



Prime Minister Bishop in St. George's; Cubans lay asphalt for the new international airport; Soviet advisers stroll on the beach

GRENADA

Revolution in the Shade

A gnat-size island profits by taking potshots at the U.S.

For President Reagan, the tiny Caribbean island (pop. 110,000) represents a threat to the national security of the U.S. The President lashed out at Marxist-led Grenada last month before releasing classified satellite photos of a new international airport being built with Cuban aid. The island's government has been headed by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop since the repressive regime of Sir Eric Gairy was overthrown in 1979. To assess the threat, TIME Caribbean Bureau Chief William McWhirter traveled to the 133-sq.-mi. island. His report:

The Marxist revolution stopped for Easter weekend, then Easter Monday, then went back to work just long enough for another national one-day holiday to watch a cricket test match before taking the weekend off. That was after Grenada declared a "national alert," announcing that a U.S. invasion was imminent. But while U.S. ships were supposed to be unloading counterrevolutionaries onto the beaches, the People's Revolutionary Government was still encouraging neighboring Trinidad's yachtsmen to hold their annual regatta there. When the Trinidadians asked, naturally enough, if their boats

might not run into the U.S. Marines, they were told to come ahead "since the invasion only affects Grenadians."

The Soviets, however, have definitely landed, looking as happy as a charter flight full of sunburned, white-bellied tourists. They do not seem to have changed many of the habits that once spurred reports of unhappy Egyptians, Ethiopians and Mozambicans. The Soviets can usually be found at the beach, in snorkeling gear and Baltic bathing costumes. The island's favorite Russian so far is a chauffeur with steel teeth. He has been nicknamed "Jaws," of course. The Soviets have given the people of Grenada a one-engine crop sprayer and imported two cream-colored Mercedes sedans for themselves. But they are a bit slow on the draw when it comes to parting with nickels on the beach. They have not won the hearts and minds of the straw-doll and coconut vendors, who complain that the visitors bring their own thermos bottles and never buy native coral jewelry.

The East Germans have offered to kick in with a new telephone system, which will be an improvement over the present three long rings and a short, and then dead silence most of the day. The

Libyans are present too in one of their "people's bureaus," but they tend to scowl, never remove their hats and announce the same \$4 million loan so often that some Grenadians believe that the figure has now risen to \$8 million or \$12 million. The Cubans seem to be doing the work for everybody else: they have 400 men driving steamrollers and laying down asphalt at the new airport. They also have teachers, doctors and dentists all over the countryside. Most Grenadians tend to salute such revolutionary zeal and dedication, but usually from the shade.

While everyone in Washington is worried about Grenada's exporting revolution, the island is having enough problems trying to import it. English may still be the first language of the island, but it often comes off second best when it comes to translating socialist slogans. The revolution communicates by billboard in the way that Californians do by bumper sticker, posting its noble but often mind-numbing reminders at almost every road turning and intersection: THE LAND IS OUR WEALTH, EDUCATION IS OUR LIBERATION, WORK HARDER, GROW MORE FOOD, BUILD THE REVOLUTION. With equal alacrity, the Grenadians have adeptly copied the dress code of the revolution, and the streets of the port capital town of St. George's are filled with remarkably accurate understudies for Che Guevara. The government's "mass rallies" have got the stem-winding syntax of



Noble but often mind-numbing slogans at almost every intersection; an impromptu cricket match on the beach

fighting socialism down to the last fist-raising rounds of "Long live! Long live!"

All this, of course, should explain why Grenada's revolution has failed. In fact, the country's economy is growing, and a youthful leadership still in its late 30s has proved to be what some neighboring Caribbean governments are not: competent, noncorrupt and capable of actually working harder than its own citizenry. The achievements have often been on a human scale as miniaturized as the island itself: 45 miles of sorely needed new roads, a tripling of fruit and vegetable exports in the past three years, canning, asphalt and concrete-block plants, a 12% drop in dependence on food imports and a 50% increase in fresh-water production since the 1979 coup. The government even managed a \$2.5 million surplus in 1982, half of which went to repay the country's past debts. Social tranquillity has appeared: the major crime in Grenada is "praedial larceny," the theft of garden vegetables. Some of the government's highest marks, in fact, come from its chief critics. "I would vote for them if they trusted us with a free vote," says one of Grenada's leading figures in his own twist of sensible island logic. "But they won't, so I'm one of their attackers."

None of the revolution's accomplishments is greater than the \$70 million international airport due for completion next year. It may seem extravagant and dangerous to Washington, which fears that Soviet or Cuban military aircraft may want to use the nearly two-mile-long strip, but if free elections were held the government of Prime Minister Bishop would win hands down on just this issue. It may be a matter of national image and prestige: Caribbean islands want their own airports just like some larger countries want their own airlines. The difference is that there is more than vanity at stake. Grenada is a major source of migrant workers in the Caribbean, with maybe three to four times its population outside the country. They still leave and they still come home to the island, each time having to spend a day in Trinidad or Barbados waiting for an air shuttle. Their food-export market to the other, more developed islands will depend on larger planes being able to fly from Grenada. The Grenadians have been asking for this airport for almost 25 years, and the Cubans finally gave it to them. "The one mistake Reagan made was to interfere with the one project he should never touch," commented Bishop.

Each time the U.S. appears to go in for the overkill, it brings Bishop sympathy votes from every island in the Caribbean. The prospect of a U.S. invasion was almost a compliment, as if the ultimate accolade in the Third World is to be invaded by the U.S. Nor has it been lost on the other islands that Bishop's Marxist alliance has financially earned Grenada more than its neighbors, some of whom are still waiting for their promised share of the U.S. Caribbean Basin Initiative. ■

NOVEMBER 7, 1983

No. 45

TIME

SPECIAL REPORT

Rescue
In Grenada

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Tough Moves, Hard Questions

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In Beirut

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Nicaragua's War

To the Editors:

I was disappointed with your article on Nicaragua [Oct. 17] and its subtle but strong bias in favor of Ronald Reagan's policies. With the U.S. trying to destroy Nicaragua economically and militarily, it is no surprise that the country is preparing for war or that press censorship exists (we have also had it during wartime). No wonder improvements in health and education are coming slowly and Nicaraguans are paranoid about *contras* in their midst. The Sandinistas have the overwhelming support of the people. Our Government should let Nicaragua get on with its political experiment.

James R. Paulson
Northfield, Minn.



Your report on what is currently taking place inside Nicaragua gave me the impression that the Sandinistas have betrayed the goals of the revolution. Instead of demilitarizing the country and implementing democracy after ousting Dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle, the Sandinistas have turned the country into an armed Soviet camp.

Curt Hayden
Ross, Calif.

It is useless to expect that a pluralistic Marxism may emerge in Nicaragua. Pluralism and Marxism-Leninism are mutually exclusive.

Humberto Belli
Garden City, Mich.

It does not matter what course the Sandinistas are taking. The U.S. has no right to meddle in their revolution.

Matthew M. Eichenlaub
Amherst, Mass.

If the purpose of your article on Nicaragua was to expose revolutionary excesses, then I must tell you that the only excesses exposed were your own.

Stuart Gitzes
Philadelphia

As a Nicaraguan, I want to make one thing clear. General Augusto César Sandino was a man who hated dictatorships. He fought against foreign intervention, including that of the U.S. Marines, and desired a free Nicaragua. How can the present junta call itself Sandinista if no other significant political parties exist, if Soviet and Cuban advisers are on the scene, and if freedom of speech is long abridged?

Nicasio Ortega
Tustin, Calif.

Los Angeles Olympics

Congratulations to Olympics Organizer Peter Ueberroth [Oct. 17] for his sound management ideas. It is too bad Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau did not have such creative talent when he was host to the 1976 Olympics. I, my children and even my grandchildren will be paying for those Games for years to come.

Michel Magnan
Montreal

The 1984 Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles should serve as an example. When it comes to sports, politics should be set aside and people should concentrate on what the Games are about: athletics.

Paul Robinson
Moraga, Calif.

As someone who planned to attend the Moscow Games, I suggest that some kind of tribute be paid in Los Angeles to those athletes and coaches for whom 1980 was the last opportunity to participate.

Margaret C. Kupiec
Pittsburgh

The Soviets shot down the South Korean passenger jet, but the International Olympic Committee will not ban the Soviet Union from the Los Angeles Games. How, then, does the committee explain to South African athletes, both black and white, that they are not welcome?

Leonard Bonn Starker
Stellenbosch, South Africa

Arms and Man

Your article "Negotiating a Build-Down" [Oct. 17] proved that the U.S. can formulate a united front on the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks. The President and Congress have finally demonstrated that they can work together to produce a proposal that will ultimately establish equilibrium for both superpowers.

Jeffrey V. Fulbright
Jackson's Gap, Ala.

Meaningful arms reduction is not going to take place until we adopt a "bilateral, verifiable freeze." By freezing the nuclear arms race now, we can sit down with the Soviets and look at what we have, not what we will have or might have. But if we

continue to be hard-nosed about deploying such new systems as the MX and Pershing II, the arms race will never end.

Jeffrey S. Kasko
West Lafayette, Ind.

