should have done so in the light of our commitments under the OAS Charter and the Rio Treaty.

Article II of the Rio Treaty, to which the United States is a signatory, states that "all members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner inconsistent with the principles of the United Nations".

It is true that the members of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States are not signers of the Rio Treaty — but how does this relieve the United States of its own commitments and obligations? Indeed, should not the United States have proposed submitting the issue to the OAS for inter-American consideration and action rather than encouraging a small group of small nations in the use of force and the intervention into another country in a military invasion? If there was evidence of a real threat to security and stability in the region, should it not

have been put before the OAS for action pursuant to the provisions of the Rio Treaty?

Why, then, does the president say that we had "no choice but to act strongly and decisively" by joining the invasion? Was not the other choice to respect our commitments

Caribbean States to rescue our own fellow citizens?

Third, why did the United States decide to proceed, despite the expressed opposition of Great Britain, which has a representative of the Queen on the island in the person of the governor general? What consid-

American countries in the wake of our incursion into the Dominican Republic.

In undertaking the Grenadan invasion, did we take into account the impact of our action on those in the hemisphere who had finally come to accept our assurance that the United

States is truly committed to non-intervention?

Several months ago, a group of leaders from Latin America and North America got together in an inter-American dialogue and issued a report analyzing existing problems and suggesting approaches for the future of U.S.-Latin American relations.

In dealing with Central America, the report stated: "The United States could do much to foster a climate of security in the region by making unequivocally clear its commitment to respect national sovereignty. If reciprocal and mutual security is to be fashioned in a region that has often experienced overt and covert U.S. intervention, it would be useful to provide unmistakable assurances that the United States will refrain from reverting to those practices."

What is the effect in Central America of the invasion of Grenada? Those who have doubted our announced objectives in Central America will find reason for future skepticism and disbelief in our continued professions of non-intervention.

As the representative to the OAS in 1966-1969, I remember all too well the difficult months spent trying to re-establish credibility for the United States among the Latin

States is truly committed to non-intervention? Several months ago, a group of leaders from Latin America and North America got together in an inter-American dialogue and issued a report analyzing existing problems and suggesting approaches for the future of U.S.-Latin American relations.

(The writer, who was President Carter's special Mideast ambassador, has served as U.S. representative to the Organization of American States)

Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

Reagan off course without a credible alibi

by Andre Laurens

REASONING by analogy is never satisfactory and it sometimes leads to conclusions which have nothing to do with the reality. We must therefore beware of making simplistic parallels.

The American intervention in the island of Grenada is not quite comparable to that of the Soviets in Czechoslovakia or Afghanistan. The conditions in which it was prepared, the circumstances and the geographic, demographic and strategic importance of the Caribbean, Central Europe and Central Asia constitute as many, if not more, distinctive traits as points of similarity between these various kinds of operations, differing both in time and setting. If we methodically look for similarities, we should then take into account other military interventions, in Africa for example, which would not fit into a common pattern either.

With the symbolic participation of several Caribbean states, the United States sent troops to Grenada to protect — so it claims — foreign nationals who were there and "restore democracy" in this tiny speck of land torn apart by a local revolution and leftwing one-upmanship. Now, the

reasons which have been given do not appear to be acceptable. The first does not square with the facts, for if power did change hands with bloodshed, it did not threaten American nationals. As for the second reason, one may well doubt it in view of the "democracies" that the United States finds acceptable and protects in its sphere of influence.

More simply, the government which was set up so close to the United States was not to its liking and, what is more, worried, for different reasons, several states in the region. Considering its Lilliputian scale, it was not threatening in itself. It would have been much more threatening if it was to have served as a military base for another giant. But this was not the case and the United States would have had the means for curbing or putting an end to such a temptation had it appeared clearly.

By choosing to make a pre-emptive strike against a putative risk, Washington gives the impression it has other motives which, moreover, it is hardly hiding. They are no more acceptable.

If the Caribbean intervention is, as we are told, an answer to the Beirut bomb attack, then it seems to confirm a new strategic theory in East-West confrontation. This is the theory that the United States will not necessarily respond in the same place and in the same way to attacks made against it.

The already disturbing mechanism of the escalation of sanctions between the two blocs is deprived of its rationality by such a conception. If it became a permanent feature, it would provide a poor cover for certain weaknesses and be even worse as an alibi. It would throw suspicion on all American intervention and compromise those countries which find themselves involved in such initiatives. In the long run, it would damage all confidence in the United States' undertakings.

President Reagan's policy has gone off course seriously by forgetting that the progress of democratic societies — as many a Western has naively shown us — presupposes that sheriffs are not judges and that justice is not meted out through intermediaries.

(October 27)

'Power in the service of peace' — or in pursuit of the ridiculous?

THE MOST powerful nation on earth invading one of the weakest. This is doubtless the image which will symbolise for posterity the US Marines' far from glorious intervention in Grenada. Morality aside, this is why the adventure is a serious blunder.

The United States has, it is true, been long worried by the course the Grenada government was taking and the construction on the island of an airport with a strategic potential. But the Grenadian government, with which Washington had refused to come to any arrangement whatsoever last spring, had been breaking for about a fortnight. It is irresponsible to claim that it was a serious threat to the United States. Similarly the claim that foreign nationals in Grenada were threatened does not appear to be well founded either, judging by the available firsthand accounts.

No, the true reasons for the United States' intervention has to be sought elsewhere. Two may be picked out and they both belong to the category of what is known in the jargon of strategists as "gesticulation".

The invasion of Grenada is first and foremost intended for regional consumption, so to speak. It is a message to Cuba, Nicaragua and the guerrilla fighters in El Salvador that the US will not put up any more with ideological contamination and "export of the revolution". It remains to be seen how the message will be taken. It will probably be seen as one more proof of the impossibility of negotiating with Washington and spell the end of the very modest efforts undertaken by the Contadora group of Central American countries to work out a settlement for the Salvadoran crisis. By exacerbating "anti-Yankee" reactions and nationalist reflexes in Nicaragua, the Grenada operation will not weaken, but rather strengthen, the Sandinist government.

This probably is the analysis British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, made when she advised President Reagan against undertaking his show of force. He did not listen to her any more than he did to Edward Seaga, the prime minister of Jamaica, although he is pro-American.

For Reagan wanted to kill two birds with one stone: he not only exploited the bickering among Grenada's leaders to give a warning to others of Fidel Castro's mind in the region, but thought he could also send a signal to Moscow. All the indications are that it was to "avenge" the Marines killed in Beirut that the American president decided to take the step and carry out plans that had been ready for a long time. But here again, the message is ambiguous as it is tantamount to an admission that the US

can do nothing in Lebanon. As one US senator put it on learning of the Grenada invasion: "You win the wars you can win."

The United States' adversaries will not be the only ones to make the most of the Grenada adventure. And if on top of that, it turns out that the US Marines suffered casualties there as well, isolationist trends will get stronger in the United States, and Reagan will come up against even sharper opposition in the Congress in carrying out his policy in Lebanon. A fine mess, we see, even from his viewpoint. "Power in the service of peace," Reagan promised in his election campaign. Today it would rather seem to be power in the service of the ridiculous, with all the risks of things getting out of hand that this kind of gesticulation entails.

(October 27)



Covering Grenada: guided tours only

by Charles Vanhecke

BRIDGETOWN — When reporters are barred from a war, they end up imagining it. Here in Barbados, the conditions are ideal for letting your imagination work. It is four days now since the Americans began their spree on the island of Grenada and, contrary to their usual practice, they are still barring the majority of reporters from it. There is a country you long to discover, all you want is just to cross the 250 kilometres of sea and land on that "spice island" where 5,000 Marines and Rangers are reviving, against a blazingly colourful background, what used to be known as "gunboat politics".

And yet, one is forced to spend one's days in an ugly concrete hall — an improvised press room in an airport building from which one can see Hercules C-150 cargo planes swallowing up helicopters with their rotor blades folded back and columns of sleepy-eyed soldiers come with their gear from the United States. This is in fact where you might strike lucky — see your name on the list of the next group of reporters, fitted out with bullet-proof vests and under escort, who will be authorised to verify on the spot how Ronald Reagan's special envoys are establishing peace and democracy in the midst of bombs and rockets.

Three or four times a day an officer in a pale blue uniform — a tiny moustache and a nervous look behind the glasses — comes out of an office, out of bounds to the press, to hold his briefing. Right away there is a mad scramble among the tables and iron chairs with paper cups of

Coca Cola knocked to the floor. Cameramen with earphones clamped and thrusting forward microphones zero in on someone who has got up on a table to announce that only American reporters will be taken on the next flight to the war zone.

It is true, of course, this is an American war. "And what about Canada? What about Canada?" roars an angry voice which pursues the officer who rapidly disappears so as to avoid the insults and jeers. The Canadians, those other Americans, have been forgotten. An exception is made in favour of Europe: the BBC is allowed in. A French Canadian sniggered: "They don't want us, because our country isn't taking part in the invasion." Two West Indian reporters decide to go back on board. For them, Grenada is a neighbour and they feel quite concerned.

Someone who has covered Vietnam recalls: "In those days you got everything you wanted with the Americans." But wars have changed — or at least in the way they are reported — since the British impounded news concerning the Falklands. At any rate that is how this former Saigon veteran argues. Since then, there has been the Chad war, another example of news being put behind bars. On the other side, nothing has changed. There, reporters have always been discouraged.

The Japanese arrive: business suits, ties and quite clearly fresh from another world. They stand out rather amid the mass of badly shaved war correspondents in blue jeans. This is a tight little world of

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Socialist activists wait on the sidelines

by Jean-Yves Lhomeau

WHAT purpose does a dominant party serve under the Fifth Republic? That is the question that the Socialists have been asking themselves and trying to answer. They are adapting their deeds to the answers and tell themselves that, when all's said and done, they have not really come up to their own expectations.

Every political party has two goals — to win power and share in the exercise of power. Once the first goal has been reached, how do the Socialists see the other? To tell the truth, we know above all what they do not want to be. The history of the Fifth Republic has offered them two ugly images — that of the "bootlick" party fawning on the executive and having no militant function other than sticking up posters; and that of the "UDR state." The history of the

Fourth Republic has left them with the souvenir of a battered, but still disturbing, bogey — a party system which discredited itself by depreciating the state. The answers to their questions could not be found in these rejected examples, any more than in the letter of a constitution that is highly oblique in this area, since it sets out that "parties and political groups work towards the expression of universal suffrage". That's all. They could find the answers only in themselves, in their militant traditions and by taking into consideration institutions that are "rough, cumbersome and even tiring." They do exist. President Mitterrand fought them for a long time, but he is

now utilising them as best as possible for his own interests. As Socialist Party First Secretary, Lionel Jospin, observed, "short of changing it, you've got to live with it."

We know that the Socialists want to continue living in a party whose democratic operation which is unique in France, guarantees free public discussion. They rightly hope that decisions taken in congresses are accepted by all militants, including Socialists backbenchers and members of the government.

They obviously respect the wider legitimacy of their representatives elected by universal suffrage. For them, there is no question of giving up their freedom to offer criticism

and make proposals, although the requirements of the exercise of power have to be taken into consideration. They are prepared to be a channel for governmental action, provided such action suits them. And they are willing to pass on to the top what they bear around themselves, on condition they do not feel they are talking to the deaf.

In the first few months following the Socialist victory in the spring of 1981, these militants stood around looking helpless, for they had nothing else to do but watch the deputies and the government implement the programme on which they have been elected — nationalisations, retirement at 60, a fifth week of paid holidays, a higher legal minimum wage and so on. They

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TURNER AT THE GRAND PALAIS

Intoxication of the sublime

by André Fermigier

"PICTURES of nothing, and very like." That is how in 1814 a British essayist (William Hazlitt) described Turner's landscapes and that is how those for whom Turner's paintings heralded the advent of abstraction and pure painting would like them to be seen today.

Such an interpretation makes no more sense where Turner is concerned than it does in connection with Manet and Cézanne, who were also its beneficiaries or victims. But it could explain the interest that has sprung up in the past few decades in the artist who painted "The Decline of the Carthaginian Empire" (1817), "The Battle of Trafalgar seen from the Mizen Starboard Shrouds of the Victory" and the favourite haunts of romantic Europe.

The new interest in Turner is quite obvious in Britain where his work has been the subject of learned studies and where impressive ceremonies marked the bicentenary of his birth. There is just as much interest in him in France where he has very nearly again found the level of favour he enjoyed at the end of the 19th century following the lead set by Edmond de Goncourt, Gustave Moreau and Proust who more or less modelled his Elstir on him. Turner

was the star of the exhibition of British romantic painting put on in 1972 at the Petit Palais. In 1981, the Centre Culturel du Marais mounted an exhibition of most of his sketches and watercolours inspired by his journeys in France ("Turner's Annual Tour — Wanderings by the Loire and the Seine").

Now comes this exhibition at the Grand Palais which, notwithstanding the absence of a few bulky works not easy to transport, tries to encompass the whole course of the artist's life in its varied and plethoric output and its highly complex character, torn between attachment to a revered and excessively sanctified tradition, if one may say so, and a sort of instinctive, loyal and ingenuously devastating modernity, of which there was no equivalent in the first half of the last century, except perhaps in the work of Corot, but minus the devastation.

Turner, the man, was stocky, heavily built, tenacious, indefatigable and fairly lacking in charm, if Delacroix is to be believed. And Delacroix, it must be said, was not exactly an epitome of kindness. He noted in his "Diary": "He struck me as being commonplace. He looked like an English farmer — rather

uncouth, black suit, heavy shoes, cold hard features." Heavy shoes notwithstanding, he was a good craftsman who managed to charm such eminent snobs of his day as (the art critic) John Ruskin and (the wealthy writer and eccentric) William Beckford.

Born to a small working-class London family (his father was a barber and his maternal grandfather a butcher), Turner was not without some sort of improvised and fragmentary culture. He read Livy, the English poets, wrote poems himself ("Fallacies of Hope") which even his most adulatory biographers say are ghastly, and held that "good paintings cannot be produced with-

out some help from poetry".

As for his artistic education, it was exemplary. It was conducted with the methodical single-mindedness and silent dedication of a novice and seminarist destined for the highest responsibilities in his vocation. He exhibited for the first time in 1790 at the Royal Academy and continued to do so regularly every year (except for one small break) all his life, in spite of opening his own gallery in 1804. Elected member of the Royal Academy in 1802, then made professor of perspective, he became towards the end of his life the vice-president of an institution which to him was quite clearly the centre of the universe and whose existence he alone justified. Nobody did better than Turner to fulfil Sir Joshua Reynolds's hopes when he founded the Royal Academy to provide Britain with a body of national painting that could equal the great tradition of European painting.

His master? His examples? Poussin, Richard Wilson, Titian, from time to time Rembrandt (see "Jessica" and the astonishing watercolour "Transept of Ewenny Priory, Glamorganshire"). Above all, there were Claude and Watteau from whom, he told a friend, he had "learned more than from any other painter". However, Watteau does not seem to have been too good an influence judging by his "As You Like It" which makes you think of the "heavy shoes" rather than the supreme ease of Valenciennes' most distinguished citizen.

On the other hand, apart from a few youthful mistakes that always result from premature ambitions ("The Deluge"), Claude's example is perfectly interpreted and the manner of the historic landscape raised to its highest level in "Festival upon the Opening of the Vintage at Macon", with its big trees, its play of light and composition in the form of a wreath open at the centre. The women grape-pickers seen dancing in the foreground are nymphs, however, and it would take a brave man to spot Macon or the people of Macon in surroundings that call to mind Richmond Hill.

So, why Macon? The reason is that Turner went through the district in 1802 when the Treaty of Amiens enabled him to go to the continent for the first time. And he kept returning there, covering the Channel coast, the "Rivers of France", Belgium, Holland, the Rhine valley, Switzerland and Italy, drawing up as it were an inventory of the European landscape in all its moods — charming and poetically Vergilian sometimes, but more often rough and violent in its epic and tragic dimensions.

So much so that you could speak of the "intoxication of the sublime" in this case, and it is quite true that Turner's imagination never revelled so much as in the sight of violent nature (avalanches, breakers, sinking ships) or in evoking the decline of empires.

Turner sometimes gives a rather ludicrous twist to a genre scene as in his 1803 oil with the title: "The

Unpaid Bill, or the Doctor reproving his Son's Prodigality". But he can also evoke with a great deal of freshness and simplicity some of the aspects of country life ("The Wolverhampton Market", "The Blacksmith's Shop", "Returning from the Hunt") and exhibit the most exquisite fineness as when he takes us into the drawing room of Farnley Hall.

We come across his poetry of the imponderable and the unperceived, this quintessence of romantic elegance again in the views of the English countryside ("Fonthill Abbey", "Gloucester Cathedral"), in some of the Italian watercolours, and especially in all of the paintings he did at Petworth, the castle of his friend and protector Lord Egremont, in Sussex, where he used to go frequently towards the end of the 1820s.

The subjects are very simple — a room, a corner of the castle grounds, two people in a drawing room. You cannot imagine anything more naturally mysterious, with a romantic charm which in fact really reminds you of Watteau as well as the atmosphere of Shakespeare's comedies. In one 1828 canvas, close to the Petworth cycle, "The Concert", the shapes seem about to disappear into a reddish gilded mist ("molten gold in liquefying purple" noted Goncourt with his usual simplicity) out of which emerge only the dress and the long neck of the young woman seated at the piano.

This liquefaction of shapes which first appeared in some of his seascapes ("Calais Pier, with French Poissards Preparing for Sea: an English Packet Arriving") and in the sketches ("Lake of Nemi") and to which, moreover, we do not know what value to attach, became the most abiding feature of Turner's vision in his final years. "Rain, Steam and Speed: the Great Western Railway", the admirable "Peace: burial at sea" and the series of "Storms" are in fact almost detached from reality and give the impression of a sort of pantheism of anguish, agony and dizziness, which shows just how rash it could be to establish, as is too often done, a parallel between Turner's art and impressionist awareness.

If we must find heirs for our hero, then we have to look among the symbolists, who did not get out of his work its most convincing aspects of emotional and painterly integrity. Intoxication of the sublime, I said earlier: it is quite possible that the sublime went to his head a bit. When you go through the exhibition the other way round and gaze at the Bonneville landscapes, the wonderful luminosity of "The Fifth Plague of Egypt" or the 1799 canvas where he already noted "Kilgaran Castle on the Twyvey, hazy sunrise, previous to a sultry day", you tell yourself that it is perhaps what he did best.

(The Turner exhibition opened at the Grand Palais on October 15 and will go on until January 24, 1984.)



Liquefaction of shapes: Turner's 'Dort Packet Boat'



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SUDAN'S PRESIDENT JAAFAR NEMEIRY

Surrounded by advisers who may not advise

KHARTOUM — There is no getting away from President Jaafar Nemeiry: official portraits of him look down from the walls of offices in government buildings, hotel lobbies, and even the smallest cafes in Khartoum. The only two daily newspapers published in Sudan, *Al-Ayam* and *Al-Sahafa*, devote most of their front pages to statements and decrees by the "leader-president", usually hammering them home with banner headlines. Radio and television newscasters automatically lead their bulletins with detailed accounts of the president's every movement, whether important or not.

The results of last April's presidential elections, when Nemeiry was returned for a third six-year term with 99.6 per cent of votes cast, hardly came as a surprise, as no one had ventured to stand against the "nation's only candidate". As a result of years of successive purges and reshuffles, President Nemeiry has created a vacuum around himself. He is head of state, leader of the government, president of Sudan's only legal political party, the Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU), commander-in-chief of the armed forces — and president of the official Sudanese news agency, SUNA.

He has built up an entourage of yesmen who never take any decision without first asking him for his opinion. The Sudanese, who have retained their sense of humour despite the grimness of their daily lives, sum up the situation as follows: "Our president is surrounded by advisers who are well advised not to give any advice."

Everyone I spoke to in Sudan, even those in official positions, concurred on one point: Nemeiry is allergic to power-sharing and intolerant of criticism. He is genuinely convinced that he is right, and never changes course once he has come to a decision, even if it subsequently looks disastrous. The moment anyone around him assumes any political importance, he is immediately either demoted, exiled abroad, sent back to his native province, or kicked upstairs. This explains the amazingly long succession of vice-presidents of the republic that have come and gone during Nemeiry's 14-year reign.

Nemeiry's attempt at national reconciliation with the opposition in 1977 came to nothing. Sadik el Mahdi, head of the Umma Party and spiritual leader of the powerful Muslim Ansar sect, whom I met before his arrest on September 25, had lost all his illusions that a dialogue with the regime was possible. He expressed particular bitterness about Nemeiry's "personal, autocratic methods," which, he claimed, have prevented the possibility of any reasonable discussion.

He was obviously referring to the case of the magistrates whom Nemeiry dismissed, in a fit of rage, in early June — a case that rapidly blew up into the biggest scandal of the year, because the whole Sudanese legal system was paralysed for almost three months afterwards.

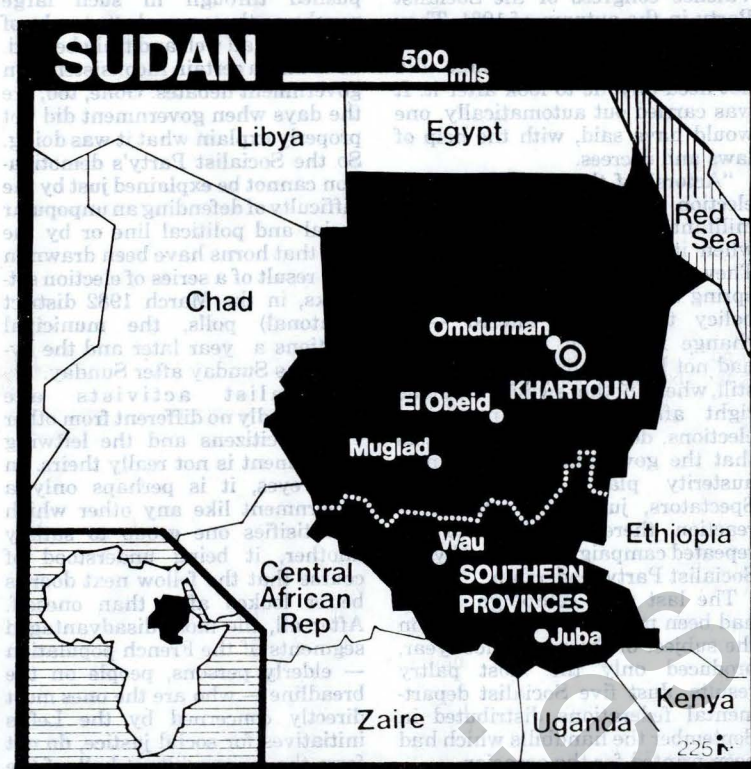
It is hard to say whether the president was settling a score with the Sudanese magistrates, who up to then had shown great unwillingness to allow themselves to be pressurised by him, or whether he simply wanted to extend his authority to one of the few constituent bodies not yet controlled by him, and thus abolish the independence of the judiciary. The fact remains that, at the official opening of a new provincial appeal court, Nemeiry shocked public opinion by describing magistrates as "corrupt", "idle" and "drunken", and pledging to put their house in order. Next day, about 40 magistrates, including all those whose union activities were well-known, were removed from office.

The completely tame press, incredibly, failed to report the incident, which succeeded in mobilising the whole of Sudan's silent majority against the president. Most associations of lawyers, teachers and students criticised Nemeiry's behaviour and expressed solidarity with the magistrates, all of whom, in successive waves, handed in their resignation.

Hassan el Turabi, head of the Muslim Brotherhood in Sudan, who was recently "promoted" to the position of legal adviser to the president after spending four years as public prosecutor in charge of judicial reform, told me he was not consulted about "that most unfortunate affair", adding with a smile that "the president's advisers receive more advice than they give".

Turabi likes meeting foreign journalists and is not afraid to speak out against the regime's less wholesome aspects. A year ago, he caused something of a sensation in the West — though his remarks were not reproduced in the Sudanese press — when he stated that Nemeiry had "weakened all Sudan's institutions", that the SSU existed "only on paper", that freedom had been abolished "in a country where people keep trotting out the same slogans without really believing in them", that "a yawning gulf separated the people from the government", and that the possibility of a military coup by "the Sudanese equivalent of Jerry Rawlings or Samuel Doe" (now presidents of Ghana and Liberia respectively) could not be entirely ruled out.

Strangely, Nemeiry took no action against his unruly public prosecutor, whereas in the past he had sacked people for far less serious offences. Turabi has not recanted and seems blithely unconcerned about possible



More and more students at Khartoum University are wearing Islamic dress. The teaching of Islam is no longer the exclusive province of Omdurman Islamic University: it is now part of Khartoum University's curriculum. With the government's blessing, members of the Muslim Brotherhood have just been elected as leaders of the students' union for the 11th year in succession.

However, opposition groups and parties, whose activities are forbidden in the country at large, are allowed to exist within the university by virtue of an ancient democratic

ranks during its subsequent spell underground.

The arrest, about two years ago, of one of its main leaders and most able organisers, Tigani el Tayeb (who was reported by the Khartoum government to have been released at the end of September), has not stopped the party gradually gaining ground among workers and the intelligentsia. Its secretary general, Ibrahim Nogud, who is believed to be still in Khartoum, is an intellectual respected even by members of the rightwing nationalist opposition.

In its roneed monthly bulletin,

Jean Gueyras begins a two-part report

retribution, though his recent "promotion" to the largely honorary position of presidential adviser has been seen by some as the beginning of a fall from grace.

"One day I may no longer occupy an office in this government building," he told me. "But if that happens it won't change the relationship between the Muslim Brotherhood and the regime. We have decided to collaborate with the government in the hope of reforming the system from within. We oppose any bid to destabilise the country, because it would lead to anarchy and chaos. That's why we help to defend the regime whenever it is threatened. The president knows that. As long as we stand by him, there will be no real plot against the government. Nothing can be done in Sudan without the Muslim Brotherhood."

In fact, the Brotherhood seems divided over its policy of "conditional support" for the regime. Turabi's barbs should perhaps, then, be interpreted as a ploy to calm down the rank and file of Islamist militants, most of whom are thought to be deeply hostile to the regime. In any case, discipline is rock solid: members of the Brotherhood — either refused to join or actively opposed the student demonstrations which threatened Sudan's precarious political equilibrium twice in 1982.

In return for its support, the Brotherhood would seem to have had some success in "Islamising" Sudan: on September 29, Nemeiry introduced new Islamic legislation based on the principles of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth". Punishment provided for by Islamic law (the *sharia*) — lashing for the consumption of alcohol, amputation of the right hand for theft, stoning to death for adultery, and decapitation for murder — is henceforth applicable.

tradition. Communists, Nasserites, Mahdists, Iraq B'athists and other opponents take full advantage of this licence to make open and often swingeing attacks on government policy.

At several public meetings organised on the campus to discuss the sacking of the magistrates, Nemeiry's name was booed every time it was mentioned, despite strenuous opposition from Islamic students, who always try to restrict student debates to university issues alone.

The university acts both as an outlet for students, who enjoy civil liberties denied their fellow citizens in the rest of the country, and as a useful source of information for the many plainclothes policemen that hang around the campus. But any opposition student, on leaving the university precincts, immediately becomes subject to the state security laws, which allow the government to carry out arbitrary arrests without going through the courts.

The Ansar leader Sadik el Mahdi claimed to me — before his arrest — that Sudan enjoyed a degree of freedom not always found in other African countries, though he did also note that the number of opponents of the regime arbitrarily arrested had risen sharply over the previous six months. According to him, there are "several hundred" people in prison without trial in Sudan. Turabi claims there are "no more than 200". But the figure of 500 given by reliable opposition sources would seem to be closer to the truth.

At least three-quarters of them are communists, most of whom have been held without trial for at least four years. The Communist Party, which lost most of its leaders during the crackdown that followed the attempted coup by Hachem el Atta in July 1971, gradually re-formed its

Al-Maydan, the Communist Party shows that it has learned a lesson from the past: it opposes military methods to overthrow the regime, arguing that it is only by taking "patient steps" to guarantee the unity of the opposition's various elements that there will be any hope of bringing about a change of regime. This now seems to be a somewhat distant prospect, in view of the effectiveness of repressive action by the Sudanese security forces (which were recently revamped by the Americans) and the rifts in a far from homogeneous opposition.

The threat of a military coup has exercised Nemeiry's mind ever since his relationship with the army turned sour in January 1982, after he dismissed the army chief-of-staff, Abdul Magid Hamid Khalil, and 22 high-ranking officers. Nemeiry had begun to fear Khalil, an officer who had made his way up through the ranks, was close to the Muslim Brotherhood and the Mahdists, and, what is more, held the key posts of first vice-president of the republic and secretary general of the SSU on top of his military office. He reportedly refused to open fire on students who were demonstrating against the increase in sugar prices imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

But whether he had become, as some have claimed, a rallying point for the opposition is quite another matter. What is certain is that Khalil and his colleagues had voiced strong criticism, at SSU meetings, of "corruption" in circles close to the president and of the "autocratic style" of Nemeiry's leadership. It is even said that some of the officers in the "Khalil group" had toyed with the idea of forcing Nemeiry to resign at a full meeting of the party in January 1982.

Ever since then, the president has

been wary of the military. He has abolished the post of army chief-of-staff and split responsibility between three generals.

But President Nemeiry is capable of using the carrot as well as the stick when bringing the army to heel. Over the last few months, there has been a quite unprecedented spate of promotions to the rank of lieutenant-general. Similarly, army officers now take an active part in the economic life of the nation, heading cooperatives set up recently to complement private sector firms.

Now that he has warded off, for the time being at least, the threat of a military coup, Nemeiry has the opposition in his sights, even though the latter is patently neither able nor willing to seize power in a country now on the brink of bankruptcy and civil war.

Sudan's problems begin with its capital, Khartoum. While its population has risen seven times over the last 15 years, to top the two million mark, the city's infrastructure has scarcely been improved at all. Nearly all the streets are unsurfaced and littered with pot-holes. During the dry season, over-extended sewers rupture, flooding the streets and turning them into mosquito-infested quagmires. Manholes whose covers are missing lie in wait for the unwary pedestrian. In the absence of any public transport system, there is a profusion of "taxis", minibuses and other vehicles with specially reinforced chassis designed to take as many passengers as possible.

Every day, these not very road-worthy vehicles bring in thousands of people from the suburbs to work — or desperately seek work — in the capital. The jobless, who are often refugees from the South or from neighbouring countries, are officially referred to as "vagrants". They are often rounded up by the police, given a good hiding, and packed off back to where they came from. In September 1981, the government claimed that 3,000 such "vagrants" belonged to "Colonel Gadhafi's Pan-African League" and had been sent to Sudan to cause "disorder and anarchy".

Gadhafi, after helping Nemeiry put down the communist rebellion in 1971, subsequently became Nemeiry's sworn enemy and is often used as a scapegoat to explain away most of the country's ills. He has, it is true, tried to destabilise Sudan on more than one occasion; but as Turabi explained to me, he is a convenient bogeyman for the regime whenever it needs to ask for American aid.

Sudan has been forced to turn to the IMF, which has imposed economic reforms based on highly restrictive budgetary and financial policies. Since then, according to a senior international official, Nemeiry has been caught in a pincer movement between the unbending IMF and World Bank experts and the desire of his own people for better living conditions. As a result, his popularity in the country has taken a nose-dive.

In January and November of 1982, the government was shaken to its foundations by riots when subsidies for oil and sugar were abolished at the behest of the IMF. Since then, thanks to promises of help from Western and Arab states and international organisations (to the tune of \$700 million for 1983), the country has been able to breathe again. Sudan's foreign debt has been rescheduled for the fifth time since 1978. Although total interest due amounts to about \$1,300 million the country is being allowed to pay back a mere \$50 million this year. But, according to one senior Western diplomat, even that sum will prove beyond its means.

(October 4, 5. To be continued)

Guided tours only to Grenada

Continued from page 11

sharp-eyed, experience-hardened veterans who have seen everything, heard everything and smelled everything: the acrid odour of Beirut and the just as noisome reek of military expeditions in tropical countries which start off like charter holidays.

So, with fighting to cover on the spot, you interview people who have seen it. One man with a Christ-like beard had joined the group of reporters from the beginning. He came from "over there" where he has a house and a yacht. Several times he offered his services to the Americans: he knows Grenada like the back of his hand, and could help them look for weapons as well as militiamen. But he was turned down. He is surprised and says the Americans have never managed to get the backing of local people: "I'm not surprised they lost Vietnam."

A couple with property in Grenada are waiting to go back home. They were surprised by the news of the invasion when they were holidaying abroad. They had not suffered too much under Maurice Bishop: he had just confiscated one farm, but left them an *urbanizacion* (site). His wife says it was better to go along with the government. Those who did not ended up in prison. She thinks there were about 100 political prisoners at the time, which is a sizable proportion for a country of 100,000 inhabitants.

(October 30/31)

Socialist activists wait on the sidelines

Continued from page 11

were the "guardians of the programme," as Jospin put it at the Valence congress of the Socialist Party in the autumn of 1981. They had nothing to do, because the above-mentioned programme did not need anyone to look after it. It was carried out automatically, one would have said, with the help of laws and decrees.

"Actors" of the change until the election victory, the Socialist militants have been spectators when it comes to carrying it out. They were spectators, too, in the spring of 1982, when the economic policy thrust was altered — a change for which public opinion had not been prepared. Spectators, still, when another switch was made right after the 1983 municipal elections, despite previous protests that the government had no new austerity plan up its sleeve. Spectators, judging by the little reaction there has been to the repeated campaigns mounted by the Socialist Party leadership.

The last such campaign, which had been prepared back in June on the subject of the new school year, produced only the most paltry results. Just five Socialist departmental federations distributed in September the handbills which had been printed for the occasion.

The Socialists did not want to be "bootlicks" and they certainly have not become that. Neither "bootlicks" nor dissidents. Just dumb, if we are to believe Finance Minister Jacques Delors who the other weekend gave the Socialist Party rank-and-file a right proper tongue-lashing at the Hauts-de-Seine federal congress. What, he asked them, were the Socialists so ashamed of the Left's record that they did not dare open their mouths to call attention to their existence?

Dumb and dispirited, according to the minister.

Yet the days when reforms were pushed through in such large numbers that you lost track of things are all well and truly behind. So is also a certain inconsistency in government debates. Gone, too, are the days when government did not properly explain what it was doing. So the Socialist Party's demotivation cannot be explained just by the difficulty of defending an unpopular social and political line or by the fact that horns have been drawn in as a result of a series of election setbacks, in the March 1982 district (cantonal) polls, the municipal elections a year later and the by-elections Sunday after Sunday.

Socialist activists are undoubtedly no different from other French citizens and the leftwing government is not really theirs. In their eyes, it is perhaps only a government like any other which dissatisfies one group to satisfy another, it being understood of course that the fellow next door is better looked after than oneself. After all, the most disadvantaged segments of the French population — elderly persons, people on the breadline — who are the ones most directly concerned by the Left's initiatives for social justice, do not form the great militant bulk of the Socialist Party. The defence of sectoral interests is also a concern of the Socialists.

If this government is not theirs, it is perhaps also because it seems as remote to them as any other and they do not feel they are involved in its decisions. But they are, indirectly, through the party leadership. Without any doubt, never since the Fifth Republic was inaugurated has a political party been so closely associated with the French government. That is what Prime Minister

Pierre Mauroy has said. And he is right. Though you wouldn't say so, the Socialist Party is in the process of successfully grafting itself on the Fifth Republic and thereby creating an original system of relations between a party and the executive in France. Jospin breakfasts at the Elysee every Tuesday morning with the President and the prime minister. Every Tuesday evening he and the party floor leader, Pierre Joxe, meet Mauroy at the Matignon. They lunch at the Elysee every Wednesday.

It is an efficient method. It enables prior agreement to be reached without making too many waves in public on the budget's taxation provisions and the financing of the Social Security deficit, to confine ourselves to recent days. Even if it occasionally results in rough and ready settlements — this was the case with Education Minister Alain Savary's plan on relations between private and state education — it averts overly noisy conflicts.

The problem is that the Socialist Party leadership is forced to put efficiency over publicity. It is hard to see Jospin coming on television to announce triumphantly that he had managed to get the exceptional tax reduced by one percentage point. That is not the way the Socialists do things. What a gift he would be giving the Opposition just when Jacques Chirac is criticising what he calls the "pressure" that the parties in the ruling Majority in particular, the executive office of the Socialist Party, is putting on the government.

So the Socialist leaders have managed to reconcile what Jospin calls the "two logical courses" — that of a democratic party and that of the institutions — which may not be "reasonably carried to their

ends" because, in the first case, "it would lead to an unbearable captation of the state" and in the second because "a party cannot be repudiated without crippling it." There is, reminds the Socialist Party's first secretary, between the two an area "for discussion, tension, contradiction, and arrangements which is called the practice of democracy."