Reforming Immigration

By killing the Immigration Reform and Control Act [Oct. 17], the House toadied to pressure groups and our whole country was harmed. But the real losers will be the thousands of illegal aliens who were scheduled to receive aid and eventual citizenship.

Gordon O. Bakken
Santa Cruz, Calif.

Since Speaker Tip O'Neill blocked passage of the immigration-reform bill, his Hispanic vote will now increase by thousands per day.

Larry Bieza
St. Paul

Lady Veep

The women you mentioned as potential vice presidential candidates for 1984 [Oct. 17] were all qualified. However, you omitted the most appealing choice of all: Barbara Jordan, whose speech at the 1976 Democratic National Convention was so impressive. No matter how long the presidential campaign drags on, it would never be trite with Jordan on the ticket.

Robert C. Alden
Austin

Geraldine Ferraro for Vice President? Considering that the Democrats have seven dwarfs running for President, Ferraro would look like Snow White. I say Ferraro for President.

Al Volpe
Woodside, N.Y.

Goal for Golding

TIME objected to William Golding's receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature [Oct. 17] because his books are easily comprehended by the adolescent mind. If a writer can by dramatic means induce adolescents into introspection and maybe constructive thought, should we titter at his being recognized?

Anne S. Hocking
Essex, Conn.

Your article on Golding is unfair. Golding distinguishes himself by his penetration of the human psyche. He conveys his point of view in prose that is powerfully allegorical and often highly poetic.

Christina L. Griffiths
Hamburg, West Germany

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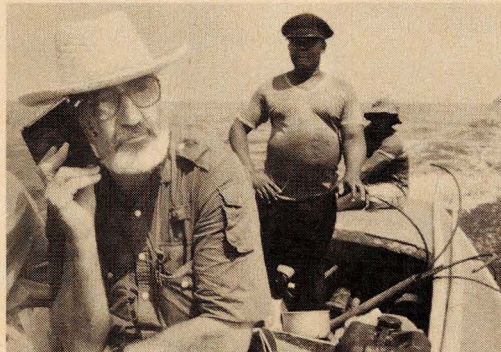
There are times when events break out of the boundaries of space we usually devote to the cover story, or when a concatenation of news creates in effect more than one cover story. Both conditions applied last week as the U.S. military continued to take the toll of its losses in Lebanon and spearheaded an invasion of the Caribbean island of Grenada. To meet the challenge of covering and explaining these stories half a world apart, the editors devised a special section that, at 31 pages, is the equivalent of four normal cover stories. It reflects the efforts of 34 New York-based editors, writers and reporter-researchers, plus dozens of correspondents and photographers in Lebanon, the Caribbean and round the world.

One of those correspondents and one of those photographers were positioned to give U.S. readers a unique and extraordinary view of the Grenada invasion from start to finish. Sensing that the invasion was imminent, TIME Correspondent Bernard Diederich and Photographer Claude Urraca joined five other journalists in persuading a fishing-boat captain to ferry them to Grenada. They arrived in the capital, St. George's, well before the invading forces reached it. Diederich's exclusive report

of the U.S. assault as viewed from behind the defenders' lines, with Urraca's pictures, is part of the special section.

With every story it runs, every photograph it publishes, TIME touches lives directly. On occasion, what happens to those lives returns to touch those of us at TIME directly and profoundly. One such story is that of Rick Crudale, 21, a Marine lance

URRACA—SYGMA



Diederich with captain and crew en route to Grenada

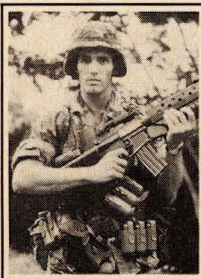
corporal from West Warwick, R.I., stationed in Beirut. Only five weeks ago, Crudale was pictured at the Beirut International Airport on TIME's Oct. 3 cover, "Holding the Line" in Lebanon. Due to return from leave the day after the headquarters bombing, he did not report and at first was listed as missing. Apparently, he came back a day early and was among those sleeping in the doomed building. Late last week, his family was told he had died. Last week, too, TIME received a letter from a colleague of Crudale's in Beirut, Lance Corporal J.B. Owen of Virginia Beach, Va. "With our job not yet finished," he wrote, "we must not leave this country

in such a critical state. Marines never leave a job undone." Owen will not see that task completed. He also is among the confirmed dead in Beirut.

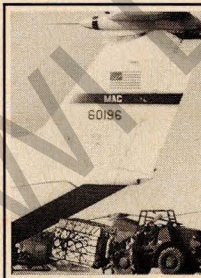
John A. Meyers

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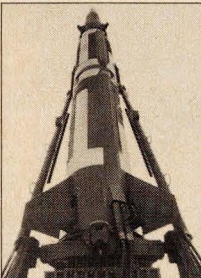
6 Invasion: The U.S. sends 6,000 troops to the once sleepy island of Grenada, rescuing hundreds of American students and bringing down a chaotic Marxist regime. But the use of force draws a worldwide chorus of protest.



18 Explosion: As rescue workers clawed through the debris in Beirut, the toll continued to rise. The attack on U.S. and French forces leaves a tangle of unanswered questions: Who was responsible? Why was security not better?



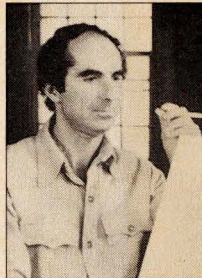
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Overlooking the Washington skyline, the statue of Marines at Iwo Jima plants its flag at half-mast near Arlington National Cemetery, silently

TIME/NOVEMBER 7, 1983

Days of Shock

At the start, all one had was images of airports: the airport in Beirut where the bodies of Marines lay stacked in aluminum coffins like salesmen's sample cases, and the airport in Grenada where Marines and Army Rangers swooped down for a surprise invasion. So sudden were both events that Americans could not take them in together, except to note that both involved U.S. troops fighting wars in strange places, and the projection of their Government's foreign policy in two disparate quarters of the world. Lebanon and Grenada. Why were we there, and how were those places related? If the U.S. served a peace-keeping mission in Lebanon, when did we become the enemy? And what *was* Grenada, anyway? The last one heard of that bead of an island, the President was fuming about Grenadians' consorting with Cubans and extending their runway for military purposes. Airports again.

As the week went on, the mind shifted rapidly between the sites as if they were split pictures on a TV screen. On the level of feelings, one could focus grief and apprehension on Beirut. But there on the tropical isle was a scene of emerging victory, one was told. Sorrow one place, triumph the other. Was patriotism supposed to drown out grief? Mourn and dig in?

More than feelings were confused. One had to grasp what was really happening in these two places. By midweek the public would be assailed continually by Congressmen, columnists, editorial writers, who were themselves hustling to catch up with the news. Lebanon was a bad idea in the beginning, but it was a good idea now—right? Don't back down—right? Lebanon was stupid, but Grenada was smart. Or was it the other way around? Americans went to Lebanon to stabilize the country; that must be good. Americans went to Grenada to rescue U.S. citizens; that must be good too, if in fact the citizens had been endangered, and upon returning, most of them confirmed that they were. No more Iran—right? But what about the growing Soviet menace the President spoke of in his speech on Thursday night? If the American people had trouble connecting Lebanon and Grenada, clearly the President had no such difficulty. So we were in those countries not solely for peace and rescue after all, but because of the Soviets. Would we go anywhere, or everywhere, because of the Soviets? One looked at the President harder than ever.

One looked inward as well. Throughout the week Marine recruiting officers reported a land-office business, so eager were boys to join the fights. The press might criticize Lebanon and Grenada, but judging from polls taken after Thursday night's speech, most of the public stood with Reagan. Was Viet Nam finally over, then, and the U.S. feeling its oats? To hell with moderate containment? And there were abstract questions too, which went to the heart of national purpose. When the desire to provide freedom requires the use of force, is freedom damaged in the bargain?

By week's end Americans were left with a sense of military vulnerability and of military efficiency; sorrow, anxiety and problems. They were also left with an unnerving sense of distance from their Government. One might not mind taking responsibility for one's nation's actions, if they could be understood more readily or completely, but as yet that was not to be. This much was certain: summer was over, and the nation was on alert. In the near future, inevitably, would come charges, investigations, recriminations and a serious examination of national tendencies and intentions. For the moment there were images of airports again, this time American airports. Medical students bounded from the aircraft, kissed the ground and gave thanks for being home. The Marines returning from Lebanon had nothing left to give.

—By Roger Rosenblatt



honoring those recently fallen in Beirut and Grenada

COVER STORIES

D-Day in Grenada

The U.S. and friends take over a troubled Caribbean isle



The government is building a full-size jet airport so that visitors will be able to reach the island directly

from North America and Europe. Enjoy the magnificent view where the Atlantic joins the Caribbean. On one side you will see a sparkling slate-black beach of volcanic sand and on the other, of brilliantly white coral sand.

—Grenada tourist brochure

At first, the North American visitors

tioning airstrip. Thirty-six minutes later, hundreds of U.S. Rangers, the Army's elite special forces, parachuted onto the barricaded, uncompleted 10,000-ft. strip at Point Salines on Grenada's southeastern tip. They had been dispatched from a staging airfield in Barbados, just 160 miles, or 45 minutes, away. Grenada, the once sleepy tourist haven, barely 80 miles off Venezuela in the Caribbean's Windward Islands, was now fully awake—and frightened.