But at this level of relations with the government, the "field for discussion" is occupied only by a few leaders. While the Fifth Republic's institutions expose the government to the danger of becoming isolated in the fortress of power, when a majority party like the Socialist Party takes them into consideration and tries to find its place there, it also runs the risk of its leadership taking a course which ends up in the solitary exercise of power. On either side of the "line" defined by a Socialist congress, there is a vast "margin for discussion" for a first secretary who is said to be "close to the sun", that is, close to Mitterrand and the supreme power.

It is up to the men to prevent this "practice of democracy" becoming a mere sum total of "solitary exercises" in the power centres the Socialists are now occupying. If that happened, the "people of the Left", as it was said in 1981, will remain spectators for a long time to come.

(October 26)

Le Monde

Directeur: Andre Laurens
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The Washington Post

'Are We Next?', Say Nicaraguans

By Robert J. McCartney

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The U.S.-led invasion of Grenada has intensified fears among the revolutionary leaders of Nicaragua and the guerrillas of El Salvador that they may be the next victims of U.S. military intervention in the Americas, according to officials of both groups and diplomats.

There also is a feeling among some diplomats, however, that the tough Grenadan and Cuban resistance on the Caribbean island may make the Reagan administration think twice before moving against a stronger foe elsewhere in the region.

Nicaragua is worried about the recent revival of a Central American Defense Council that could ask for U.S. action against Managua, just as six eastern Caribbean nations are said to have requested it against Grenada. "Is the immediate invasion of El Salvador and Nicaragua already on the way?" Nicaragua's Council of State, or legislature, asked rhetorically in its statement on the Grenadan invasion.

The Salvadoran rebels, who have offices here, said they were convinced that the United States would launch air strikes against their bases in northern El Salvador if they appeared to be defeating the army of the U.S.-backed government there. They called the Grenada invasion "another step, the most serious of all so far," in the U.S. administration's "escalating intervention" in the region.

The Nicaraguan government and El Salvador's guerrillas — the Reagan administration's two biggest headaches in Central America — frequently have charged that Washington was planning to send Marines to quash their revolutions. These accusations have formed part of a propaganda effort aimed at stirring up nationalist opposition to the United States.

Nicaragua's leaders "sincerely do believe that the history of their relations points toward intervention," a diplomat here said, adding that the Grenada invasion had compounded this fear. "Up to now they've been talking history. Now they've got one right now, and in the neighborhood."

Paradoxically, though, several diplomats said that the unexpected stiff defense in Grenada to what some see as Washington's "dress rehearsal" might discourage the United States from marching into other countries.

U.S. Marines would face much stronger resistance in Nicaragua — with nearly 30 times the population of Grenada — than on the Caribbean island, according to Nicaraguan and foreign military analysts. The Nicaraguan government has been passing out high-quality automatic rifles to thousands of militiamen and militawomen, in part because of the perceived danger of a U.S. intervention.

"If the gringos come, we'll need every man with a weapon in his hand," Manuel Salvatierra, the army's commander in chief in northern Nicaragua, said.

Likewise, the Salvadoran rebels already have several years' combat experience and bases in mountainous areas of northern El Salvador that are ideal for defense by guerrillas. Like the Nicaraguans, Grena-

dans and Cubans, the rebels are motivated by a militant ideology that apparently contributes to high troop morale.

The Reagan administration has said repeatedly that it has no plans to send combat troops to El Salvador or Nicaragua, although the president declined to rule out their use in El Salvador. So far the administration has limited itself to funding Nicaraguan anti-government guerrillas, sending thousands of combat troops to Honduras for long-term maneuvers and supporting the Salvadoran army.

There are at least two plausible developments, however, that could lead to direct U.S. military action in Central America, diplomats and other observers said. One is a war between Nicaragua and one of its neighbors, Honduras or Costa Rica, and the other is the prospect of a Salvadoran guerrilla victory.

Counterrevolutionary guerrilla activity already has led to cross-border shooting incidents between Nicaragua and its neighbors, both of whom have said they would request U.S. military support in case of Nicaraguan attack.

The United States has promoted revival of a Central American defense group that appears aimed at creating a united anti-Nicaragua military front in the region. On Oct. 2, Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador participated in reviving the Central American Defense Council, or Condeca, inactive since 1969. U.S. Gen. Paul Gorman, commander in chief of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama, attended the meeting.

Condeca could play the same role against Nicaragua as the eastern Caribbean states that called for U.S. action against Grenada. Counterrevolutionary guerrilla attacks in Nicaragua also could create an atmosphere of chaos that could lead Washington to defend intervention as necessary to restore order.

Private U.S. citizens here, many of whom are strong supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution, rallied outside the U.S. Embassy last week to warn that they did not feel threatened living in Nicaragua and that Washington should not plan to cite their safety in justifying any intervention here.

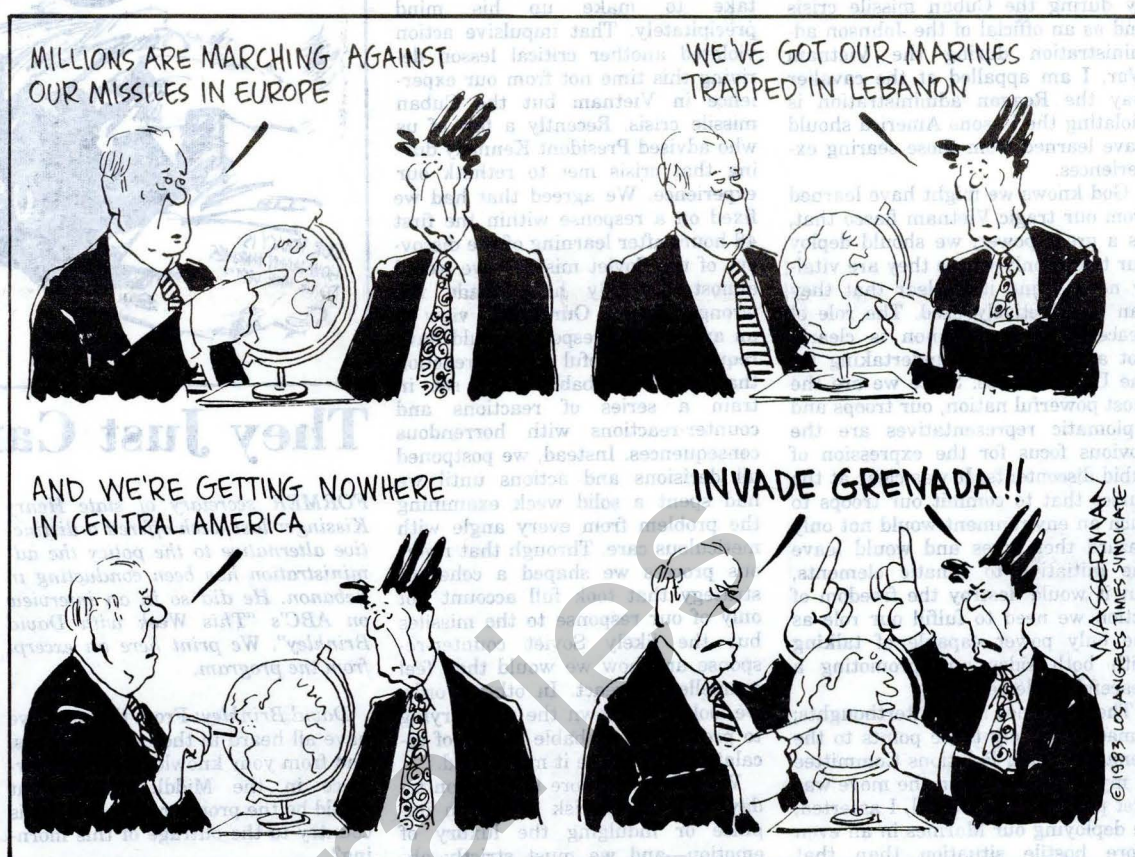
Mr Reagan's Reasons For Invasion of Grenada

THE following is a partial text of President Reagan's televised address concerning Lebanon and Grenada:

"Some two months ago we were shocked by the brutal massacre of 269 men, women and children, more than 60 of them Americans, in the shooting down of a Korean airliner. Now, in these past several days, violence has erupted again, in Lebanon and Grenada.

Many of you are asking: "Why should our young men be dying in Lebanon? Why is Lebanon important to us?"

The answer is straightforward: To help bring peace to Lebanon and stability to the vital Middle East. To that end the multinational force was created to help stabilize the situation in Lebanon.



Were American Lives Really in Danger?

"WHAT is at stake in Grenada," President Reagan said last year, "is not nutmeg. It is U.S. national security." The objectives he cited last week for the invasion of Grenada — protecting American residents, forestalling further chaos and assisting in the restoration of law, order and democracy — are sterling goals; the question is whether U.S. intervention will serve them and other U.S. interests.

In March 1979, Maurice Bishop, an opposition leader on Grenada, overthrew an eccentric prime minister, Eric Gairy. The other nations of the region, all of which have strong and vital democracies, were not completely unhappy to see Mr. Gairy leave, but they feared the example of a violent change of government. And Mr. Reagan later accused Grenada of attempting "to spread the [communist] virus among its neighbors."

But the revolution appears to have inoculated rather than infected the region: almost a dozen elections have been held since the revolution, and moderates have triumphed.

In fact, Mr. Bishop's revolution was a lot less than total; he left the private sector to itself and developed a good relationship with a principal foreign exchange earner on the island — the St. George's Medical School. However, he did not permit any political dissent.

When the United States expressed concern about the possible arrival of Cuban military advisers, Mr. Bishop denounced Washington for interfer-

By Robert Pastor

ence. His denunciations went on for four years, provoking Mr. Reagan to a direct verbal confrontation.

While the Bishop regime unsettled the Commonwealth Caribbean islands, the murder of Mr. Bishop and others in his government horrified them. The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States met in Barbados to condemn the killings and declare a trade embargo against the new regime.

Before a conclusion can be reached on the intervention, some questions need to be asked. Did the OECS in-

dependently request the United States to intervene, or was it pressed by the United States and presented with a fait accompli? The request "for some assistance" came Sunday, while Mr. Reagan had diverted a fleet toward Grenada the previous Thursday — even before the Caribbean leaders met. Did the OECS turn to Britain or the Commonwealth for support? If so, why was it rejected?

Second, did the U.S. intervention protect the lives of Americans or endanger them? Apparently eager to find a pretext for intervention, the U.S. ambassador to Barbados, Milan Bish, called Charles Modica, the chancellor of St. George's Medical School, to implore him to say that U.S. students were in danger. Mr. Modica knew that was not the case and refused to say it was.

In fact, Sunday night, when Secretary of State George Shultz said that Mr. Reagan was so distraught by the threat to the Americans that he made a tentative decision to intervene, the parents of more than 500 students, meeting in New York, *Continued on page 17*

Now I know another part of the world is very much on your minds, a place much closer to our shores: Grenada.

There were about 1,000 of our citizens there, 800 of them students in St. George's Medical School. Concerned that they be harmed or held as hostages, I ordered a flotilla of ships, then on its way to Lebanon with marines — part of our regular rotation programme — to circle south on a course that would put them near Grenada in case there should be a need to evacuate our people.

Last weekend, I was told that six members of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States, joined by Jamaica and Barbados, had sent an urgent request that we join them in a military operation to restore order and democracy to Grenada. They were proposing this action under the

terms of a treaty, a mutual assistance pact that existed among them.

These small, peaceful nations needed our help. The legitimacy of their request, plus my own concern for our citizens, dictated my decision. I believe our government has a responsibility to go to the aid of its citizens if their right to life and liberty is threatened. The nightmare of our hostages in Iran must never be repeated.

We had to assume the several hundred Cubans working on the airport could be military reserves. As it turned out, the number was much larger and they were a military force. Six hundred have been taken prisoner and we have discovered a complete base with weapons and communications equipment which makes it clear a Cuban occupation of the island had been planned. It is

our intention to get our men out as soon as possible.

The events in Lebanon and Grenada, though oceans apart, are closely related. Not only has Moscow assisted and encouraged the violence in both countries, but it provides direct support through a network of surrogates and terrorists. It is no coincidence that when the thugs tried to wrest control over Grenada, there were 30 Soviet advisers and hundreds of Cuban military and paramilitary forces on the island.

At the moment of our landing, we communicated with the governments of Cuba and the Soviet Union and told them we would offer shelter and security to their people on Grenada. Regrettably, Castro ordered his men to fight to the death and some did. The others will be sent to their homelands.

George W. Ball

The Same Mistake All Over Again

AS ONE who served as a member of the Executive Committee (the Ex-Com) that advised President Kennedy during the Cuban missile crisis and as an official of the Johnson administration during the Vietnam War, I am appalled at the cavalier way the Reagan administration is violating the lessons America should have learned from those searing experiences.

God knows we might have learned from our tragic Vietnam fiasco that, as a great power, we should deploy our troops only where they are vitally needed and it is clear that they can be effectively used. The role of peacemaker in Lebanon is clearly not an appropriate undertaking for the United States. Since we are the most powerful nation, our troops and diplomatic representatives are the obvious focus for the expression of rabid discontents. It was clear at the outset that to commit our troops to such an environment would not only hazard their lives and would leave the initiative to lunatic elements, but it would destroy the freedom of action we need to fulfill our role as the only power capable of talking with both sides and promoting a peaceful settlement.

These are not mere afterthoughts; I made precisely those points to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in my testimony when the move was first proposed. We would, I asserted, be deploying our Marines in an even more hostile situation than that faced by the British in Northern Ireland.

Our Vietnam experience also showed another reason for prudence: as a great power, we should avoid putting our troops in an untenable position, since we would then have to pay a political price to extricate them. Yet, as we learned to our sorrow in Vietnam, we should never let the prospect of that cost prevent us from closing out a hopeless situation. By 1968, even earlier, most Johnson administration officials shaping our policy in Vietnam had concluded that we could never achieve our avowed objectives at anything approaching acceptable cost. Yet they were so obsessed with what they deemed to be the political cost of extrication that they rejected any serious effort to find the least expensive formula for withdrawal.

Unhappily, the Nixon administration learned nothing from the Johnson administration experience, for it made the same mistake all over again, continuing the fight for four more years. How much better off would we have been had we worked out a careful plan of withdrawal when we recognized the hopelessness of our objectives! Not only would we have been spared the searing anguish of four more years of war that tore the country apart and wasted the lives of another 20,000 Americans and several thousand Vietnamese, but we would have faced a far lower bill in lost prestige than we finally incurred by letting a false appraisal of the cost overshadow reality. Prestige, after all, is an elusive and evanescent abstraction that consists of many elements; other nations and peoples will respect us more if we demonstrate prudence, good sense and realism than if we appear obstinate and foolhardy.

Today we seem on the verge of committing the same mistake. The president refuses to recognize that a beleaguered handful of our Marines in Lebanon cannot possibly achieve any useful mission. The most they can do is to try to protect themselves as best they can while exposing themselves to more and more losses. In the process their bitter plight will exhibit not America's strength but its impotence.

If, as I believe, the president made

a grave mistake to announce that we were leaving our Marines in Lebanon, he made an equally grave mistake to make up his mind precipitately. That impulsive action violated another critical lesson deriving this time not from our experience in Vietnam but the Cuban missile crisis. Recently a few of us who advised President Kennedy during that crisis met to rethink our experience. We agreed that had we fixed on a response within the first 48 hours after learning of the discovery of the Soviet missiles, we would almost certainly have made the wrong decision. Our initial view of an appropriate response would have required a forceful Soviet reaction that would probably have set in train a series of reactions and counter-reactions with horrendous consequences. Instead, we postponed all decisions and actions until we had spent a solid week examining the problem from every angle with meticulous care. Through that rigorous process we shaped a coherent strategy that took full account not only of our response to the missiles but the likely Soviet counter-response and how we would then feel compelled to react. In other words, we looked far down the road, trying to predict the probable course of escalation and where it might lead.

We dare not ignore that lesson today. We cannot risk acting on impulse or indulging the luxury of emotion—and we must strictly abjure heroic attitudes and macho responses. Before announcing policy at a time of crisis, it is imperative that we carefully examine all the consequences and look far beyond our initial action. Yet on Sunday the administration stated, before it knew more than a small fraction of the facts and before it had consulted fully and carefully with our allies or with Congress, that our country will not consider extrication but will keep our Marines in place. Whatever the president might have decided after careful analysis, reflection and consultation, that hasty action seemed highly disturbing for its implications in future crises. These days the stakes are distressingly high. The president can minimize the costs of prestige if he acts judiciously; but how foolish we shall look if Congress must force the president's hand.

The writer was undersecretary of state from 1961 to 1966.

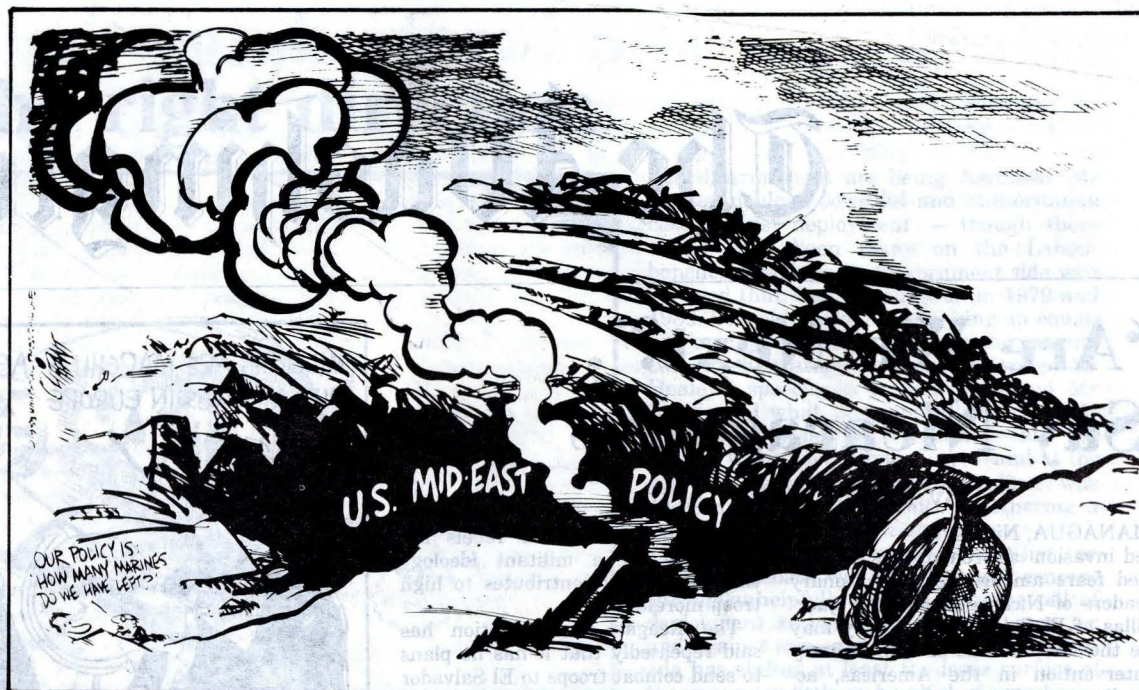
George F. Will

THERE have been even more cease-fires in Lebanon than there have been explanations of the mission of the multinational force in Lebanon. But new explanations are coming even faster than cease-fires.

Last month British Prime Minister Thatcher, who has a small contingent in the multinational force, said the aim of the force is "reconciliation" — "I do not believe there is a civil war. They [the multinational units] are trying to achieve reconciliation between both sides."

"Both"? There are 16 militias, for starters. It is a civil war — civil anarchy — within Syria's war of aggression. "Reconciliation"? The United States Marine Corps is a magnificent mobile force for carrying the fight to an enemy, but those young men from the Bronx and Boise are not suited to "reconciling" religious fanatics speaking strange tongues.

In Vietnam the Marines were supposed to be instruments of "nation building". In Lebanon it seems that the marines' unfulfillable mis-



They Just Can't Sit There

FORMER secretary of state Henry Kissinger last week offered a distinctive alternative to the policy the administration has been conducting in Lebanon. He did so in an interview on ABC's "This Week with David Brinkley". We print here an excerpt from the program.

David Brinkley: From the news we have all heard in the last few hours, and from your knowledge and experience in the Middle East, what would be the proper response for this country to the outrage of this morning?

Kissinger: I think the most fundamental problem is to define what our purposes are in Lebanon, in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf, three areas which are very closely related. I do not think that there is any possible answer in terms of 1,200 or 1,400 Marines, and even less is there any answer in whether you move them from one location in Beirut to another. I think these forces right now don't have a mission. I don't think it is clear what we are trying to achieve in Beirut, or the relationship of that to the plan put forward by President Reagan last year, which I consider a key step forward, or to the whole credibility of the United States in the area. That's the fundamental problem, not whether you can locate Marines that are supposed to bring peace into an area where they're in less danger. That's a contradiction in terms.

George F. Will: One of the objectives of the Reagan foreign policy, a grand theme, has been to project

American force and cure the image that they thought America had of being impotent. How can the United States avoid having another demonstration of impotence and another protracted failure if it is stuck with the mission as recently defined now of restoring peace in a shattered country?

Kissinger: Well, if we can define restoring peace in some way in which we contribute to the balance of power, and to the power of the forces that are moderate and are on our side, then I think we can contribute to peace. But if we are sitting there fairly passively getting shot at while the radical forces are gaining in strength every day, while the government that was put in . . . a year ago, and which is moderate and recognized by us, is gradually weakened, I don't think that we are then contributing.

Will: But why would it be in the interest of Syria to withdraw given that the United States appears to be stuck and in a very disagreeable position.

Kissinger: I don't think Syria will withdraw unless the balance of power within Lebanon changes, and I must point out it is an amazing phenomenon that the Israeli army is sitting 20 kilometers from where Americans are being killed and that there seems to be no coordination between our policies at all.

Will: Is the Israeli army what you're thinking of when you think of changing in a favorable way for the United States the balance of power in Lebanon?

Kissinger: I'm not thinking of the Israeli army, and I . . . was not in favor of sending American forces to Beirut to begin with. I've been saying for months we either have to do more or less; if we're doing it as a solitary American effort, there is no sense having American forces that cannot make a decisive difference to the situation. I would now, in the present circumstances like to make a decisive difference, and I do not favor a withdrawal of American forces in the circumstances of their position. But I also believe that if we continue to sit there passively, if all the other forces that could be on our side are passive, we will see a gradual disintegration of the Lebanese government, and we would have seen it without this outrage today.

This outrage gives us an opportunity to take a new look at the situation, and it should be used for that purpose.

Sam Donaldson: You say you don't favor the withdrawal of American forces under the present circumstances. But I take it you don't favor increasing the number, do you?

Kissinger: If there were a coherent plan in which the balance of forces in Lebanon were to be . . . put into a more favorable position, I would not exclude increasing American forces. It . . . would have to be done in coordination with other friendly forces.

Donaldson: All right. If American forces are increased, what would be their mission and how would you define a new mission?

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George F. Will The Case For Greater U.S. Force in Lebanon

sion has been to avoid casualties — which, as Henry Kissinger says, they could do best back in North Carolina.

A great power's primary objective cannot be to avoid casualties. Its policy must be to minimize the violence involved in the pursuit of vital objectives. If there were 10,000 U.S. forces ashore, authorized to move about, there would be less risk to American lives than there is with an immobile force of 1,300 — a force that last Sunday was literally decimated: reduced by one-tenth.

In fixed position, in numbers irrelevant to any imaginable mission, the U.S. forces are trapped. President Reagan took the oath of office as one hostage crisis was ending. Now he has his own.

As Israeli forces approached Beirut in the summer of 1982, the United States held the upper hand: The PLO was broken, Syria was intimidated and, hence, the Soviet Union, Syria's sustainer, was discredited. But the United States pressured Israel to stop outside Beirut. Having contributed to the breaking of Isra-

el's momentum and will, the United States precipitated the Israeli pull-back. The marines are trapped in a vacuum that the United States helped to make.

The original idea was for the marines to be interposed between PLO, Syrian and Israeli forces as they disengaged. Israel has agreed to withdraw when Syria does, but there never was reason to think that Syria would agree. Syrian nationalism, Syria's deepening dependence on the Soviet Union and Syria's decreasing sense of danger make withdrawal increasingly unlikely.

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger now says that the U.S. "commitment" is "to restore peace to the area". But 1,300 marines obviously can make no military contribution to that, and have no discernible diplomatic relevance.

Mr. Weinberger suggests that Lebanon's army is almost ready to guarantee Lebanon's sovereignty. That assessment conflicts with reports that before Lebanese units can be sent to a particular area, commanders must determine the ethnic

composition of the area, and of the unit. Lebanon's army is irrelevant to the problem of displacing Syrian forces.

The Reagan administration's first misconception concerning the Middle East was that Saudi Arabia could be a pillar of American strategic strength. Imagine the effect on the Saudis as they watch the rise of Iranian power and the inability of the United States to project convincing power for a clear purpose.

The Reagan administration's second misconception born of wishful thinking (and some coolness toward Israel) was that Syria would be spontaneously cooperative — that is, cooperative without coercion. Here is where the strongest force in the region — Israel's — becomes relevant.

A premise of U.S. policy, for decades, has been that Israel is a strategic asset to the United States, with identical objectives. With Israel's economy in crisis and its morale shattered by the worst 15 months in its 35 years, Israel is, for the moment, a diminished asset. But it is

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Kissinger: The problem in Lebanon at this moment is whether the radical forces, those supported or encouraged by the Syrians and the Soviets, will gradually gain such a degree of dominance that the moderate government will atrophy and Lebanon becomes a Syrian province. That is the fundamental issue, and to call something a conference of national reconciliation is just a subterfuge for achieving it.

Therefore, we have two choices. Either we will change that balance and bring about a better balance [between] radicals and moderates, which requires coordination between all the friendly forces, or we will see whether Americans get killed or not, or whether Americans are there or not. A gradual weakening of the moderate forces and progressive increase of the radical forces and a precipitous decline of opposition.

Brinkley: Dr. Kissinger, let me see if I understand you. You say the American forces are sent there and held in a passive role, while the Israeli army nearby remains in a passive role.

Kissinger: You have to remember, David, the American forces were sent there originally in order to separate the Arab and Israeli forces.

Brinkley: Right.

Kissinger: And they were not being shot at as long as they were performing a function that both sides wanted. Then the Israelis withdrew some 20 miles, leaving the Americans facing all the contending forces in Lebanon that have been

fighting a civil war for 10 years and have had, I believe, 58 cease-fires in that period, none of which lasted for more than six months.

Donaldson: But, Dr. Kissinger, I'm fascinated by your answer to my question about what a new mission would be for increased American forces. As I understand your answer, you talked about bringing about a different balance between moderates and radical factions. Do you mean American?

Kissinger: If the mission of the United States forces is to bring about peace, it will not bring it about, they cannot bring about peace by simply sitting there.

Donaldson: Well, they go through and with force of arms prevent fighting? How do they do it?

Kissinger: All I'm saying is that we are forced to face the following choice: if we continue to sit in our present positions, we will continue to suffer casualties, and there will be

a gradual attrition of the government of Lebanon. If we are willing to accept this, then I would feel that sooner or later we ought to withdraw our forces. I don't think they've served a useful purpose.

If we want to bring about a change in the balance of forces there, then we have to see whether other countries that are also interested in this would be willing to run risks, and in that context I would be willing also to increase American forces which would then have to take on some of the radical elements that are shooting at them.

Donaldson: And shoot back?

Kissinger: Certainly.

Will: It sounds almost as though you're suggesting—

Kissinger: I mean, it doesn't make any sense to say American forces are put somewhere simply to defend themselves. They can defend themselves better in Camp Lejeune if that's all they're doing in Beirut.

US Lives In Danger?

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were assured by their children and by the Grenadian government of their safety. The parents sent a telegram to Mr. Reagan informing him of this and asking him "not to move too quickly or to take any precipitous or provocative actions at this time".

Third, was intervention the first option for dealing with the problem, or only considered after all other op-

tions were exhausted? General Hudson Austin, who headed the new military council, not only tried to ensure the safety of the medical school, but he also sought advice on ways to extricate himself from the mess. There are some reports that would suggest the murders of Mr. Bishop and his supporters were not premeditated, that events had overtaken the military council and that they had underestimated the reaction by Grenada's neighbors. Whether such suggestions of reconciliation were a tactical ploy or a genuine effort to find an exit was never apparently explored or tested.

The Grenadian regime was an outrage, but so, too, was the invasion of a small nation by the world's most powerful.

If it is clear that the United States acted in response to a genuine, unprovoked request of the OECS with the support of the Grenadian people, that will mitigate—but not eliminate—the hostile reaction. The U.S. government will still need to answer some hard questions about whether it may have endangered rather than protected American lives and whether it turned to intervention as a first step rather than a last resort. Unless these are answered satisfactorily, the United States should not feel better in Grenada just because Lebanon made us all feel worse.

The writer, a teacher at the University of Maryland School of Public Affairs, was a member of the National Security Council staff during the Carter administration.

Lebanon

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still formidable and could be helpful. Mr. Kissinger states the truth with a directness that should not be exclusively a luxury of persons out of power: The truth is that satisfactory negotiations are impossible until the balance of forces on the ground has shifted in the United States's favor.

Syria is a Soviet client that sees no risk in obduracy. The best development now would be for a local power, Israel, to bomb Syrian artillery positions in the Bekaa Valley. The second best development would be for U.S. aircraft to do that. Something must be done to convince Syria that its army is at risk. What certainly is at risk today is the crux of Ronald Reagan's foreign policy.

The aim of Mr. Reagan's foreign policy is to repair U.S. credibility—to re-establish the material capability and the national will to project force. But the U.S. involvement in Lebanon, as currently configured and explained, promises another protracted demonstration of impotence.

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Poetic Madness or Political Treason?

By Carroll F. Terrell

THE ROOTS OF TREASON: Ezra Pound and the Secrets of St. Elizabeths. By E. Fuller Torrey. McGraw-Hill. 352pp. \$19.95.

IN November of 1945, Ezra Pound was brought from the detention camp in Pisa to Washington under indictment for treason. During December four psychiatrists, representing Pound and the state, testified about his mental condition. Under the leadership of Dr. Winfred Overholser, superintendent of St. Elizabeths Hospital, the four agreed that his mental state would not allow him to cooperate in his own defense. Dr. Overholser did not change his opinion. The last note entered on Pound's record 13 years later is "psychotic disorder, undifferentiated".

As the title suggests, Dr. Torrey's book contains two main theses: First, Ezra Pound worked with energy during the Second World War to help defeat America's armed forces and that if justice had been done he would have been tried and executed for treason; second, justice was prevented by the knowing and deliberate perjury of Dr. Overholser, who browbeat the three other expert witnesses into agreeing with him and committing perjury too. Several things can be said about Dr. Torrey and his book: he seems to believe his story; he has done a lot of reading, looking for evidence to support his theses; and he writes in a lively style. His stated intention is to defend Pound as he says in the preface, "I believe Ezra Pound would want his story told". Dr. Torrey is fatuous indeed if he believes Pound would endorse the story he tells in this book.

Dr. Torrey first states his theses and then goes back through accounts of Pound's life, hunting for anecdote and story to show why he committed treason. These stories are supposed to add up to a single impression: because his country over and over rejected him, Pound, to get even, rejected his country. The evidence includes such things as poor grades at Hamilton College; the inability of professors and others to recognize his genius; the pranks of fellow students who poured water on his bed and threw him into a lilypond; and the refusal of H.D.'s father to approve Pound's engagement to H.D. Dr. Torrey seems unaware that the evidence he amasses to explain the treason would serve better to authenticate Dr. Overholser's diagnosis.

As a thesis writer, Torrey would have been helped by a good editor. Any thesis director would tell a student out to prove some preconceived conviction that his main search must be first for evidence which would disprove it and his main care must be to look with suspicion on all evidence which would seem to support it. He would then tell him that he should

evaluate his sources to distinguish between emotional or prejudiced statements as opposed to fact or considered opinion. Dr. Torrey did not have the advantage of such a director. He overlooked massive evidence in the record which might weaken his case. But he makes much use of unpublished letters, which express the momentary frustrations and irritations of Pound's friends, enemies, and passing acquaintances. For a psychiatrist, Dr. Torrey has a curious ineptitude in distinguishing emotional reactions from considered opinion.

The book has been some time in the making. Parts of it appeared earlier as articles in popular magazines. *Psychology Today* (November 1982) contained the segment meant to document Dr. Overholser's conspiracy and perjury. Professor Hugh Kenner wrote an 8½-page single-spaced letter to the editors, listing dozens of errors of fact or misuses of the documents. The response of the editors of *Psychology Today* was "bewilderment". They couldn't understand a Pound scholar objecting to their defense of Pound. Neither Kenner nor any reputable Pound scholar would think it pertinent to defend Pound any more than a Dante scholar would think it necessary to defend Dante. Kenner's concern was limited to a desire to keep errors and falsehood out of the record. Another part appeared as an article entitled "Party in the Madhouse" in *Esquire* (August 1983). This unhappy piece suggested, as does the book, that Pound's 13-year stay at St. Elizabeths was one continuous party, pointed up with cocktail parties and banquets including caviar. It is true that on one occasion the year before he left someone brought in caviar for a Christmas celebration. It is also true that the St. E's staff avoided seeing that wine was occasionally sneaked in and consumed by Pound's guests. It is not true that the word "party" in any way describes his whole internment.

But Torrey writes in a sprightly fast-moving style which can be a relief from the ponderous prose of academicians less likely to be covering gossip and scandal even though to some readers it may be fun. Torrey has a lot of fun with what he looks upon as Pound's weird sexual theories. Yet it seems strange for a psychiatrist in 1983 to prefer the sexual repression fostered by some 1910 religious sects and to condemn Pound's preference for the ideas in Remy de Gourmont's *Natural Philosophy of Love*.

But he has even more fun with what he conceives to be Pound's religion. Except for his tone of derision, he may be excused for errors of judgment here: Others, knowing only part of the record, have made similar ones. The important points about Pound's religion can be stated quite simply: There are no false gods; there are only false ideas about gods. Human history (from the earliest times) con-

tains evidence of the divine spirit seeking expression through human understanding. One of the great tragedies of the human race is that "the still small voice" within has been so often misinterpreted. The will of the divine has sadly been understood to be that one tribe or nation is to inherit the earth and all others must be killed off or coerced into becoming true believers.

Pound believed that the Divine Spirit has no favorites among tribes, nations, people, or races. Pound said, "The essence of religion is the present tense". And, "The religious man communes every time his teeth sink into a bread crust". Pound believed that evidence of divine inspiration can be found in all great religious writings: Hindu, Buddhist, Brahman and the Koran as well as the Old and New Testaments. A major difficulty is that once divine inspiration has been codified into sectarian dogma, that dogma, even though it no longer makes scientific or human sense, becomes endowed with religious sanctions. The older and more primitive the sanctions, the more difficult it becomes to dislodge them. After a variety of random quotes about religion, Torrey states his conclusion that for Pound, "Eleusis, not Christianity, represented the true religion". The statement is patent nonsense. If he had said, "Divine inspiration can be detected in both Eleusis and Christianity" Pound might agree.

It's when he leaves his sources and jumps to conclusions such as these that Torrey makes most of his errors. Sometimes his generalizations are breathtaking. At the conclusion of several pages concerned with Pound's ideas about history, anti-Semitism, and contemporary world disorder, we read: "In the last analysis Ezra Pound saw the current evils of the world as a consequence of circumcision — the history of the world reduced to a foreskin." What can one say? In factual details he does little better. He says, "Large sections of the Adam Cantos (62 through 71) are taken from a history of the Adams family". He should have said, "taken from the ten volume *Works of John Adams*". Pound always went to original sources. Again, "Professor Jose Vasquez-Amaral journeyed . . . [to St. E's] for three years to help Pound translate the Cantos into Spanish". It was the other way round: Pound helped Amaral do the translating. The book is replete with such misinformation.

For some 35 years, I have considered the problems which Torrey deals with. Here, I can only state flatly that I disagree with all of his theses. Pound did not seek the defeat of the United States in World War II. He was not guilty of treason. If he had been brought to trial he would have been found not guilty. (Torrey himself provides the evidence for this verdict). Dr. Overholser did not commit perjury. And he did not coerce the three other

witnesses into a conspiracy to join him in such perjury.

Dr. Overholser was quite aware that Pound's mental illness (although not apparent either to Pound or any untrained observer) required the ego-support, security, and the eventual freedom from fear which St. Elizabeths provided. I say "eventual" because for the first two or three years, Pound was most scared that they might perform a lobotomy on him or give him massive electric-shock treatment and destroy his ability to write. In those years such a result was as likely as not. Thus, we can all thank whatever gods there be for Dr. Overholser. Once these fears were gone and Pound came to feel secure, he was able to continue work on *The Cantos*.

To many, it might seem strange that the detention camp at Pisa, although a rigorous prison, provided a similar security so that in the few months he was there he wrote what many consider to be his greatest work: *The Pisan Cantos*. But Pound required few of the trappings of money and was completely indifferent to personal possessions. He lived largely in a world of his own creating. St. E's provided exactly the freedom he needed. To me, one of the great tragedies is that the campaign of well-meaning friends finally got him "freed" even though he didn't really want to leave. When it became clear to Dr. Overholser that he could no longer keep Pound there, he called in the Boston psychiatrist and poet Dr. Merrill Moore to test his diagnosis. Moore concurred with Overholser. Torrey explains this as an effort on Overholser's part to cover up his previous perjury and conspiratorial tracks. Moore is pictured as willing to cooperate in this coverup because they were both Harvard graduates with an "old boy" compulsion to protect each other.

The final diagnoses of Overholser and Moore meant that without the ego-support and security provided by St. Elizabeths Pound's mind would slowly disintegrate until he would no longer be able to work. That is exactly what happened. One of the strangest ironies about Torrey's book is the care with which he documents this disintegration and seems at a loss to explain it. The final irony is this: if Pound had stayed at St. E's for just three or four years longer, he might have kept up his creative pace and finished *The Cantos*. *Thrones* was mostly complete by 1956. Most of what was published in 1969 as *Drafts and Fragments* had been written at St. E's. Pound wrote no more great poetry after he left.

CARROLL F. TERRELL, a professor of English at the University of Maine, is the author of *Volume I of A Companion to 'The Cantos' of Ezra Pound and managing editor of Paideuma, a journal of Pound scholarship.*

Losing Control in the Fast Lane

By Dan E. Moldea

DREAM MAKER: THE RISE AND FALL OF JOHN Z. DeLOREAN. By Ivan Fallon and James Srodes. Putnam. 445pp. \$16.95.

GRAND DELUSIONS: THE COSMIC CAREER OF JOHN DeLORAN. By Hillel Levin. Viking. 336 pp. \$15.95.

JOHN DeLOREAN appears to be a character out of a Jimmy Breslin story, a larger-than-life figure who fights his way to the top, becomes desperate to remain there, then loses control and plunges into infamy. The tragedy here is that the 58-year-old DeLorean, a former General Motors executive, was once an articulate and effective corporate maverick, a local powerhouse who operated within a system in which real change is discouraged by those who intentionally wear the same cut of pinstripe suits. But, to all intents and purposes, DeLorean's rebellion ended and his defense began after he was busted for cocaine trafficking in October 1982 — while trying to raise the necessary capital to save his failing, Belfast-based automobile company. Ironically, DeLorean's demise did not stem from his alienation from the system — but rather his obsession to remain a part of that same system.

This obsession, which plagued DeLorean throughout his life, is at the centre of these two outstanding books chronicling DeLorean's rough-and-tumble career: *Dream Maker: The Rise and Fall of John Z. DeLorean*, written by British journalist Ivan Fallon and Washington business writer James Srodes, and *Grand Delusions: The Cosmic Career of John DeLorean*

by Hillel Levin, a Detroit magazine editor. Both are passionate, well-researched, and well-written, with *Dream Maker*, a solid investigative work, detailing DeLorean the Institution, and *Grand Delusions*, a thoughtful personal study, describing DeLorean the Man. But, as indictments of DeLorean, neither book pulls any punches nor makes any excuses for him.

To be sure, both books, particularly *Dream Maker*, are relentless, unmerciful views of DeLorean. However, there are few instances of hit-and-run in either book. They are methodically documented investigations of who DeLorean is, how he got where he did, and how his empire collapsed around him. At the end of both books, DeLorean looks like a bag person doing the box-step in the middle of Dupont Circle. One almost feels sorry for General Motors for even being associated with this guy.

As the authors explain the DeLorean myth, tall, dark and handsome John DeLorean was at one time viewed by many business analysts as the possible savior of the American automobile industry — particularly after the 1973 Arab oil embargo, which forced Detroit to compete with Japan's smaller and more economical cars. With his earlier innovations in aerodynamic designs, gas efficiency and automotive safety, boy-genius DeLorean appeared to be fresh air on the stuffy 14th floor of the General Motors Building in Detroit, the haven for GM's top brass. A talented engineer, who originally started with Chrysler and Packard before moving to GM, DeLorean seemed to have a genuine sense of what the public wanted.

When he introduced his Pontiac G.T.O. to

the Pepsi Generation in the mid-1960s, the success of the fast and sporty "muscle car" was so overwhelming that DeLorean catapulted to the head of the entire Pontiac division. Lionized by the press and with fans and groupies abounding, DeLorean, according to the authors, "went Hollywood," spending much of his time mellowing out and finding his space among the beautiful people in California. The experience cost him his first two wives and earned him a flaky reputation in the business world.

But the hard-working DeLorean was, indeed, a complex man, seemingly torn between his role as a top representative of GM and what he believed to be Corporate America's responsibility to the general public. For instance, he preached civil and consumer rights to other executives, especially during his tenure as president of the National Alliance of Business. But in these books his reform spirit is portrayed as being little more than a charade, a means of gaining attention.

After being promoted to head Chevrolet, DeLorean was eventually kicked upstairs and placed in charge of all GM car and truck production. But in early 1973, after his flamboyant lifestyles came under fire within the GM high command, he was caught leaking an internal report that was critical of GM's automotive safety standards to a car magazine. Both books conclude that he did it to get some cheap publicity. Confronted by a "resign or be fired" option, DeLorean submitted his resignation and left GM to begin developing the world's Dream Car, the gull-winged DMC-12: "The DeLorean."

"John DeLorean accused General Motors

and the whole auto industry of pulling a great con job on the American public by selling it the same car for twenty years with nothing more than a minor face-lift each year," Fallon and Srodes write. "His car was going to be revolutionary: safe, rustproof, economical, maintenance-free. It was going to be radically different, an ethical car."

While operating his 2,400 employee car manufacturing plant in Northern Ireland — with the help of \$90 million from the British Government — DeLorean was still facing serious financial problems. Trying to cut his losses, he began to compromise the high safety standards he had established for his dream car. In search of funds, DeLorean hit everyone from the British to such celebrity investors as Johnny Carson and Sammy Davis Jr. In the end, frantic to salvage his company, DeLorean needed money fast. Thinking he was buying a hundred kilos of cocaine, it is alleged, from some Mafia lowlifes (worth \$50 million in street sales), DeLorean was stung by an FBI undercover operation.

Both *Dream Maker* and *Grand Delusions* only grudgingly concede any degree of real achievement to DeLorean. Most of what he has been credited with, the authors insist, was often created by others whose ideas and work he exploited. Each book, in its own way, beats this particular point into the reader's head. The sole weakness in both books is that their authors appear so determined to demolish the DeLorean mystique that their legitimate criticisms occasionally seem to be high-handed and gratuitous.

DAN E. MOLDEA is the author of *The Hoffa Wars and The Hunting of Cain*.

AT LEAST a hundred film scripts have been prepared from Under The Volcano since Malcom Lowry's novel was first published in 1947. The copyright situation, however, was complicated, especially since Lowry's sudden death in 1957, and financial backing was hard to raise because the subject, the decline and fall of a dipsomaniac in Mexico, was thought to be uncommercial.

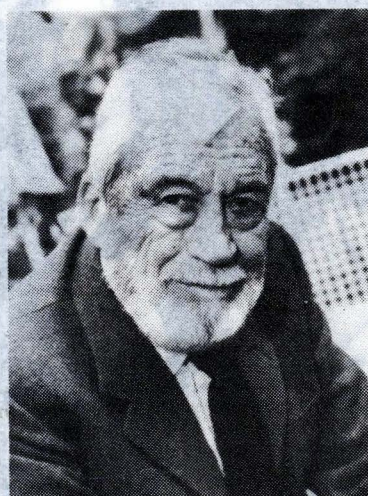
Now at last a film of Under The Volcano is in production in Mexico with John Huston as the director and Albert Finney playing Lowry's tragic hero, the Consul. Although Finney, as thickset as an all-in wrestler, doesn't resemble the character physically — the Consul had a poet's "lock of fair hair falling over his eyes" and a "short pointed beard" above a wasted alcoholic body — Finney comes from the north of England like Lowry where the Consul, very much Lowry's alter ego, spent part of his youth. So the casting promises well for a serious adaptation.

At 77, Huston, thin and grey-bearded like a Biblical prophet, lives in Mexico at Puerto Vallarta and has a close identification with the locale of Lowry's story and the predicament of the Consul, who is as addicted to liquor as Huston once was to gambling and is a fellow English-speaking gringo in a Spanish environment. Huston has the right respect for what he calls the book's "excellence" without being too slavish or inhibited in adapting it to the screen. A distinguished series of directors, including Bunuel, Dassin and Losey, have preceded Huston in trying to adapt Volcano, but after raising \$3 million, at least half from the Mexican government, Huston has succeeded where they failed.

He has taken his film unit to the scene of Lowry's novel — Cuernavaca beneath the old volcano, Popocatepetl. When the Consul is close to death, he dreams he is "falling into the volcano, he must have climbed it after all, though now there was this noise of foisting lava in his ears, horribly, it was in eruption, yet no, it wasn't the volcano, the world itself was bursting, bursting into black spouts of villages

W. J. Weatherby looks at the making of John Huston's latest film, Under The Volcano

Volcanic eruptions



John Huston: fellow gringo

catapulted into space, with himself falling through it all, through the inconceivable pandemonium of a million tanks, through the blazing of ten million burning bodies, falling, into a forest, falling. . . .

It is the eve of the second world war when, Lowry comments, "an individual life held some value and was not a mere misprint in a commune." But Under The Volcano isn't dated and its tragedy could just as well happen today which is why so many movie directors have been attracted to it. This also explains the attraction of Geoffrey Firmin, the Consul. When the novel was first published in 1947, Lowry was worried that his story might have to compete with another drama about an alcoholic published about the same time, Lost Weekend. But, as Stephen Spender once pointed out, Under The Volcano "is no more about drinking than King Lear is about senility." The Consul has been interpreted a thousand different ways in the last 30 years, notably as a symbol of Man's inability to love and the breakdown of western values.

John Huston sees him as the most complicated character he has ever dealt with in any of his 38 movies, including The Maltese Falcon and The Treasure of the Sierra Madre. "He's like a Churchill gone bad, a great man with a flaw," says Huston. Then he questions that "flaw", wondering whether "drunkenness is a flaw or is it, as the primitives thought of epilepsy, a manifestation of divinity?"

The Consul seems to have added new meanings in this generation, which is probably why the Mexican government is supporting the film. At a time when the United States is becoming partly Spanish speaking at the rate of over a million immigrants a year and is therefore much more aware of its relations with Lat-

in America. Under The Volcano is sometimes seen in America as a symbol of those relations, even though the Consul was British. In that far-out interpretation, he represents the English-speaking West, that part came from Europe groping for common values with the alien fatalistic Spanish Americans. "American no good for Mexican," says the pimp the Consul encounters.

The Consul struggles to comprehend what is happening around him. He feels he has discovered some extraordinary land, but "it is not Mexico of course but in the heart," and he adds, "The name of this land is hell." He appeals to Yvonne, his estranged wife, "Come back, come back. I will stop drinking, anything, I am dying without you." But he fails to mail this appeal to her just as he fails to stop drinking, and when his wife returns, it is too late. Mexico is not the right setting for these lovers' reconciliation, it is still too alien. . . .

Because it is such a literary novel with dozens of symbols and echoes of ancient and modern myths, professors, thesis students, top directors like Bunuel, and distinguished writers like Nobel Prize-winner Gabriel Garcia Marquez have been interested in screen treatments over the years. But Huston worked with a comparatively unknown scriptwriter, Guy Galo, and cut through what he calls the book's "literary features" and the "great flow of overpowering and magnificent language." It remains to be seen whether the essential Volcano survived.

To make the financing possible, everybody is taking less pay than usual. Jacqueline Bisset is playing the Consul's estranged wife. One of Lowry's most haunting symbols of impending doom — the Mexican mongrel dog that follows the Consul through the town — proved difficult to cast and train. Eventually a thin, half-starved bitch was found by a dusty roadside, and Finney gave it food trying to win its cooperation before filming a scene in which the mongrel trails him down a street. The scene had to be filmed at least a dozen times.

Part of Lowry's Cuernavaca of over 40 years ago was painstakingly recreated in the small town of Yau-tepec by the Mexican painter, Gunther Gerzso, and there reality and illusion met head on. "Towards sunset on the Day of the Dead in November 1939" is how Lowry sets the first scene, and Huston used thousands of Mexican extras to get the right atmosphere for the Day of the Dead. Many of them wore bony masks posing as skeletons, "Once a year the dead live for one day," the Consul explains to his wife and appeals to her, "Oh come to me again as once in May." He sees himself already as one of the Dead and this is his last day for living. It is an

elegiac, even depressing view unless you see the Consul as like Dante suffering his way towards heaven. The novel carries as one of its inscriptions Goethe's "Whosoever unceasingly strives upward. . . him can we save."

Huston at his peak used to prefer movies with more action and heroes who were more in command of their lives. But in old age perhaps he has changed. He is suffering from emphysema and looks much frailer, but he is still as macho as ever with reporters, telling them, "There's only one experience in life I'm aware of having rejected — homosexuality." But without a crowd of hangers-on or card-players around him, he seems more reflective, more willing to deal with the defeats of life as well as the triumphs. A great drinker as well as a gambler in his heyday, he can perhaps now identify with aspects of the Consul if not with the whole man. He is so pleased with the film so far that he is planning two more literary adaptations — films of Anatole France's The Revolt of the Angels in Paris in the Spring and Marquez's the Autumn of the Patriarch in Mexico the following year.

Huston's Under The Volcano is bound to be different from Lowry's, but much closer than it would have been 20 years ago, just as Albert Finney's Consul will have a different significance in 1983 from in 1947. It is not the Consul who has changed, but our perception of him after our own experience in Britain of losing an empire or — on the American side — of the Vietnam war. Already talk of the movie has led to a noticeable increase in sales of the book. In the famous Gotham Book Mart in New York, for example, an assistant said he had recently sold so many copies he felt he must read it himself. "Make sure your spirits are high when you do," someone told him "It's depressing." There was an instant protest from another reader. It wasn't depressing — at least if you see the Consul at the deepest level striving upwards "unceasingly," and that's probably the view that attracted John Huston.

It was about four in the morning when she awoke. A man was lying on top of her. She realised with a jolt of panic that this was a stranger. 'I thought I was about to die'

The ultimate violation

THAT night Anna was at one of the lowest ebbs of her life. She had a bad attack of bronchitis and she had just been told she had not after all got a job she was counting on. The lease on her basement flat was almost at an end and she hadn't found anywhere else to live. Her lover had left that very day, packing his suitcases and returning to America.

It was midnight when she walked down the steps towards her own basement front door. She noticed that she had left her lights on and her curtains open, thus exposing her bedroom to the eyes of any passer-by. The bedroom window catch was faulty and unlatched. "I was not a particularly nervous person. I was careless." She shut the curtains and undressed for bed. Before sleeping she took a powerful dose of pills. "I was ill and depressed and I wouldn't have got to sleep without them."

It was about four in the morning when she awoke, still groggy from the pills. It took her some time to realise what was happening. A man was lying on top of her. It crossed her mind that it was her lover, returned after all. She said his name but then realised with a jolt of panic that this was a stranger. "I might have screamed, but I didn't. I think that was a good thing." Something, she says, kept her talking. "What's your name?" she asked. "Brian", he said, in a voice that had a tang of Cockney perhaps. "It's all right, it's all right," he kept saying.

"He kept trying to kiss my breasts. I could hardly breathe. The bronchitis was bad. I said I'd die if he went on leaning so hard on my chest." He pinned her arms behind her, but he didn't have a weapon

that she saw. "I can't remember most of what he said, but he kept talking. Then he said 'Touch me,' so I did, thinking that if I jerked him off, it would save me from being raped. He came and then I begged him to go. I thought I was about to die."

He pinned the duvet over her head. "I thought he was going to suffocate me." But he left quickly the way he had come, through the open window. The whole incident had lasted about 20 minutes.

Anna leapt out of bed, called a friend and then the police, who arrived within four minutes. "They couldn't have been kinder or more sympathetic." Even so the procedures following rape are harrowing. Luckily, she had friends to steer her through the venerology and family planning clinics, the questioning and finally to take her to a psychiatrist.

Curiously, forensic evidence showed that she had actually been raped, though she could remember nothing about it. Had she blocked it out, just as she forgot much of what he had said to her? She doesn't know.

It is now 10 months after the event and she still feels shattered by it. "I never thought much about rape. Now I can't bear to be alone. And I have become almost asexual. I'm not interested in men, or in sex. It's a blank. I dread to think what would happen if I went to bed with someone. People say rape is violating — and that's exactly it. It's the ultimate violation."

Anna was the third victim of the

so-called Notting Hill Rapist. In a small area of London's Notting Hill during the past 14 months there have been at least five rapes and three attacks on women living alone in basement flats. The police made investigations quietly for a year, though they did issue some warnings in the local press. Only recently did the national press link the cases together — and alerted the local community. The news galvanised people

by Polly Toynbee

living in the area into forming an action group, holding a large public meeting and three weeks ago, women marched on the local police station to demand better protection.

The Kensington Women's Action and Defence group have fitted together the scarce information published in the press about the attacks. The man is white, 5ft 10in, and fairly well made. He is thought to watch his potential victims, possibly for many days before an attack, since he seems to know their movements and the layout of their flats. Sometimes he has been violent, especially with those who have resisted. He has used knives to slash the clothes off one woman, and he has tied some women up. In one bizarre incident, he tied up a teddy bear. He often wears a balaclava or a stocking over his head. His main area of operation is in the few well-heeled, elegant streets of Notting Hill, on the right side of Westway, the great motorway that divides the area between rich and poor. The Women's Action

Group accuse the police of trying to keep these attacks too quiet. "They are afraid of the publicity," says one of the founders, Angela Taft. "But women must be warned."

Detective Superintendent Graham Seaby, head of the Notting Hill division, says the police have indeed stepped up their activities since the formation of the Action Group. Since the public furor, he has taken over control of the case himself. He is an astute, intelligent man, clearly a high-flyer. He was only recently brought into Notting Hill, which is one of London's two most sensitive policing jobs. He has initiated a pilot neighbourhood project designed to bring the police closer to the people, "to police with their consent and cooperation". If it goes well, it could be a model for the rest of London. This case will be a good test.

Supt Seaby's view of the rapes is even more alarming than the picture given by the Action Group. "I would be flabbergasted if we found that one, or even two men were responsible for all these crimes," he says. There may be three or more rapists at large. Only some of the attacks can be grouped together. What's more, he doesn't think this number of rapes is unexpected in an area like this. "I doubt whether the crime statistics for the area will show an increase this year."

Why, then, has he hurried to take over the investigation himself? What "case?" is he on if there is no "case?" He is responding, he says, to the concerns of the community.

"That is what neighbourhood policing is all about. At the moment the local people regard rapes and attacks as a major priority." The description of the rapist already published fits a few of the crimes, where he has tied up women and threatened them with a knife.

Supt. Seaby is under great pressure to find his man, or men. He smiled and said wryly, "It's one of those cases that makes you famous if you catch someone, infamous if you don't."

There are now more police on the beat in the area. But recent figures show that the chance of a beat policeman seeing a serious crime (like a break-in), in the course of his patrol will be on average only once every 14 years. "They may deter and they may stop people being afraid," said the Superintendent.

How seriously does Supt Seaby regard rape? "In most cases it does more damage to victims than other violent crimes where bones may have been broken. It takes rape victims much longer to recover than victims of other kinds of violence. They have been violated in every way, especially where it has taken place inside their own homes."

The mounting public outrage has helped Anna in her slow recovery from the rape. She didn't know of any other cases until she joined in the march on police stations earlier this month. She thinks that seeing her attacker in the dock might also help. "At the moment, he is a dark terrifying image. Probably there in court he would be a weak pathetic useless creature and I wouldn't feel much about him one way or the other. It would become meaningless and it would all be over."

NO SOONER does the exquisite Van Dyck exhibition celebrate the arrival of Renaissance culture in Britain than its successor rushes in with the postscript, a magnificent tale of woe devoted to William Dobson. While Van Dyck presided over the triumph of the Renaissance in London, Dobson saw it follow Charles I to Oxford, saw Cromwell's army lay siege to it, starve it, and finally snuff it out.

The combined message of these two milestone exhibitions at the National Portrait Gallery is that you cannot force-feed a Renaissance to a country and a people temperamentally unsuited to its acceptance. The triumph of the Puritans was not just the triumph of Roundheads over Cavaliers but of sense over sensibility, of pure Englishness over an invading foreign culture.

It took a portraitist with Van Dyck's phenomenal ability to ignore the truth — a painter who could turn the buck-toothed Henrietta Maria into a serenely beautiful princess — to put a face to the English Renaissance. Right from the start, William Dobson reveals himself incapable of such wholehearted deception. His Endymion Porter is a thick-set, ruddy country squire back from a spot of rabbit shooting. A few years earlier this same Endymion Porter had emerged from his sitting with Van Dyck at least two stones lighter with soft, pink hands made only for plucking the lyre.

"The most excellent painter that England hath yet bred," said Aubrey about Dobson, forgetting to add that at that time Dobson was just about the only painter that England had bred. While Mytens or Van Dyck or Lely or Kneller came from The Hague or Antwerp or Haarlem or Lubeck, William Dobson came from St Andrew's parish in Holborn. It is right and fitting that the only native painting genius of the century should be on hand to record that most private moment in Britain's history, the Civil War.

Dobson's career was absurdly short, absurdly sad, fitting snugly into the war years. From 1642-46 he was in Oxford. Almost all his known works date from then. By the end of 1646 he was dead, apparently a pauper and not yet 36. Whichever way you look, Dobson's life seems inextricably bound up with the tragedy of his times.

Almost nothing is known of his activities before the king took him to Oxford as his Sarjeant Painter. (The careless gossips of art history who are never to be trusted completely but who rarely tell inappropriate lies, claim that it was Van Dyck himself who discovered

Waldemar Januszczak reassesses the short but brilliant career of Charles I's favourite painter William Dobson



Portrait of the artist between Nicholas Lanier and Sir Charles Cottrell.

The rake's regress

Dobson working in a garret and recommended him to the King.)

Because so little is known of his early training, Dobson's art appears to spring fully-formed into this exhibition. His first appearance is as a flamboyant, confident self-portrait, a painter with far-away eyes. Had he lived he would surely have become the English Frans Hals. His brushstrokes were naturally uninhibited. And how the gossips of art history enjoyed dwelling on the rakishness which brought about his early death. Surely one of the great losses to English art history is the picture by Dobson of himself and his raffish friends carousing on a terrace which appeared and then disappeared on the art market at the turn of the century.

It would take a very had Puritan heart indeed not to thrill at the dash of Dobson's blighted Cavaliers. Parting the ringlets and averting your eyes from the dazzle of his crimson sash, you find Sir William Compton who enlisted in his father's regiment at the age of 17 and had two horses shot from under him at Banbury. The one with a face like a prize bull is Henry Mordaunt, second Earl of Peterborough, who raised the standard at Dorking. John, First Baron Byron, the hero of Edgehill, Newbury, and Marston Moor, stands brandishing a thick black pole-axe scar on his left cheek.

These then are the King's men. They begin the exhibition having swapped their plumed hats for helmets, but still affecting that swag-

ger which Van Dyck had taught them. As their fortunes at war turned, so that theatrical swagger is quickly forgotten. The next props to go are the classical statues with which Dobson liked to flatter his cavaliers, comparing them to Apollo or Mars or Ajax. Finally, in a dull portrait of Colonel William Legge, commander of the Oxford garrison, we are down to a bare head and shoulders. A tired soldier's face stares out at you forlornly. The English Renaissance is over.

A very strong but very strange force pulls you towards the end of this exhibition. You might call it the force of regression. In simple colour terms it is the move from Sir William Compton's dazzling crimson sash to Colonel William Egge's bluff beige jerkin. It's as if English art is determined to unlearn all the sophisticated tricks which Van Dyck had taught it and to return to its basic, instinctive provincialism.

Dobson's education took place during Dryden's "halcyon days". He was the first, indeed the only British artist to profit from Charles I's wholesale importation of Renaissance culture. He had at his disposal the greatest art collection ever assembled. He had Titian, Rubens and Van Dyck to learn from, Holmer to read, masques written by Ben Johnson and designed by Inigo Jones to watch. His art soon learned to speak in an erudite tongue which no doubt delighted his courtly audiences but still baffles modern scholars. Hence our continuing uncertainty about the exact meaning of his complicated allusions.

What are all those busts of Apollo whispering into the ears of his Cavaliers, perched at their shoulders like Long John Silver's parrot? Why is Cupid shown handing the Earl of Peterborough his helmet? What is the aesthetic quarrel we are witnessing in the brilliant triple portrait in which Dobson shows himself again choosing between the friendship of two noted connoisseurs of the court? These nervy, enigmatic quarrel-pictures are unique in British art. So is the psychological tension you feel building up in so many of his sitters.

It took a painter with far-away eyes to see the fragility of the king's dream, the Cavalier's dream. He was the man for the moment just as Van Dyck had been for his. This magnificent exhibition establishes William Dobson as one of England's greatest painters, someone to rank right alongside the Hogarths and Turners.

William Dobson at the National Portrait Gallery until January 8.

Epic at a snail's pace

PRODUCTIONS of The Valkyrie are usually squeamish about the Ride of the Valkyries at the start of Act 3. That paen to bloodlust may have been a perfect accompaniment for the napalming of Vietnamese villagers in Apocalypse Now, but on stage the nearest we come to warlike reality is a few bodies trundled about (Chéreau and Peter Hall at Bayreuth) or tailor's dummies (Friedrich at Covent Garden). Now at the Coliseum for the English National Opera's new Ring cycle, Maria Bjornson has designed a setting that bril-

liantly solves the problem.

The curtain rises on a kind of war memorial, with winged victories and tall columns of battle names making the outer limits beyond which, on the cyclorama, the inevitable clouds skid past. The floor of the stage is occupied by an astrolabe-like assembly of concentric circles moving in contrary motion through a steep rake so that when the stage is not aligned as one plane the two circles form constantly changing, roller-coaster perspectives.

The Valkyries, with shining

winged head-dresses and the agility of circus ponies, prance dangerously from one moving surface to another under the glare of Nick Chelton's stark spotlights and floods. The effect is positively vertiginous, almost like flying — and the audience rewards the image at once with an outburst of applause.

This setting does nicely too for Brunnhilde's resting-place, with bursts from grills in the outer circle. Traditional Wagnerian images and contemporary glosses upon them are simultaneously evoked. War may not be Wagner's foremost theme, yet battle is the Valkyrie's work, peopling Valhalla with heroes of the right grade. And one of the great turning points of Wagner's epic is Siegmund's conscientious objection to the summons of his father-warlord, Wotan, when he resists Brunnhilde's message of death and threatens to murder his sister and lover Sieglinde first.

That passionate and perverse demonstration of the power of love is well prepared in David Pountney's production of the subtle and beautiful first act exchanges between Siegmund (Alberto Remedios) and Sieglinde (Josephine Barstow). Remedios sounds glorious, rich and varied in tone, effortlessly musical, and registers the shifts in feeling of the character marvellously, from exhausted tension to the joyous acceptance of his fated alliance with Sieglinde. Barstow lacks the ideal generosity of voice for Wagner, but her Sieglinde is compelling in its sense of discovery.

It is commonplace, after Chéreau, to relate the work to the fin de siècle. So, as well as an Edwardian Sieglinde, we have Fricka (Sarah Walker competing crisply and effectively with a range that is on the

high side for her) in pale lilac lace and Queen Mary-like head-dress.

Wotan himself (strongly delivered by Anthony Raffell) is first discovered in a claret brocade waistcoat, cravat and frilly cuffs and later dons a lavish fur housecoat. The attraction of specific period is the hard edge and recognisability it gives to dialogue; the danger is to reduce the universal implications to the merely local.

Pountney and Bjornson's new ENO Ring cycle has been launched on an epic scale. It is highly theatrical, follows the current European fashions, and achieves sufficiently strong results to justify the trouble and expense. It is also well cast (Willard White is a sturdy Hunding and Marie Hayward Segal copes adequately as Brunnhilde in place of the indisposed Linda Esther Gray). The Valkyries shone in their scene, but the ultimate success of this Ring will depend on the conductor, Mark Elder, and here there must remain a question mark.

Elder's approach to much of the music is extremely leisurely: this is one of the slowest Valkyries, almost 25 minutes longer than planned. But in his concern to allow all the notes to tell, to register every turning colour of Wagner's fertile masterpiece, Elder frequently loses pace almost to the point of immobility. He certainly listens to the words: the text was unfolded against a mostly well-balanced accompaniment. But the epic scale of the score was in fact reduced by the indulgent slowness. But doubtless, experience will knit the marathon dialogues together far more effectively as this new Valkyrie is worn in.

The Cardiff Göran Järvefelt's new Rhinegold production was afflicted by even worse problems: Richard

Armstrong, for whom the orchestra (clad in mufti, rather than formal rig) played far worse than usual, seemed to lack any coherent sense of the overall rhythm of the work. Scene after scene flagged dreadfully, with almost no hint of the destination to be achieved.

But Järvefelt's staging takes a perversely neutral view about the crucial points of the story: entrances and exits are casual and rarely relate to the scale indicated in the music. Erda wanders on in maroon chador like a follower of the Ayatollah. The giants are just a pair of ordinary workers in woollen caps and padded biceps, and stroll on with a light step that self-consciously mis-matches their music.

Nibelungs have black make-up, gods white, and Loge (a bald Nigel Douglas deploying nothing but sprechstimme) is like a domino, half black and half white. Wotan (Phillip Joll) sports a Lloyd-George wig and whiskers. Patricia Payne's Fricka has a white fur stole.

Though Järvefelt did not see the Chéreau Ring, his production is a dull country cousin of that brilliant affair, and also evokes unfortunate memories of the brilliant Friedrich staging of Rhinegold at Covent Garden.

Carl Friedrich Oberle's setting seems to be a disused Victorian railway shed and the bottom of the Rhine is indicated by a few hanging plants, green lighting and dresses for the Rhine-daughters. Nibelheim, with a gantry and hook and cave-mouth behind the railway shed, is better portrayed; Alberich (Nicholas Foltwell) demonstrates his power effectively and I liked Freia with pre-Raphaelite red tresses (Anne Williams-King, also singing sweetly).

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BOOKS

Monty's wars

by Martin Walker

MONTY: MASTER OF THE BATTLEFIELD 1942-4, by Nigel Hamilton (Hamish Hamilton, £12.95).
DECISION IN NORMANDY, by Carlo D'Este (Collins, £12.95).
MONTGOMERY IN EUROPE 1943-5, by Richard Lamb (Buchan & Enright, £11.95).

THE BATTLE which Nato soldiers continue to study with most care is now almost forty years behind us. The Allied invasion of Normandy in 1944 and the subsequent campaign of attrition to exhaust the German Panzer divisions to the point where they could not withstand the American break-out have an obvious relevance to the kind of armoured defensive battle that Nato plans to fight if the Soviet tank armies ever try to crash through the North German plain.

But the lessons of Normandy are rather mixed. If the German success in holding the Allies for six weeks in spite of Anglo-American command of the air looks promising for Nato, then the venomous rows and back-biting between the British, American and Canadian generals and their staffs auger ill for the smooth cooperation of the Nato alliance.

Given the amount of practice, the British ought to be very much better at the politics of fighting with allies. Marlborough with the Dutch, Wellington with the Prussians, and even Haig with the French each learned the tricky etiquette. Montgomery never really tried to do so, and as the first Allied general of the war to win a decisive victory over the Germans, he was in a strong position to get his way.

But not strong enough. When the Allies landed at D-Day, there were as many British troops as American. By 1945, there were three GIs in Europe for every Tommy Atkins; Britain's reserves of manpower were exhausted, and much of Monty's weight in Allied councils had eroded with them.

Monty spent much of his time after the war trying to prove that he had been right all along, that all of his battles had gone according to plan, and that if his strategic advice had been followed, Berlin would have fallen to the West, rather than to the Red Army.

There had been hopes that Nigel Hamilton's three-volume biography, based on privileged access to the Monty papers, would have given the definitive story. Even after the publication of the first volume, which rethought all the old polemical battles about British generalship in the desert against Rommel, these hopes did not finally die. They should now be buried. Hamilton has written an over-long, repetitious and rather dull book that very nearly takes Monty at his own face value.

Social history, it is said, is history with the politics left out; this is a soldier's biography with the soldiering left out, the problems of tactics in Normandy, the need to invent the "rhino" device that allowed the American tanks to crash through the thick hedges of the bocage country, the difficulty of fighting the almost invulnerable Tiger and Panther tanks of the Panzer divisions, are passed lightly over in favour of the legend.

Hamilton claims that "Monty never lost his 'grip' on the battle, or on the hearts and minds of his soldiers," while the sad and even



timid performance of those crack divisions from the desert battles, 51st Highland and 7th Armoured, suggests the opposite.

Richard Lamb and Carlo D'Este have each produced very much better books, Lamb on the weaknesses and vainglory of Monty's strategy until VE Day, and D'Este on the soldiering in Normandy. D'Este now becomes the standard work on a campaign which has been badly warped by the historians ever since the disgracefully bad British Official History, which (understandably) could not refer to the importance of ULTRA intelligence, but which unforgivably failed to interview key figures like General Sir Miles Dempsey.

D'Este's book is the more welcome because it stresses Monty's importance as a trainer of troops, as a morale-builder, and as a highly professional soldier who knew just how much better equipped and cautiously-led the Allies had to be if they were to defeat the Panzer divisions.

D'Este understands, in a way that Hamilton does not, the kind of Greek tragedy that overshadowed the strategic rows of the Normandy campaign. Because Monty failed in the first few days to capture the leading fields south of Caen for the RAF, as he had promised, his beachhead was cramped and he became very much more dependent on tactical air support. But the aggrieved RAF would only co-operate with heavy air attacks for what they could be convinced were decisive battles. So the taking of Caen, and Operation Goodwood, whose real aims were to draw the bulk of the German Panzer divisions to the British front and thus free the Americans for their great break-out, had to be sold to the RAF and even to Eisenhower as the real break-out battle.

No wonder that faith in him eroded, and as the attribution in Normandy began to look uncomfortably like the bloody stalemate of a Somme or Passchendaele, the intrigues for his removal gathered pace.

This was unfair. There were times when Monty had too much dash, as the Airborne Division found at Arnhem. Perhaps his most brilliant campaign was the long pursuit of Rommel's Africa Korps after failing to trap them at El Alamein, and Hamilton's account of the Mareth and Medenine battles is quite the best part of his disappointing book.

On the whole, he and the reader are left awash in documents and ill-digested research. Hamilton has an infuriating habit of stopping to discuss the pros and cons of each moment of operational choice, usually in order to argue that Monty was right.

He has another fault that Monty himself despised; he is too keen to fight the enemy's battle, to engage on every front where another biographer or military historian — even one as inconsequential as David Irving — has seen fit to criticise the hero. Hamilton has surrendered the initiative to Monty's critics, and fights on ground of their choosing. Even if he won every engagement, and he does not, it is an exhausting way of biography.

An innocent eye on Egypt

William Golding on ancient splendours with and without a guide book

THE PENGUIN GUIDE TO ANCIENT EGYPT, by William J. Murnane (Penguin, paper £6.95; Allen Lane, cloth, £12.95).

IT WAS in upper Egypt in February, 1976, that I laid my copy of the Guide Michelin on a flat stone in the temple of Amun at Karnak and turned round to admire the prospect down that vast aisle. When I turned back, I found that, as sometimes happens in Egypt, the god had accepted the offering. We spent the remainder of our time among the ruins in a state of uninformed ignorance. It was most agreeable.

There is a great deal to be said for preserving some of the ignorance you were born with when moving through those places where society seems to require you to absorb a daily dose of information. The Greeks, who were among the first tourists and among the first writers of guide books, declared that "wonder is the beginning of wisdom". However, I do not remember them saying that in the guide books; for guide books are the enemies of wisdom and stern daughters of the voice of god.

Perhaps Amun was an exception, and twitched my guide book away from me in a gesture of transcendental charity. He left us our eyes which did not fill with the tears of strain as they tried to read the printed page under too much sun. We did not fall into mixed rage and despair as we tried to unfold diagrams the right way up in the first hot blasts of the Khamsen. Even the guides — who having wearied countless generations of tourists now called themselves "guardians" in an attempt to raid our pockets — could not come between us and what we were looking at.

It was an accidental situation which I recommend the tourist to adopt deliberately. Bookless and guideless and no more than one of a pair you can manage the Blakean eye of innocence. You will find you can give rein to free thought, irreverent before the dull and the ugly that you are required to look at as it was associated with something or other. You may even be irreverent before something that the guide book would demand you should approach with an almost prayerful solemnity.

It was when we were without our guidebook that I really looked at that symbol of Ancient Egypt, at the double crown, the combined crowns of upper and lower Egypt, and tried to think why they were reminding me of something and what that something was. Twin men-monsters either side of a gateway were not so much wearing those crowns as balancing them on their heads. They were Rameses II, I think — I hope they were Rameses II, a man I had come to detest, and I suddenly saw how ridiculous the crowns were. Viewed from the front, the double crown of Ancient Egypt resembles nothing so much as a magnum of champagne cooling in an ice bucket too small for it.