For the first time since the end of the Viet Nam War, the U.S. had committed

its troops to a combat attack. The abrupt use of force immediately drew a worldwide chorus of protest. U.S. allies, including British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, deplored the violation of Grenada's sovereignty. Many Latin American nations saw the invasion as a revival of the type of gunboat diplomacy that has haunted them for more than a century. At home, members of Congress and ordinary citizens alike wondered what had prompted President Reagan to take such drastic action against a tiny island. Coming only two days after the death of



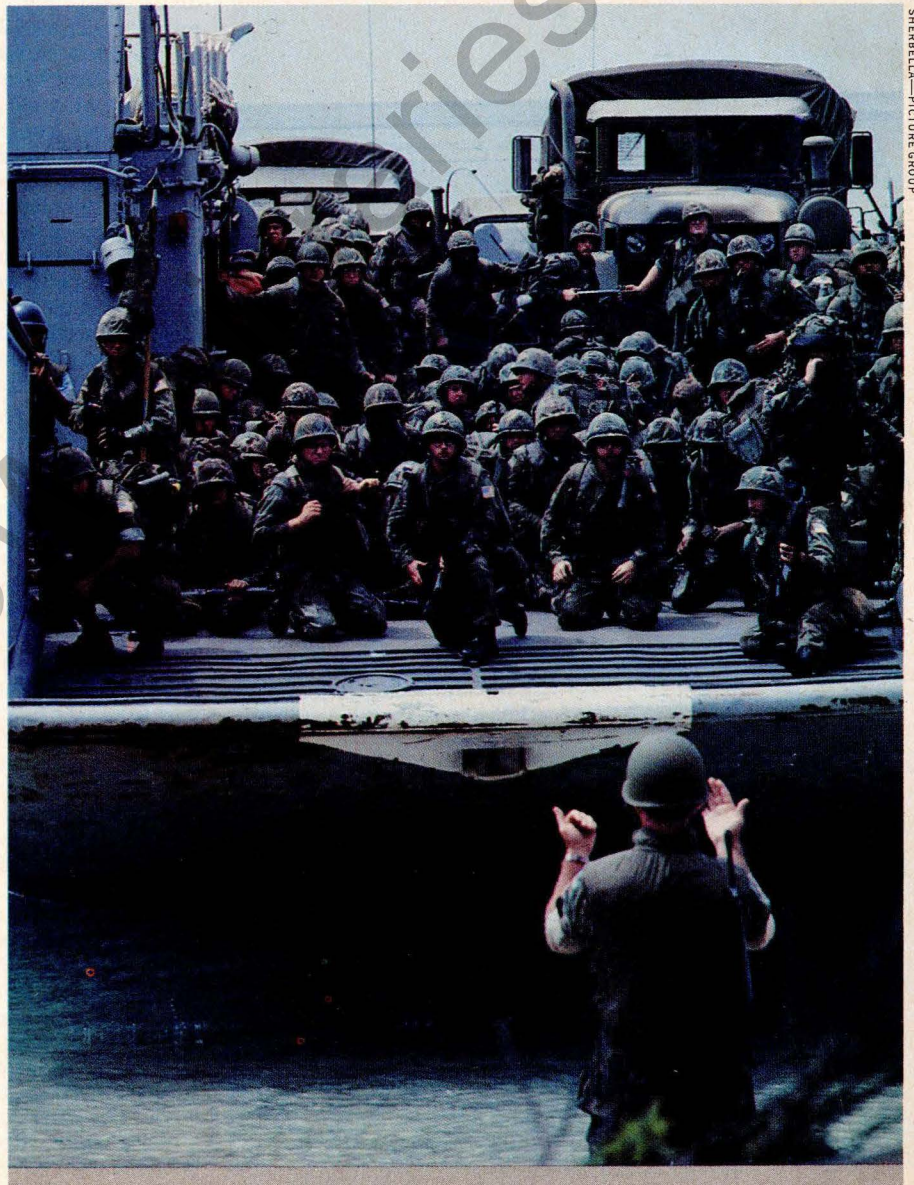
SHERBELL—PICTURE GROUP

A U.S. landing craft moves toward shore

ignored the uncompleted airstrip, but they certainly took advantage of one of Grenada's many scenic beaches. A group of U.S. Navy Seals, trained in special seaborne operations, slipped silently ashore under the cover of darkness. Weapons in hand, they crept up the hill overlooking the quaint 18th century city of St. George's. They rushed toward Government House, where Sir Paul Scoon, the island's British-appointed Governor-General, had been held under virtual house arrest by Grenada's revolutionary Marxist military leaders. Driven back at first by gunfire from house guards, the Seals attacked again and took charge of the mansion.

The next visitors arrived in the pre-dawn light with all the thunder of rapid-fire U.S. Cobra and AC-130 helicopter gunships, Air Force C-5A and C-130 troop transports, and the supersonic boom of jet fighters. Two airports, one operational and the other being built, were much on their minds.

The assault began in two main strikes. At 5:36 a.m. on Tuesday, some 400 Marines aboard troop helicopters from the amphibious assault ship *Guam* roared into Pearls airport, the island's only func-



SHERBELL—PICTURE GROUP

Invading troops prepare to hit the beach north of St. George's in second-wave assault

at least 229 Marines in Beirut, the move was sure to trigger a new debate on whether the Administration is increasingly relying on force as a complement to, if not a substitute for, diplomacy.

The invasion was conducted with the declared purpose of protecting the lives of 1,000 Americans who were trapped on the island after a bloody, left-wing military coup. Although six of Grenada's worried Caribbean neighbors had requested the U.S. action and supplied a token force of 400 men to the operation, many nations accused the U.S. of violating international law. Still, as the surprisingly difficult military operation continued, the Administration was able to produce evidence that Grenada was becoming a Soviet-Cuban base that threatened U.S. strategic interests in the Caribbean.

At first, the Marines met little resistance. They had chosen to assault the island's east coast by helicopter, rather than with landing craft, because advance intelligence probes found too many shoals and other obstacles on the island's north-

eastern shore. Within two hours, the Marines declared Pearls airport secure.

The Rangers, however, ran into unexpectedly heavy antiaircraft fire as their choppers approached Point Salines. Much of the flak came from the barracks area where Cuban workers building the airstrip were housed. The Pentagon had expected to find about 500 Cubans on the island, including 350 workers and a small military advisory group. Instead, they were facing more than 600 well-armed, professionally trained soldiers.

As the Rangers drifted toward the airstrip in their chutes, the Cubans met them with AK-47 automatic-rifle fire. Armored personnel carriers, filled with either Cuban troops or ammunition, suddenly appeared within 400 yds. of the Ranger landing sites. They aimed mortars at the invaders' positions. The Rangers took cover and returned small-arms fire. U.S. gunships proactively sprayed the resisting forces. "They were waiting for us," recalled First

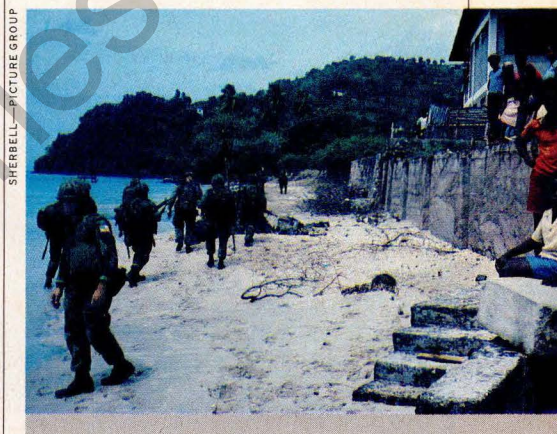
Lieut. Michael Menu, who was wounded in the initial attack. "We could hear the shooting and the bombs, but we could not see anything," said Sergeant Terry Guinn, who lay wounded while hearing Cubans all around him.

Awakened by the explosions, the American students at the True Blue campus of St. George's University School of Medicine did not know who was shooting at whom. "There was antiaircraft fire coming from the Cubans around the airport," said Harold Harvey, 22, of Beckley, W. Va. "Then I saw the paratroopers jumping. It was really thrilling to see, kind of like an old John Wayne movie, but I knew people were going to get killed." Student Stephen Renae of Point Pleasant, N.J., saw "planes diving and strafing at ground targets we couldn't see. The worst thing was not knowing where the planes were from."

Some students rolled under their beds. Some jumped into bathtubs. Bullets crashed into their rooms, one piercing a pillow. John Kopycinski, an assistant to



A predawn strike ignites fires, reddening skies over the once tranquil island



U.S. Marines patrol a beach

the school chancellor, banged on the doors of students' rooms and told them to block their windows with mattresses against the possibility of shattering glass. He ordered them to draw their shades and not leave their rooms. Student Mark Barettella of Ridgefield, N.J., flipped on a ham radio transceiver in his room and aired the first personal account of what was happening. "Right now we can't move," he said. "I'm on the floor. The microphone is on the floor."