Was this not a cheerful and restorative thought to rise from the contemplation of stolid and unimaginative statues? Moreover I reflected that my irreverent approach to nasty Rameses had ancient historical precedents to support it. Guide books were not regimental issue to Greek mercenaries and they viewed the Splendour That Was Egypt in a like spirit. We get our word for obelisque from some soldier who on seeing one uttered the Greek

equivalent of "Cor! Look at that there little cooking spit!"

Of course I cannot persuade you to throw away your guide book. All I can do is to try to ensure that the one you take will not be a monstrous pyramid of useless information, but one streamlined to do a precise job.

Then take with you **The Penguin Guide to Ancient Egypt** by William Murnane. Carry the book with you if you want to devour your cultural stodge on the spot, for there is plenty of "on the south wall of the front chamber (E) note a fine depiction of Osiris," et cetera.

Mr Murnane has seen everything, examined everything and knows everything about Ancient Egypt that anyone knows. But he is a charitable man (perhaps a devotee of Amun) and knows also when enough is enough. All the monuments which the tourist is certain to see are described in detail and many of the others sufficiently. The maps and plans are simple and excellent and do not fold out of the book to drive you mad. Some areas and remains difficult of access have been ignored.

Better still than the descriptions of individual monuments are the condensed essays in the first half of the book — essays on people, professions and leisure, on government, pharaonic Egypt and its Neighbours, Cities of God, Mansions of Eternity, the Graeco-Roman Twilight. These are what you are going to need, not so to speak on the hoof but in your hotel bedroom. There, waiting for your dinner or recovering from it in the dead and exhausted hours of any tour, is what will illuminate the country you are in and bring you face to face with a civilisation more clearly seen when ignorantly contemplated.

The game of threat inflation

by Jonathan Steele

THE THREAT, by Andrew Cockburn (Hutchinson, £9.95).

FOR half a lifetime, Andrew Cockburn reminds us in his lively book, Cyrus Vance sat at the apex of the United States national security apparatus. Day after day he was fed a diet of intelligence briefings outlining in one form or another the Soviet "threat". Most of it went unchallenged, and in the way that intelligence agencies work, it was deliberately presented in a manner which is unchallengeable.

But later, after retiring from government service, Vance took a taxi in Manhattan, driven by a recent Soviet emigre, who had spent two years as a young conscript in a Red Army tank unit. He told Vance of appalling living conditions for the men and rudimentary training of tank crews. It sounded a rather less threatening Red Army than Vance's many briefers had told him.

That emigre taxi driver was only one of thousands of Red Army veterans who now live in the West and can provide first-hand information on what it is really like. Based on his own interviews with these men and others conducted by the Rand Corporation, Cockburn has produced a devastating series of anecdotes about the enemy the Pentagon needs and loves to hate.

The Russians turn out to be less than ten-feet tall. They come across as stooping, clumsy, and accident-prone. For example, the Soviet battle tank, the T64, has an automatic loader which often loaded the gunner's arm or leg into the breech instead. At the beginning of the invasion of Afghanistan, the Russians sent in anti-aircraft weapons

even though the rebels had no aircraft. It was only after many of them were stolen and used against Russian helicopters that they were withdrawn.

The gap between army life as seen by the private in the trenches and the general in command headquarters, let alone by the enemy, is of course as old as war itself. Tales of farce, tragedy, and sheer incompetence abound in every army. Nato is, in many of its detailed aspects, a brainless dinosaur also.

The question therefore arises as to what such documented inefficiency adds up to. If obliged to fight, would the Red Army not muddle through in the 1980s as it did in the 1940s? More importantly, is its level of incompetence a restraint on those who

have to order it battle? Or is it clumsiness in performance matched by clumsiness in the mental processes of the men in the battle? Or is its clumsiness in performance matched by clumsiness in the mental processes of the men in the Kremlin who have to operate it?

In short, does the fact that the Red Army is less efficient than the Pentagon claims make war less or more likely? On the Western side, it ought at least to discredit some of the over-blown rhetoric about Soviet capabilities. The military establishment of both sides have a vested interest in "threat inflation" and it is time that the discussion about East-West issues moved from special pleading towards honest assessment of the facts.

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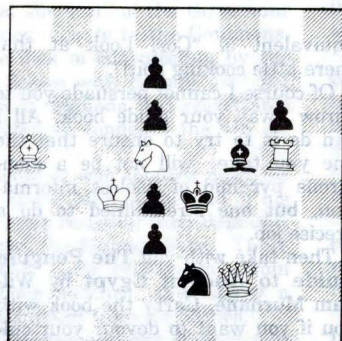
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Chess

by Leonard Barden

No. 1777



White mates in two moves, against any defence (by H. Juhe). Black's king is protected by an unusual pawn barrier, and finding the answer depends on spotting a simple optical trick.

Solution No. 1776:

Position check: 24 / 1p6 / bk1K4 / 8 / Q1R5 / N7.

1 R-B6 B-Q8 2 R-B2 BxR (if B other 3 R-N2) 3 NxR. If 1... K-R4 2 K-B5 and 3 N-N3, or if B-N6 2 QxB ch K-R4 3 Q-R3.

RUGBY, the British champions, travelled to Moscow Burevestnik recently for the opening round of the European Club Cup and were massacred 10½-1½. The Soviets clearly expected a harder match in view of recent English successes and wheeled out highly rated GMs to meet their inexperienced club opponents on the lower boards. Honour was salvaged by Keith Arkell the Rugby No 1, who scored in fine strategic style.

K. Arkell (Rugby, grade 210, — GM L. Psakhis (Moscow, grade 241) Catalan Opening (Euroclub Cup 1983)

1 P-Q4 N-KB3 2 P-QB4 P-K3
3 N-KB3 P-B4 4 P-KN3 PxP
5 NxP Q-B2 6 Q-Q3 P-QR3
7 B-N2 N-QB3

A dubious plan which gives Black a weak isolated pawn. Better is the hedgehog formation P-Q3, QN-Q2-B4 with tempo gain on the white queen, and B-Q2.

8 P-QN3 P-Q4 9 NxN PxN
10 O-O B-K2 11 N-B3 O-O
12 P-K41 B-N2 13 KPxP BPxP
14 PxP PxP

If 14... R-Q1 15 Q-B4. Now White blockades the isolani and starts to harass the black queen.

15 B-B4 Q-R4 16 B-K5 KR-Q1
17 B-Q4 QR-B1 18 P-QR3 Q-B2
19 B-R3 R-R1 20 N-R4 R-K1
21 QR-B1 Q-R4 22 N-N6 QR-N1

White has the perfect position against a GM: everything forced from move 18(19... R-N1 20 Q-K3 wouldn't help) and now a direct way to material gain. If 22... QR-Q1 23 R-B7 is crushing.

23 P-QN4 Q-N4 24 QxQ PxQ
25 B-K5 P-Q5 26 BxR RxR
27 N-B8 B-KB1 28 KR-Q1 R-R1
29 RxP RxP 30 R-Q8 P-N3
31 N-Q6 B-KB6 32 QR-B8 N-Q2
33 RxN R-R8 ch 34 B-B1 B-N5
35 RxR ch KxR 36 RxP ch K-N1
37 K-N2 B-K3

If R-Q8 38 R-B4 wins.
38 R-K7 B-Q4 ch 39 P-B3 Resigns

More typical of the match was this game:

P. V. Wade (grade 182) — GM A. Kocchiev (grade 233) Sicilian, Grand Prix Attack (Eurocup 1983)

1 P-K4 P-QB4 2 N-QB3 P-K3
3 P-B4 P-QR3 4 P-QR4 P-Q4
5 P-K5 N-QB3 6 N-B3 KN-K2
7 B-K2 N-B4 8 O-O B-K2
9 Q-K1 P-QN3 10 B-Q1 B-N2
11 P-Q3 P-KR4 12 P-KN3 Q-Q2
13 N-KN5 QN-Q5 14 N-K2 NxN ch
15 BxN P-B3 16 N-B3 P-Q5
17 P-B4 Q-B3 18 B-Q1 P-R4
19 P-N3 PxP 20 QxP B-B3
21 Q-K1 N-K6 22 R-B2 P-R5
23 R-R2 PxP 24 PxP O-O-O
25 B-K2 P-K4 26 BxN PxR
27 R-R2 RxR 28 KxR R-R1 ch
29 K-N2 Q-K3 30 Resigns

Britain's dismal Euro Cup record of defeats and defaults looks set to continue as our unsponsored teams face massive travel or hosting costs in competition with state-supported East Europeans and industry-backed Dutch and West Germans. The question our officials never ask is whether an international club competition is fair. In Asia they do it better: the Asian championship is played by cities (maximum three per country) at a central venue (normally Hong Kong). If that was the case in Europe, England could be properly represented by London, Manchester or Birmingham, plus the current national champions. The Russians, West Germans and Dutch would still be strong competitors but the British, Scandinavians, Israelis and others at the continental fringe would not in effect be giving odds to their rivals.

Bridge

by Rixi Markus ©

THE Le Touquet Bridge Festival is staged in the Casino during the first weekend in September, and includes a short team tournament, a mixed pairs, and an open pairs competition. This year's stars were Helen and Boris Schapiro, who won the mixed pairs and, with it, 5,000 francs; Helen had never won such a big event before. She is a very good bidder, and here is a hand on which she showed excellent judgment. West dealt with North-South vulnerable.

tricks in the defence, and that was +900 and a "top" on the board.

Here is a difficult hand to play. Helen did not let her mentor down, and I found her line of play extremely interesting.

North		West		East		South	
♠	Q 10 6	♠	J 9 7 2	♠	4	♠	A K 8 5 3
♥	A 9 8 7 6 4 2	♥	K	♥	Q J 10 5	♥	3
♦	3	♦	K Q J 10 6	♦	9 5 2	♦	A 8 7 4
♣	A 5	♣	K Q J	♣	10 9 8 7 4	♣	6 3 2

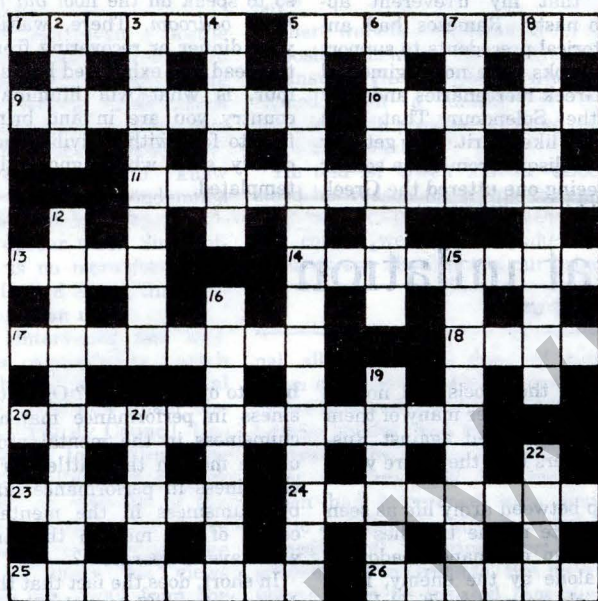
Helen became declarer in 4S from the South hand, and West, who had doubled the final contract, led the king of diamonds. South won with the ace, crossed to the ace of hearts and ruffed a heart in the closed hand. West over-ruffed and switched to the king of clubs, and declarer won in dummy and ruffed another heart. When West over-ruffed again, Helen was in control. West cashed the queen of clubs and led a third club. Helen ruffed in a dummy, ruffed a heart high and then played the ace and another spade to dummy's queen to draw the outstanding trumps; dummy was now high, and the Schapiros chalked up +590.

North		West		East		South	
♠	6	♠	J 9 8 7	♠	10 4 2	♠	A K Q 5 3
♥	K 10	♥	A Q J 9	♥	8 7 5 2	♥	6 4 3
♦	A 8 5 2	♦	K 5	♦	Q	♦	10 8 6 4
♣	A 8 5 2	♣	K Q 9	♣	J 10 6 4 3	♣	7

The bidding:

West	North	East	South
1NT	2D	3C	4D(1)
5C	5D	6C	Double
NB	NB	NB	

(1) This bid showed a good appreciation of the strength of her hand. The Schapiros took the obvious six

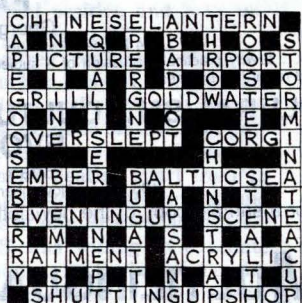


HENDRA

ACROSS

- Graduated staff of sportsgrounds (6).
- Most racy variety of fragrant plant (8).
- Voting mark at counter indicates strong support for Wheeler (8).
- Improve the quality of England's openers? That's laughable... (6).
- ... but I can improve a delivery-style — cut loose in it, freely (12).
- No end to the Hibernian rainbow? (4).
- Handy trimmer? (4-4).
- Biggest of reds to fall into exploding nova (8).
- Highest position of showy violinist (4).
- Jack's place here can make winner boggle (7-5).
- Is she deranged in part, Ivy? (6).
- Where the bar, by the way, is opened to settlers? (4-4).
- Clear and complicated dates listed (8).
- Essential quality of sodium — true, in a way (6).

- A pound I advanced in old England (6).
- Could be M., our acting vicar of Chichester, for example (15).
- Precise amount of medicine (8).
- Feeble-minded type, to wander vaguely about Rocky Head (5).
- Wolf-fish, amazingly slack in 7 (4-6).
- Eg "The Ring" arranged as piano-works (5, 5).
- Some defence against thing going wrong in Wimbledon period (9).
- He could be in Madrid and Paris at the same time (8).
- Divided capital of songwriter (6).
- Old lord of Belgium (5).
- Jail-fever? (4).



DOWN

- High water for Jack Point (4).
- Princess, poet and chemist (9).

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League sees goals galore

BRITISH soccer rounded off one of its better weeks with an autumnal festival of goals at the weekend. Two players each scored five goals, two others hit three, 11 matches luxuriated in totals of five goals and more, and only three of the 63 league games were goalless.

In addition the touring Queensland Rugby League team thrashed Leeds 58-2; the All Blacks Rugby Union tourists won 30-9 over South of Scotland; India's opening batsman Sunil Gavaskar equalled Don Bradman's cricketer record of 29 Test centuries; Ireland's Des Smyth won an £18,000 car for a hole in one in a Spanish golf tournament; and Wimbledon announced a record £2.75 millions profit on this year's lawn tennis championships.

British soccer learned too that Denmark had been beaten 1-0 in Hungary in the qualifying stages for next year's European championship, leaving England the glimmer of a chance of qualifying when it had seemed their recent home defeat by Denmark had closed the door. Denmark must now, away, beat Greece, themselves not quite out of the running, to qualify, assuming England win their last match in Luxembourg, who have yet to record a single point.

Liverpool's Rush and Arsenal's Woodcock led the weekend goal rush with five apiece, Liverpool winning spectacularly but predictably 6-0 against Luton Town, while Arsenal doubled their total of away goals this season in destroying Aston Villa 6-2. Neither player is a stranger to goalscoring, but one of Woodcock's Arsenal colleagues is finding the art elusive for all that Arsenal paid £750,000 for him to do just that. Charlie Nicholas, signed in the summer from Glasgow Celtic, reputedly earns £2,000 a week, but he has failed to score in 11 games and was substituted last week. Nicholas might well have scored at Villa, but more than once shrugged off a half chance to ensure that Woodcock had a better opening.

Tradition has it that an exceptional performance is often rewarded with a gift of the match ball, suitably autographed by all the players. Rush and Woodcock took theirs home while a similar reward went to Peter Beardsley, who scored three goals in Newcastle United's 5-0 win over Manchester City in the Second Division. Newcastle signed Beardsley in September from Vancouver.

It was quite a contrast for City, who in midweek had beaten Plym-

outh Argyle 6-0 in the second round of the Milk Cup, formerly the League Cup. But the week's record hammering came appropriately from West Ham United, who beat lowly Bury 10-0, also in the Milk Cup.

The cup this season is providing something of a bonus in goals and attendances, with scoring up to an average of more than three goals a game, against two last season, while attendances have also increased, although the picture was bleaker on recession-hit Merseyside, where both Liverpool and Everton had their lowest attendances ever, respectively of 9,092 and 8,067. They will all be hoping for even better things in the next round when the draw has produced some compelling fixtures, like Fourth Division Colchester United at home to Manchester United, still top of the First after winning 3-0 at the weekend; Fulham v. Liverpool; and, for Londoners, Tottenham Hotspur v. Arsenal. Among the absentees are First Division Watford, beaten 4-3 on aggregate by Huddersfield Town, and Nottingham Forest, humbled 3-1 on aggregate by Third Division side Wimbledon.

The action of John Toshack in re-

Alan Dunn's DIARY

signing as manager of Swansea City is a shining example in today's hard-headed times. His side are struggling at the foot of the Second Division, a year after relegation from the First, so he chose to make way for a fresh face — but in doing so he refused to take any compensation for the rest of his contract, worth about £65,000, and even gave £1,000 to develop the boys' team. It was the other side of soccer's cruel coin for Toshack, who after a fabulous run as a goalscorer with Liverpool went into management and took Swansea from the Fourth Division to the First in four straight years.

Another famous soccer name to bite the dust was John Greig, of Glasgow Rangers. He resigned as manager after 20 years with the club as player and administrator because Scottish soccer has become much wider based at the top and Rangers are not now among the cream, something that offends such a rich and tradition-conscious club. They are sixth in the 10-strong Premier Division, where former outsiders make the running — particularly Dundee United, the champions, and Aberdeen.

Scotland felt the first impact of the touring All Blacks rugby union side, who beat Edinburgh 22-6 in their opening match. The strong blustery wind dictated the tactics of old fashioned driving forward play, at which the New Zealanders excelled. For the touring Queensland Rugby League team conditions mattered little, such was their superiority over the English clubs they met on their short tour. They lost only the opening game, 6-8 to Hull Kingston Rovers, but won the rest with a total of 104 points to 12.

Indian cricketers, beaten in the first Test of their series against the West Indies, had more to cheer in the Second Test at New Delhi. In their first innings of 464 their opening batsman Sunil Gavaskar scored 121, equalling the record of 29 Test centuries set by Australia's Sir Don Bradman. With self-effacing charm Gavaskar later refused to see comparisons between himself and Bradman, pointing out that Bradman had scored his record in only 52 Tests, whereas Gavaskar had played 95.

A likely pointer to England's next captain, when Bob Willis retires, came in the appointment of David Gower to captain his county, Leicestershire, where he succeeds Roger Tolchard. Gower is of course an established England batsman and has already had experience of leading his county and country.

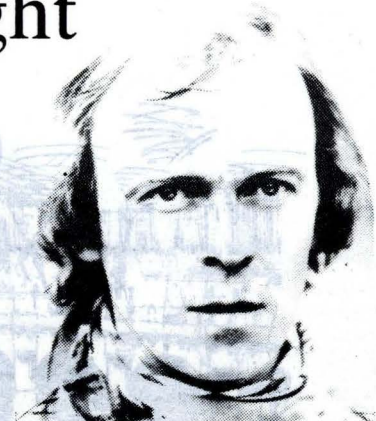
Des Smyth, of Ireland, not only won the Sanyo Open golf tournament at Barcelona at the weekend, but he more than doubled his prize money by winning a £18,000 car for a hole in one in the second round. The £18,000 more than doubled his earnings in six months on the European circuit and the £14,000 first prize for his total of 279 transformed a bleak season into a profitable one.

Wimbledon's profit of £2.75 millions on this year's championships was up 80 per cent on last season. It will all be handed to the Lawn Tennis Association for the establishment of regional centres and the general development of the game in Britain. Favourable fluctuations in the dollar-sterling exchange rate accounted for £500,000 of the profit, but television fees doubled in 12 months to nearly £4 millions.

A fortnight of televised snooker action ended at the weekend with victory for England in the final of the world team championship at Reading. They beat Wales 4-2, having already beaten Canada, the holders, by the same margin in the semifinals.

White knight rides into the sunset

Ole Olsen (right), one of speedway's best-loved figures, retired at the weekend. Charles Burgess charts a remarkable career that has included three world championship wins.



SIXTEEN years ago a 20-year-old blond, blue-eyed motor mechanic from Haderslev wheeled his proud possession, a speedway bike, off the Denmark to Harwich ferry. He set off for one of British speedway's meccas, Belle Vue in Manchester, where they held clinics for young riders, with high hopes and £25 in his pocket.

On Sunday afternoon at Coventry's Brandon stadium Ole Olsen, now 36, made his farewell appearance as a speedway rider in front of 18,000 disciples, finishing third in the Brandonapolis, in which 15 of the top 16 riders in the world paid homage.

Olsen is now a millionaire and is returning this week to Haderslev to be a straight businessman. He has his own speedway track in Denmark, which he had built, and is about to increase his many business involvements by becoming the BMW dealer for Southern Denmark (present turnover £5 million).

In the 16 years that Olsen has been in England he has become one of the greatest ever riders, winning the world championship three times. He is revered in the sport as the white knight of the cinders, both in Britain and Denmark.

In Coventry, where he has ridden for the past seven years, he is more popular than any footballer. The local papers' "Farewell Ole" posters have sold better than any other. Local fans have been known to go, in their thousands, complete with Danish flags, to support him in internationals against British opposition.

Olsen's remarkable popularity is not just due to his riding ability, in which he combines aggression with subtlety, but also to his blameless character. He always has time to talk to aficionados, teach younger riders and generally project the right image, more akin to the American golfer than the English footballer.

The Coventry promoter, Charles Ochiltree, said this week: "Ole is irreplaceable. He has been the single biggest influence on why we were able to win two League championships, the League Cup and the Midland Cup while he was with us. He is peerless when it comes to team riding. He can shepherd a junior rider even in a very slow race by blocking others from overtaking. He rides with his head, knowing what can and cannot be done, which is unusual as many people get into trouble going for the impossible. He will cre-

ate an opening rather than imagine there is going to be one."

Olsen pays tribute to Ivan Mauger, the legendary New Zealander, for setting him on his way. It was Mauger who ran the clinic at Belle Vue and when Mauger went to race for Newcastle the Dane followed.

Soon Olsen also followed Mauger as the next dirt superstar.

After a short spell at Newcastle, Olsen moved to Wolverhampton and in race after race his tactical ability was unequalled as he paid meticulous attention to the detail of his beloved bikes and leathers. By the time he moved to the South Midlands he had made his name and for his first practice session, held in the freezing cold of an early March, 3,000 came with their Coventry Bees anoraks muffled high.

On Saturday last week he made his 500th British League appearance, finishing with an average of 10.17 points per meeting, which compares admirably with Jimmy Greaves's scoring record or Geoff Boycott's batting average.

Three years ago Olsen decided to return home, so that his children could be educated in Denmark, and started commuting to England and other places around the world, often riding in 13 different countries in two weeks where he acted as a freelance. The Coventry fans knew that their idol would soon depart for good. He was getting tired despite his reputed salary from Coventry of £50,000 a year.

His business interests at home, where he has the exclusive dealership of the British engine, Weslake, were mounting.

He was persuaded to stay another two years, saying that it was the fans who had tipped the balance. "They are the most marvellous people, who make me so humble because of their fabulous support," he said.

Just lately the "Don't Go Ole" banners have been out but Ole Olsen Ltd beckoned as middle age has approached. "The will to win is not there any more, which is why I am retiring," he said. "Now I need something that I can get totally involved with after speedway and my business is just perfect for that. I have obviously made a lot of money but I had to struggle early on and that makes you hungry."

Speedway in particular and sport in general has lost a great ambassador.

RUGBY UNION: David Frost — South of Scotland 9, All Blacks 30

All Blacks have pace and power

THE South of Scotland's lack of fitness enabled the All Blacks to run themselves in at Galashiels on Saturday.

The South, with 12 internationals in their side compared with the All Blacks' nine, deserved to be only 6-8 down at the interval and then 9-8 ahead soon afterwards. But from then on the South wilted and the tourists, with their loose forwards and Reid in the van, gave a devastating display of what the South's coach, John Gray, described as "big men playing with power and pace — power play at its best." The final score of 30-9 did not flatter them.

Roy Laidlaw, the 1983 Lions scrum half who captained the South, said that these All Blacks were probably quicker about the field than the Test team he faced in New Zealand but not as strong at the set pieces. Saturday's team was, however, forceful enough to push the South backwards at some of the scrums.

This was no mean feat by the relatively raw New Zealand front five. The South were certainly weakened by the absence, with flu, of Jim Ait-

ken their loose head and intended captain. But the Scottish pack still included seven internationals. The All Blacks line-out work was not so impressive, though McGrattan did some useful jumping at the front as well as looking a reliable peeler.

It was in their breaks from scrums, initiated by the loose forwards and scrum half, and in their hungry concerted drives in the loose that the tourists were so impressive. Their support for the ball carrier was as thorough as could be imagined. There would be men running alongside him, making a side tackle impossible, and string of others storming up behind to carry on the momentum if needed.

They gave the impression that all their forwards were athletes rather than the customary British work horses. Their future opponents on the eight match tour will simply have to prevent them getting into their stride.

The New Zealand backs occasionally dropped passes and passed wildly, but most of the time their passing was quick and their positioning imaginative. In fact four of their five

tries were scored by backs, three of them by wing three-quarters.

The South's backs were less adventurous, either Rutherford or Robertson usually punting. But Rutherford's class stood out, and he had the distinction of dropping a goal with his left foot. The South's other points came from two penalty goals by Dods — from four attempts.

Crowley, the All Blacks goalkicker, failed with all his first five place kicks at goal but still finished with 14 points from a try, two conversions, and two penalty goals. Their other tries were scored by Fraser, Wilson (2) and Hobbs. The South lost Paxton with concussion after 13 minutes of the second half, his place at No. 8 being taken by Alistair Campbell of Hawick.

South of Scotland — P. W. Dods (Gala), A. M. Thomson (Kelso), K. W. Robertson (Melrose), G. R. T. Baird (Kelso), I. Tukalo (Selkirk), J. Y. Rutherford (Selkirk), R. J. Laidlaw (Jedforest, capt), K. Sudlow (Jedforest), C. T. Deans (Hawick), R. F. Cunningham (Gala), A. J. Tomes (Hawick), T. J. Smith (Gala), D. J. Leslie (Gala), I. A. M. Paxton (Selkirk). (Subs): A. Campbell (Hawick), D. B. White (Gala).

All Blacks — K. J. Crowley; S. S. Wilson (capt), S. T. Pokere, W. T. Taylor, B. G. Fraser; I. I. W. Dunn, A. J. Donald; B. McGrattan, J. R. Reid, M. G. Davie, G. R. Baird, A. Anderson, M. W. Shaw, M. G. Mexted, J. M. Hobbs.

Referee: F. Howard (Lancashire).

FOOTBALL RESULTS

CANON LEAGUE FIRST DIVISION — A. Villa 2, Arsenal 6; Leicester 2, Everton 0; Liverpool 6, Luton 0; Man United 3, Wolverhampton 0; Norwich 0, QPR 3; Nottm Forest 1, Sunderland 1; Southampton 3, Ipswich 2; Stoke 1, Coventry 3; Tottenham 1, Notts Co 0; West Brom 1, Birmingham 2.

Leading positions: 1. Manchester Utd 25pts (11 games); 2. Liverpool 23pts (11 games); 3. QPR 20pts (11 games).

SECOND DIVISION — Cambridge 3, Brighton 4; Chelsea 3, Charlton 2; Crystal Palace 0, Barnsley 1; Derby 1, Grimsby 2; Leeds 2, Portsmouth 1; Middlesbrough 4, Shrewsbury 0; Newcastle 5, Man City 0; Oldham 2, Carlisle 3; Sheff Wed 0, Huddersfield 0; Swansea 0, Blackburn 1.

Leading positions: 1. Sheffield Wed 30pts (12 games); 2. Newcastle 26pts (12 games); 3. Manchester City 25pts (12 games).

THIRD DIVISION — Bolton 2, Southend 0; Brentford 1, Bournemouth 1; Burnley 3, Wigan 0; Gillingham 3, Millwall 3; Newport 2, Port Vale 1; Orient 2, Exeter 2; Oxford Utd 1, Hull C 1; Plymouth 0, Sheff Utd 1; Preston 1, Lincoln 2; Rotherham 1, Bradford C 0; Jcnthorpe 5, Wimbledon 1; Walsall 2, Bristol R 1.

Leading positions: — 1. Oxford Utd 27pts (13 games); 2. Bristol Rovers 26pts (13 games); 3. Hull City 24pts (13 games).

FOURTH DIVISION — Bristol C 0, Peterborough 1; Chesterfield 1, Darlington 1; Colchester 2, Crewe

0; Halifax 1, Aldershot 0; Hartlepool 1, Bury 3; Hereford 0, Mansfield 0; Northampton 1, York C 2; Reading 2, Swindon 2; Rochdale 1, Chester 1; Stockport 1, Blackpool 2; Tranmere 1, Doncaster 1; Wrexham 2, Torquay 2.

Leading positions: 1. York City 24pts (13 games); 2. Bristol City 22pts (13 games); 3. Doncaster 22pts (13 games).

SCOTTISH PREMIER DIVISION — Celtic 5, Hibernian 1; Dundee 1, Aberdeen 3; Hearts 2, St Johnstone 0; Motherwell 2, Dundee Utd 2; St Mirren 3, Rangers 0.

Leading positions: 1. Aberdeen 15pts (10 games); 2. Dundee Utd 15pts (9 games); 3. Celtic 14pts (10 games).

SCOTTISH FIRST DIVISION — Brechin 1, Falkirk 0; Clyde 2, Morton 3; Dunbarton 1, Alloa 1; Hamilton 1, Clydebank 0; Kilmarnock 2, Raith Rovers 1; Meadowbank 1, Ayr 5; Partick 2, Airdrie 1.

Leading positions: 1. Partick 19pts (12 games); 2. Kilmarnock 17pts (12 games); 3. Falkirk 17pts (12 games).

SCOTTISH SECOND DIVISION — Albion Rovers 2, Forfar 2; Arbroath 3, Stranraer 1; Berwick 0, Cowdenbeath 0; Dunfermline 1, East Stirlingshire 1; East Fife 1, Queen of South 2; Queen's Park 1, Stenhousemuir 1; Stirling Albion 2, Montrose 0.

Leading positions: 1. Forfar 21pts (12 games); 2. Queen of South 18pts (12 games); 3. Stirling 17pts (12 games).



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Date _____

Desserts
Pate aux fraises 10
Pate Tatin 6
Orange 2-20 Pomme 3-50 Pate 4-50
Creme au caramel 4-50 Macaron 4-50
Fraises au sucre 12
Mousse au chocolat 4-50

A Foreign Policy — Or a Recipe for Disaster?

By Robert G. Kaiser

THE United States has a myopic, ideological foreign policy that really isn't a policy at all, but a collection of maneuvers produced by prejudice and instinct. The men responsible for American diplomacy, it seems, often fail to grasp the significance of their own actions; they have put us into grave trouble around the world.

A harsh judgment? Certainly. But the events of recent days have provided considerable new evidence to support it.

In just one week President Reagan has vastly and recklessly increased America's stake in Lebanon, a fragile nation whose fate is probably beyond American control. He has turned international opinion against the United States by invading diminutive Grenada, squandering the moral high ground the Soviets had granted him by their bad behavior in Poland, Afghanistan and the destruction of Flight 007. He has angered and undermined his closest ally in Europe, Margaret Thatcher, and he has aggravated the gravest problem facing the United States, a problem symbolized by the largest protest demonstrations in Europe since World War II.

In these few days we have seen the fruits of Ronald Reagan's deeply ideological approach to the world — the tendency, as Seweryn Bialer of Columbia put it, "to know the answer to the question before it is even asked". The tiny island of Grenada was a danger because it might spread the infection of Cuban communism; the situation in Lebanon was grave because "a force" was poised to take over the entire Middle East. And if some critics cited legal niceties to pick on the United States, Ronald Regan gave us Soviet-style assurances that the ends justify the means.

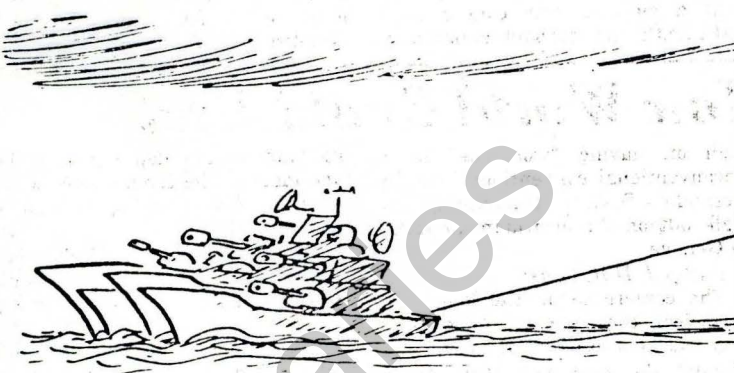
Until now, Ronald Reagan has had an extraordinary run of good luck in world affairs. The absence of obvious disasters or highly controversial actions muffled his potential critics. Though the administration was still looking in vain for its first significant accomplishment in international affairs, it had escaped fiascos.

As long as it avoided serious trouble, many people who are appalled by Reagan diplomacy kept quiet, whether out of deference to a president or fear of his political power or uncertainty about just how one declares that the emperor is nude — or is wearing Teddy Roosevelt's old clothes. But that may change now. Very few people in Washington outside the ranks of the administration and its diehard supporters have much respect for Reagan's handling of international affairs — and no wonder.

Consider one foolish remark that the president made: "We have vi-

tal interests in Lebanon." In little more than a year, he has transformed the tragic Lebanese situation from an agony of significant but hardly crucial interest to the United States into a test of our manhood and steadfastness. Lebanon is now "central to our credibility on a global scale," Reagan announced.

At the same time, he transformed the ancient struggle of religious factions in Lebanon into a Soviet-American face-off. "Can the United States . . . stand by and see the Middle East incorporated into the Soviet bloc?" he asked, as though this unlikely development was the only alternative to the continued presence of our Marines. So the Marines stay.



To what end? The ceasefire in Lebanon is already breaking down. The chance of the various factions coming together under President Amin Gemayel is small. (Gemayel has already called the scheduled negotiations among factional leaders "a camouflage, a distraction".) Of course we would wish it otherwise, but the outcome in Lebanon is likely to be bad. And now the president of the United States has declared that his country has "vital interests" in a situation it might only be able to control by going to war against Lebanese Moslems who refuse to accept the Christian Gemayel as their leader.

And what would be the results of such a war? The lasting enmity of Arabs all over the Middle East, for one; the very real danger of a direct confrontation with the Soviet Union, for another. The Lebanese Moslems would have the support of Syria; Syria is actively supported by the Soviets, including 7,000 Soviet military advisers in their country.

Short of going to war, what will the United States do? No one knows, including the president. His own words have made it difficult to pursue a sensible, cautious policy.

In his speech, the president disposed of all these problems and dangers by remaking the Lebanon crisis in his own image. Just as Cecil B. DeMille created a melodramatic Hol-

lywood version of the Book of Exodus in "The Ten Commandments", so Reagan redid the Lebanon story in a new form more suitable for a television speech.

Instead of trying to divorce the intractable internal problems of Lebanon from the fate of the entire Middle East, Reagan made Lebanon the key to it all. He offered the preposterous notion that the unique historical and ethnic influences that comprise Lebanon are really "a microcosm" of the entire region. He claimed brilliant success for his negotiators' failed efforts to work out a Syrian-Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, adding — incorrectly — that Syria had promised to leave Leban-

ese territory. Then he claimed the Marines had to stay there to protect Israel. This is the same Israel which had its own forces in advanced positions in Lebanon, but withdrew them into a small southern enclave out of its own perceptions of Israeli security interests.

The United States faces a genuine crisis at the end of this year, a moment of supreme importance in the history of the Cold War and the western alliance. It will begin in December with the deployment of new American missiles in West Germany, Britain and Italy. If, as now seems certain, no negotiating breakthrough heads off that deployment, the Soviets will then walk out of the Geneva negotiations and begin a new round of deployment of their own missiles. This breakdown in superpower relations will put an unprecedented strain on NATO. Many in Europe will question whether their interests are best served by an alliance led by the United States.

A fortnight ago, whether deliberately or not, the Reagan administration put its anxieties about the islet of Grenada ahead of any concern about the coming crisis in our most important alliance. Whatever the ultimate effect of the invasion of Grenada on the Caribbean and Central America, it will be a disaster in Europe.

Already it has caused severe em-

barrassment to Reagan's one genuine ally in Europe, Mrs Thatcher. No European government or leader will endorse our elephantine swat at the Grenadan flea. The invasion will help only those Europeans who are critical of Reagan and his policies. Former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt has already remarked that after the American invasion of Grenada, U.S. criticism of the Soviets' invasion of Afghanistan "loses credibility". Even the conservative German government moved quickly to criticize the U.S. invasion and ask for its speedy conclusion.

Similarly, the invasion of Grenada will complicate the chances of any negotiated solution to the wars in El



Salvador and Nicaragua. Mexico is already leading the chorus of Latin American critics of the invasion. Their strongly negative reaction grows from an old and genuine anxiety about Yankee interventionism. It is now much less likely (it was never likely) that the so-called Contadora group of Central American states will be able to help the United States extricate itself from those two wars through negotiations.

The events in Lebanon and Grenada revealed fundamental flaws in the Reagan administration's diplomacy. Perhaps they were predictable; at least they were characteristic.

Both grew out of an eagerness to use American military power to show our mettle. Both were the products of narrow preoccupations with local problems that blinded policy makers to the broader implications of their decisions.

How much effort did the Reagan administration make to discover, last year, if there was a way to pursue American interests that did not involve the enormous risk of putting Marines on the ground in Lebanon? No, the administration welcomed a chance to show that it was unburdened by any "Vietnam syndrome", and was ready to play an activist world role, with Marines if necessary.

And in Grenada, did the White

House explore the possibilities for diplomacy before reverting to an invasion? On the contrary, the decision to invade apparently cut off diplomatic efforts by Grenada's neighbors. It also cut off efforts to evacuate Canadians, Americans and British citizens that the Grenadan authorities had apparently encouraged. The Reagan administration acknowledges that it felt the situation in Grenada was too risky to bother with diplomacy. Not even the trauma of 229 dead Marines in Beirut could deter the administration from its appointed rounds in the Eastern Caribbean.

This eagerness to practice gunboat diplomacy is typical of the Reagan administration. Perhaps it is an inevitable consequence of the extraordinary starting point this administration chose for itself. Reagan and his defense secretary, Caspar Weinberger, came into office trumpeting America's military *inferiority*, surely an unprecedented gambit for leaders of a great nation. They took positions that the Joint Chiefs of Staff would not endorse, arguing that the Soviets were superior to us in almost every category of military strength. This was a great exaggeration and a bizarre political act.

By declaring American inferiority, then boasting of their determination to end it, Reagan and Weinberger established conditions that — in their eyes — probably required them to look for ways to exert American muscle.

Thus, when it first took office the Reagan administration had no intention of soon opening arms negotiations with the Russians. Reagan's first secretary of state, Alexander M. Haig Jr., threatened to "go to the source" — Cuba — to deal with Central American unrest. Perhaps carried away with enthusiasm for military action, the Reagan administration did nothing to stop — and may have passively encouraged — Israel's invasion of Lebanon. (Last week it was no longer an invasion. President Reagan, invoking his own version of history, said "Israel had been forced to cross its own border.")

Reflect for a moment on that episode. Had the United States simply enforced its own law that theoretically prohibited Israel from using American arms for offensive purposes, there would have been no Israeli invasion of Lebanon. This would have saved Israel the 518 killed and 3,000 wounded it suffered in that adventure, and perhaps headed off the national nervous breakdown that now seems to have afflicted our most important Middle Eastern ally. There would not be 7,000 Soviet advisors in Syria, or anti-aircraft missile batteries

Continued on page 16

A Foreign Policy . . . ?

Continued from page 15

manned by Soviet troops. There would be no U.S. Marines in Lebanon — and no funerals for 229 young Americans.

The preoccupation with the use or threat of force seems anti-historical. Where is the model in history that demonstrates the utility of throwing around one's military might? In Afghanistan? Vietnam? Israel's invasion of Lebanon? No, the best use of military force seems to be to repel another's mistaken use of it — the British defense of the Falklands, for example, or our defense (clumsy as it was) of South Korea.

History? It has no apparent place in Ronald Reagan's view of the world, except for the caricatured version he has carried around in his head for years. It popped out in an answer at his press conference when he was asked if he expected to get an arms control agreement with the Russians during his current term.

"I realize the history of negotiations in the past has been long drawn out," Reagan said. "But if you will look at some of the negotiations in the past, maybe it was long drawn out because the longer the Soviets sat there, the more we unilaterally disarmed, and they found that just by waiting they could get things that they wanted."

Where did any of this happen? Only in Reagan's imagination. The United States has never unilaterally disarmed; we have steadily improved our nuclear arsenal for many years. There have been delays in arms control negotiations, but they have more often been due to American political considerations than anything else. Ronald Reagan ought to know that his own candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination in 1976 blocked completion of the Vladivostok accords in a new treaty. But specific knowledge about arms control or about dealing with the Russians in general has not been a Reagan strong suit.

At a meeting with congressmen last month, Reagan said he had only

recently learned how heavily the Soviets depended on their 308 biggest or "heavy" missiles for their defense. In fact, Soviet concern for those missiles is perhaps the key issue in all attempts since March 1977 to negotiate new arms agreements with Moscow. "The level of knowledge about arms issues," says a congressman who has been actively cooperating with the Reagan White House on these matters, "is really, really horrible."

This is a fact known to virtually

'To ideological men like Reagan, new information is only useful if it confirms old prejudices'

everyone in Washington who closely follows strategic issues, including people who generally agree with Reagan's ideological position. In the same way, the specialists all know that retired Brig. Gen. Edward Rowley, Reagan's negotiator for a strategic arms agreement in Geneva, is a man of limited intellect and no real interest in making a plausible deal with the Russians.

But if the limitations of Reagan and his team are widely accepted by the expert community in Washington, the experts mostly keep still. Reporters who also realize that many officials in this administration are less than whizzes don't know how to put that into print. "We are paying the penalty of low expectations," argues one old hand who has served in both Democratic and Republican cabinets. "No one expects Reagan to know the facts, so no one picks on him when he doesn't."

This is true. Lou Cannon, The Post's White House correspondent, wrote the other day that according to congressmen who heard him discuss the invasion of Grenada, Reagan displayed "an unusually detailed grasp" of the issues in-

volved. A reader from Mars might have thought this meant that in absolute terms, Reagan had a splendid mastery of the material. But every insider in Washington knew what Cannon acknowledges was intended — that this time, Reagan knew something about what he was discussing.

"Everybody in this town has known that the emperor has no clothes," said the same former cabinet member, "but there has been a polite silence not to say so." Polite, or foolish? Perhaps, once again, the American people will have cause to complain that the "establishment" that is supposed to know the most about these things failed to warn its countrymen of the dangers it faced. If the people who know most say nothing, what is the good of having the freedom to speak out?

"We've really got to start talking," says George Ball, undersecretary of state in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. "The fact is we've let these fellows get away with murder, and the situation now is much too serious for that."

To ideological men like Ronald Reagan, new information is only useful if it confirms old prejudices. Though he is shrewd enough to bend and budge under pressure (hence, for example, his abandonment of old positions on Taiwan), in his heart Reagan knows he has always been right about the nature of the world, of communism, of America's proper role.

Traditionally Americans have boasted that they were the pragmatic world power — the ones who could cut through cant and get to the essence of problems, see things as they really were. This has been our boast, but it is not the reality.

Perhaps the best evidence of this is our attitude toward the rule of law, particularly international law. A real pragmatist would have to understand the value of enforcing standards of international behavior. Only if a common code of civilized behavior achieves wide acceptance can we hope to move the world toward less barbarous behavior.

Not for the first time, we have an American president whose ideology tells him he can disregard such pragmatic theories. Listen to Reagan speaking the week before last about covert (in other words, probably illegal) actions by the United States inside the territory of other states:

"I do believe in the right of a country, when it believes that its interests are best served, to practice covert activity. . . ."

Or consider the administration's assertions that the invasion of Grenada was justified to "restore law and order" and "government institutions" or "democratic institutions".

Do such statements have meaning? No. Reagan does not mean that any country has the right to operate overtly in another; he means only that the United States claims that right in some cases. Was law and order a serious American concern? Or should we believe the later version — the one offered in President Reagan's speech — that we were heading off the creation of a big Cuban base?

"[We have been invited] to render urgent assistance, including assistance with armed forces. . . . This decision is fully in accord with the right of states to individual and collective self-defense. . . . This decision safeguards peace. . . . [Our] troops will be immediately withdrawn as soon as the threat is eliminated. . . ."

So spoke the Soviet news agency Tass on Aug. 21, 1968, the day Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia. The fact that the statements of the United States government

The US military machine in action is an impressive sight

FOR SEVEN hours I sat on the white sizzling runway watching groups of giant potbellied C-130 transport planes from US Military Airlift Command, shuttling back and forth between the Cuban-built airstrip at Point Salines in the south of the island, a handful of miles from St George's, to Pearls, the older commercial airstrip in the exotic centre of the island.

What was taking place was a fairly routine military operation. The rotation of the Marines at Pearls was with the 82nd Airborne Division, the Rapid Deployment Force, who had been positioned around Point Salines. The operation, conducted in blazing heat, went like clockwork. As one C-130 took off, blowing a steaming hot sand blast off the newly constructed runway, another moved into position. Its back opened, like the mouth of Jaws, and troop units with their jeeps, ar-

moured troop carriers, and other equipment, were swallowed at a steady pace. Some soldiers jogged into the aircraft carrying cardboard ration boxes, others held great wooden cartons of Coca Cola — one of the essentials when America goes to war.

The Americans have turned Point Salines into a giant US base. To the east of the airport, formations of Chinook transport helicopters rose over the sea every half hour or so, their doors open, supplies dangling from their bellies. The sight of the helicopters steadily rising, their dark camouflaged frames silhouetted against the brilliant tropical greens in the hills around Point Salines, with the turquoise ocean below, was one of the more beautiful sights of contemporary warfare. I was sitting on wooden crates, marked Port Salines, Grenada, Windward Isles — sent by the British electronics firm

Plessey. Close by were teams of the 82nd Airborne, skilfully fitting yellow webbing over large pallets of equipment being shipped northwards to Pearls.

All these operations were controlled from a small green metal hut, the size of a corner tobacconist's shop. One wall was covered with electronic guidance equipment.

by Alex Brummer in Port Salines, Grenada

The symmetry of the arriving and departing helicopters and planes had a kind of mesmerising quality about it. It could not help but leave you impressed with the US military machine. If there are real masters of logistics — moving the maximum number of troops and equipment in a short time — then they must be the Americans. In the Grenadian campaign, which is now effectively over, the best of American military capabilities have been on display. They were helped by geography, strategic advantage and a quality of weaponry which the defending forces couldn't match. But in the end the Americans still felt the need to overwhelm the island with troops.

In the war for Grenada the US had unusual advantages. Perhaps most important was the proximity of a friendly island power, Barbados, which allowed its commercial airport to become a staging and supply point for the US transport planes and helicopter gunships. In the early days of the campaign troops and equipment were flown in by day and ferried to Point Salines at night. Later, when the anti-aircraft guns were silenced and the battle was over, there was a constant stream of flights day and night.

Arrayed in the bays around the island was an impressive navy flotilla led by the helicopter carrier Guam — where the main command for the invasion was based. At the peak of the operation a week ago, some 16,000 troops were in or around an island of 110,000 people, where a few Grenadians were still

holding out.

As the Cuban ambassador to Barbados, Mr Cesar Martinez, pointed out at the height of the conflict. There are lessons for the Americans in this." If it takes 15,000 troops to control an island, he noted, imagine what it would take to invade other countries. The country Mr Martinez was particularly thinking of was Nicaragua, with its large defence forces and militias, hardened by the war against Somoza and the contras, and well equipped — with the advantage of a large tropical terrain.

Operation Urgent Fury, as the Americans called their assault on Grenada, began at Pearls airport in the centre of the island where 400 Marines from the Amphibious Ready Group landed aboard armed helicopters from the Guam. At Point Salines in the south transport planes carrying 500 Army Rangers flew into an unexpected storm of anti-aircraft gunfire before parachuting to the ground from 500 feet. The Rangers fanned out towards the St George's Medical School, where the largest number of US citizens were living.

In a parallel operation the Marines staged amphibious landings in and around St George's, coming in under air cover from F-15 fighters and helicopters flying in formation. Two Black Hawks were shot out of the sky and the invading forces literally found themselves pinned down near the coast, with fire coming from the Grenadian strongholds at Port Frederic, Richmond Hill prison and Fort Rupert. Back at Point Salines two battalions of the 82nd Airborne were brought in. The bombardment resistance from the historic forts in St George's fell away, but it was some time before the Marines were able to link up with the 82nd Airborne on the road to St George's.

In securing the key facilities the US wanted on the island — the airports, the medical school, and the Governor-General's house — the Marines had carried out a fast and successful operation. But the US troops, which had moved in with sophisticated equipment and good air cover,

were still left with Cubans blocking the roads, fighting intensely at Point Salines and firing down at them from the hills. The dread of American military life — a long guerrilla campaign against Cubans well hidden in tropical forest and the hills — appeared for a few days to be a possibility.

If the Grenada campaign showed the best of the US military machine, it also showed up weaknesses. While the Americans were good at winning control of the all important airports, there were shivers when they had to deploy in the hills in search of guerrillas. Its answer to guerrillas is the big gun power of artillery fire supported by helicopter gunships, flying in formation like a scene from the American film extravaganza on Vietnam, *Apocalypse Now*.

Washington sets about the refashioning of Grenada

THE United States, its military conquest of Grenada complete, has launched a major operation to rebuild the island's government and economy in an image more to Washington's liking.

The Reagan administration is making it clear that it is preparing large infusions of aid to reconstruct the island paradise its weapons have spoiled — \$3.475 millions as a start. If the victim is to be compensated for taking the fire in the right spirit and adhering to the party line, can allies of the invader be far behind?

The Caribbean basin plan — President Reagan's much vaunted scheme for the region aimed at protecting friendly countries from the Communist menace through economic aid, had been stalled in Congress before the invasion. If the plan can be freed from the log-jam in Congress a redistribution of the goodies could be expected with countries like Dominica, Barbados and Jamaica — which had been so steadfast in their support of the Americans — expected to benefit.

In contrast the Prime Minister of Trinidad, Mr George Chambers, warned his countrymen to be ready to face economic and other pressures from the US because of the island's condemnation of the invasion. There were hints that the American-owned oil firm, Texaco, which operates Trinidad's big refinery might close its plant.

On Grenada the Americans have cut their troops to 3,000 from the 6,000 needed to capture it. The signs of US presence are everywhere.

The US operation is being run from the Ross Point Inn, with a striking view of Grand Anse beach on the south and St. George's har-

bour on the north. Its restaurant is reputed to serve the best local cuisine, but outsiders are unable to find out because the establishment has been closed off with barbed concertina wire, behind which paratroops with M-16s refuse entry to anyone without a State Department pass.

Inside, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Charles A. Gillespie heads the mission. For the moment, some Grenadians say, Gillespie is as much the government as anyone else. Sir Paul Scoon, the Governor-General, who has been making all official announcements and last week signed letters expelling Cuban and Libyan diplomats, has been baptized by local wags "Sir Paul Gillespie."

One problem is that the former authorities, particularly at middle levels, such as department heads and ministries, include staunch supporters of the late Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. A list has been circulated in government ministries with names of officials who are no longer wanted in their office, according to a government official. It was unclear where the list came from, the official said, but it included those who were most ardent in support of Bishop's revolution.

The Americans were ready with an alternative government to put into Grenada after their invasion, but this will not now be the administration that is to take over the running of the island as the US troops withdraw. The American-backed team, picked with the help of Jamaica and Barbados, consisted of a group of exile Grenadians, some of whom have been living in the US for several years. The leaders were to be Francis Alexis, a lecturer living in

Barbados, and Keith Mitchell, who has been in Washington.

The group met in Barbados at the weekend following the American takeover and there they were forced to abandon the idea of forming a Grenadian administration. They realised it was just not practicable. They were unlikely to be acceptable to the people, having no grass roots support.

It is moves such as this one by the Jamaican Government of Edward Seaga and the Barbadian government of Tom Adams, together with the small island states of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), to collude with the US so that the left-wing government of Grenada is followed by a government of Washington's choice that have so infuriated other Commonwealth states in the Caribbean, notably Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana.

One of the Commonwealth leaders most angry over the American action is Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. Canada has always had close connections with the Commonwealth Caribbean, and Reagan's failure to consult Trudeau has annoyed Ottawa. Canadians are anxious to play a full role in Grenada's rehabilitation and return to democratic government.

Britain, too, has not been pleased with the prospect of installing in Grenada what might in effect become a puppet government of Washington. It believes the idea of interim rule by a team of "technocrats", wholly non-political figures with economic and administrative qualifications, followed later by the holding of internationally observed

elections and a return to properly democratic government, is the right way ahead.

The man most likely to head the interim government is Mr Alister McIntyre, Deputy Secretary of Unctad in Geneva, and a former head of the Caribbean Common Market. He enjoys wide popularity in Grenada and has been approached by Sir Paul.

One of the most immediate problems the interim administration will have to confront is the large number of people in detention. Reports of arrests and victimisation of New Jewel Movement activists show how urgent is the need for a credible interim administration.

About 1,000 people were released from prison last week, including members of the Mongoose gang of Sir Eric Gairy, the Prime Minister, whom Maurice Bishop overthrew in 1979. They have been with US troops on roadblocks and house-to-house searches, according to reliable Western sources.

Meanwhile the two men behind the coup that led to prime minister Bishop's death were moved from a US warship to gaol in Grenada. Bernard Coard and Hudson Austin were taken by helicopter with four others, including Mr Coard's wife, Phyllis, from the aircraft carrier Saipan to a soccer stadium, then by bus to the prison near the capital. Blindfolded and handcuffed, with the men stripped to the waist, they were put in individual cells, and the Americans turned over custody of the six to the Caribbean security force.

Sir Paul said he would appoint "a government of ability and integrity" that would draw on Grena-

dians living both at home and abroad. The interim government would serve until elections are held within six months, or at most one year. Sir Eric Gairy would be allowed to run for office, as would his followers, and the same would apply to members of the New Jewel Movement of Mr Bishop.

Mr Gillespie has predicted that there would be "no need" for an American military presence on Grenada within six months. Early US estimates of how long the troops would stay were "a few days." The possibility of a permanent US military base on Grenada has been raised by US and Caribbean officials.

The United Nations General Assembly voted 108-9 last week for a resolution deploring the "armed intervention" in Grenada. For the key vote, 27 countries abstained and 13 were absent, in an action that left the United States isolated from virtually all its close allies.

Only Israel and El Salvador joined US Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and the six Caribbean countries that participated in the invasion of Grenada in voting against the resolution, offered by Nicaragua and Zimbabwe.

Among those voting in favour were Australia, Ireland, France, eight Nato members — Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and Spain — and other American friends including Egypt, Jordan, Pakistan, Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia, and most of Latin America. Many of those who abstained — including Britain, Japan, West Germany and Canada — made public statements of opposition to the US action.

Why Grenadians loved Bishop

by Victoria Brittain

GRENADA'S New Jewel Movement, which brought the first social revolution to the English-speaking Caribbean, has had an impact in the Third World which goes far beyond its size or its achievements over four years. And the violent American attempt to crush this mildest of revolutions has ensured that the legacy of Grenada, and its Marxist Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, will have enduring effects in the Caribbean, the Third World, and in the Caribbean diaspora in Britain and America.

Bishop had a vision of Pan-Caribbean unity of regimes based on social justice, a vision of equal rights for "the ant and the elephant," as he called Grenada and the United States. This vision captured the imagination of Caribbean people and brought the best of West Indian intellectuals to Grenada to work in education, health and economic planning.

The achievement of the New Jewel Movement was, in Bishop's words, "to have given pride and dignity to Grenadians — no longer is underdevelopment and powerlessness inevitable—growth, investment, schooling health care, housing repairs are seen to be possible. Grenada is a stunning contrast to the other societies in the Caribbean, the Reagan models, which are collapsing under escalating unemployment and debt-ratios."

The long-standing open hostility to Grenada of Eugenia Charles of Dominica, "Uncle" Tom Adams of Barbados and other Caribbean leaders who joined the US invasion came, Bishop believed, from fear of their own people's enthusiasm for Grenada's example, an enthusiasm demonstrated at every public appearance by the Grenadian leaders in the region.

Grenada's determination to change Caribbean history from its traditional economic and political dependence on the West brought an unrelenting US hostility, much of it channelled through the conservative Caribbean governments and their press, which the government faced openly.

In an interview in September, shortly before he died, Bishop said: "It is difficult to say how immediate the threat of the US, and especially the CIA, is today, but I think it is always going to be there in the sense that this US administration, particularly this one, is very hostile to any progressive or revolutionary regimes."

"Their approach is to invest the stamp of legality only on regimes which fully support them. Therefore, for a government like ours which is so determined to maintain an independent non-aligned path, obviously we are going to have problems with them at all turns."

"In 1979 I disclosed a CIA plot against us . . . the CIA pyramid plan. It was the usual kind of thing. At the bottom was propaganda, in the middle was economic aggression, at the top was the military threat, the terrorism, the assassinations. In 1980 the bomb blast in Queens Park was an attempt to wipe out the entire leadership. From the interrogations of those arrested the US link is clear."

"In 1981 the US mounted a mock invasion exercise. Earlier this year, linked to the US proxies' invasion of Nicaragua, I had to warn Grenadians that the same threat faced us, and that sending in contras is no different from sending in the marines."

The Prime Minister's words were prophetic. "This particular period, the Central America crisis, obviously makes our own situation much more dangerous. You have these thousands and thousands of troops, hundreds of ships, planes and manoeuvres off Nicaragua, bases built in-

astic West Indians of the threat Reagan's America posed to world peace. "Reagan's dream is that he can construct a new Pax America to destroy the socialist world, the non-aligned world. But why should we be dragged into his geo-political game? Reagan is the greatest disaster to hit mankind since Hitler. He has a total dishonesty and is unscrupulous enough to unloose another World War. His contempt and disrespect for all other nations' own choices even extends to his friends in the industrialised world. He doesn't want Mitterrand to have Communists in his government, or western companies to work on a pipeline to the Soviet Union."

Grenada's growing status as a spokesman for the smallest, poorest and weakest countries of the Third World came from the clarity and consistency with which Bishop, like Mrs Gandhi and Fidel Castro, linked the arms race to the horrifying statistics of under-development, and demanded change from the West.

"Half the resources at present allocated to military expenditures in one day will finance a programme for the total world-wide eradication of malaria," Bishop told delegates at the Delhi conference of the non-aligned.

Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman, who was killed with Bishop, was the co-founder and joint leader of the New Jewel Movement. In September he said: "Sometimes it feels like a race against time. But I believe Grenada is demonstrating what the US would have us believe is impossible . . . the achievement of prosperity without them. We have fought for the world's acceptance of our right to build a society according to our ideals and to reject domination. Our sincerity and careful adherence to principle are paying off — we have won support from countries like Canada and Saudi Arabia, from the EEC. No one who looks at us firsthand buys the blustering accusations of Reagan, or the propaganda against us."

Serene confidence in the triumph of rationality was the hallmark of both Bishop and Whiteman, both young lawyers of around 40 who had spent the last 10 years on political work among the poor. Behind their calm, relaxed manner, the lurking threat of the CIA to their lives meant bodyguards and darkened car windows as they drove around the island — a jarring note in the atmosphere of Grenada before its double disaster.

Cuba, Vietnam, and Mozambique have become the godfathers of this particular revolution. Grenada's brother was Nicaragua, which wrought a revolution of the same vintage against another despised dictator who was supported by the West.

Not long ago Bishop talked about the high price of defying America:

"No price is too high for freedom. It took several hundred years for feudalism to be finally wiped out and capitalism to emerge as the dominant mode of production, and it will take several hundred years more for capitalism to be replaced by socialism. Meanwhile, our message, as I said over and over again on my recent trip to America, is that our socialism poses no threat to anyone. We are not interested in toppling governments but in struggling, not just for Grenada's interest, but for the whole Caribbean."

As the Grenada High Commissioner in London, Mr Fennis Augustine, said in reference to Grenada's many warnings of US intentions, "some believed us, some did not."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

When all's said and done, who cares for the Grenadians?

The events in Grenada remind me of nine years ago when I worked as a volunteer teacher there with colleagues such as Jacqueline Creft (minister of education — shot), Unison Whiteman (foreign minister — shot) and Leon Cornwall (said to be one of the officers behind the military takeover).

Sir Eric Gairy was in power, and independence was approaching. Fear of independence under such a man led to thousands of people taking to the streets in peaceful demonstrations. Shops closed and the power station shut down. Appeals for Britain to insist on a referendum on the issue went unheard; the demonstrations were broken up; and independence was granted, the Union Jack being hauled down by the light of lamps powered by emergency generators: an ill-fated birth of a nation.

The wishes of the Grenadian people now, as then, have been ignored. What does the US Administration care about the people in Grenada? When the killing has stopped and the Americans have gone, it will be the Grenadians who are left to pick up the pieces.

No one, particularly not the US or the UK, will be offering to fly the Grenadians anywhere.

P. W. Fell,
20 Chelsham Road,
London SW4.

Scenario seems to be the word these days, and one which is perhaps most apt for a quick-on-the-draw actor-president.

So what happens if the Grenada production turns out as follows: the American forces withdraw; a civil administration organises free elections; and the majority of Grenadians, who would probably have elected Maurice Bishop if he had had an election, doubtless elect someone whose aims are to carry out Bishop's aims. In other words, a left-wing government democratically elected.

Didn't this happen in Chile?

Such an elected left-wing government will then feel it owes absolutely nothing to Western democracies, and its natural allies in finance and reconstruction and political guidance will be Cuba, or Russia, or even China.

Who will the Marines be rescuing when they make their next landing in Grenada? And what will Sir Geoffrey have to say about that?

Perhaps the message which the poor wounded Marine in Beirut was trying to scrawl was: "Semper Paratus." — Yours in fidelis.

Brian Pollitt,
Bishopston, Bristol.

For the last three years I have been active in support of the Solidarity movement in Poland, and have campaigned for human and democratic rights, respect for national sovereignty and for individual human dignity in Eastern Europe for as long as I care to remember.

I am afraid that the US invasion of Grenada is a sad blow to the effectiveness of our campaign as it lowers the common denominator of ethics in international diplomacy to the Soviet level. Of what value to imprisoned Solidarity members in Warsaw are the tears of outrage by the US government at Soviet meddling in Polish affairs, when Soviet apologists and their Polish communist gofers can in turn quote the example of US intervention in Grenada as an example of "real-politik."

Of course my activities and those of my friends in the Polish Solidarity Campaign are not based in any way on the policies and aims of the US government, but on the record of Solidarity as a democratic trade union and a progressive social movement in its own right. The Soviet system remains inherently hostile to such developments in the Eastern bloc, whatever the level of international tension; and normally this is accepted by world public opinion as self-evident. Yet the atmosphere in which we operate is now so charged with cold war partisanship and deep cynicism that it transforms the struggle for human rights in Poland — as well as in Czechoslovakia, or Guatemala, or Tibet, or South Africa, or Iran — into a pathetic scramble for the reluctant attention of a polarised world. However ugly and undemocratic the recent change of government in Grenada, the nature of the US military response makes that pale into political insignificance.

When will we be able finally to roll back the security pretensions and hallucinatory vision of the super-power antagonist? It is now an urgent task to rekindle a universal respect for the principles of national sovereignty, the rule of law, democratic accountability, and the right to promote indigenous social and political programmes, that will override the narrow interests of "big-brother" diplomacy.

Otherwise we are entering a deadly downward spiral of indifference where the invasion of Grenada will have a sequel in the KOR trial in Warsaw, while we all deliberate on the sidelines whether this or that act of injustice merits our partisan comments.

Wiktor Moszczynski,
48 Ingis Road,
London W5.

Whatever the facts may be regarding the finding of Cuban and Russian weapons stored in Grenada, we can presumably now assume — from the tone of surprise and disapproval obvious in President Reagan's broadcast — that no comparable stores of US-supplied weaponry are discoverable in a number of Central and South American countries suffering under US-supported military dictatorships (or perhaps we should now refer to them as "democracies").

The armaments lobby will no doubt see to it that any storage space now available in Grenada will not long remain empty.

S. H. G. Head,
47 Grinstead Lane,
Lancing, W Sussex.

American discovery of 500 extra Cubans on Grenada may free their benighted paranoia, but it cannot grant them licence to change their reasons for having invaded in the first place. The correctness of the initial act must be examined in the light of consequences foreseeable and intended — not consequences which are fortuitous in any sense and appreciated only after the event.

It must be remembered that the American case rested upon a legality which was at least highly questionable, and upon a stated concern for restoration of the political order which has never, in fact, existed upon Grenada. Mere expression of concern for the safety of American citizens implied, but did not prove, the threat to that safety; and the invasion elevated force above principle as a tool for dealing with the safety of foreign nationals everywhere.

America's wish to serve as the world's moral policeman must be evaluated especially carefully while the Reagan administration appears so keen to wield the truncheon of cynical expediency.

The Grenadian adventure confirms a need for moral and political distance between Europe and Washington.

Tamas McDonald,
34 Tolcarne Drive,
Pinner, Middlesex.

The absurdity of the oft-repeated ploy of a 'multi-national force' having invaded Grenada was amply demonstrated by the side-by-side appearance of President Reagan and Prime Minister Charles of Dominica.

The one contributed an aircraft carrier, thousands of Marines and a number of helicopter gunships. The

other made available a few amiable policemen armed with truncheons.

Meanwhile, here in Barbados, Prime Minister Adams moved swiftly and decisively to put the country on a combat footing by promoting the head of our small army from colonel to brigadier lest he feel ill at ease among all that American brass.

Peter Morgan,
Clifton Hall House,
St. John,
Barbados.

Far be it from me, chairman of the GLC's Peace Year to say: "We told you so". The Guardian was one of the few papers to query the strength of the "dual key" before Cruise arrived.

What price the special relationship now? Today Grenada! Tomorrow Slough and Bucks!

Illyd Harrington,
The County Hall,
London SE1.

It would be instructive for Mr Tony Benn, or the unnamed friend he quotes (November 6) to reveal the source of his claim that Cuba has a higher literacy rate than the United States, "the richest capitalist country in the world". According to the World Bank's 1983 World Development Report, the adult literacy rate for the latest year given (1980) was 95 per cent in Cuba and 99 per cent in the United States. Could it be that Mr Benn is once again undermining a good point with needless hyperbole?

Paul Murray,
London N1.

The obviously "rigged" operation in Grenada, together with what is going on in Central America, is totally reminiscent of the moves of Hitler's Nazi government in Europe in the 1930's.

The eastern Caribbean islands are all members of the British Commonwealth of Nations; if they were nervous about conditions in Grenada, a fellow member, their duty was to appeal to the Secretary General of the Commonwealth to take such steps as might seem necessary to allay their fears. It was serious disloyalty to the Commonwealth to "invite" (to quote President Reagan) or conspire with a foreign power to take action

against a fellow member.

This raises the question as to what was the pay-off proposed by Reagan & Co., to these other islands, to disregard their duty to the Commonwealth, and "invite" the American Administration to invade Grenada? Were they threatened that American aid would be cut off unless they cooperated and also supplied token forces to make the scheme appear to be a joint affair?

Another question; was the coup that brought about the overthrow of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, and his subsequent murder, engineered by the CIA to provide an excuse for which Reagan & Co., had long wanted, to, in their view, warrant intervention?

Most of the Commonwealth member nations (including Britain, Australia and Canada) have already expressed their strong disapproval and opposition to the American action. The question remains, however; what steps can the Commonwealth take to ensure there will be no future destabilisation or invasion of other member countries whose governments may perhaps displease the present American Administration; such as, for example, Guyana (or even Canada)?

G. E. Govier,
Sherbrooke West,
Westmount,
Quebec.

Many Americans undoubtedly watched with interest the television news reports which documented the British "Peaceniks" protesting the American intervention in Grenada on behalf of the free states of the Caribbean Basin.

And what these Americans also undoubtedly wondered was: where were the same protesters when Marxist thugs assassinated Maurice Bishop, several members of his cabinet and other leading citizens on the island?

If those in the British peace movement expect Americans to take them seriously, they had better start protesting against the real enemies of humanity, decency and freedom in this world.

In the end, all their taunts were nullified by the ebullient voice of one native Grenadian, who exclaimed upon hearing of the American landing, "Now we're free, really free!"

D. Randal Olson,
688 Prairie Avenue,
Glen Ellyn, Ill.

Cuba battens down the hatches

John Rettie reports from Havana as Cubans prepare for the worst

FIDEL CASTRO had never looked so sombre. There was none of the usual ebullience on his face, with its now greying beard, as he stood on the tarmac at the bottom of the steps, while the badly wounded were brought down on stretchers from the Red Cross plane.

There were eleven stretcher cases among the 57 injured Cubans flown back from Grenada by the International Red Cross, and like the walking wounded, they all got a squeeze of the hand or a pat on the head from Fidel and the rest of the top Cuban leadership beside him.

But no smiles. It was no time for joy. The happiness at having 57 wounded home was tempered by the knowledge that two or three hundred were still believed to be in Grenada and Puerto Rico, about 650 uninjured Cubans were still being held prisoner in Grenada, and an unknown number had died in the battle against United States invasion forces.

In fact, the reception staged at the airport struck exactly the right chord for a population acutely aware of the grave historic significance for Cuba of the first armed confrontation between Cubans and United States troops. The scene was emotional but serious and dignified — a fitting heroes' return.

Although only a handful of the 57 were members of the armed forces, there was suitable pomp and ceremony at the airport. These civilian construction workers, trained like most Cubans to defend themselves, were "combatientes", Cuban officials point out. So flags waved and a military band played martial airs throughout. Contingents were drawn up, resplendent in their dress uniforms — olive green for the army, with red cap bands, yellow waistbands and sashes for the army, black trousers and white jackets with glistening brass buttons for the navy, and a deep blue for the air force.

Only the civilian militia contingent looked a little drab by comparison, its men and women dressed in olive green trousers and berets, and business-like grey jackets. One young militia woman with long blonde hair cascading from her beret made a striking contrast with the handsome black men among the military contingents, pointing up the rich racial mixture of Cuba.

'Cubans are at one with most Latin Americans in having a sense of history that goes back centuries. There are, perhaps, only three great historical cities in the Western Hemisphere, and Havana is one of them.'

They are an entrancing people, these Cubans who inhabit the "Pearl of the Antilles." Unlike so many leading figures of the Reagan administration, the Cubans are at one with most Latin Americans in having a sense of history that goes back for centuries. There are, perhaps, only three great historical cities in the western hemisphere, and Havana is one of them.

The others are Mexico and Lima, the magnificent capitals of the Spanish empire's two great vice-royalties. The huge modern cities like Sao Paulo and Buenos Aires, not to mention New York and Chicago, are mere upstarts only a century old, or at best two.

But Havana was always something special. It was the Spanish Conquistadors' jumping off point for

the conquest of Mexico and South America. Then it became the main port and assembly point for the trans-shipment to Spain of the vast treasures extracted from the western hemisphere. Coffee, tobacco (like hammock and hurricane, an original Carib word), and later sugar added to the burgeoning wealth of this great city.

As such, of course, it attracted the attention of such noble pirates as Sir Francis Drake and others from France and Holland as well. In 1762 the British, who a century earlier had seized Jamaica from Spain, continued their expansion in the Caribbean by capturing Havana, though a year later they swapped it for Florida. But a lasting consequence of the brief British control was the release of Cuba from Spain's suffocating trade monopoly, which was never reimposed. The result — even greater prosperity.

Havana, in fact, had been the capital of the Caribbean for two centuries, and all other cities in the region were provincial backwaters by comparison. And even today, largely isolated though Cuba is, the sense of being in the greatest Caribbean city of all is still as strong as ever. And the Cubans know it — don't they just know it. This passionate, sensuous tropical city throbs with a lifestyle envied by all Spanish speakers in the area, be they in the Dominican Republic, the United States possession of Puerto Rico, or in the now Cubanised city of Miami itself.

Elsewhere, and especially in Miami, they would have you believe that this intensely powerful lifestyle went out with the Cuban revolution — thrown out by Fidel Castro and his fellow-stooges of Moscow in favour of a rigid Russian totalitarian system that is totally alien to the Cuban character.

Never believe it. Cuba is as Cuba as ever, as Caribbean and as American. American, not only in the broad sense of being a country of the American continent, but also of being deeply influenced by the giant neighbour to the north. The allies here are the Russians, not the (north) Americans. Which certainly does not mean that the Russians are unwelcome as friends, supporters and allies.

But the Russians are not much liked, whereas it is striking how attuned Cubans are to visitors not only from Latin America, but also from North America. Amazingly, considering that Cubans have been killed and wounded by US troops in Grenada, there is not a trace of hostility in the streets, bars, and restaurants of Havana towards members of the huge United States press corps which has descended on Havana.

Of course much has changed in Cubans' lifestyle since the revolution. The gross prostitution, the gambling, the violence and the scandalous distance between rich and poor have gone. Instead, everyone has enough to eat, virtually everyone can read and write, and Cuba's health problems are now those of rich countries — heart disease, hardening of the arteries, ulcers and so on — rather than those of the Third World that are a consequence of malnutrition and poverty.