At the Point Salines airstrip, the Rangers managed to clear the runway of pipes, boulders and vehicles, which had been placed there by Grenadians and Cubans. The Rangers could now fly onto the field in C-130s. By 7:15 a.m. the airstrip was secure. Hundreds of Cubans had thrown down their weapons and surrendered to the superior U.S. firepower.

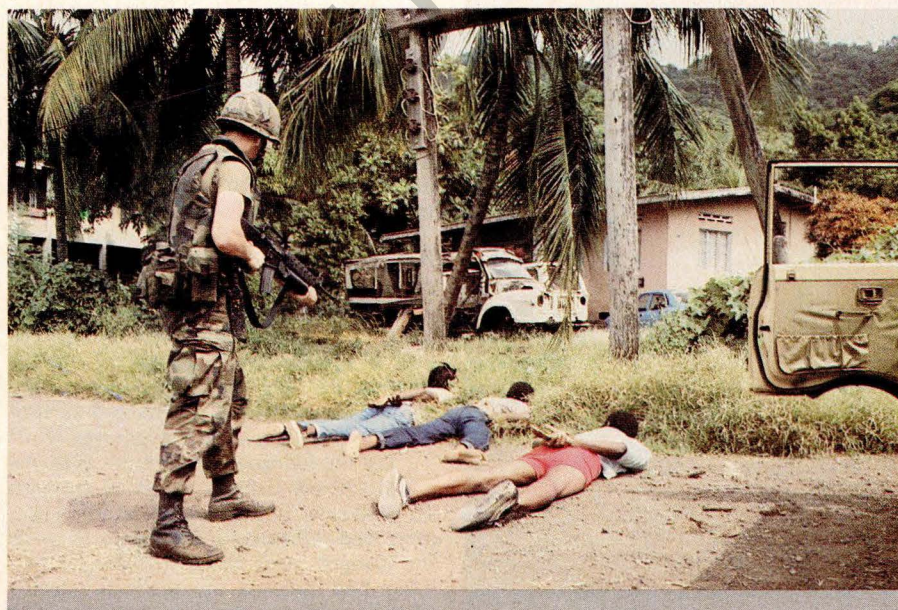
But the fighting was far from over. An additional 400 Cubans, it turned out, plus an unknown number of Grenadian soldiers and militiamen, continued to rattle the Rangers with sniper and mortar fire. They had isolated the medical school's Grand Anse campus from its True Blue buildings. They roamed the back streets



As a U.S. plane flies overhead, smoke billows from a downed American helicopter



An M60 tank rolls past shacks in impoverished area of the island



Three Grenadians follow a Marine's order to hit the dirt and stay there

JANET L. JOHNSON—WOODFIN CAMP

of St. George's, pounding on doors, and melted up into the hills, seeking either hiding or sniper sites. They continued to control the capital's small harbor.

Moving from Point Salines, the Rangers pushed toward the nearby True Blue campus. At 8:30 a.m., students heard and saw soldiers near the men's dorm. One Ranger ran across the runway and shouted, "We're Americans. You are all right." The soldiers warned the students to stay away from windows, but to collect a few belongings and gather in the adjacent lecture hall. There an officer told them, "We are the U.S. armed forces and we are here to get you out if you want to go." Students applauded with joy and relief.

The medical students set up make-shift treatment centers in the lecture hall and in a library. They helped a score of wounded Grenadians and Cubans. The U.S. wounded were also given first aid. But morphine to relieve pain was running low. An outdoor basketball court was turned into a helicopter pad to lift the wounded to the *Guam* or to hospital facilities elsewhere. Recalled Student Paula Prezioso of Great Neck, N.Y.: "One minute we'd be under a desk, the next up looking for a Coke, the next treating some Cuban sniper. Then back under a desk."

With some 1,900 U.S. troops now on Grenada, the Pentagon ordered two battalions of reinforcements from the 82nd Airborne Division, based at Fort Bragg, N.C. That brought the invasion force to 3,000. Conceded Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman John Vessey: "We got a lot more resistance than we expected."

On Tuesday afternoon, the *Guam* moved to the west coast of the island. The enemy troops had grouped in a significant force north of St. George's. They held Fort Frederick and were assumed to be holding hostages at Richmond Hill prison, on high ground east of the capital. From the *Guam*, 250 Marines boarded 13 amphibious vehicles, carrying five tanks, and stormed ashore at Grand Mal Bay north of the city. They began moving south, while the paratroopers headed north toward the capital in a pincer movement.

While the medical school staff tried frantically to locate the 200 students living off campus, John Doyle of Lindenhurst, N.J., heard banging in the back of the house he shared with four roommates between the two campuses. Grenadian soldiers were battering the kitchen door with gun butts. The students fled to a bathroom, then feared that if they surprised the intruders by being there, they might be shot. Doyle took off his U.S.A.-emblazoned T shirt, walked into the kitchen and found himself facing 30 soldiers carrying AK-47 rifles and dressed in battle fatigues. The soldiers set up portable radios and turned the house into a small battle center. After three hours of captivity, the students were released without harm. Said Doyle about the soldiers: "I asked them to please lock up when they left." (He later found the house aban-

BERNARD DIERENCH

SHERBELL—PICTURE GROUP

done, locked, the AK-47s left behind.)

By nightfall on the invasion's first day, the U.S. force was far from firmly in control of Grenada. It was not until 7:12 a.m. on Wednesday that the Marines were able to overcome troops besieging the Governor General's mansion and join the Seals who were inside it. Scoon and 32 civilians with him asked to be taken out of Grenada for their own protection. They were carried by helicopter to the *Guam*.

Students at the Grand Anse campus still had seen no Marines. Barrett's amateur radio station, virtually the sole source of specific action reports for more than 30 hours, reached the school's chancellor, Charles Modica, in New York. Modica had been highly critical of the invasion, contending that his students had not been in danger before it began. He had urged students to remain in school, saying they could not expect a refund of their \$6,000 annual tuition if they left. Now his assistant, Kopycinski, took the microphone in Grenada and pleaded, "Our water supply has been cut off and food supply is scarce, and we'd all feel a hell of a lot better if we could see some American faces around the campus."

It was not until 4 p.m. on Wednesday



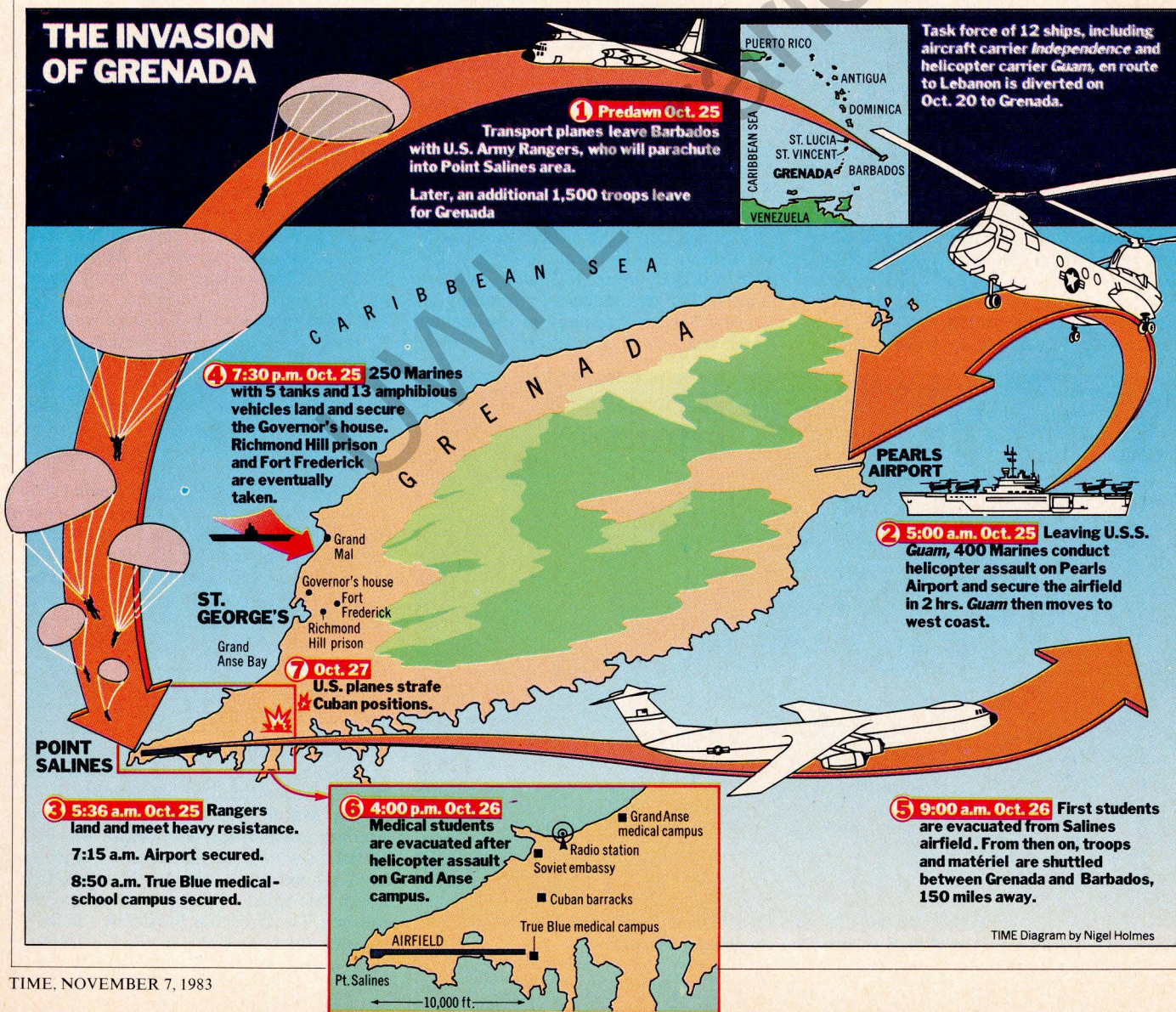
Marines retrieve bodies at the beach

that airborne units assaulted the troops surrounding the campus. Some of the students feared they would be taken hostage, although the Grenadians and Cubans had never made a move to harm them. They apparently ringed the school in a defensive stance, knowing the U.S. forces could not use heavy firepower with the students so close. Finally, Marines and Rangers in six

choppers broke through. Faces blackened, weapons at the ready, they kicked a dormitory door down and one declared, "We're friendly forces. We are American Marines." Students soon began running for the evacuation helicopters in a wild scramble while shots whizzed about them. Some hit the dirt and crawled to the waiting choppers.