The rigid control of public expression, especially through the media, the monopoly of political thought and organisation, the drabness of life — all these still seem a price worth paying, however undesirable to many Cubans.

But the people are proud of their revolution's achievements. They are even happy to share them with others by sending doctors, teachers and technicians to countries like Grenada, Nicaragua, and even Angola and Ethiopia. But the revolutionary equivalent of the white man's burden is not always an easy one. Out of the estimated total

of some 127,500 in Cuba's armed forces, something like 20,000 are thought to be in Angola and 15,000 in Ethiopia.

And some of these are dying. Fighting has surged in Angola in the last few months, and something like 30 or 40 Cubans are believed to be dying every month, with the number of wounded perhaps twice as high.

Nor is it exactly popular. People dislike the prolonged absence of sons, husbands and fathers. There is no serious questioning of this revolutionary role, but some reports suggest that there have been popular doubts about the purpose of fighting in Grenada after the killing of Cuba's — and Castro's personal — friend and ally, Maurice Bishop.

'With a close ally lost in Grenada and half an ally gone in Suriname, Cuba feels itself being pushed by an aggressive United States, under President Reagan, back into the isolation Cubans so hate.'

But the problem for Castro is not popular discontent. A man of immense charisma, he is still universally seen in Cuba as a great historic figure to be trusted and followed.

Castro's difficulty today is that for the first time since the revolution he faces a major setback. With a close ally lost in Grenada and half an ally gone in Suriname, Cuba feels itself being pushed by an aggressive United States, under President Reagan, back into the isolation Cubans so hate. The only really close friend Cuba has in the region now is Nicaragua which, the Cubans say, is in the front line against US aggression. At the other end of the Caribbean, Guyana is friendly, but not all that close.

But as Castro has twice pointed out, Cuba cannot send massive military aid to Nicaragua because it cannot match the military might of the United States. When the chips are down, Nicaragua is on its own — as indeed, Cuba is fairly sure it would be itself if the Russians were asked to help defend it against an American attack.

So the strategy for both Cuba and Nicaragua is to batten down the hatches, arm every adult, and prepare to sell themselves so dearly that the United States will think it not worth while to attack. The Cubans are confident that this will work for themselves, but far from sure that it will deter President Reagan from attacking Nicaragua.

In present circumstances, Cuba's desperate hope of achieving acceptability, even respectability, in the Caribbean looks remote. The Cubans will not, of course, give up their revolutionary role. But they do not want to be seen as bearded bandits with a gun in the hand and a knife in the teeth. The real terrorists, they say, are not themselves, but such tyrannical governments as that of Eric Gairy (overthrown by Maurice Bishop in 1979), the death squads of El Salvador, the killer army of Guatemala, and the US Marines.

If Washington lifted the pressure on Cuba, one feels that Castro's tough Marxist-Leninist colleagues, and his Russian allies that he needs to survive, would find themselves losing influence. And Fidel himself could indulge his great passion, and go to a baseball match in the United States.

Role of Cuba's Internacionalistas

By Alma Guillermoprieto

HAVANA — At the heart of the Reagan administration's decision to invade Grenada was a group of approximately 790 Cubans described by the White House as a "military force". To the Cubans, they are internacionalistas, among the thousands of Cuban citizens sent to friendly Third World countries. Internacionalistas can be regular Army soldiers, as in Angola, or largely volunteer physicians and teachers, as in Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration has said that the Cubans in Grenada were professional soldiers. Cuba says they include 636 construction ministry workers and technicians, 43 military personnel, 12 members of a flight crew that carried Col. Pedro Tortolo Comas to Grenada the day before the invasion, and 100 agricultural and technical advisers and embassy personnel.

Cuban internationalism has disturbed the United States and its allies ever since the first delegation, a team of doctors, was sent to Algeria in 1960. The following year, Fidel Castro's Cuba established its first military mission abroad, a training camp in Ghana, and Cuban combat troops traveled overseas in 1963, to Algeria during its border war with Morocco.

Luis Joo, interviewed at his home here, is an internacionalista. He worked on the controversial Grenadan airport project from July 1982 to August of this year, and previously worked on construction projects in Angola and Iraq. Joo's name was on a list provided by the Ministry of Foreign Relations, which has been eager to promote similar interviews for the foreign press covering the Grenadan crisis from Havana.

Joo, 39, lives with his wife, Aurora Rodriguez, and his children — Luis, 16, and Isachi, 10 — in a small house facing the Havana docks. The concrete house has banana trees in back, a concrete veranda, two televisions and a large radio console. He is an articulate and striking man — a compact mix of Chinese, black and Indian blood more typical of the English-speaking Caribbean than Cuba.

He said that although he had received militia training, he never joined the Cuban Army ("I was over the age limit when the draft was instituted") and never carried weapons in Grenada. "Why did I accept the trip to Grenada? Well!" he said, "Do you know Marxism-Leninism? You don't read Lenin? I will try to explain it to you: if we are friends and neighbors we should help each other. We Cubans have survived thanks to the help of the

socialist bloc. Without the Soviet Union we could never have survived the Yankee economic blockade of Cuba. Our revolution says we have to do the same thing."

Joo said that in his 13 months in Grenada he and his comrades did not receive militia training nor drill for an emergency attack: "We knew there must have been a plan, and we were guaranteed that if an attack came, we would be given arms, but I never saw the weapons. Listen, do you know the trouble we went to to avoid giving el imperalismo any pretext to call the airport a military project? The students from the medical school did their exercises on the strip. People came barging through the project at every hour; they would even walk into our mess hall, which I thought was a lack of respect, and still we didn't close off the area so the Yankees wouldn't say we were doing something secret in there."

"It was a magnificent airport. Do you think any country can live in a dignified manner on cocoa and nutmeg exports? We gave Grenada an airstrip competitive with the other islands in the region, to receive plenty of tourism."

In addition, Joo said, the Cubans built a cement factory, a carpentry shop and a cement block factory for the use of a prefabricated-housing industry.

Joo is a skilled worker for a "production enterprise". He was asked to go to Grenada by his union local and his party unit, he said, and he accepted "out of principle". As he said this, his wife looked glum. Neither she nor the children could visit him in Grenada. Asked if she was happy with her husband's long absences, Rodriguez, who works as a salesman in a government store, said, "I understand the need".

Joo said his "average" salary when he is away is higher than his normal wages. His family keeps the salary, while he lives in a work camp where all expenses are covered.

The family's combined income is 450 Cuban pesos a month (\$355.50), and he pays 16 pesos a month in rent. The rest, he says, goes for extras: nonrationed milk and cheese for the children, weekends at the beach and the television and console, which cost 1,400 and 500 pesos respectively.

Joo said he was angry when he heard of the invasion. "All that work that we put into the airport! How would you feel if you were writing a book, working day and night on it and someone came in to your house and tore up the pages?"

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"Help protect your hard-fought freedom," one such broadcast boomed. "Help send the Cubans back to Havana where they belong."

It was this unit which was responsible for a powerful new radio station which began broadcasting from a US Navy ship somewhere in the Caribbean just before the invasion.

Grenada captives held in crates

by Jonathan Steele in Grenada

UNITED STATES military forces have set up a prison compound where detainees are held in wooden boxes. One of the first inmates was Mr Kenrick Radix, Grenada's former minister of justice and one of the most popular figures in the deposed regime of Mr Maurice Bishop.

"You have to stoop right down to get into the cell. The opening is only about two and a half feet high," he said on release at the weekend. "The roof is a piece of badly-fitting plastic sheet. The rain came in during the night, and I was drenched."

Reporters who drove to the airport at Point Salines, the main American operations base, could see the detention camp from the outside. We were not allowed in. The new camp consists of roughly two dozen wooden crates, about 10 feet all round, set in two rows behind barbed wire. Each crate has one small window. Near the crates are several large tents. Armed guards sit in sandbagged watch towers. It was impossible to tell how many of the crates were occupied.

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Mr Radix is the first prominent pro-Bishop civilian known to have been detained by the occupation forces. They have picked up 623 members of the people's revolutionary militia, 56 of whom are still detained. Another 97 detainees were released on Sunday. In addition 15 of the 16 members of the military revolutionary council formed after Bishop's death, as well as three of Bishop's enemies, Bernard Coard, his wife Phyllis, and Selwyn Strachan, are being held pending a decision.

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Mr Radix's short, sharp detention appears to be the first effort by Grenada's occupation forces to silence or remove surviving supporters of the ill-fated Bishop regime. Over the weekend at least 50 foreigners were told to leave the country within 48 hours.

On Friday Mr Radix was buying cigarettes at a shop in St George's when he was stopped by a man in civilian clothes from the US armed forces, accompanied by a Grenadian. He was shown no warrant but was taken to the headquarters of military intelligence in the capital. They asked him about his views on the invasion. After two hours he was taken to the police station at Fort Rupert, where he was questioned for four hours by Barbadian police.

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THE INVASION and occupation of Grenada by US troops will prove to be a watershed in Caribbean history. The popular support which the invasion now enjoys cannot conceal the grave, underlying implications of what has taken place.

Like so many other parts of the Third World, the Caribbean is the scene of a fundamental struggle involving two inter-related questions. All these English-speaking territories which make up the Caribbean community are the products of an extended colonial experience, within the matrix of modern imperialism. This left societies which were profoundly elitist in class terms, since colonialism divided each society within the European empires into a minority of beneficiaries, who were the traders and the plantation owners, along with the appended groups which attended to their professional needs, and owed their success to the external authority which the imperialist system represented.

The nationalism, which united elements of the minority and the majority groups in the successful demand for independence, is an uncertain force in the post-independence period because each society came to independence with its social and economic structures fashioned by the colonial experience.

Accordingly, newly independent nations face two issues: what to do about the elitist class structure with its heavily-loaded advantages and disadvantages; and what to do about an economic structure which underpins the social arrangement and is deeply dependent on the world economic structure which imperialism built.

Throughout the Third World, these political parties and movements which seek to address the problems of social injustice, the maldistribution of wealth and over-concentration of economic power, find it is not possible to separate the internal struggle to achieve change from an external struggle involving the direction and control of the national economy. Hence, progressive parties are as much concerned with the problem of economic dependence as with the struggle to rearrange society.

Equally, the old class of local beneficiaries of the colonial system regard the defence of their internal position as irrevocably bound up with the maintenance of present arrangements.

It is against that background that we must look at the invasion of Grenada, its reception and its implications for the future. The revolutionary Government of Maurice Bishop had built up a good record of sound economic management, laying the basis for participatory democracy



'HEY, I'M SELLIN' A DREAM HERE! GEORGE WASHINGTON, OLD GLORY, THE CONSTITUTION, THE BILL OF RIGHTS, SEA-TO-SHININ'-SEA—WHAT'S NOT HAVIN' ENOUGH TO EAT GOT TO DO WITH IT?'

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in tackling many problems. Its performance in land reform, education, health and literacy was widely accepted as positive. On the other hand, spurned by the United States, it had sought increasingly close relations with Cuba and the Socialist group of countries, and amongst the Western European democracies.

Convinced that the US was considering an invasion, the Government, built up a substantial arsenal, a tough little army and insisted on basic military training for most of the

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What of the future?

The events in Grenada have thrown into sharp relief the second part of the double question which informs the Caribbean political process. As second thoughts begin to occupy the recesses of the mind, the question is being asked: What was the Caribbean independence all about? What were the struggles which won independence for if it can be so lightly swept aside by 2,000 US Marines, a handful of Rangers and less than one-half of the 82nd

by Michael Manley, former Prime Minister of Jamaica

adult population. Its foreign policy was aggressively non-aligned and anti-imperialist.

When, therefore, the leaders of the New Jewel Movement committed the crass blunder of detaining Maurice Bishop despite his overwhelming mass popularity, they invited the disaster which quickly followed. The brutal execution of Bishop and his loyal colleagues set the stage for the US invasion at the invitation of elements of the democratically elected political leadership of the Caribbean.

The invitation to invade was issued because Edward Seaga of Jamaica, Tom Adams of Barbados and

the Eastern Caribbean, which was appalled by the slaying of Bishop and generally frightened by the turn of events. In Grenada itself, three factors combined to produce a warm welcome for the US invaders. All the old conservatives, small a minority as they were, were overjoyed to feel that a dangerous socialist experiment was being decisively eliminated. The great majority, who genuinely loved Bishop, were pleased to feel his death was being avenged. In any event, the great majority must have been terrified by the whole experience of the Army firing upon the crowd that had released Bishop.

Airborne Division? That question is followed by its logical corollary. Now that the precedent is set, who will the next target be, should anyone be so imprudent as to provoke Washington's disfavour? This is followed by the final question: What do some of our own leaders make of our sovereignty, so hard to win and so difficult to defend, if they can suspend its meaning with such reckless cynicism in pursuit of their neocolonial agenda?

Efforts are being made to pass off the invasion as an example of statesman-like magnanimity aimed solely at bringing succour to a beleaguered people. To the more discerning, this

won't "wash." The Revolutionary Military Council was vulnerable, isolated and scared after the death of Bishop. The Cuban Government had told them in no uncertain terms not to look for reinforcements or other kinds of help from them.

Furthermore, they had underlined the message by saying that they felt neither politically nor morally capable of coming to their defence because of the events surrounding and including Bishop's death.

There was firm reason to believe the crisis had been resolved and the population relieved without the firing of a shot. Yet Seaga and Adams contrived the invasion behind the backs of their senior Caribbean colleagues with a haste so indecent as to suggest that the real agenda had nothing to do with relief but everything to do with wiping out a political process. In the context, it is irrelevant that the political process had supplied opportunity and pretext through its own folly.

As the emotions of the moment recede, yielding as they must the hard realities of scarce foreign exchange, soaring unemployment, foundering programmes of economic development, the stark questions will reassert their claim for answers. When will the social structure of the countries of the Caribbean respond to the change from colonial to independent status? As the young jobless stare at the blank wall of poverty, they ask increasingly: From whence is relief coming?

The invasion of Grenada supplies no answer to either question. It is a victory for the neo-colonialists, the defenders of the status quo ante. But the problem, they will find, is that it is a victory against the wrong end.

In the meantime, to the extent that events have revealed the essential fragility of Caribbean nationalism, so too do they set in train second thoughts about independence.

I believe there will arise new political alliances in the Caribbean binding together those who see our independence as the essential condition to be preserved if we are to have a future at all. As this unfolds, I believe that Grenada may yet prove a pyrrhic victory at best. The very ease with which the battle was won is beckoning new defenders to the battlefield. Because in the end, the real casualty of the invasion was neither Socialism nor the process which Bishop started. The real casualty was the sovereignty of Grenada and by extension the sovereignty of the entire English-speaking Caribbean.

Michael Manley was Prime Minister of Jamaica from 1972 to 1980.

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THE GUARDIAN, November 20, 1983

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DAY by day, throughout last week, the flip and flop of American politicians echoed across the Atlantic. Originally, Tip O'Neill, the Democratic Speaker of the House, opposed Grenada's invasion on simple grounds of principle: that big nations shouldn't do this sort of thing to small ones. Flip flop. Ditto a flopping Ted Kennedy, a bevy of senators and the Washington Post. Which seemed to leave only a handful of Mr Reagan's opponents on their feet, and the cussed New York Times reflecting balefully on one congressman's summing up. "Public opinion is what's behind things here," he said. "Years of frustration were vented by the Grenada invasion, so people feel their frustration relieved, and members of Congress sense that."

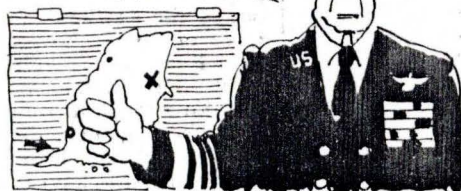
Why has a venture which seemed so problematical whilst it was in progress developed such a roseate afterglow? No single answer suffices; just as no single reason for invasion has ever been proffered consistently. Troops were in action and achieved their objectives. That stirs patriotism in any circumstances. Relieved American students were flown home from Grenada and kissed mother earth for the cameras. Another warm glow. Sir Paul Scoon popped out of the shrubbery to lend a veneer of legality to the enterprise. More bonus points. And ordinary Grenadians — like ordinary Barbadians — seemed jolly pleased to see the Yanks. Had there been further weeks of guerrilla messiness, that might have been nasty. But there weren't, and most of the boys are home already. It is all a beguiling, neat little package of a "rescue mission" and it is playing well throughout the land.

There is, however, a difference between what is popular and accepted, and what is right. And that small part of world opinion — the UN, most of Europe, most of South America, Mrs Thatcher — who don't like Grenada one bit should not be cowed into forgetful silence. Strong pressures to do so exist of course. The UN is being blithely shrugged aside in Washington. Its views

COMMENT

Cheers don't make it right

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THE THREAT OF
A U.S. INVASION



WASSERMAN
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"don't trouble my breakfast", says the President. And Mrs Thatcher is the subject of not only a good deal of backstairs' poor-mouthing but of open assault from devout Reaganites. "From imprudence to insolence," one wrote in the Washington Post last week.

One fine day, quite soon, the winds will blow themselves out and Europe will be back to the difficult business of building relationships across the usual, vexatious spread of issues. But even then, Grenada will — and should — remain as a separate

issue, memory and warning. For the end and means of the invasion are still in no sense justified. The rescued Americans were frightened and glad to be safe: but they were not hostages: and nor would any tinpot dictator so vulnerable in the lee of the American coast — as opposed to thousands of miles away in the heart, say, of Iran — have rationally calculated that they could be used as hostages. The stockpiles of arms discovered on Grenada could, of course, have had many purposes: but one, quite reasonably, may have been for pro-

spective defence against an oft-hinted American intervention. One does not doubt that the happy crowds who rescued Maurice Bishop and sought to put him back in power were, after his murder, glad to see the murderers flattened by the marines. But the incident also bespeaks Bishop's popularity; and Bishop was building his airport and collecting State Department rhetoric long before General Hudson Austin arrived on the scene. As for the Governor-General, there can only be a suspended judgment. The legality of what he did is contentious, and its timing confused. He, and his small team of experts, are now running an interim administration pending elections. He chose to invite the Americans to dust down their existing contingency plan. He has chosen now to cement his authority by a continuing American presence rather than the offered Commonwealth force. Alex Brummer reports (page 9) suspicions that Port Salines airfield may, in the end, become a useful American base. Some five hundred US army engineers already have a long term role on the island building roads and drains. Grenada is firmly within Washington's sphere of influence. It would be altogether surprising if it were to escape in future; and amazing if the free elections allowed any transfer of Bishop's popularity to his heirs and successors. In effect, America will have seen a problem in its backyard and squashed it flat. There are all manner of pragmatic arguments for such an action. But the central objections to Grenada have always been arguments of international law and principle, and those stand proud. They are not to be abandoned because of some ephemeral Gallup finding, for we shall doubtless need them in Afghanistan and Poland. Because we would want Mr Andropov, in such circumstances, to have a thoroughly disturbed post-UN breakfast, so we wish Mr Reagan burnt crumbs and a bad cough with his toast and jam.

Reports, pages 6, 8, 9

Nicaragua's turn next?

THE United States' military intervention in Grenada has both temporarily taken Central America out of the spotlight and revived fears of people who feel President Reagan may be tempted to "fix" the Sandinista question by taking tough measures.

The Nicaraguan leaders — those most directly concerned and thus most worried — have been saying for the past two days that an assault is being prepared against their country with direct or indirect US involvement. It is not the first time that the Sandinista leaders have raised the alarm over an "imminent attack", and their enemies are only too ready to laugh down their appeals for help.

Meeting President Miguel de la Madrid in Mexico City on November 10, Nicaraguan junta coordinator Daniel Ortega again reiterated the accusations, saying the United States was preparing to invade Nicaragua "in a way similar to the Grenada operation". Ortega is now expected to visit the other capitals of the Contadora group of countries — Caracas, Bogota and Panama City — to explain the "dangerous situation" he says his country is in as a result of "increased warlike actions".

It is true, tension is nowhere near diminishing along the borders of Sandinist Nicaragua which remains a beleaguered country. Six of its People's Army soldiers were killed on November 10 in the Zelaya district in the course of an attack launched by Honduran-based *contra* groups. About 2,000 US marines are expected in Puerto Castilla in Honduras for military exercises set to start on November 18 and which are beginning to look like

a clear warning to Managua. It is now established that the serious acts of sabotage committed in Nicaragua's oil ports were directly organised by American secret services. The theoretically covert and highly effective assistance the CIA is giving the *contras* is indeed assuming disturbing proportions.

El Salvador's representative at the United Nations suggested that an armed intervention in Nicaragua was not to be ruled out, and prominent Central Americans with close ties to the commander in chief of the Honduran Army, General Gustavo Alvarez, have openly urged Washington to step in. Eden Pastora, the former "Commander Zero", who is now battling against his erstwhile Sandinista friends (he is based in Costa Rica), also thought an American military operation was possible, but considered that it would be a "grave mistake" by the Reagan Administration.

The Sandinistas know they cannot count on Cuba in case of trouble; consequently, even less on the Soviet Union. An American military operation in Nicaragua would doubtless cost the US far more than the modest intervention in Grenada, which was no joyride either. But there are other more devious and deadly ways of weakening the resistance of the Sandinistas, who are facing an increasingly worrying economic situation. And it is doubtless primarily in a bid to stop this dangerous slide that the Nicaraguan leaders, in this case with the strong support of the Mexican president, are trying hard to put their brief into diplomatic hands.

(November 12)

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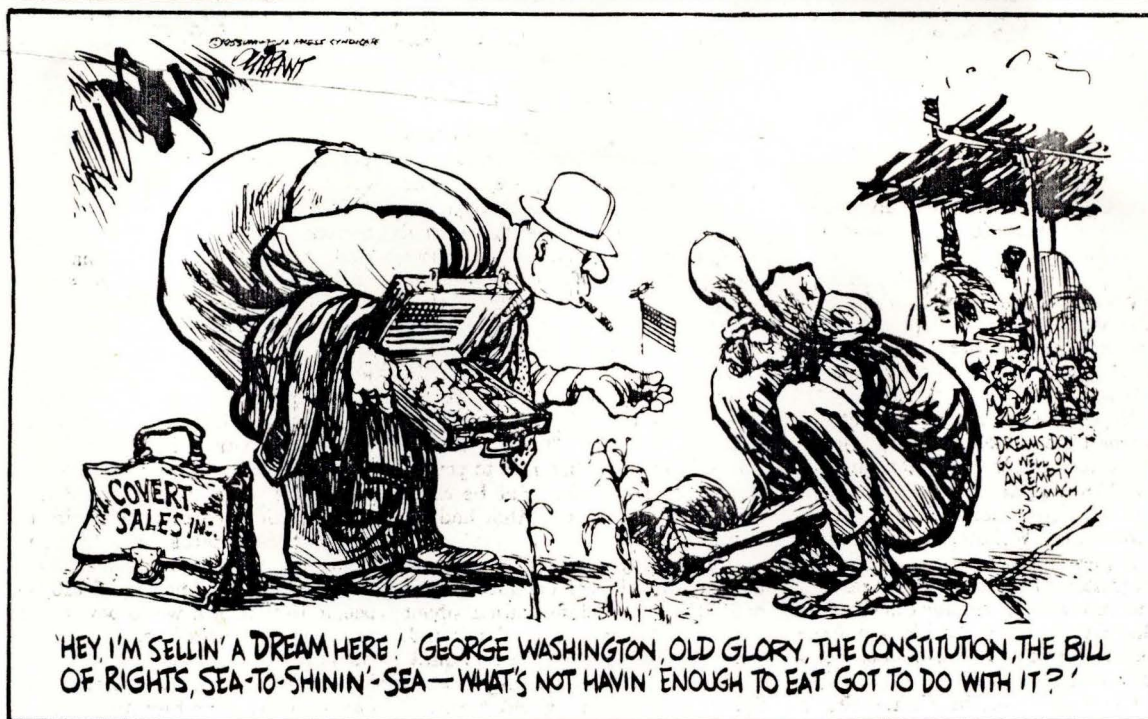
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When, therefore, the leaders of the New Jewel Movement committed the crass blunder of detaining Maurice Bishop despite his overwhelming mass popularity, they invited the disaster which quickly followed. The brutal execution of Bishop and his loyal colleagues set the stage for the US invasion at the invitation of elements of the democratically elected political leadership of the Caribbean.

The invitation to invade was issued because Edward Seaga of Jamaica, Tom Adams of Barbados and

the Eastern Caribbean, which was appalled by the slaying of Bishop and generally frightened by the turn of events. In Grenada itself, three factors combined to produce a warm welcome for the US invaders. All the old conservatives, small a minority as they were, were overjoyed to feel that a dangerous socialist experiment was being decisively eliminated. The great majority, who genuinely loved Bishop, were pleased to feel his death was being avenged. In any event, the great majority must have been terrified by the whole experience of the Army firing upon the crowd that had released Bishop.

Airborne Division? That question is followed by its logical corollary. Now that the precedent is set, who will the next target be, should anyone be so imprudent as to provoke Washington's disfavour? This is followed by the final question: What do some of our own leaders make of our sovereignty, so hard to win and so difficult to defend, if they can suspend its meaning with such reckless cynicism in pursuit of their neocolonial agenda?

Efforts are being made to pass off the invasion as an example of statesman-like magnanimity aimed solely at bringing succour to a beleaguered people. To the more discerning, this

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won't "wash." The Revolutionary Military Council was vulnerable, isolated and scared after the death of Bishop. The Cuban Government had told them in no uncertain terms not to look for reinforcements or other kinds of help from them.

Furthermore, they had underlined the message by saying that they felt neither politically nor morally capable of coming to their defence because of the events surrounding and including Bishop's death.

There was firm reason to believe the crisis had been resolved and the population relieved without the firing of a shot. Yet Seaga and Adams contrived the invasion behind the backs of their senior Caribbean colleagues with a haste so indecent as to suggest that the real agenda had nothing to do with relief but everything to do with wiping out a political process. In the context, it is irrelevant that the political process had supplied opportunity and pretext through its own folly.

As the emotions of the moment recede, yielding as they must the hard realities of scarce foreign exchange, soaring unemployment, foundering programmes of economic development, the stark questions will reassert their claim for answers. When will the social structure of the countries of the Caribbean respond to the change from colonial to independent status? As the young jobless stare at the blank wall of poverty, they ask increasingly: From whence is relief coming?

The invasion of Grenada supplies no answer to either question. It is a victory for the neo-colonialists, the defenders of the status quo ante. But the problem, they will find, is that it is a victory against the wrong end. In the meantime, to the extent that events have revealed the essential fragility of Caribbean nationalism, so too do they set in train second thoughts about independence.

I believe there will arise new political alliances in the Caribbean binding together those who see our independence as the essential condition to be preserved if we are to have a future at all. As this unfolds, I believe that Grenada may yet prove a pyrrhic victory at best. The very ease with which the battle was won is beckoning new defenders to the battlefield. Because in the end, the real casualty of the invasion was neither Socialism nor the process which Bishop started. The real casualty was the sovereignty of Grenada and by extension the sovereignty of the entire English-speaking Caribbean.

Michael Manley was Prime Minister of Jamaica from 1972 to 1980.

Supposed threat to safety of US citizens refuted

by Peter G. Bourne

WASHINGTON — In 1977 my father, who recently had retired from Atlanta's Emory University after a distinguished career as a medical scientist and director of the Yerkes Primate Centre, accepted the post of vice chancellor at the new St. George's University Medical School in Grenada.

The school's chancellor was Charles Modica, a young American lawyer who in 1975 had founded the institution with the support of a small group of backers, most of whom were US physicians trying to find an English-speaking medical school for their own sons.

Relations with the Grenadian government reflected the eccentric nature of Sir Eric Gairy, who was the island's prime minister then and whose major concern was enlisting other nations in his bid to establish a UN agency to study flying saucers. Though he maintained the trappings of parliamentary government, Gairy was a dictator who maintained a group of thugs called

the "mongoose gang" to physically intimidate his opponents. Gairy enjoyed diplomatic relations with the United States and received generally enthusiastic support from our government.

In 1979 I joined the medical school, which by then had achieved an internationally recognised record of academic excellence, spending a week or so there four times a year as a visiting professor.

Beyond my role as a visiting professor, I also looked out for the medical school's interests in Washington. In 1979 the paramount issue was to get the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to declare St. George's eligible for student loans. I suggested to the school that perhaps the only way to win our case was for Gairy to come to Washington for a meeting with Joseph Califano, secretary of HEW.

Gairy came to the United States but stopped first in New York so that he could address the United Nations on his favourite subject of

UFO saucers. Gairy arrived in New York on March 29, 1979. The following morning a small group of men led by London-trained barrister Maurice Bishop, whose father had been killed by Gairy's "mongoose gang," seized Grenada's radio station and the military barracks. Bishop announced Gairy's overthrow and declared himself Grenada's new leader.

Gairy called me from the Hilton Hotel in New York and demanded that I get my "friend Jimmy Carter" to help return him to power. It was my suggestion that he came to Washington, he said, that had led to his overthrow.

Without any permanent representative on Grenada, the US government had little or no information about what was happening on the island. The only uninterrupted communication system was the telex between the medical school in St. George's and its office in Bayshore, New York. For the next 48 hours I relayed moment-to-moment reports to

the White House and the State Department as we obtained them from my father.

Bishop soon recognised that a medical school representing 20 per cent of the Grenadian economy was an important asset. He made it clear that the institution could enjoy the support of his new government.

Although Bishop had been the leader of the opposition in the Grenadian Parliament, he had never run anything, much less a country. His early Marxist-tinged rhetoric reflected as much his inexperience as his ideological commitment. The virulent American reaction won him instant hero status in Grenada. Suddenly, it seemed, Bishop had elevated his obscure nation of 110,000 people to that of a world power taken seriously by the great Goliath to the north.

Despite his Marxist rhetoric, Bishop did virtually nothing to constrain private enterprise. Indeed, it flourished.

Bishop as well as many international development experts felt that the best way to improve the economy in the short term was by increasing tourism. But there was general agreement, including an assessment

made earlier by the US Agency for International Development, that this could only happen if Grenada built a new airport that could handle large commercial jets coming directly from Europe where the most likely tourist market lay. It should not be surprising that any airport capable of handling large commercial jets also has the capacity to be used for military purposes.

Bishop gave a large construction contract to a US company and a contract to the British company of Plessey Airports to provide lighting systems. Cuba provided 400 construction workers, but it was very far from being a secret Cuban military installation. I walked over the entire area as could anyone else who felt so inclined.

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Bishop, over a two-year period, moved progressively closer to Castro. Cuban involvement on the island grew. But there was little attempt to hide their activities. On several occasions when in Grenada, I had dinner with the Cuban Ambassador Julian Torres Rizzo and his American-born wife, Gail.

The information which our invading forces later described as seriously lacking from their intelligence briefing was, I found, readily available for the asking, including numbers of Cuban military and civilian personnel, the extent to which Grenada was being armed and Cuba's intentions on the island.

In general, relations between the medical school and the Cubans were good. The medical school softball team played against teams of Cuban construction workers, and, in some instances, Cuban doctors in the hospital taught American medical students.

While on a trip to Europe, I learned that Bishop had been ousted by his former colleague Bernard Coard, a hard-line ideologue who had long been the eminence gris behind the revolution, but who lacked the popular appeal enjoyed by Bishop.

Concerned for my father's safety and that of the other faculty members and students at the school, I contacted my father, who assured me that not only was there no cause for alarm, but that Coard had guaranteed the safety of the medical school and the students.

On Wednesday, October 19, I received a call from a member of the board of trustees of the medical

school, a distinguished and conservative man who said that the State Department was pressuring school officials in New York to say publicly the students on Grenada were in danger so that Washington would have a pretext to invade the island. I urged that they not accede to such pressure.

Meanwhile, on Grenada, my father was continuing to hold discussions initially with Coard and subsequently with Gen. Hudson Austin, the head of the military council. Austin expressed his strong desire that the medical school remain on the island and promised to guarantee the students' safety. He provided my father with his home phone number and said that if my father had any concern about the students' safety to call him at any hour of the day or night.

In the course of my father's discussions with Austin, he had the sense that the general was not particularly sympathetic to the Marxist cause. He talked instead of moving Grenada back to a parliamentary democracy.

Still concerned about the safety of the medical students in the event of a US invasion, my father persuaded

Austin to allow representatives of the US Embassy in Barbados to come to the island the next morning. Saturday, October 22. Austin agreed and the message was relayed to the State Department via the medical school office in New York.

The US Embassy officials met with Austin, other members of the military council and the medical students. It was my father's hope that once these officials realised that the students and faculty were in no danger and had also a chance to see the political direction in which Austin wanted to move that it would be clear an invasion was entirely unwarranted.

That night the bombing in Beirut occurred. My father felt the invasion of Grenada was thus unlikely. Nevertheless, he convened a meeting of the students and said that anyone who wished to leave could do so. About 10 per cent expressed such a desire, mainly first-semester students who had been in Grenada only a few weeks.

On Monday morning the airport as reopened as Austin had promised, and any students who wanted leave could do so. The only problem was that Barbados was already sparing with Washington to invade the next day and refused to let the commercial airline LIAT fly to the island. A few students left by charter plane as did British and Canadian citizens alarmed by the continuing rumours of imminent invasion.

That same morning I received a telegram from my father, who apparently felt he would not be able to communicate with me in any other way, which said: "We are all still well and safe. News distorted and exaggerated."

However, in the early afternoon, Modica called me to say that he had talked by phone with my father, who felt increasingly that Austin wanted to move the country back towards democracy. He was seeking guidance and help from my father, who asked that I draft a strategy paper to help Austin accomplish such a transition. The paper was written in Washington that afternoon. I transmitted it to New York and at 11 that night it was read to my father over the telephone. Because there was no apparent urgency, it was agreed that the paper would be telexed in its entirety the next morning.

The invasion began six hours later.

Grenada Tote Sheet

AS Grenada drifts off the front page, it is time for those of us who adopted a question-asking attitude during the intervention to move toward a more settled view. That attitude, to be sure, was not exactly neutral. It was skeptical. Just to ask whether it was a necessary, justified or effective intervention was to challenge the administration's assertions, or at least to pronounce them insufficient and in need of more proof. We did not and do not accept much of the left's and Latin America's categorical opposition to all interventions (especially U.S. interventions). But for us there were big questions about this one.

Let us try to tote up the answers on the basis of what is known now:

Before the event, the detained Grenadian governor general, sole repository of what legitimate authority remained on the island, did request outside help, and half a dozen eastern Caribbean states, acting through a legitimate treaty process, did request U.S. aid.

After the event, unequivocal endorsements of the invasion came from three groups with, in their fashion, impressive credentials: most of the American students, most Grenadian citizens and most states of the eastern Caribbean. And — although this bears more on the politics than the merits of the act — most American citizens also supported it.

As to the first of President Reagan's stated reasons for the invasion, preventing harm to the students, one can say that it was better to be safe than sorry. Of the second, one can say that the narrow mission of bringing law and order was accomplished but the harder mission of establishing a democratic society lies ahead. In its nine independent years, Grenada has had two leaders, an anti-democratic crackpot of the right and an anti-democratic Marxist of the left. Watch out.

It was troublesome and a bad precedent for Mr. Reagan to yield so much authority over the actual operation to the uniformed military, which created an unnecessary crisis of political confidence by barring the press and by too often seeming blind to the operation's diplomatic context. The importance of speedily transferring any residual military and police functions to other parties, for instance, does not yet appear to be fully understood. As for the president's larger strategic purposes, certainly he blocked whatever the resident Cubans, Russians, East Germans and North Koreans — hardly disinterested parties — were planning to do on and with Grenada. Whether he could have blocked them better by timely diplomacy is, unfortunately, moot.

We think President Reagan made the right decision in Grenada. He redeemed a truly disturbing situation with an economical use of force, though he will have to pay a certain price in confidence lost and image besmirched. It is telling, however, that many people still fear the president will pocket what favor comes his way and use it to vindicate the general use of force to resolve sticky foreign policy problems. If he does, everything he hoped to have gained in Grenada will be washed out.

Point Salines airport to be permanent US base?

by Alex Brummer in St. Georges, Grenada

IN THE past few days a steady stream of trucks carrying heavy roadbuilding, grading, and construction equipment has been rolling off a US freighter in St George's harbour, and has been moved by road to the Cuban-built airport at Point Salines.

With the reopening of Grenada's small tropical airstrip at Pearls, in the centre of the island, to civilian traffic, the military has been able to seal off Point Salines, which was the major entry point for journalists, aid officials, diplomats, and politicians arriving on the island. The military has put a ring of troops and roadblocks around the airport, and all but military traffic has been diverted.

British diplomatic officials, for instance, are now having to take charter planes from Pearls, as the military has cut off access to the military airstrip.

Although the US is making plans to inject large sums of aid into Grenada — to help with reconstruction of roads and buildings damaged during the invasion — it is being curiously cautious about its plans for Point Salines. An embassy spokesman in

St George's describes the future of the airport as a "high priority", but representatives of civilian contractors involved in the airport construction have now been barred from the site, which is described as a secure area.

If the US seriously intends annexing the Point Salines airport as a military base it would be heavily ironic. The airport, largely constructed by the Cubans with a combination of finance from the Eastern bloc and the European Community, has long been a thorn in the side of the Reagan Administration. It has described it as an attempt by Cuba to establish a jumping-off point for weapons supplies to guerrillas in Central America and Africa.

Despite the Reagan Administration's fixation with the military implications of the airport, there is plenty of evidence that the Grenadians had different plans for it. In conversations with Western subcontractors on the airport, I was told that much of the radar, fittings, electronic equipment, and other facilities were standard for a civilian airport.

Furthermore, there is no doubt that Grenadian businessmen on the island saw it as an opportunity to build the tourist industry which began to flourish in the Bishop years.

There is nothing exceptional about the Point Salines airport in Grenada other than it was being built for a regime which was distrusted in Washington. Despite all the rhetoric about the length of the runway, which is 9,000 feet, six other Eastern Caribbean states — including the small islands of Antigua and St Lucia — have airstrips of similar size.

While it can be argued that, on economic grounds, large-scale tourism is not what Grenada needs most, it is harder to make the case on purely strategic grounds.

Among those concerned that the US intends to annex the airport as a military base are Plessey, the British electronics giant, which has supplied some £8.5 million of equipment for the airport and terminal. When a company representative was recently allowed to inspect the site, he was alarmed at what he saw. Sensitive electronic and generating equipment

packed carefully in packing cases had been dumped at the side of the runway and the wooden crates were being used to store US military rations and as desks.

But even more alarming is the abuse which American planes are giving the still unfinished runway. According to the experts there is a serious danger that unless the US puts a coat of bitumen on the runway shortly the C130 transport planes and Galaxies flying in with supplies will crack the surface, water will seep through, and the runway will spoil.

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The Administration's case for secrecy

by Caspar W. Weinberger, US Secretary of Defence

ON the issue of whether there should have been media coverage of the initial stages of the Grenada operation, our initial thoughts as we planned the rescue mission on very short notice were not primarily on press relations, but on how to secure the evacuation of Americans as quickly and safely as possible and, in so doing, to minimize casualties to our own and Eastern Caribbean forces and to the Grenadian people.

Late Monday, October 24, the president responded to an urgent request of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States and a then-secret plea from the imprisoned governor-general of Grenada and ordered US troops to move into Grenada. Early Tuesday morning, October 25, the first US and Eastern Caribbean troops arrived.

Because we had very few hours to plan and carry out the Grenada operation, our intelligence was not as complete as we would have liked. However, we did know that Grenada had no government; there was a 24-hour shoot-on-sight curfew imposed by a gang responsible for assassinating Grenadian leaders several days before; several hundred Cuban construction workers were there, some working on a new airfield, and most had probably had Cuban military training, and there were more than 1,000 American citizens and other unprotected civilians. Finally, we

knew that high-ranking Cuban military officers had arrived two days before, presumably to organise and strengthen the Cuban military capability there.

Given those circumstances, two things became obvious to military planners: First, we must arrive in absolute secrecy to prevent Grenadian or Cuban troops from strengthening their resistance, or seizing American hostages; and second, that our forces could not be diverted from their main mission of ensuring the safety of US citizens. With this in mind, the decision was made by the commanders to whom we entrusted this dangerous mission to withhold from the press advance notification of the Grenada operation and to keep reporters and other non-combatants off Grenada until the American citizens were safe, so as to utilize all our available resources for the actual rescue mission.

As it turned out, US and Eastern Caribbean forces did encounter heavy hostile fire from Cuban and, to a lesser extent, Grenadian forces. Although the medical students and other US civilians were not taken hostage, it took 48 hours to rescue and secure the evacuation of the 600 or more who wanted to leave. As soon as the evacuation was in its final stages, less than 48 hours after the operation began, members of the press were flown into Grenada, al-

though sporadic fighting continued, and they were given complete freedom and the run of the island, and our total cooperation in arranging interviews, etc. We also arranged to fly press representatives back to Barbados every day so that they could file their stories, because there were no transmission facilities on the island.

In an effort to keep the press informed prior to entry into Grenada, the Department of Defence held briefings for reporters here in Washington and on Barbados. In addition, the department provided the press with unclassified film footage and photographs taken by military personnel during the first 48 hours of the Grenada operation.

As public officials, particularly those in national-security areas, we are sometimes faced with difficult choices. In this case, we came down on the side of trying to provide for the security of military and civilian personnel. The unique circumstances surrounding the Grenada operation, particularly the uncertainties our troops would face, because we had so little time to plan or secure up-to-date intelligence, made it imperative that we rescue the medical students and other civilians before we added non-combatants to the personnel being sent to the island.

Mr Weinberger wrote this article for the Los Angeles Times.

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by Alex Brummer in St. Georges, Grenada

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MAKING his excuses to Filipino President Marcos and his wife for not being able to drop by Manila on his Far Eastern tour, Ronald Reagan wrote: "Dear Ferdinand and Imelda, I want you to know that I have always had confidence in your ability to handle things. . . . Be assured, if it were not for the problems with Congress, we would have held to the original plan. . . . Our friendship for you remains as warm and firm as ever."

Now what, you may ask, has that got to do with what we ought to be worrying about at the moment: Grenada and, more so, Lebanon. Quite a lot, in a direct way, if you happen to share, as I do, the view expressed by Robert G. Kaiser last Sunday (Guardian Weekly, page 15) that "the United States has a myopic, ideological foreign policy that really isn't a policy at all, but a collection of maneuvers produced by prejudice and instinct".

The crises in Lebanon and Grenada are as different in nature from each other as both are from the threat to U.S. security interests in the Philippines. Yet, even making allowance for diplomatic niceties, that letter from Reagan to Mr. and Mrs. Marcos strongly suggests that, as with Lebanon and Grenada, so it is with the Philippines: instinct, prejudice, and single-minded, ideological fixations inform the president's world view.

The U.S. Marines went to Lebanon, we were originally told, to help that country recover its lost sovereignty. Now we're told they must stay to keep the Middle East from being "incorporated into the Soviet bloc". The United States in-

vaded Grenada, we were originally told, to rescue its citizens and help "restore democracy". Now we're told, ex post facto, that "we got there just in time" because Grenada "was a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy". That might not have been a bad rationale — going in.

For now, Lebanon and Grenada consume us while the Philippines, which was consuming us only a few months ago, is out of sight, and therefore largely out of mind. But the fact is that the crisis in the Philippines is steadily worsening.

By cancelling his visit, the president has bought a little time. But not much: the decline and ultimate fall of the Marcos government seems no less inevitable now than it did a month or so ago, in the wake of the assassination of his leading challenger.

For as long as Marcos is unable to dispel the dark cloud of suspicion of government complicity in Benigno Aquino's death, he plays increasingly into the hands of extremists. Only a few months ago, the Iranian analogy was leaping to a lot of minds: a heavy U.S. security interest in air and naval bases; authoritarian rule; disregard for human rights. Counseling U.S. forbearance, Vice President George Bush warned of "another Khomeini" if Marcos is "convicted before the jury is out".

Well, the jury, which is to say a persuasive investigation, is not only still out, but likely, for all practical purposes, to remain so. And so, in its own way, is the administration — if Ronald Reagan's effusion is any guide. To Marcos it says stand pat; to those moderate and respectable

opposition elements in the Philippines who look to the United States for the restoration of democratic practices, it says don't hold your breath.

There's an alternative for which statesmen gain scant reward: preventive diplomacy. William Sullivan, who has served at critical moments in both Iran and the Philippines, sees a "dangerous similarity": tight U.S. security ties to an authoritarian with a crumbling power base. Jimmy Carter clung too long to the shah, he argues; the Reagan administration must recognize that Marcos has "run out his political string".

Then what? An urgent, active U.S. diplomatic intervention, neither "washing our hands" of Marcos nor encouraging him to "hang tough" but seeking compromise on a peaceful return to democratic processes. Promising nothing, Sullivan thinks the administration owes it to Filipino interests as well as our own to give it a try. So do I, if the alternative, somewhere down the road, is to be yet another reflexive escalation by Ronald Reagan of what is in essence a local power struggle into a titanic test of strength between them and us.

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Government Behind the Government

By Loren Jenkins

ST GEORGE'S — Grenada: Four weeks after the U.S.-led invasion, Grenada's interim Government is scarcely functioning.

According to Western diplomatic sources who followed the first debates of the Governor General, Paul Scoon's ruling Advisory Council, it agreed only that economic and security issues must come before any decision on when to hold elections.

While Sir Paul had talked in private of holding elections within a year, the version emerging from the council's first session was that it might take up to two years for the country to be ready to choose a democratic government. Only five of the council's nine members were present. The others were winding up their obligations abroad.

Sir Paul and the council "have proclaimed themselves the new Government of Grenada until an elected government can be formed," said a European diplomat here. "But the fact is the government here is still very much headed by Ambassador Charles Gillespie of the U.S. mission and Major-General Jack Farris, the military commander. The sad fact is that they look like (they will be) the government behind the Government here for a long, long time."

By identifying the long-term issue of security as a priority, the council members were admitting that a foreign, probably American, presence was going to be needed on the island indefinitely.

And the 1,000-member U.S. military force is augmented by a 350-member British force, keeping the island from neighboring is-

tion announced its intention to pull out the remaining 2,300 U.S. combat troops by Christmas, in accord with the Congressional War Powers Act. U.S. officials here indicate that another 2,000 "non-combat" troops will be staying well into next year.

As the U.S. military spokesman, Major Douglas Frey said, the distinction between combat and non-combat troops is a fuzzy one since even non-combat troops are armed and trained for security duties. He said that the military policemen that man the island's roadblocks, help run its prison on Richmond Hill, conduct arrests, and interrogate Grenadians suspected of questionable loyalties are classed as non-combat troops.

Finding the means of alleviating the island's economic crisis also seemed to be out of the council's hands.

So far, the U.S. has earmarked \$3.5 million (£2.3 million) in emergency aid. While U.S. officials are wary of being pinned down to a long-term aid figure, they privately predict that another \$15 million (£10 million) may be allotted for the fiscal year ending next September 30, including \$5 million (£3.3 million) for budgetary support.

IT IS 1990. Grenada, with its moderate, democratic government, is surrounded in the Caribbean by Marxist regimes that have come to power during the 5½ year presidency of Walter F. Mondale in the United States.

Tensions mount in the area after the Grenadian president is assassinated and replaced by a right-wing leader who is supported by gangs of thugs. He immediately asks for U.S. military assistance and hints at plans to make his country a base for covert operations against its neighbors.

Several days later the Soviet Union invades, citing the threat to its diplomatic personnel from rightwing thugs and a formal request by half a dozen countries in the region for "collective-security measures as contemplated by Article 52 of the United Nations Charter."

This "Grenada in reverse" is one of the scenarios that legal scholars have been using in the wake of the U.S. invasion to focus people's thinking on the norms of behavior — or lack of them — that guide U.S. actions around the world.

If invading Grenada was right for us, wouldn't it be right for the Russians if the exact same conditions prevailed? ...

If one reason to intervene was to "protect human rights," as Deputy Secretary Kenneth W. Dam said when he testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee November 2, why doesn't the U.S. government intervene in the Philippines, Chile and other countries where human-rights violations are already well documented?

If the invasion was partly justified by what Secretary of State George P. Shultz called "an atmosphere of violent uncertainty," couldn't the Kremlin have used the same rationale to justify intervening directly in Poland in 1981, when the Solidarity labor movement was vying with the government for political influence amid strikes and huge demonstrations?

These questions point up the bewildering moral and legal dilemmas underlying the use of force in a world in which "the expectation of violence is very high," as Yale law professor Michael Reisman put it.

But don't expect much help from the legal scholars in sorting out what is legal and what isn't. In this branch of law, as in others, there are as many interpretations as there are clients to please.

Respected professors can't begin to agree on whether or not the U.S. invasion of Grenada was "legal."

Reisman of Yale believes intervention probably was justified on humanitarian grounds, during a

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The Reagan Administration

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1983 (\$99,100)

LARRY SPEAKS, EDITOR

INTERNATIONAL

GRENADA:

We won!

LEBANON:

You writing a book or something?

CENTRAL AMERICA:

What's it to you?



The Battle for Grenada, edited for National Security.

OUR OPINIONS

Gut the Freedom of Information Act

The Freedom of Information Act lets negative publicity hurt President.



MEDICAL STUDENTS OKAY: RON
by O.P. MEMBER
Volunteer Secretary
Thanks to the President, All of the Medical Students

Noble Principles - And Spheres of Influence

By Dan Morgan

demonstrably "chaotic" situation. There's recent precedent for such humanitarian intervention, he notes.

The world was generally pleased when Tanzania invaded Uganda to overthrow Idi Amin and rescue the wretched victims of his dungeons. Few complained when France stepped briefly into the Central African Republic to unseat its paranoid emperor. And Vietnam's invasion of Pol Pot's Cambodia may have been in the same category.

The State Department says the action was taken under an article of the Organization of American States charter that permits collective action when "a situation might endanger the peace of America," a definition broad enough to cover just about anything.

University of Virginia Professor John Norton Moore, chairman of the American Bar Association committee on law and national security, says the invasion was strongly justified as a regional peace-keeping action, under his interpretation of the U.N. and Organization of American States charters.

But Yale's Reisman is not sure that makes the best case for the U.S. action. He points out that the U.S.

government has often denounced actions taken under the guise of "regional peace-keeping" when those actions were taken by the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact.

Professor Burns H. Weston of the University of Iowa (whom Moore esteems highly) couldn't disagree more with Moore and Reisman. He dismisses as "laughable" the administration's contention that it invaded to defend Grenadian human rights and says the action clearly violated the O.A.S. and U.N. charters' numerous prohibitions against the "threat or use of force."

Was pre-invasion Grenada a "situation that might endanger the peace of America," as described in Article 28 of the OAS charter? Or did the invasion itself violate Article 17, which says no state can occupy another's territory "even temporarily . . . on any grounds whatsoever"? The legal scholars can't agree on such fine points.

The reality is that the conduct of the superpowers today is not guided by charters, but by the doctrine of spheres of influence.

Law in its broadest sense rests on a common understanding of what is tolerable behaviour. It would not

have been tolerable for the Soviet Union to send paratroopers into Grenada, because Grenada is not in the Kremlin's sphere of influence. That is a something both Washington and Moscow accept.

This is a depressing reality in many ways. A world based on the power of America and Russia is a far cry from the one envisioned in 1945, when the U.N. Charter created Article 2, paragraph 4, in which nations agreed to refrain from the threat or use of force.

It is not what the signatories of the OAS Charter intended in 1948 either. They thought their charter, with its numerous guarantees of territorial inviolability, was writing an end to gunboat diplomacy.

Article 2(4) is not much more than an inspiration today, if it ever was more than that. Powerful countries have been its principle violators.

India went into Goa, Kashmir and Pakistan with little concern for charters. The Soviet Union invaded Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, and the United States intervened in Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Cuba (the Bay of Pigs) and now Grenada, though

the lawyers quibble over the legality of the latter.

Distasteful as a world order based on spheres of influence is, it has at least averted war between the superpowers. It has even accommodated some readjustments in these spheres -- though not recently. Yugoslavia moved out of the Soviet sphere of influence, and Cuba slipped out of America's.

In the 19th century some European legal scholars justified the use of force to maintain the "balance of power," without which, they feared, Europe would slip quickly into chaos. Whatever the drawbacks of the balance-of-power strategy, Europe did stay peaceful through most of the century.

But there are obvious problems with a 20th-century order based on spheres of influence. For one thing, the order is not all that stable. It is subject to constant probes and tests. It is being tested now, in Poland and Nicaragua, and these tests heighten the tensions between the superpowers.

From the American standpoint, the need to preserve a sphere of influence can come in conflict with another cherished ideal: self-determination.

In Chile, the United States provided covert aid to help overthrow a democratically elected Marxist government in 1973. Chile was kept within the U.S. sphere of influence, but the result was a 10-year military dictatorship that snuffed out human rights and political expression.

As the Soviet Union is learning in Afghanistan, Poland and Czechoslovakia, solutions to political problems imposed by force from the outside are not viable.

Jamaica, which until recently had a socialist regime disliked by the U.S. government, now has a conservative, pro-American regime. The change did not come about by any outside military intervention, but by an internal process and free elections.

By far the biggest problem with the spheres-of-influence system is the enormous burden it places on the superpowers. The Soviet Union cannot allow Poland and Czechoslovakia to develop the political life that best suits the needs and aspirations of their people. Instead, the Soviets waste energy and military resources blocking that change.

By the same token, the strongest military power on earth feels compelled to send American soldiers to their death on a tiny Caribbean island for reasons that still seem murky to many people.

No wonder the explanations have been confusing. What parent would take solace knowing a son died to protect a sphere of influence?

The Washington Post

Getting Out of Grenada

THE Reagan administration shows too little sense of the need to reduce the American involvement in Grenada and to get out quickly — that means, within a few weeks. Is the president paying too much attention to his press notices to see the swamp he could yet fall into by overplaying his hand?

The uniformed American military seems bent on holding on to the operation, even though the guns are silent. The intervention force has taken on some part of the screening — not just the arresting — of Grenadians associated or allegedly associated with either the short-lived revolutionary council or the government it overthrew. Liberating Grenada is one thing, playing political police is another. For the latter, the Pentagon has no visible qualifications. The military is also big now in civic action — repairing roads, setting up clinics and the like. Mr. Reagan's boast that the men doing this work are the best sort of American "missionaries" suggests the extent to which sentiment is blurring strategy.

The Grenadians, grateful for their deliverance, plead for the Americans to stay until they feel confident to take over their own affairs, especially security affairs. One has sympathy for Grenada's traumatic passage. But the Reagan administration should not succumb to the islanders' evident dependency cravings. The president has a doubting world as well as a generally trusting American public to show that he meant it when he said he was intervening briefly to rescue Grenada from a single threat. In every way, including unilateral deed, he should be pushing the pace at which Grenadians replace Americans with security elements from the Caribbean or — yoo-hoo, Margaret Thatcher — from other corners of the British Commonwealth.

It is troubling, by the way, to hear congressmen, even Democratic congressmen, musing permissively that it may not be possible to bring the boys home before the 60-day war powers clock ticks down in December.

Grenada bids to be the latest in a series of countries whose politics Americans did not begin to study closely until the troops were ashore. It now seems that Grenada previously had the forms but little of the substance of democracy, and that building a political order worthy of the intervention will be no picnic. But this is no time to be daunted or — the subtler trap — to start feeling indispensable. The working assumption should be that the Grenadians can run their own show. Americans should get out while the getting is good.

The Guardian
Dec. 4, 1983

In the eye of the storm

"IT IS one thing to prepare against an attack by a band of cowardly mercenaries sent by Eric Gairy. It is easy to recognise this kind of enemy. But destabilisation is a different kind of enemy. It is much more subtle and much more deceptive. But it has a great weakness, a fatal flaw. Destabilisation can only work when it goes unrecognised — like a thief in the night. The people of Grenada must learn what this destabilisation is — because we cannot be fooled by it."

In this speech in May 1979 Maurice Bishop put his faith in the safeguarding of Grenada's revolution by its people. On the day of his death he did the same, still believing that power was in the hands of the people rather than with the weapons of the men who shot him. But destabilisation had worked, as one New Jewel Movement activist put it later, "in the one way we have never foreseen — within the leadership itself."

Chris Searle spent two years in Grenada in the frontline of the battle against destabilisation, a battle which Bishop believed could best be fought by the education that Gairy's regime had denied Grenadians.

In their four years in power the New Jewel Movement concentrated above everything else on education.

Victoria Britain reviews Destabilisation in Grenada

Adult literacy classes, new school curricula, teacher training, international cultural conferences and seminars made Grenada a magnet for West Indian and other Third World educationists and intellectuals. Chris Searle's interest was in the collection of oral history from ordinary Grenadians. He has already produced several small books about the changes in people's lives in Grenada over this period.

Searle left Grenada over a year ago and before the divisions opened in the leadership. His book is a record of the destabilisation methods used against Grenada by the United States over the first four years. Both Bishop and Coard read the book in proof during this summer.

This is a companion volume to former Prime Minister Michael Manley's **Struggle in the Periphery**. Manley recounts his experience of destabilisation in Jamaica, "by a propaganda campaign at home and abroad, terrorism and organised public protest." It was, he says, "strikingly reminiscent of the period leading up to the military coup which toppled the Allende government in Chile."

In Grenada, Searle shows, all these techniques were used too. He gives a sorry catalogue including the aid and diplomatic freeze, the starting of a CIA-funded newspaper, and the dramatic bomb blast which nearly wiped out the entire leadership. He describes, too, Bishop's warnings against the use of rumour to undermine the unity of the leadership. This may turn out to have been the most sadly prophetic line in this book. The simultaneous rumours that Bishop and Coard, friends as well as allies during six years of hard work, were planning to kill each other, is one of the mysteries of those last days of the regime.

For four years, as Searle shows, Bishop and Coard had organised rallies and seminars to learn from the experiences of former CIA men such as Philip Agee and John Stockwell, as well as from Cheddi Jagan of Guyana and Michael Manley. A short interview with Jagan included as an appendix forecasts with deadly accuracy almost all that happened — essential reading.

Destabilisation in Grenada, Writers and Readers, £3.95.

The corrosive effect of the Cuban obsession

BARE and unattended, its windows smashed and its rented furniture destroyed the one-time residence of the now-deported Cuban ambassador in Grenada is one of the more grotesque relics of last month's invasion. The once smart building was not damaged in combat or any exchange of crossfire. It was the victim of looting by uniformed men some time after its occupants had escaped.

On one interior wall the vandals left their visiting card — the initials "AA", symbol of the 82nd Airborne Division, one of the main elements of Washington's Rapid Deployment Force. Beside it is the message, "Eat shit, Comraie faggot".

The wrecking of the Cuban residence is no aberration, but the vulgar manifestation of a sickness which has lingered and corroded American political life ever since the first few months of Fidel Castro's revolution in 1959. The first US President to succumb to the Cuban obsession in military form was John Kennedy, who authorised the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

Since then, the obsession has waxed and waned like a cancer, at times virulent, at times relatively dormant, but never excised. Even the decent Jimmy Carter allowed a Congressional flap over a long-existent Soviet "combat brigade" in Cuba to derail the second SALT arms control treaty.

Now, with Ronald Reagan, the anti-Cuban cancer has broken out again in its most extreme and violent form, leading to the invasion of tiny Grenada and the lies which went with it. Although the fighting stopped long ago, the anti-Cuban obsession still hangs over the island. It is epitomised by the daily flight of helicopter gunships which buzz like frustrated bluebottles round the house of the Cuban charge d'affaires,

the only Cuban left in Grenada, drowning the interviews which he courteously conducts with a stream of visiting reporters.

Lies preceded, accompanied, and have followed the American-led invasion. Few were more crude than the notion that US forces achieved a significant military victory in Grenada. Time magazine reported a Reagan administration official as saying that before the invasion the White House was "looking for any opportunity that came along where we

a hospital. But last week, when I left Grenada, US officials were still only admitting that three other Grenadians — all People's Revolutionary Army soldiers — had died. They would not say how many of the 280 Grenadian wounded were civilian or military.

This attempt to suppress the fact of Grenadian resistance was taken so far that US forces exhumed bodies known to be Grenadians and sent them to Havana along with the Cuban dead.

In the first of two articles from Grenada, Jonathan Steele, chief foreign correspondent, reports on America's 'victory'

could take a direct punch at the other side's nose with the maximum chance of success and the minimum risk of tangling with the Soviets themselves". The aim was "to get Vietnam behind us". The murder of the Grenadian Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, and the collapse of the revolution was the opportunity which "came along".

Having willed a victory in advance, the Reagan administration was quick to declare a victory on the ground, in the absence of independent witnesses except for a handful of reporters who had managed to slip in by boat on the morning of the invasion. A month after the attack, it has become clear that the United States, in the interest of justifying its "victory", over-reported the amount of Cuban resistance, under-reported the Grenadian resistance, and exaggerated its own military prowess. In fact, only a minority of Cubans and Grenadians, but in roughly equal proportions, put up any opposition.

Initially the US refusal to admit any Grenadian casualties at all. Six days after the event, US officials conceded that their forces had killed 18 mental patients when bombs hit

In the company of Bernard Diederich of Time magazine, one of the seven journalists who reached the island on invasion day, I was stopped at an American checkpoint at the Beau Sejour radio relay station north of St George's on November 11. Diederich knew that five Grenadian soldiers had died at the relay station during the US assault, and had seen at least four of the bodies himself. But a soldier at the checkpoint told us that he and his colleagues had dug up "two Cuban bodies" on the previous day, to be put in plastic bags and sent to Havana. One of them, he said was wearing a New York Yankees tee-shirt.

Cuban forensic authorities later checked the 42 bags sent by the United States, examined the remains scientifically, and compared them with the known number of 24 missing Cubans. They announced that the bags contained only 37 people, of whom 13 were Grenadians.

How many Grenadians remain unaccounted for may never be known. At least the Americans and the Cubans know exactly how many people they had on the island, and can calculate their losses.

George Louison, one of the few of Bishop's ministers who is left alive in Grenada, believes that "well over 50" Grenadians died, although he thinks that apart from the mental patients, only a few were civilians.

If one takes the official American figure of US dead, and the Cuban figure of Cuban and Grenadian dead (plus the three dead Grenadian soldiers admitted by the United States), the military casualties of the invasion were: Killed in action; US 18; Cuban 24; Grenadian 16. Wounded: US 113; Cuban 57; Grenadian 280.

These figures hardly bespeak a very glorious US military performance, but rather a series of engagements in which each of the three groups suffered similarly. Overwhelming US numbers and heavy bombardment rather than skill decided the outcome.

Diederich reports a State Department source who receives all the US cable traffic as saying that most of the US casualties were caused by accidents or "friendly fire" — bullets and bombs fired by Americans. In a report sent to time magazine but not published, he described the burial service for the only two men of the second battalion of the 325th Airborne Infantry Regiment of the

82nd Airborne Division who died in Grenada. The second battalion was the only part of the division which saw combat.

The three-day battle for Grenada actually comprised only six episodes of contested fire, the majority of them ineffectual. At Pearls airfield on the east side of the island, a single Grenadian-manned anti-aircraft battery fired briefly at invading US Marine helicopters, then fled. From the waterfront and hillsides of St Georges, PRA soldiers fired AK47s and machine-guns for a few hours at US planes. (Fort Rupert, on a promontory, was abandoned after US naval bombardment without any Grenadian fire).

At the PRA camp at Calivigny in the south of the island, Grenadians operated anti-aircraft batteries. Their few successes came from small-arms fire which downed three helicopters, according to Major Ron Matthews of Bravo Company of the 82nd Airborne.

Heavy air strikes on the exposed camp on a windswept finger of land drove most of the resistance away and, by the time US Rangers approached it, little opposition was left.

The only substantial fighting took place close to the Grand Anse campus of the American Medical School where more Grenadians fought than Cubans, and near the Cuban compound by the Point Salines airfield. But 600 of the 784 Cubans on the island on invasion day were captured within a few hours of the assault, most of them without a shot being fired.

One correspondent who has covered wars in the Middle East described the Grenada battle as "in part, perhaps the greatest part, a military exercise with live ammo".

Official US deception in describing the fighting and exaggerating the Cuban role is not merely a matter of historical record. It is continuing today as a calculated policy device. Nowhere is this clearer than in the fact that the United States still has 3,100 troops on Grenada as many as it had on October 26, when Cuba announced its forces had ceased fire.

Surrounding the irrational core of the US obsession with Cuba is an outer layer of cynical and conscious propaganda, in which the Cuban bogey is used as a deliberate device for manipulating others.

In the last two weeks there have been only two sniper incidents, both presumed to have been by People's Revolutionary Army soldiers. Yet, US army propaganda jeeps with loudspeakers still warning people of alleged Cuban snipers at large, and urging them "to send the Cubans back to Havana where they belong".

US propaganda teams have started to stick new posters on telegraph poles and walls, showing captured Cuban weapons with the slogan, "Are these the tools that build airports?"

The massive US army presence clearly has a political rather than a military function. It is designed to maintain the fiction of a Cuban threat so that under this pretext the political work of dismantling the few surviving remnants of the Grenadian revolution can proceed.

Nothing but a politician

Continued from page 8

nomination but not the Presidency. Both hypotheses may be frail. His support is broad, but time and again when you question the payers for the plate suppers, its lack of depth stands revealed. The thousands of dollars are a prudent investment in the man most likely. One monster gaffe or hapless reverse, and it could all drain away. John Glenn is trying to bypass the old Democratic machine to find success with America's countless millions of decent, pretty conservative middlemen. Mondale is building through the machine and its minorities; hoping at the end, to widen his appeal.

Both men, fielding questions, are capable and concerned. There should be no flurries of European concern next year about a hick from the sticks (or a know nothing movie actor) getting to the White House. But in the end you are left looking for the spark that could ignite the race against Reagan; and two conversations linger.

One, after Glenn had flown away from the debris of an old style fried chicken dinner in Pensacola, was

with an affable, affluent, organiser of the event. He expatiated a while on politics. Surely, they were Reagan politics? "Oh yeah, I voted for Reagan last time and I'll probably vote for him next time. But meanwhile I'm working for John Glenn so that lefties like Mondale don't get a chance. I like a nice, safe choice for the Presidency."

The other conversation came with a friendly, fretting girl who helped oil Mondale's progress through Daytona. She was, she said, a social worker in a New York State hospital where Aids sufferers came to die, slowly. "When Reagan got in, it was amazing, the power of the President. Suddenly there was a climate, you know, and some of the doctors thought it was all right to give up, to shrug, to say they wouldn't treat hopeless cases. I love my job, but I'm giving it up to work for Mondale because I believe he can make a difference."

If the greying little man in the crumpled blue suit can somehow find his own flames of passion then all the conventional scenarios may begin to look a little different.

Brathwaite takes the place of McIntyre

ST. GEORGE'S, Fri., (AP): GOVERNOR GENERAL Sir Paul Scoon has announced the appointment of Nicholas Brathwaite, an educator, as Chairman of Grenada's Interim Government Advisory Council.

In a radio address to the nation, Scoon also announced that voter registration would begin early next year, and disclosed the appointment of several other officials.

Among the appointments is that of William Demas, President of the Caribbean Development Bank, as economic adviser to the Council. Demas, a Trinidadian, is the only non-Grenadian now participating in the reorganisation of Grenada's Government.

Former Acting Attorney

General Anthony Rushford, a Briton resigned on Monday.

The appointment of Brathwaite, who has been acting as Chairman since the Council was formed on November 10, put to rest speculation here that Alister McIntyre might still take up the reins of the Council.

McIntyre, a Grenadian who holds a high United Nations post in Geneva, had been named by Scoon to chair the Council but later turned down the job for reasons of health.

Brathwaite's deputy will be Allan Kurtin, a Grenadian serving as Permanent Secretary to Jamaica's Prime Minister Edward Seaga. Scoon said Kurtin had been given a leave of absence to serve in the Grenada Interim Government.

45 Grenadians were killed

WASHINGTON, Fri., (Cana):

UNITED STATES officials today said 45 Grenadians died and 337 were wounded during the multinational invasion of the island last October 25.

It was the first official indication of the full number of Grenadian casualties. The official toll also included 18 Americans dead and 116 wounded along with 25 Cubans dead and 59 wounded.

The commander of the US invasion of Grenada said today it was a Cuban decision to fight rather than a US intelligence failure which accounted for many military and civilian casualties in the operation.

Admiral Wesley McDonald added if the United States had not acted quickly in the Grenadian situation there could have been a higher military and civilian toll on the island. McDonald, who as the Navy's Atlantic Commander oversaw the October 25 invasion, said there was no "intelligence failure."

Bishop's mother coming for service

THE MOTHER and sister of slain Prime Minister of Grenada Maurice Bishop will be coming to Trinidad to attend the church service and cultural show organised by the Oilfields Workers for Mr. Bishop.

The mother, Mrs. Alimenta Bishop and sister Miss Ann Bishop, will arrive together with other persons from Grenada this morning.

Others coming in will include Mr. Lynden Ramdhani, who was Minister of Tourism in the former government and the mother of Mrs. Jacqueline Creft, who was killed together with Mr. Bishop in October.

The memorial service will be held this afternoon at the Holy Trinity Cathedral in Port-of-Spain to be followed with a cultural show at the Palms Club, Pointe-a-Pierre Road, San Fernando at 8 p.m.

Cuban construction equipment lies idle at unfinished airport

By NAT CARNES

POINT SALINES, Fri., (AP):

A NEW, shiny yellow and red gasoline truck sits idle at the edge of a 9,000-foot airstrip Cuba was building here before the October 25 U.S.-led invasion.

"It looks better than our," an American soldier said admiringly. He had walked over from his post at the airstrip's fuel depot to take a look at the Cuban tanker.

The truck is one of 195 pieces of equipment, valued at more than \$2 million (U.S.), left behind by the Cubans, when the invasion put an abrupt end to construction of the controversial airport.

And the Cuban Government wants its property back.

"The Americans say they have nothing to do with this," said First Secretary Gaston Diaz, in an interview at the Cuban Embassy near St. George's. "Mr. (Charles A.) Gillespie (chief of the U.S. mission in Grenada) told me that."

SURPRISE MOVE

Grenada's former acting Attorney General Antony Rushford had said the island's interim government would take custody of the equipment. Rushford made the statement before his surprise resignation on December 5.

"Civil Government has no choice but to take a position regarding legal ownership of the equipment," Rushford said. But he added that the Government had no wish about expropriating anything.

But many Grenadians, apparently, believed the equipment was to stay here after the airport was finished. Diaz said there was no such agreement. "It is totally clear that the equipment is Cuban," he said.

The equipment is only part of the problems surrounding the unfinished airport.

"We are not planning anything on the airport," said Ted D. Morse, U.S. aid coordinator in Grenada. He said available U.S. funds were needed for road-building and the stabilisation of health, education, telephone and power services.

MONEY PROBLEM

"If you look at the economy, it is flat busted," Morse said. He blamed the situation, at least in part, on the disproportionate amount of money the past Government put into the airport. Cuba contributed about \$35 million of the estimated \$71 million cost of the project.

Grenada's Government Advisory Council has acknowledged that the island's severe liquidity position. As of November 30, Grenada's debt stood at \$50.6 million (U.S.).

But at the same time, the Grenadian Government said it had firmly decided... the (airport) project must be completed.

That determination is, apparently, shared by a wide range of the island's 110,000 residents.

Teresa McDonald, 40, was one of 18 local women who earned \$85 a week doing laundry for the Cuban airport workers. She said she also gave a voluntary day every Sunday to help mix cement for the

still unfinished terminal building.

"I don't mind working extra, because the airport will be left to my children," said the mother of six.

And Bishop Sydney Charles, Grenada's highest ranking Roman Catholic cleric, said the Church invested \$3,700 (U.S.) in airport bonds, because "we saw possibilities for good. We invested because of tourism."

The Government of slain Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, floated the \$11 million bond issue on December 15, 1979, a month after the project was announced.

It is not known if the goal was ever reached. The bonds were issued at an annual rate of six per cent, and were payable in full by December 1, 2000.

CHARGE DENIED

But the ambitious project became the focus of controversy. President Reagan charged in a television address that the airport would be used for Cuban and Soviet military planes. The Bishop Government consistently denied the charge.

However, according to Alister Hughes, editor of the "Grenada Newsletter," then-Cuban Ambassador, Julian Torres Rizo, defended the airport's military potential.

"We used a Canadian-built airport in Barbados to stage troops to Angola," Hughes quoted Torres as saying in February of 1980. Why shouldn't we use a Cuban-made airport in Grenada to stage troops anywhere we like?"

The Barbados Government stopped the Cuban flights in the 1970s, when it learned their purpose.

RADICAL JUNTA

U.S. Military planes inaugurated the airport in the October 25 invasion, after Bishop and three of his Cabinet Ministers were executed and power seized by a radical junta.

The troops came in at the request of Grenada's partners in the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States — the tiny island of Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Montserrat, Saint Lucia, St. Kitts-Nevis, and St. Vincent and The Grenadines.

Five of them contributed men to the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force, as did Jamaica and Barbados. The troops still hold the unfinished airport, and the Cuban equipment sits idly nearby.

Behind a pond left when Hardy Bay was filled to build the runway, a Soviet diesel truck and cement-mixer sit beside the asphalt spreader proudly pictured on the cover of Grenada's Telephone Directory.

The shiny gasoline truck, dump trucks and military personnel carriers stand on another lot to the east of the pond, and more equipment is packed into four tin-roofed sheds, just outside the restricted area.

"Maybe I'll get an answer this week," says Diaz, the last known Cuban in Grenada. He repeated that he won't leave the island unless the construction equipment goes with him.

Students keen on returning

ST. GEORGE'S, Fri., (Cana):

THIRTY Grenada nationals, out of a total of 184 pursuing studies in Cuba up to yesterday, had indicated a desire to return home, and agents of the country's new Government will seek to make contact today with more, Governor-General Sir Paul Scoon said last night.