At roughly the same time on Wednesday, U.S. forces rushed into a now deserted Fort Frederick and found only abandoned inmates at Richmond Hill prison. The invading forces carefully avoided endangering the Soviet embassy in St. George's, where 49 diplomats, scornfully described by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger as "embassy people, spies, KGB people and others," were in seclusion. Ten East Germans, three Bulgarians and 24 North Koreans were also at the Soviet embassy.

By late Thursday, Atlantic Fleet Commander Admiral Wesley McDonald later reported, "all major military objectives in the island were secured." But on Friday, he said, "scattered pockets of resistance" remained "and fighting is still in progress." By then 5,000 paratroopers, 500 Marines and 500 Rangers were on Grenada. Captured Cuban documents, McDon-



United States



A U.S. pilot lies dead on a beach after his helicopter was shot down

ald said, showed that as many as 1,100 Cubans had been there. Only 638 were in the custody of the invading forces. Many of the others, he suggested, may have fled to the interior mountains.

Administration officials were eager to detail the surprisingly large Cuban presence. According to McDonald, captured Cuban records showed that Fidel Castro planned to send 341 officers and 4,000 soldiers to the island, increasing the total of armed Cubans there to a force of 6,800. Six warehouses north of the Point Salines airstrip had been found with Soviet and Cuban arms. A Pentagon spokesman said this was "far above what any island this size would need for self-defense." However, *TIME* Correspondent William McWhirter, who visited the warehouses, found the supplies "more of a hodgepodge of wholesale weaponry than a

sophisticated armory." Also overrun by the Americans was what McDonald described as a "command and control position" with all the radios, counterintelligence gear and cryptography equipment needed to run a clandestine government.

While not excessive for such an operation, the human cost was high. At week's end the count of dead U.S. servicemen stood at eleven. An additional seven were missing. At least 67 were wounded, some seriously. One of the secrets in the heavily censored little war was the extent of casualties inflicted on the enemy. U.S. officials refused to provide even the roughest estimate of Cuban and Grenadian deaths.

The decision to strike the tiny Caribbean island had been made swiftly; the haste worried some top U.S. military planners. But the concern in Washington over the Marxist ideology of the former British colony's erratic leaders and their



American soldiers carry one of their wounded to a chopper for evacuation

growing chumminess with Cuba and the Soviet Union had been festering for years. Relations with the U.S. had been good after Britain granted Grenada independence in 1974. The leader, Prime Minister Eric Gairy, wielded his constitutional power with repressive and corrupt tactics, but demonstrated strong anti-Communist fervor. He was overthrown in a bloodless coup on March 13, 1979, by Maurice Bishop, then 34, a charismatic leader of the leftist New Jewel Movement. Within three days, a Cuban ship carrying Soviet weapons and ammunition arrived in Grenada.

Grenada remained a member of the British Commonwealth. Soon, a Grenadian knighted by Britain, represented the Queen in the post of Governor-General. But Cuba's influence grew steadily. In 1979, President Jimmy Carter warned Bishop that his government could expect no more economic aid from the U.S. if it aligned itself with Cuba. Bishop protested this U.S. "interference." Carter and his security aides considered covert action to dislodge Bishop, but decided instead to treat him with hands-off hostility.

Relations worsened when Bishop announced in November 1979 that Fidel Castro would help Grenada build a new "international airport," ostensibly to aid the island's tourist business. A Cuban construction brigade, using 85 pieces of Soviet heavy construction equipment, arrived in December to start the work. The airport's 10,000-ft. runway would be compatible with both tourist-laden jumbo jets and long-range military aircraft.

Shortly after taking office in 1981, the Reagan Administration told Bishop that his ties to Cuba posed a threat to the peace of the region. As relations with the U.S. worsened, Grenada's links with the Kremlin grew more open. Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard visited Moscow in May 1980, where he signed a treaty giving the Soviets permission to land their long-range reconnaissance planes, the TU-95, on Grenada when the new airport was completed.

On a visit to Barbados in April 1982, Reagan complained to Prime Minister Tom Adams and Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga about the "spread of the virus" of Communism from Grenada. The two Caribbean leaders shared the President's concern. Recalled a presidential aide who was there: "They really beat up on us about Grenada."

Reagan's concern apparently grew when Bishop visited Moscow in July 1982 and said there that the Soviet Union had granted Grenada long-term financial credits to construct a land station linked to a Soviet communications satellite.

By March of this year, Reagan had become exasperated with critics who belittled his worries about a scenic tourist island whose main activity is producing about one-third of the world's supply of nutmeg. Declared the President: "It isn't nutmeg that's at stake in the Caribbean

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and Central America. It is the U.S. national security." In a TV speech 13 days later, he showed a classified photo of the Cuban barracks on Grenada and the growing airstrip. "Grenada doesn't even have an air force," Reagan said. "Who is this intended for?" He answered his own question: "The Soviet-Cuban militarization of Grenada can only be seen as power projection into the region."

Then came a potential turning point. In June, Bishop traveled to Washington without any official invitation, apparently in an attempt to improve relations. After a week of hesitation, William Clark, who was then National Security Adviser, and Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam met Bishop for 40 minutes. They gave him another anti-Communist lecture and a warning: if he wanted to become friendlier with Washington, he had to ease his repressive rule and hold free elections.

Back in Grenada, Bishop told colleagues in his New Jewel Movement that he wanted to test Washington's intentions. He talked of opening a dialogue with the U.S. and toned down his anti-American rhetoric. In response, according to officials both in Washington and in some of Grenada's neighboring islands, Cuba encouraged the harder-line deputy, Coard, to push Bishop out. But this effort spun wildly out of control.

Coard and other extreme leftists ordered Bishop placed under house arrest on Oct. 13. With Bishop was his longtime friend, Education Minister Jacqueline Creft. The plotters underestimated Bishop's popularity. His supporters, several thousand strong, rushed the gates of his residence on Oct. 19, freed him and Creft, and carried them to a rally on Market Square in St. George's. Bishop spoke briefly before the crowd moved on to Fort Rupert, where the Grenadian army had its headquarters. There, according to eyewitnesses, troops opened fire on the crowd, killing a dozen people. Bishop, Creft, two other top officials and two union leaders were promptly executed.

General Hudson Austin, 45, a tough former prison guard, announced on Grenada's radio that he was the new leader of a 16-man military government. He ordered a 24-hour curfew, warning that any violators would be shot on sight. Castro, a friend of Bishop's, publicly deplored the "savage" killings.

Late the next day, Reagan asked Vice President George Bush to convene a Special Situation Group meeting in the White House. The first concern, according to Secretary of State George Shultz, was the safety of the 1,000 Americans in Grenada, including some 700 medical students. The group quickly decided to divert a naval task force, headed by the carrier *Independence*, that was on its way to Lebanon with



Soviet diplomat and driver stop at U.S. checkpoint

1,900 Marines scheduled for routine rotation with those there. The ships headed for Grenada as "a precautionary measure," Shultz said. According to Barbados Prime Minister Tom Adams, the U.S. had even thought of trying to rescue Bishop while he was under house arrest.

On the Friday after Bishop's murder, leaders of the six nations in the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (O.E.C.S.) met in Barbados. All are former or present British colonies: Antigua, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Kitts-Nevis, Montserrat and St. Vincent. Each leader expressed the fear that the bloody leftist military takeover on Grenada could embolden Havana-leaning revolutionaries in their own nations. They voted unanimously to ask the U.S. to provide the muscle to do something about Grenada. Barbados and Jamaica, not members of the group, joined in the plea for U.S. help. The organization's chair-



Soviet-made ammunition found in Grenada

man, Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica, said later that Governor General Scoon had managed to get word out to O.E.C.S. that it should act "to bring normalcy back" to Grenada. The plea for U.S. help, she insisted, originated with "our request to the Americans."