"It is hoped that by next week all the students in Cuba will be contacted personally," he said in a broadcast to the nation.

There are also Grenadian students in East Germany and the Soviet Union. The Governor-General made no specific reference to these.

The students are studying a wide range of professional and technical skills in these countries, under scholarships obtained by the left-wing People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), ousted in the bloody military coup, last October 19.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

How to control Reagan's 'outlawry'

Throughout the twentieth century, the US government has routinely concocted threats to the lives and property of US nationals as pretexts to justify armed interventions into sister American States. The transparency of these pretexts was just as obvious then as it is now. The Reagan Administration has not established that there did in fact exist an immediate threat to the safety of US citizens in Grenada. Nor can the backup rationale of terminating the "chaotic conditions" allegedly then present in Grenada be properly invoked to justify the military invasion.

The Organisation of American States (OAS) was the only collective agency mandated by the regional community of States to maintain international peace and security for the Western hemisphere in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

Article 18 of the OAS Charter provides that no State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Article 20 declares that the territory of a member State is inviolable and therefore may not be the object, even temporarily, of military occupation or other measures of force taken by another State, directly or indirectly, on any grounds.

Finally, article 21 reiterates the solemn obligation of article 2(4) of the UN Charter that American States will not have recourse to force except in cases of self-defence pursuant to existing treaties.

In direct violation of these international obligations the Reagan Administration has forthrightly admitted that it invaded Grenada for the illegitimate purpose of deposing the leftist military junta that had seized power after the coup

against Maurice Bishop, and then installing a government more favorably disposed to the United States.

The members of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) could not lawfully authorise the US invasion of Grenada. Article 8 of its Charter restricts OECS competence in such matters to situations amounting to an "external aggression" and then only in accordance with the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by UN Charter article 51 and in accordance with the OAS Charter.

Furthermore, OECS article 8 requires unanimous agreement among member States before action can be taken, and that condition was never fulfilled here.

If the OECS truly believed the new regime in Grenada created a serious threat to the future peace and stability of the region, the appropriate remedy would have been to bring the matter to the attention of the OAS which possesses sufficient competence to act under circumstances not tantamount to an "external aggression" or "armed attack" upon a member State.

For example, during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis the US resorted to the OAS when the Kennedy Administration realised it was not able to justify the "quarantine" of Cuba under UN Charter article 51 because there existed no immediate threat of attack or aggression by Cuba. Unanimous OAS approval for the quarantine exercised a profound impact upon Khrushchev's decision to remove the missiles.

The Reagan Administration prefers the imposition of unilateral military solutions throughout the Caribbean and Central America.

Both the OAS and UN Charters unequivocally condemn the US invasion of Grenada as a gross violation

of the most fundamental principles of international law. Recently 11 members of the UN Security Council and 108 members of the UN General Assembly, among them several staunch US allies, have deplored this invasion for precisely these reasons.

The US government has suffered the most serious setback to its traditional role in upholding the integrity of the international legal order since President Johnson's strikingly similar invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965. Even though Johnson subsequently obtained OAS approval this invasion was followed by Leonid Brezhnev's reincarnated version of the Johnson Doctrine to justify the Soviet invasions of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and of Afghanistan in 1979.

In stark contrast to the Johnson Administration, President Reagan has not even bothered to request the OAS to intervene in this matter for the limited purpose of organising and supervising elections leading to the creation of a democratic government in Grenada, which will raise serious doubts concerning the international legitimacy of any successor government.

US violation of international law sends a strong message to the entire international community that, for the US Government the traditional rules of restricting the use of force no longer apply in settling international disputes.

When even the US flouts international law, the only consequence can be an increasing degree of international violence, chaos and anarchy US military forces are not up to the task of policing the entire globe. And as the War Powers Act proves, the American people would not permit them to do so anyway despite the inclination of the Reagan Administration.

Right now the Reagan Adminis-

tration seems to be planning an identical fate to Grenada's for Nicaragua under the subterfuge of reviving the moribund Central American Defence Council Pact, which is functionally similar to the OEC's Charter. In order to forestall this the US Congress must enact a Central American equivalent to the Clark Amendment for Angola, which would expressly prohibit the expenditure of any governmental funds in support of overt or covert military or para-military operations in the western hemisphere without explicit congressional authorisation.

Otherwise the Reagan Administration will continue to provoke a broader war throughout Central America that can serve as a pretext for another round of illegal US military intervention in the region.

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The Guardian, Dec. 11, 1983

Grenada

wonders if the US will leave with good grace

Grenada wonders

"THE CRUCIAL thing about the Americans now is not the manner of their coming, but the manner of their going". The speaker is a member of Grenada's Interim Advisory Council, talking in his private capacity and not for attribution.

"If we want them to go and they start resisting, they will lose their support. Then it will be aggression. The interim government has to reject the impression that it is a puppet. It isn't, and I hope the United States doesn't think it is, but unless they leave within six months, it will be hard for us to convince people. We also have to take international public opinion into account on this."

His is the view of a sophisticated minority, and there is no guarantee that it even commands support within the new civilian administration as a whole. The island's small middle-class and business community is delighted with the American invasion, and is hoping for the perks of partnership with the American capital they expect to follow.

Among other Grenadians, the mood is still broadly one of gratitude to the Americans, particularly in the capital, St George's, where the impact of the murder of the prime minister, Maurice Bishop, was strongest. It is hard to exaggerate the degree of shock which this assassination caused. Survivors of the large crowd which freed him from house arrest, and were later fired on by the army, still talk about their experiences obsessively. Conversations are frequently broken by a catch in the throat and soundless tears.

If the killing of John Kennedy could cause such trauma in the United States, a society which is used to violence and where almost half the population opposed him, how much more of a shock was the killing of the enormously popular Bishop in placid little Grenada?

There was an even bigger difference. Kennedy was shot by a loner. Bishop was executed by a group which remained in authority over a stunned people, and imposed a four-day curfew, putting an entire nation under house arrest.

It is difficult for outsiders to understand the effect of this enforced separation on a people who are used to living their lives on the front porch and in the street. Even though there was no actual "reign of terror," the curfew cut people off, forced them to brood at home, imagining the worst, to the point where even passionate Bishop supporters could treat the parachuting US Rangers as "angels fluttering down," as one of them put it.

"What will become of us now?" I was asked more than once. Not "What do you think will happen next?" but "what will become of us?" a reflection partly of that biblical fatalism which is so common in

close to death. They saw the revolution all but destroy itself. Many of their friends are dead. Others have gone abroad in despair. They wait and wonder whether to go, too.

Peggy Nesfield worked in the Finance Ministry with Bernard Coard, the deputy Prime Minister who organised the coup against Bishop. While close to Coard, she supported Bishop. After days trying to dissuade Coard, came the murder of Bishop, and her own arrest and imprisonment by the Revolutionary Military Council. Freed by the American invasion, she finds herself drained and sleepless.

For a week she was too numb to react. "The first time I slept," she

used as isolation cells.

When the new government is fully operational, it is clear that the Americans will continue to operate the security system even after they withdraw their combat troops. This will override the normal guarantees of civil liberties, making it difficult for any administration to challenge US security judgments. The Americans themselves scarcely bother with the fig-leaf that they are part of a nine-nation force. Grenadians who were in any way connected with the revolutionary militia or army were ordered to report to Queens Park stadium for questioning. If they failed the first round, they went to Point Salines.

Jonathan Steele, in the second of two reports from Grenada, wonders how long it will take for the country to recover

the West Indies, but also of the political passivity and dependency which was imposed by slavery and still lives on.

Maurice Bishop tried hard to break it, but even he was only partly successful. His major project — the building of the international airport at Point Salines — was designed as a symbol of independence, but to many Grenadians it had the semi-magical quality of some promised future device, another external deus ex machina, from which all manner of benefits and tourist dollars would wonderously flow. "Everything will be better when the new airport opens" was a frequent refrain.

Now, with the coming of the American invaders, many Grenadians are looking forward to a carpet of money for everything from road building to medical services to jobs. In the short run they may be right, since the United States has already allocated \$18.5 millions in economic aid and may send more later.

How will the benefits "trickle down," and what is the political price? These are the questions being asked by the unhappiest group on the island, the surviving minority of politically-conscious pro-Bishop activists of the New Jewel Movement, who oppose the invasion. They came

says, "was when I went with a friend to the airport at Point Salines to say goodbye to her Cuban husband. He was being sent back to Cuba as an American prisoner. When I saw all the stuff they were bringing in, the boxes, the crates, the fleets of planes, I knew we were a colony again. It was just too much for me."

Now she fears a revival of drugs and prostitution, and new patterns of inequality. She wonders if it might not be better to keep the interim administration for as long as possible rather than allow the return of corrupt politicians, like the former Prime Minister, Eric Gairy, and others.

The nine-member government is at least mainly a group of technocrats and centrists, she feels. The problem is whether it will have any power. So far the auguries are not good. Its British legal adviser, Anthony Rushford, a retired Foreign Office professional, was busy trying to set up a legal and constitutional framework of civilian rule, even while the Americans, with only the briefest effort at consultation, were processing hundreds of Grenadians through the political interrogation network of the Point Salines detention camp with its wooden crates,

A middle-aged cook in an army barracks who was released at the Queens Park stage showed me the white card she was given. Headed "Caribbean Security Forces," it read "The bearer of this pass has been processed through the Caribbean Security Force Refugee Centre and is cleared to proceed freely and undetained."

It is marked unashamedly "By Order of the 82nd Airborne Division, G-5." On the back she was asked to sign a statement saying "The undersigned agrees to assist in the establishment and maintenance of law and order in Grenada."

The Americans have not yet attacked Bishop frontally since the invasion, recognising that his memory is still extremely popular.

Bishop was a charismatic leader, identified with the social and educational improvements the revolution brought, and the sense of dignity and status which his international prestige re-directed to Grenada. Coard was identified with the organisational side of the revolution.

Now one begins to hear increasingly of the failures and weaknesses of the revolution, of waning enthusiasm, of "mass organisation" which few took part in. This is the hardest thing for an outsider to

gauge. People talk of areas where the National Women's Organisation had no branch, either because the place was "too middle-class" or "too lumpen." Political control over careless anti-revolutionary remarks was said to have tightened in the last year. The party paper, New Jewel, closed for several months, re-appeared earlier this year in a less readable, more "party line" form.

Are these genuine skeletons in the revolutionary cupboards, or the complaints of people who always hoped to run it down? Do they reflect the honest difficulty of awakening a different consciousness in a poor and long-oppressed country which has only a handful of people with the energy, sensitivity, and leadership to devote to the task? Were they the beginnings of a new and more grim-faced revolution, which Coard, frustrated by political slowness and personal ambition, was intending to enforce? Can today's victim, Maurice Bishop, really escape all blame?

Answers to these questions are the historian's agenda. "What will become of Grenada now?" is the more pressing issue. Can the New Jewel Movement, small before October, now headless and demoralised, ever reclaim the Bishop legacy? The revolution had wounded itself almost fatally before the Americans came in. How difficult will it be for them to sweep the remains away?

Trinidad and the United States each have more Grenadians living in them than the island itself. Will Grenada become a port of mass emigration again?

In Jamaica the tourist board has produced an unintentionally ambiguous slogan. "We're not just a beach. We're a country," it says, as it urges American tourists to visit not only the north coast resorts but the Blue Mountains, Kingston, and the interior as well.

In a different sense "We're not just a beach. We're a country" was Bishop's dream, a vision of national pride, independence, and development. Coard crippled it and Reagan has almost finished it off.

The Washington Post**Grenada: Out Now**

WAS it their weekend at Goa that allowed the heads of government of the British Commonwealth, returning to wind up their work at New Delhi, to come to such sensible conclusions about Grenada? Goa, of course, is the former Portuguese colony that preachy, "nonviolent" India grabbed in 1961 in what still lives as a world-class instance of post-colonial hypocrisy. It would have taken a special perversity for Commonwealth dignitaries to relax at the scene of India's permanent conquest and, as some wished, condemn the United States for its transient intervention. Fortunately, this did not come to pass.

The 48 member states were able to put aside argument over the spilt milk and to move on to the next stage of Grenada's cares. They said foreign troops should be withdrawn expeditiously from Grenada, but not in such a manner as to leave a vacuum. Better, they affirmed their readiness to offer aid in fixing law and order in Grenada if, naturally, the "island state" were to request it. The security mission is to be a Commonwealth party: no Americans need apply, fortunately.

The practical effects of these decisions have yet to be spelled out. But it was refreshing to see the Commonwealth turning to the special security problems of its mini-states. Many of them assumed nationhood without even the minimal police or military forces necessary to defend themselves against real threats. The Thatcher government sees reason now to muffle its objections to Ronald Reagan's intervention in Grenada, and, there at least, it is taking on some measure of new responsibility for what Britain's "so long, folks" method of decolonization left behind.

Strangely, the Reagan administration is in a man-who-came-to-dinner mood about Grenada: slow to avail itself of the opportunity for early departure. "Combat" troops are to leave on a 60-day War Powers Resolution schedule but "noncombat" forces, whose duties appear indistinguishable, are to remain indefinitely. A threat has been identified — a handful of Cuban/Grenadian holdouts in the hills — and only Americans are deemed worthy of coping with it. American soldiers are running Grenadian prisons, arresting and interrogating Grenadians, and manhandling the occasional foreigner. What are American soldiers doing impersonating KGB thugs on a friendly island? Let the Commonwealth do what has to be done. Out — now.

Caribbean 'puppets' with a mind of their own

Your article on Washington Sets About Refashioning Grenada (November 13) was particularly disappointing because it went further than your normal left-leaning bias in stating blatant untruths about the recent OECS/US intervention in that beleaguered country.

There was never any intention by the OECS countries who orchestrated the intervention to install Eric Gairy or any of the other right-wing Grenadian exile groups who have long called for the removal of the Bishop regime. In fact Prime Minister Charles, chairman of the OECS countries, in her statement to the world in the first days of the rescue mission made it clear that Gairy and other "politically greedy" individuals should stay well clear of Grenada in the interim period before free and fair elections would be arranged.

Much of your article suggests that the whole idea is to install a puppet Government of the US. Consider some truths: the same Tom Adams and Edward Seaga who are supposedly already US puppets are the same two who have outspokenly criticised present US policy on South Africa and the Law of the Sea Convention. It is the same Tom Adams who removed the US base from Barbados in 1978 after negotiations failed to provide a suitably enticing financial compensation from the US (Greece hasn't been able to take such a firm stand yet . . .). When did the Bishop regime ever publicly criticise the Soviet Union or Cuba? Even over Afghanistan Bishop did not dare oppose the Soviet position in the UN. Who is more a puppet of whom?

Let me assure you that the independent Caribbean people who welcomed the rescue mission will also not allow the US military to stay a day longer than is necessary, and that at this point looks like well before the end of the year. Again it is an outright lie to suggest that Carib-

bean and US officials have raised "the possibility of a permanent military base on Grenada". Even pro-US persons like myself would never tolerate such an event. It is precisely the fear of such military bases and stockpiles that led to action against Grenada's military rulers.

Britain's hypocritical position over Grenada is based on a colonialist mentality which presumes that because Grenada is a former British colony and member of the Commonwealth with Britain ostensibly at its head. Britain's views should have been overriding in the OECS and with the US. In the context of a fully sovereign nation and a regional treaty, Britain's position simply has no validity. Canada's position is similarly weak: Because it remains the OEC's principal supplier of economic aid (only recently and belatedly overtaken by the US) Trudeau felt hurt that his country was not consulted in the invasion decision. As for Denis Healey, his statement that the US should not overthrow governments because it doesn't care for their policies or ideologies is at variance with the facts in respect of Grenada. It is well known that the US Administration did not care for the Bishop regime, but they did nothing until it was clear that the situation had deteriorated into unacceptable violence. Only the blatantly biased cannot — or will not — comprehend this statement of fact.

Clearly, people who continue to refer to Grenada's "sovereignty" see it only in the context of a chance to criticise US action or show their much prized independence from their superpower ally. It is truly unfortunate and morally sickening that very few governments heed the fact that over 90 per cent of Grenadians themselves welcomed the chance to regain true freedom.

Parry R. Bellot,
69 Cork Street,
Roseau, Dominica.

Grenada gets an interim head

by Peter Chapman and Jonathan Steele

GRENADE's governor-general, Sir Paul Scoon, has appointed a former youth worker, Mr Nicholas Brathwaite, to lead the island's interim government until elections are held.

The government reshuffle, which came after the resignation of the chief legal adviser earlier last week, was announced as the Prime Minister of Barbados, Mr Tom Adams, was revealing new details of the October invasion.

In a speech in London in which he strongly attacked Mrs Thatcher, Mr Adams said that it was the Prime Minister of St Lucia, Mr John Compton, who took the initiative among Eastern Caribbean states in calling for military intervention in Grenada.

The Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States then agreed to intervene and ask Jamaica, Barbados, the United States, and Britain to take part. Only after that were Sir Paul Scoon's "opinion and approval obtained", according to Mr Adams.

"Britain, which from the word go knew that the Eastern Caribbean States hoped for a military intervention in which British forces would take part, pleaded non- or late consultation," he asserted. Mr Adams said that 1983 would be seen as "the watershed year in which the influence of the United States willy-nilly came observably to replace that of Great Britain in the old British colonies".

Avoiding the concept "non-alignment", for which he has little respect, the Barbadian Prime Minister said that the Caribbean's "traditional protector" had turned its back, and the United States, with its tourists, investment, and training programmes for doctors, engineers, stockbrokers, and business executives, was taking Britain's place.

Just as Britain was working to establish a special relationship with the EEC, the "New Caribbean" would have to do so with the United States.

Meanwhile, with Sir Paul's new appointments on Grenada, the shape of the island's civil government is becoming clearer. The promotion of Mr Brathwaite, who had been acting chairman of the interim advisory council, slams the door on the original choice, Mr Alister McIntyre, a distinguished international civil servant who bowed out because of ill health but had told Sir Paul he hoped to keep open the option of taking up the post in a few months' time.

Mr Brathwaite's deputy will be Mr Allan Kirton, a Grenadian who has been serving as permanent secretary to Jamaica's Prime Minister, Mr Ed-

ward Seaga. The council's economic adviser is to be Mr William Demas, the secretary-general of the Caribbean Development Bank.

The new team is long on academics, teachers, and middle-level administrators, but short on people of strong, political experience. This inevitably means it will be under the influence of the United States, whose officials have made it clear that they wish to maintain a powerful presence in the island's internal affairs even after their combat troops are withdrawn.

Having invested considerable prestige in invading the island, the United States is anxious to make sure that it also wins the peace. It can be expected to do all it can to prevent any resuscitation of the New Jewel Movement or any other centre-left or radical left voices.

The vacuum in political authority on the island, apart from the United States, was fiercely criticised by Mr Anthony Rushford, who resigned as attorney-general. He said that the government was leaderless and ineffective, with the situation collapsing into anarchy.

Sir Paul has announced that voter registration would begin early next year. Barbados will be helping to compile the register.

Later, in a speech given widespread publicity at the weekend, Sir Paul stopped little short of accusing the New Jewel Movement, of mismanagement and corruption.

Sir Paul said that the interim government had inherited a "grave liquidity situation". The Bishop government had been maintained "current and capital expenditure at unsustainable levels, leading to arrears". A review of the economy just completed by the interim government, Sir Paul added, "does not present a rosy picture".

Sir Paul also referred to "financial advances" of some \$1.5 million, which he said had been made to the Bishop government officials and had not been correctly accounted for. Salary payments had been made to the army, he added, without proper records being kept.

"It is my humble view," Sir Paul said, "that such an arrangement was open to corruption."

United States combat troops were leaving Grenada on Monday following a White House announcement at the weekend.

US forces are formally handing over the island's security to the joint Caribbean force, with only 300 support troops staying on.

The White House announcement, only hours after President Reagan dodged the issue of redeployment set Thursday as the expected deadline for the departure of the 2,400 troops.

Snaky start for island's interim rulers

by Derek Ingram

AS American troops began to pull out of Grenada, leaving 300 of the original 3,000 and a force of Caribbean troops all under Jamaican command, Governor-General Sir Paul Scoon announced a shuffle of the interim administration which is running the island until elections can be held. He named as its leader 58-year-old Nicholas Brathwaite, who until recently ran the Caribbean Commonwealth Youth Centre in Georgetown and who has been in the administration from the outset.

The shuffle arose from two setbacks to the provision of a credible administration. One was the sudden

departure from the island of Anthony Rushford, the British constitutional specialist who had been acting as Attorney-General. The other was the continued illness of Alister McIntyre, the Deputy Secretary-General of UNCTAD, who was to have taken up the post of leader of the administration several weeks ago.

Scoon's position is extraordinary and has been causing embarrassment all round, not least at Buckingham Palace. As a monarchy, Grenada's Governor-General is the appointee of Queen Elizabeth, on the advice of the government there. He took over in 1979 when Sir Eric Gairy was Prime Minister. Maurice Bishop ousted Gairy in a coup but Scoon remained Governor-General.

Since the overthrow and assassination of Bishop, Scoon has been the only real constitutional authority in the island. His requests for outside help, and suspicion that since the Americans invaded he has become their creature, together with his failure to get an administrative grip on the situation, led to increasing unease in the Caribbean and in the island itself.

The Americans are still the effective rulers and are most likely to remain so for some time.

According to Rushford, Scoon has not been exercising his authority independently. He left Grenada abruptly with the comment that "I have never known a Governor-General behave like him. I have never known a situation where a Governor-General appoints himself saviour to his people, calls on foreign armies and then does very little to bring about the restoration of constitutional civil government."

Rushford went to Grenada at the request of the Commonwealth Secretariat. He left saying the government was a headless body. In this he is right, but some other intemperate remarks made after he left the island have produced raised eyebrows.

Delays in getting a proper administration running in Grenada have set back plans for an election. Until an election is held and a properly constitutional government is in place there is no question of Sir Paul moving, even if that is considered desirable.

The position of Governor-General is in normal times a figurehead one, but in the event of there being no Parliament, as now, he does have the right under the constitution to act in "his own deliberate judgment". That is what he is now doing. Though the present situation is troublesome for the Queen, any action on her part — for example, changing the Governor-General — would be out of the question, since she would be acting politically.

One major setback for the island has come with the news that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has suspended a £9 million facility. Another serious problem confronting the new administration is how to handle the cases against the people held in jail for overthrowing and assassinating Bishop.

What Grenada needs above all in the aftermath of the revolution and invasion is an efficient policing operation. The British are already providing help of this kind. At the New Delhi Commonwealth summit several other Commonwealth countries said they were ready to help Grenada in a number of ways, one of them by providing policing, but their offers only apply when there all foreign troops have left.

The way American policy is moving in the Caribbean is seen by the fact that all the Eastern Caribbean islands have been told by Washington that each it to be given 20 military advisers. They have not been asked whether they want them, merely told that they are getting them.

Myth and reality in Bishop's Grenada

To chase a lie, they say, gives it legs, but let me try to bring some of Victoria Brittain's on Grenada (November 13) to a halt.

She writes of "the violent American attempt to crush this mildest of revolutions", without anywhere in her article explaining that Maurice Bishop's viciously pro-Soviet "revo" (supportive of Russia in Afghanistan and shooting down a civilian airliner) was killed off by its own kin, as the New Jewel Movement ate its own young in classic communist fashion (cf. Kerensky); later she mentions that former foreign minister Unison Whiteman "was killed with Bishop", but does not say by whom. Perhaps Maurice is to become a new Lumumba in the Communist lexicon. As to how mild he was, ask those imprisoned without charge and tortured in Richmond Hill gaol for over four years.

We then learn that Bishop's "vision captured the imagination of Caribbean people." She should walk around the streets of St George's today and see the God Bless America signs and sense the euphoria of a people saved from tyranny under Soviet "ambassador" and KGB General Gennady Sazhenev, the discovery of whose ration cards for us all shook Grenada.

Next we are told that "Grenada is a stunning contrast to the other societies in the Caribbean." It certainly is, in backwardness. When I bought land here 20 years ago we led the Windwards in "education health and economic planning." Bishop's bid to get on the Russian defence budget ground the country

to a halt, with the private sector almost eradicated, services at a standstill and unattended rhetoric on non-stop.

Ms Brittain accepts at face value, and passes on, all Bishop's rantings about CIA plots against him when in fact Sally Shelton, then US Ambassador in Barbados, tried to conciliate and help him.

The bomb under the stadium at Queens Park, which may have been planted by Bishop himself, is breezily ascribed to America via Bishop's words, "from the interrogations of those arrested the US link is clear." Does she mean the Budhlall brothers, heroes of the NJM until Bishop rounded on and imprisoned them? Where is Orwell when we need him?

Bishop is quoted from one of his interminable speeches as saying: "our socialism poses no threat to anyone". I read those words to the crump of explosions as US airborne troops disposed of another of the huge arsenals he left behind.

Michael Manley is mentioned as if he is still in political existence; he won just nine seats out of 60 in the last Jamaican elections. His chief hope now seems to be with Ortega, Bouerse, and the rest.

Maurice Bishop declared 1983 The Year of Political and Academic Education. I must admit he got his in that year.

Geoffrey Wagner,
Emeritus Professor of
English,
City University of New York,
November 21.

The Guardian, April 8, 1984. Vol. 130 # 15

tabun, and mustard gas during of an American air strike against the search and development facilities.

Gongs galore for Grenada GIs

By Alex Brummer in Washington

THE US army is apparently determined that its victory in the Grenada campaign, when it took a week and a large show of sea and air power to subdue a motley band of revolutionaries and Cubans, should be celebrated in grand style.

It has determined that 8,612 of its men were heroes of the invasion worthy of receiving medals, even though there were never more than 7,000 enlisted men and officers on the Caribbean island. This first crop of medals may, however, only be the tip of the iceberg.

The Marine Corps, the navy, and the air force have begun issuing or taking applications for their own medals. In addition, the Pentagon is expected to issue an armed forces expeditionary medal to all the men and women on or near the island during the course of the invasion,

including an estimated 10,000 sailors and officers who sat on ships arrayed around the island. This could result in the issue of a further 19,600 medals.

This orgy of award-giving seems to reflect a deep-seated need within the American military to laud its success in the Caribbean after a series of setbacks in Vietnam, the Iranian desert, and most recently at Beirut international airport.

Among those who have been given medals for their part in the Grenada invasion are about 50 Defence Department officials who got no closer to the Caribbean than the Pentagon building just south of the Potomac. Awards have also been given to staff and rear support troops at Fort Bragg in North Carolina — the home of the 82nd Airborne Division; at Fort Stewart in Georgia and Fort

Lewis in Washington which are homes to the Army Rangers and the headquarters of the army's Forces Command in Atlanta.

The army says it decided to award the medals as a "valuable and effective leadership tool to build unit morale and esprit". The Grenada invasion began on October 25 with landings by the marines and Army Rangers. The fighting was declared over on November 2 with 18 American servicemen dead. Several of these died when two helicopters collided while taking Point Calivigny in the south early in the campaign.

The army awards include 275 decorations for valour, for combat deaths, and wounds. The other 8,337 medals were for "individual performance".

Study Raises Doubts on Grenada Operation

By Rick Atkinson

THE invasion of Grenada last October was not the classic operation the Pentagon has implied but a poorly planned venture that raises "disturbing" questions about U.S. military tactics and performance, according to a study by Rep. James A. Courter.

An initial invasion plan developed by the Navy's Atlantic Fleet headquarters was "overruled by the Joint

Chiefs of Staff, who demanded that all four services be involved — just as in the Iran rescue mission" in 1980, according to the analysis prepared by William S. Lind, a legislative assistant to Sen. Gary Hart, D-Colo., and a founder of the newly established Military Reform Institute.

The Army was particularly eager for "a piece of the action" to justify its request to Congress for a third Ranger battalion, Lind said, but the resulting "pie-dividing contest" allowed the relatively small number of Cuban defenders "to form and maintain a fairly effective defense".

A Pentagon spokesman said: "There are very complicated issues and nobody's ready for this and nobody's going to comment on this . . . The Army has and is still conducting a detailed lessons-learned study."

Lind praised the Rangers' performance in rescuing American medical students, the Marines' ability to "adapt swiftly to circumstances as they changed," and the 82nd Airborne Division's avoidance of civilian casualties. But among his numerous criticisms:

- The elite military units in the

invasion squad, "failed in much of what they attempted". For example, the SEALs failed to knock Radio Grenada off the air because they "attacked the wrong building" after finding the station compound. Several SEALs drowned because of "poor weather forecasting".

- The 82nd Airborne advanced with such caution across the island, partly because estimates of Cuban strength were inflated, that Gen. John W. Vessey Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs, complained: "We have two companies of Marines running all over the island and thousands of Army troops doing nothing. What the hell is going on?"

- Of "approximately 100 U.S. helicopters used on Grenada, nine were destroyed and a number of others were damaged" although the Cubans lacked anti-aircraft missiles. The study asks, "What does it suggest our helicopter losses would be, for example, in a war in Europe?"

Shortly after the invasion, Maj. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, deputy commander of the U.S. task force, acknowledged that "the helicopter is a very vulnerable object when it goes against a well-organized air defense".

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Guardian

MAY 12 1984

ST. GEORGE'S, (Cana):
ENUMERATION of Grenadian voters for what will be the first election here since 1976 has been completed in only one of the 15 constituencies with two days left, Supervisor of Elections Roy Chasteau said.

Voter registration has been completed in Carriacou and Petit Martinique, one of two Grenadine islands, Chasteau said.

He said enumeration in seven other constituencies in rural Grenada was at an advanced stage, and should be completed within the next two days, while the deadline might still be achieved for the other seven constituencies.

"We gather that 30,000 persons had been registered," the official said.

He said several communities were still to be visited by enumerators, especially in the St. John Constituency, a fishing village on the west coast 12 miles from here.

Appointment of the registration officer in this area had been revoked

Enumeration completed in two constituencies

and another one already put in charge to accelerate registration there, Chasteau said.

The Supervisor of elections said Grenadians had been making personal calls and sending messages to the Electoral Office, demanding that enumeration teams be sent to register them for the elections, due to be held before the end of the year.

"... So deep is the desire to be registered that a delegation of about 100 persons visited the Elections Office last week, to voice concern at their not being registered as yet," he said.

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13 Grenada detainees on hunger strike

ST GEORGES, Sat., (Cana):

THIRTEEN of 15 persons being held without charge at Grenada's top security Richmond Hill Prisons following last October's political upheaval here have gone on a hunger strike, their lawyer said today.

Jamaican attorney Maurice Frankson, who is part of a two-man defence team representing all 15 in a habeas corpus case brought against the Commissioner of Prisons said the detainees' action was to protest their continued imprisonment without charge.

HUNGER STRIKE

Frankson told Cana the hunger strike started on Monday and the detainees are threatening to continue their action until charges are either laid against them or the authorities set them free.

Among the detainees refusing to eat are former Health Minister Christopher De Riggs, as well as majors Basil Gahagan and Keith Roberts, first lieutenant Rudolph Ogilvie and captain Hugh Romain of the short-lived junta that had seized power in the army coup in which at least 17 people, including Prime Minister Maurice Bishop were executed.

There has been no official comment on the alleged hunger strike.

The Guardian Dec. 16, 1984

Blaize the American way

THE United States inspired and organised the invasion of Grenada a year ago. Now it has inspired and organised the post-invasion election. The sweeping victory for the candidate whom Mr Reagan favoured is hardly surprising. The surprise only is that the Reagan Administration should have felt it necessary to commit so much money and diplomatic attention to achieving Mr Herbert Blaize's victory.

The United States forged the coalition of three parties which Mr Blaize leads, and subsidised his campaign. Private American groups contributed more than \$100,000 to encourage a high turnout in the polls, a subsidy of about three dollars for every vote cast. Was this all necessary? The trauma of the murder of the former Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, and the virtual suicide of the revolution which he led were still too recent in most Grenadians' lives for his heirs to have commanded much support. Sir Eric Gairy's dictatorial rule was remembered too clearly. In the vacuum of Grenadan authority which the Americans found when they invaded, it was inevitable that the new government which eventually emerged would be the one which the invaders favoured, especially if they were still around at election time.

Every Grenadan knew that the only hope for investment in their impoverished island

would be if they voted for the American candidate. The future flow of aid money and private US capital were dependent on Mr Blaize's victory, and it has now been duly recorded. After the upheavals of the last decade Grenadians have voted for a quiet political life, and the hope that as an undisguised American protectorate they will be luckier than the rest of the Caribbean's small islands. But as Grenada stumbles into the future, the crucial question is whether the United States is indeed as dependable as Grenadians wish it to be. Now that the United States has won the formal seal of approval for its invasion by being able to say that it established democracy, will it come forward with the cash? Or, in the aftermath of Mr Reagan's own election triumph, will Grenada be packed away like last summer's opinion poll ratings?

The social discontent and economic depression which first gave rise to Maurice Bishop's New Jewel Movement have not gone away. They remain as palpable as the potholes in the island's roads. For the United States to show that it has something to offer in the Caribbean, it will have to do more than arm an invasion and finance an election. It must show something of its wealth.

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The Guardian Dec. 16, 1984

THE GUARDIAN, December 16, 1984

Reagan favourite sweeps Grenada

By Greg Chamberlain in St George's, Grenada

THE US pronounced itself satisfied last week after Grenadian voters swept to power a rightwing coalition that Washington helped to put together on the Caribbean island.

The coalition, the New National Party (NNP), headed by Mr Herbert Blaize, who is 66 and severely crippled with arthritis, won 14 of the 15 seats. One went to the conservative and populist Grenada United Labour Party of the authoritarian former prime minister, Sir Eric Gairy.

The victory was hailed by President Reagan as "an achievement of historic importance".

The left-wing Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), backing the memory and programme of the prime minister murdered a week before last year's US invasion, won no seats and only 5 per cent of the vote. Only one MBPM candidate, the former army chief of staff, Mr Einstein Louison, managed to save his deposit.

Sir Eric, with 36 per cent of the vote, suffered the biggest defeat of his stormy, 35-year political career. He had not campaigned personally and the very high 85 per cent turnout swamped his disciplined supporters.

The MBPM leader, Mr Kendrick Radix, claimed that the election had been rigged by the CIA because he claims the left still has weapons hidden in the island.

for Mr Blaize's party was given openly during the campaign. A large number of MBPM supporters, however, failed to vote.

Hundreds of celebrating Grenadians poured into the steep streets of this picturesque port capital as Mr Blaize's victory became known. He flew into the island from his constituency in Grenada's sister-island of Carriacou, went to church to give thanks and was later sworn in as Prime Minister.

Mr Blaize, a lawyer and deeply religious man, is confident that he can cope with a Grenada whose youth has been subjected to heavy politicisation and has come to expect energetic government since he last ruled it as prime minister in a more genteel and economically kinder world 17 years ago.

But his conservative business supporters are unlikely to be very interested in the NNP's campaign pledge that it will seriously tackle the island's high unemployment and continue some of the popular social programmes of the revolutionary Bishop regime.

Mr Blaize, who has hinted that he will crack down on the left and continue to purge its supporters from the civil service, says he

wants US troops to stay on in Grenada for at least five years because he claims the left still have weapons hidden in the island.

*The Guardian Dec. 16/1984***The Washington Post**

Full Circle In Grenada

THE dramatic events leading up to the American intervention in Grenada in October 1983 came full circle the other day. Elections were held in the eastern Caribbean state for the first time since 1976. The resounding winner was a respected veteran of Grenadan political life, Herbert Blaize. The resounding loser was Sir Eric Gairy, the former prime minister whose venality and brutality had prepared the soil for the Marxist-oriented revolution that the American intervention ultimately crushed.

Given the power of the United States and its role as a Caribbean arbiter, debate will continue over whether the intervention was necessary and right. In this debate, the elections should now take up an important part. The stated justification for President Reagan's assertion of power was not simply to save lives, to restore order and to keep Grenada from becoming a Cuban-Soviet satellite — a result, by the way, that the vast documentation recovered on the island demonstrated to have been a real possibility. The promise was to return to Grenada the opportunity to determine its own future democratically.

This has now been done. It is not everything, but it is a great deal. If elections had not been held within a reasonable time, a question would have been raised about American policy. That Grenadans chose Herbert Blaize, a supporter of the intervention, reflects well on the United States.

The result should be especially instructive to those who have trouble detecting a difference between Grenada and, say, Afghanistan, where, nearly five years after the Soviet Union intervened, citizens continue to battle the occupation and no election worthy of the name is in sight.

The sequence on Grenada cheers Reagan partisans, who have indulged the overstated view that the intervention was a historic turning point. It satisfies many less excitable American students of foreign policy. But the situation on the ground is disturbing. American-supported public works projects, including the big airport, have not brought the island's economy anywhere near the point of takeoff. More than a year later, the United States has not been able to train up a local security force sufficient to allow the 250 remaining American military men to go home. A troubling dependency craving is in evidence. Special answers to the special circumstances of the Caribbean's feeble mini-states remain remote. Prime Minister-elect Blaize has a tough row to hoe.