Also on Friday, the U.S. embassy in Bridgetown, Barbados, asked Grenadian authorities to permit two consular officers to check on the welfare of the American students. Their plane was first waved away and, when it was finally permitted to land, it was met by teen-age youths totting machine guns. The two did get to see the students, but were alarmed at the lack of governmental authority in the country. The diplomats, said one U.S. official, "were terrified. They wanted to get out themselves."

Then began the most extraordinary weekend of Ronald Reagan's presidency. He had flown to Georgia's Augusta National Golf Club late Friday for two days of relaxation with Shultz and Treasury Secretary Donald Regan. At 2:45 a.m. on Saturday, Shultz was awakened in the Eisenhower cottage at Augusta with an urgent cable from Barbados, which told him that the eastern Caribbean states wanted the U.S. to invade Grenada. Shultz and the new National Security Adviser, Robert ("Bud") McFarlane, reported the request to Vice President Bush on a secure telephone line to Washington at about 3:30 a.m. Bush, in turn, roused other NSC officials to discuss the plea. He told Shultz and McFarlane that the advisers were eager, at the least, to speed the planning for an invasion. At 5:15 a.m. Reagan listened to Shultz and McFarlane explain the invasion request. He wanted to get the views of Bush and Defense Secretary Weinberger firsthand and telephoned them.

Back in Washington, Bush assembled top security officials, including Weinberger, General Vessey and key White House aides for a meeting that began at 9 a.m. and lasted almost two hours. Summed up one participant: "Everyone was gung-ho." The President joined the conversation via speakerphone for five minutes. One White House staffer warned that there would be "a lot of harsh political reaction" to a U.S. strike at the small island nation. Replied the President: "I know that. I accept that." Still, Weinberger and Vessey wanted to learn more about the weapons and willingness to fight of the Cubans on Grenada. Recalled an aide: "I had a real fear that it could be a very bad situation: Desert One all over again."

Reagan and Shultz deliberately continued to play golf on Saturday, knowing that a sudden return to Washington would fuel speculation. Suddenly, in the afternoon, Reagan took a break for a bizarre reason: a drunken gunman wanting to see him had crashed his pickup truck through a golf course gate and held hostages in the



Flight to freedom: American medical students about to be evacuated line up on the Cuban-built airstrip

club's pro shop. After trying in vain to talk to the man by telephone, Reagan was whisked back from the 16th hole to the Eisenhower cabin by heavily armed Secret Service agents.

Then came another shocker, one of far greater significance. At 2:27 a.m. on Sunday, Reagan was awakened with the tragic news of the bombing of American and French military quarters in Beirut. The casualties jolted him. He knew he had to get back to Washington.

Now the Grenada operation became subtly intertwined with the atrocities in Lebanon. With so many American lives just lost, could Reagan risk more so soon in a military action he had the power to abort? Momentarily, he considered abandoning the invasion. Never, recalled an aide, had Reagan felt the burdens of the presidency so heavily. Could we permit "more blood on our hands?" one adviser asked somberly.

Reagan left Augusta at 7:17 a.m. and arrived back in Washington for a round of NSC meetings that began at 9 a.m. Much of the talks centered on the Marines in Lebanon. That tragedy provided a cover of secrecy for talks about the invasion. Reagan decided that the Beirut bombings made it even more imperative that the U.S. act decisively in the Caribbean, especially since the island nations would know if their request for action had been turned down. Declared Reagan: "We cannot let an act of terrorism determine whether we aid or assist our allies in the region. If we do that, who will ever trust us again?"

On Monday, the U.S. embassy in Barbados received a note from the "Revolutionary Military Council" in Grenada. It said that Americans on the island were in no danger and would be permitted to leave if they wished. The State Department chose to ignore it. At a final military planning meeting from 2:15 to 3:30 p.m., Reagan gave his "semifinal" approval to proceed. At 6 p.m. he signed an order that put the invasion plans into action.

Presidential aides then turned to the touchy task of notifying key congressional leaders without letting reporters know that something unusual was afoot. The leaders quietly slipped into the White House through the old Executive Office Building to the White House basement and up a back stairs. Solemnly, the President laid out his plans and his reasoning, much as he would later do on TV. But as the President finished his explanation, the five leaders sat in hushed silence. Finally House Speaker Tip O'Neill broke it. "God bless you, Mr. President," he said. "And good luck." Tip gently patted Reagan's arm in a rare moment of rapport.

Reagan then received a telephone call from Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. He told her that the invasion was imminent and explained why. To his apparent surprise, she raised strong objections to the entire proposal, suggesting vaguely that economic sanctions would be more appropriate.

The President was not deterred. The next morning, Tuesday at 9:07, he stepped into the White House briefing room to tell reporters, and the nation, the startling news: "Early this morning, forces from six Caribbean democracies and the United States began a landing or landings on the island of Grenada in the eastern Caribbean."

Some 30 hours later, the televised scenes of American students kissing the tarmac on their return to Charleston, S.C., testified to the dominant feeling among them that the President's action had been justified. Many said they had considered themselves in effect hostages on the island. Chancellor Modica, too, said after State Department briefings that he had changed his mind; his students had been in greater danger than he had realized. "The President acted properly," Modica now admitted.

But even as the students rejoiced, the

fighting in Grenada continued. The initial invasion force of 1,900 had grown to 6,000 men. They controlled the island's major populated areas, but not its wooded and mountainous interior. Although the Administration had at first expected the U.S. troops to be able to withdraw within a few weeks at most, leaving police from the neighboring islands to maintain order, the military field commanders were becoming less sanguine. "If the Cubans want to go up in these hills and play games, it will take a while," said Vice Admiral Joseph Metcalf, commander of the invading American task force. "This is a jungle."

Grenada's General Austin, whose cold-blooded executions had created the chaos that prompted the invasion, had still not been located by week's end; he was believed to have fled into the mountains with his hard-core followers. But on Saturday a Marine detachment found the long-missing Coard in a guarded house in St. George's. Said he of the Bishop murder before he was whisked off to the *Guam*: "I'm not responsible. I'm not responsible."

Clearly, it would not be easy to find a group of Grenadian leaders who could form a government that would restore stability to the island. One possibility, being contemplated by Britain, Canada and other former British colonies, was the creation of a Commonwealth force to replace the U.S. troops once the fighting had ended.

Still, having employed force in such a dramatic and massive way, the U.S. had probably assumed the practical burden of helping shape Grenada's future. Observed a Grenadian lawyer familiar with his nation's tangled politics: "The U.S. can't just invade a nation and then leave. If we are to be healed now in a democratic way, the U.S. must stay." The lesson was all too familiar: it is easier to intervene in a country's affairs than to walk away from its problems.

—By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Douglas Brew/Washington, Bernard Diederich/St. George's and William McWhirter/Bridgetown

How Much Can America Do?

Its power is vast, but its global commitments are breathtaking



"We are a nation with global responsibilities." So said President Reagan in his speech to the nation

last week on the events in Beirut and Grenada. But he did not address the question that assertion raises at the most basic level: Has the nation taken on worldwide commitments for the potential use of force that its military power currently is stretched too thin to fulfill?

The answer by military experts is not altogether reassuring. Its essence: as long as trouble on opposite sides of the globe can be met by deployments the size of those in Lebanon and Grenada, there is no strain. Those two crises are engaging only two of the twelve Marine amphibious units (a total of 150,000 troops) available to be dispatched round the world, and, of course, there remain all the other armed services of the nation to be drawn on. But a pair of widely separated major confrontations—a Soviet threat to the Persian Gulf oilfields, say, and a blowup in Korea—would pose a real problem. General John A. Wickham, the Army Chief of Staff, fears that U.S. commitments "probably exceed the force capabilities."

The U.S. is obliged by treaty to defend Japan, South Korea and Western Europe (and Western Europe, by NATO definition, includes Greece and Turkey) from armed attack. It has a clearly enunciated pledge to use force if necessary to

keep oil flowing to the free world from the Middle East. This implies a determination to defend Saudi Arabia, Oman, Egypt, Jordan and Pakistan from threats external and internal. Six months of maneuvers and training exercises in Honduras, involving up to 5,000 troops at one time, underscore U.S. opposition to leftist revolution in Central America. The U.S. recently felt obliged to send AWACS planes to watch Libyan activities in the African state of Chad.

To honor these pledges and missions, the U.S. maintains enormous forces round the world. But bringing them to bear in trouble spots involves severe difficulties. The worst is a shortage of sealift and airlift capacity, brought on because the Navy and Air Force for decades have preferred to spend their money on combat hardware rather than on cargo ships and planes. Since 1981, the number of U.S. "mobile logistics ships" (vessels that carry petroleum, ammunition and other cargo to resupply battle fleets at sea) has increased by exactly one, from 72 to 73. Some 50 new transport planes are on order to supplement the present fleet of 70 C-5A Galaxies and 234 C-141 Star-Lifters. But the new planes will not begin flying for two years.

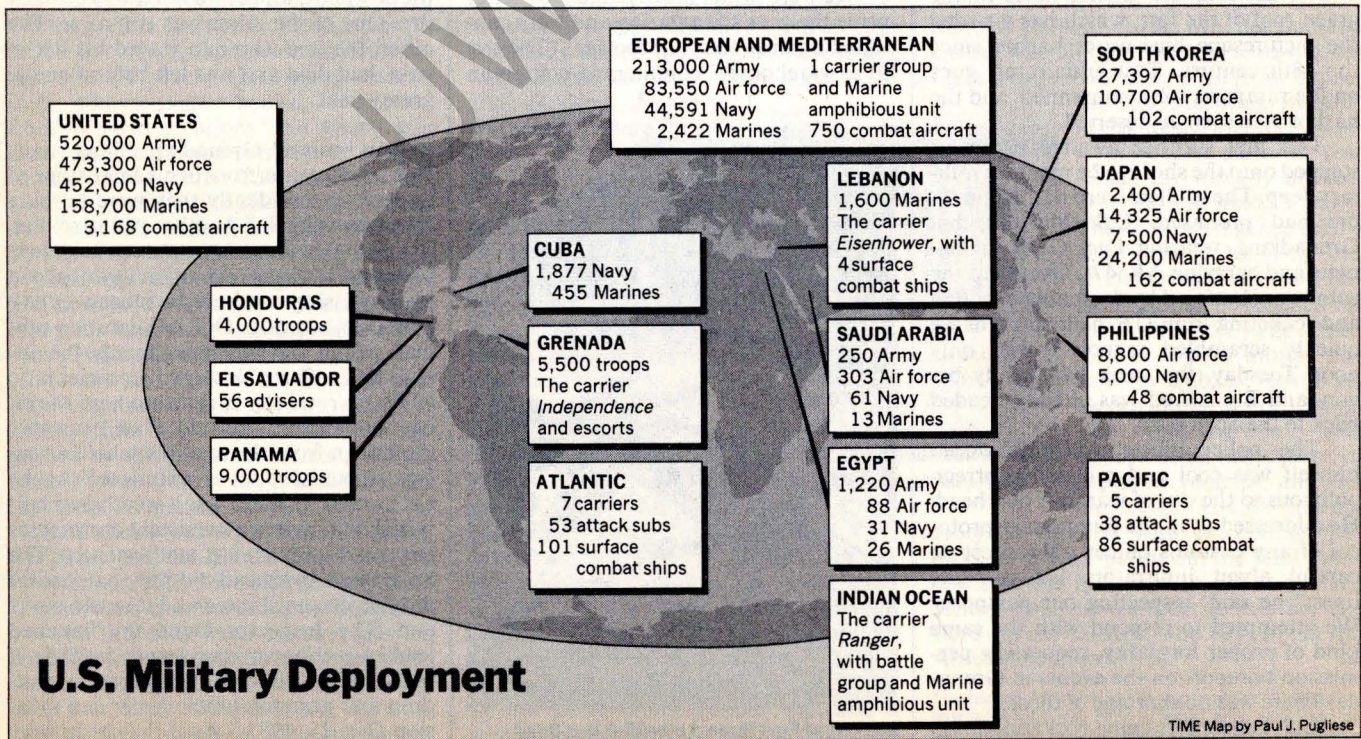
For an example of what could happen, take a case that has occupied much of the attention of U.S. planners: a hypothetical Soviet invasion of Iran. Theoretically, the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force could send

3½ Army divisions (representing some 55,000 men, with tanks, armored personnel carriers, artillery, mortars, machine guns and personal weapons), 1½ Marine amphibious forces, and seven Air Force fighter wings totaling 504 planes. To do so, however, would take weeks, and after that the U.S. would be hard pressed to fly or ship in the fuel, food and ammunition to sustain the R.D.F. during a long campaign.

In addition, the R.D.F. units that could be dispatched to the Middle East are also earmarked to reinforce NATO during a European crisis. European allies would surely howl that they could not be spared, since a Middle East war might spill over into Europe. Former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown warns that even in relatively minor trouble areas like Lebanon, prolonged deployments "are manageable over a period of months—but if they go on for a year or more, they could reduce our ability to deal with a major contingency."

It is not easy to see what might be done. Commitments could be lightened, but which friendly states should be told the U.S. might not defend them? Military forces could be built up further; the U.S. may even need the draft. But Reagan is having trouble getting his present defense-spending requests through Congress (he asked for a 14.2% increase over fiscal 1983). Perhaps the most comforting thought is that the Soviet Union, faced by a hostile China on one flank and ringed by potentially mutinous East European allies on another, has its own worries about how much military force it could safely commit to any bloody, prolonged foreign adventure. —By George J. Church.

Reported by Bruce W. Nelan/Washington



Images from an Unlikely War

A report from the battle

As the U.S. and allied Caribbean forces were coordinating their assault on Grenada, TIME was engineering a landing of its own. After a five-hour voyage in an open boat, Caribbean Correspondent Bernard Diederich headed ashore on D-day to find the capital city of St. George's still in the hands of Grenada's People's Revolutionary Army. The Marines would not take charge of the town for another two days. Diederich's account of the invasion:



Those last minutes in the solid wood boat approaching the port capital of St. George's were the most trying.

Captain Alfred, who calls himself the "Big Fisherman," had argued against taking his 20-ft. vessel into the harbor directly under the guns of the People's Revolutionary Army's (P.R.A.) Fort Rupert. We had worried more about a shark spotted on the five-hour trip from the out island of Carriacou than any trouble we expected ashore. Two U.S. helicopters had buzzed us as we approached, and we waved back with our cameras and radios. But as we came closer to the coastline, we heard the dull thud of bombs over the noise of the throbbing diesel engine, and with each thud, Big Alfred stubbornly refused to go any farther. He coaxed and cajoled him over almost each wave with the radio reports that the quay in St. George's had been secured by the attackers and Fort Rupert taken. U.S. ships were still visible at sea, as were the gaping holes in the green roof of the fort, which has guarded the picturesque blue-water harbor since the 18th century. Two anti-aircraft guns on the ramparts were unmanned, and the harborfront seemed deserted.

Our first surprise awaited us as we stepped onto the shore to be met by a military Jeep. The soldiers were not, as the radio had promised, U.S. Marines, but Grenadians, wearing East German helmets and carrying AK-47s. Overhead the calm was shattered by deafening shooting and rocketing from U.S. helicopters as we quickly scrambled ashore. It was only noon Tuesday, the week had barely begun, and Big Alfred was already headed back to the open sea.

The police officer who introduced himself was cool and militarily correct, oblivious to the din of warcraft overhead. He addressed us in the functionary protocol of any customs officer. "We must be careful about infiltrators between the lines," he said, inspecting our passports. We attempted to respond with the same kind of proper formality, requesting permission to report on the events in Grenada. There was no shortage of those.

U.S. helicopters came rocketing in on



Assessing the cost: an islander inspects the carcass of a U.S. helicopter

their principal target, the army base of Fort Frederick on the hill just behind us. A-7 Corsair light attack jets screamed down, bombed and fired on positions surrounding where we stood. Then a lumbering gray-painted C-130 with its rapid-fire gun in the rear made its entry, spraying the hillsides above with percussion fire as loud as hailstones hitting a tin roof. We could feel the hot rush of air and the concussion from the exploding bombs, and yet, directly in front of us, four fishing boats still bobbed idly at their anchors, and a young Grenadian in a red bathing suit walked nonchalantly by as if he were still headed for his afternoon swim. Just then, another explosion, as the gunships made their passes across the hilltops.

We were rather hastily taken to shelter inside the port's fire station and were cautioned against straying too far. "They've hit a warehouse," commented a fireman

inside, making no move to rush out with his engine. The firehouse had lost its electricity and was down to the last of its cool water. Strafing attacks continued even as we listened to radio reports declaring that the war was already over. Minutes later, thick black smoke erupted into the sky from a U.S. helicopter that was shot down, falling into a sports field several hundred yards behind us. A group of Greek sailors who happened to be in port unloading their freighter, saw one of the wounded pilots wave his hat, a gesture they interpreted as a signal for surrender. But the Grenadian gunners continued firing until he fell to his knees. It was not until 90 minutes later that two gunships came in under heavy fire to make their rescue. By then the downed chopper was already gutted by fire. One of the pilots was still alive. The other, the one who had waved his hat in vain, had died and was left behind on the grassy field.



In front of Fort Rupert a soldier lies dead

One bearded Grenadian soldier, touring the waterfront in his Jeep, stopped to declare confidently they were pushing "the enemy back." Another young soldier, his eyes as wide as saucers, sat in a Jeep plastered with the revolution's symbol of a smiling rising sun and the slogan EVERY CHILD IN SCHOOL. Our immigration official, whom we had nicknamed "the Inspector," offered his own commentary: "The Marines say they came here to rescue Americans," he said, "but I saw one American from the medical school on his way to our hospital to volunteer." At the docks near by there was a weathered billboard that invited nonexistent cruise ships to COME AGAIN TO THE SPICE ISLAND. The helicopters overhead did just that, and so did the jets, until it seemed it would never end. The Inspector found the flattened lead of a chopper round and, fondling it sadly, said, "I'll keep it to show my children and grandchildren. American invasion Oct. 25, 1983." As if the scene were

not already crazy enough, it was about 5 p.m. when a well-dressed young man walked by into the midst of the fighting distractedly blowing a trumpet.

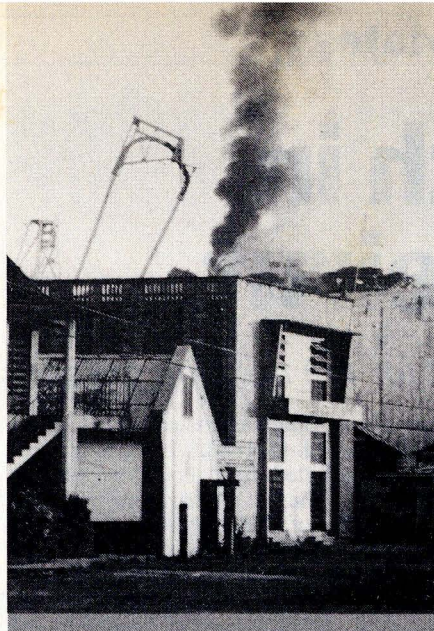
Soon afterward, we could see the government headquarters of Butler House, the former offices of slain Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, burst into flames after a firing pass from a C-130. This time the firemen obeyed orders to try to extinguish the blaze, although one fireman prayed as he left the station, and another muttered: "What's the point? What's the use?" At dusk, U.S. jets were still fanning across the island, angrily searching for more targets.

The comrades offered us a hotel of our choice for the night. We selected the nearby St. James, next to Fort Rupert. Miss Constance Bertram, 90, was our fellow guest, but she found it difficult to understand why the hotel maid had fled. Darkness brought no end to the bombs and explosive barrages. Butler House was set on fire again. Just before dawn, we awoke to find our hotel eerily illuminated by falling flares.

As morning came, the Marines began appearing on the edge of town at Queen's Park, Bishop's favorite gathering place to address his people. The Marines spread out in firing positions alongside tanks and personnel carriers, while Grenadians sat looking back from their front steps on the opposite hillside. A U.S. tank sprang into life, firing into a hill with thick green vegetation, making a direct hit on an ammo dump and an antiaircraft position. One young man who sat watching the scene admitted that he too was once for the revolution. Now, reluctantly, he welcomed the invaders. "It's a sad solution, but there seemed to have been no other way," he said. "The military would have ended us all, they would never have given up power."

A short distance away, a P.R.A. soldier had gone to a funeral parlor, carrying the body of the downed U.S. helicopter pilot. He decided against leaving it, and carried it to the beach. The funeral director said, "I have no new bodies, just the ten from our own executions." An orderly said that when Fort Rupert was hit by a naval bombardment early Tuesday morning, some of the soldiers had fled to the hospital and hurriedly exchanged their uniforms for pajamas. Of the 30 casualties, perhaps half had arrived at the hospital within the first hour of the invasion. "We had been ready for hundreds, but they just didn't come," said an Irish doctor.

It was also here at the hospital that we encountered the American volunteer doctor from the medical school described by the Inspector. Among all the other broken fragments, it somehow did not seem so unnatural that the doctor was a Cuban—but from a family of exiles living in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. Dr. Raúl Jiménez, 31, had made his way to the hospital soon after watching the first paratroopers dropping from the sky near his home facing the stretch of wide white beach known as Grand Anse. He had been here ever since. The hospital, he said, had no X-ray machine, little oxygen on



Smoke billows up from bombed Butler House

hand, and only five pints of blood.

The doctor, at least, knew where he was. By now the Marines had set up a roadblock at the coastal bridge leading into Queen's Park. A Soviet diplomat who found himself there seemed less sure than the doctor of his whereabouts. Boris Nikolayev, who described himself as an economic counselor, stood with a letter in hand. He was visibly nervous. He leaned against his shiny black Mercedes-Benz with an aide, waving the letter he wished to deliver to the head of the country, whoever that was. One Soviet embassy official had been wounded. "It was not direct shooting," Nikolayev explained. "He was hit by a piece of shrapnel in the left shoulder. He is one of our new diplomats. We have problems. No light, no water. We have children, we have no telephone line, no telex. It is very difficult to contact who is running this country. I come here to ask who is. What can I do?" What about General Hudson Austin? "I don't know where this Austin is..."

Late Wednesday afternoon, as we look down from near the now deserted Fort Frederick in the flickering last rays of sunset, a dozen helicopters whirl like spiders over a silvery sea while smoke billows from bomb and rocket strikes, the action stretching across the entire beachfront of the town, from the studios of Radio Free Grenada to the medical school campus and the ruins of another resort hotel.

Like all wars, this one had already begun to leave behind its litter—a shattered telephone post, a Grenadian army Jeep in a ditch, another smashed into a tree, an abandoned Soviet-made tank with its battery still humming, torn metal and debris. In the midst of the rubble appeared a woman in a long brown dress. She was

barefoot. We called to ask her if she was safe. She turned, exposing her open dress front, and laughed. The insane asylum had also been hit, and the inmates, like this one, had wandered off into the city.

There were escapees among the sane as well. At Richmond Hill prison, a dark and moldy relic of colonial times, ten of perhaps 90 political prisoners* walked free, along with one convicted murderer. Leslie Pierre, who had been in jail since July 1981 on political charges, had said to his guards, "leave the keys when you run." They had run, but they had taken their keys with them. When one prisoner tried to escape earlier, a guard shot him and locked his dead body in a cell. "He's beginning to stink," the prisoner complained. As we walked down the hill with another escaped political prisoner, he said: "I don't know whether the intervention could have been averted. The situation had got out of control. The moment they decided to get rid of Bishop, the party was destined to collapse. They were wrong to believe that power came from the barrel of a gun."

A Marine officer barked at his men to be more thorough in searching people, as he advanced slowly up the road past our hotel to Fort Rupert, which was now filled only with looters. As one soldier searched a man with a bundle of loot from the fort, the man kept grinning and saying, "May God bless the United States and President Reagan." Marine Lieut. Colonel Ray Smith from Oklahoma described taking the old civilian airport under antiaircraft fire, but, he added laconically, "We took it." Commented a fellow Marine: "Their antiaircraft was good. They were doing a good job. The ones who really fought, though, were the Cubans."

No one was sure what remained. Where was the 16-member revolutionary military council? Or the Marxist Bernard Coard, who along with some hard-line officers was probably responsible for depos-

ing and executing Bishop? Many army members who were wearing uniforms yesterday are already dressed in shorts and sandals today. The U.S. intelligence teams have arrived to bring out briefcases full of "Top Secret" files to be shipped off to Washington. The Point Salines airport, almost finished by Cubans, now looks like an annex of Fort Bragg. The 82nd Airborne gets around in an assortment of captured vehicles, and the airport has C-130s landing

every 30 minutes with even more matériel. Everyone points out the final paradox that the first ones to put Grenada's controversial new airport to military use were not the Cubans, who built it, but the Americans themselves. ■

*Including Alister Hughes, a prominent Grenadian journalist who had been arrested after reporting on this month's coup for TIME and other publications.



Inside Richmond Hill prison

Aftermath in Bloody Beirut

Vows to stay, as the search for the missing goes on



Days after the slaughter, the scene remained so ghastly that the eye instinctively sought out relics of life among the debris. Here was a dog tag bent out of shape by the blast, there a shred of a letter or birthday card from home. Scattered everywhere were photographs: of uniformed sons between doting parents, of laughing girlfriends and smiling wives, of babies newly born. The

number of American casualties in a single day since Jan. 13, 1968, when 246 servicemen were killed throughout Viet Nam at the start of the Tet offensive. In the heart of West Beirut, about two miles from the airport, searchers hunted through the remains of a nine-story building housing French paratroopers that had been hit minutes after the airport bombing; the French toll was 56 dead, with two missing and 15 injured.

The double act of horror left a tangle of questions. Both truck drivers blew themselves to smithereens when they swerved madly into their targets and detonated their deadly cargoes. But who was behind the attacks? Why was security not more stringent, especially after a nearly identical attack hit the U.S. embassy in Beirut last April, killing 63 people? Can the safety of the Marines now be ensured?

One goal of the attacks was clear: to drive out of Lebanon the troops of the U.S., France and the two other members of the Multi-National Force, Italy and Britain. In words and deeds, the four nations reaffirmed their intention to stay. French President François Mitterrand flew into Beirut on Monday to underscore his nation's commitment. He was followed two days later by Vice President George Bush, who visited the site of the carnage wearing a helmet and flak jacket. On Thursday, Secretary of State George Shultz conferred with his French, Italian and British counterparts in the Paris suburb La Celle-Saint-Cloud. After a five-hour meeting under unusually tight security, at a secluded 17th century château, French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson reiterated "the support of our governments for the Multi-National Force." In his nationwide address on television Thursday evening, President Ronald Reagan made the most forceful pitch for a continuation of the U.S. presence in Lebanon. Said he: "We cannot and will not dishonor them now, and the sacrifices they made, by failing to remain as faithful to the cause of freedom and the pursuit of peace as they have been."

Throughout the week, the site of those sacrifices was slowly, even tenderly, pulled apart in the search for bodies. As bulldozers grumbled back and forth, cranes hoisted away slabs of concrete, their steel rods bent crazily and stuck with bits of uniforms. The Marines were aided in their grim task not only by Navy Seabees from ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet off



A Marine contemplates the loss

personal effects made the rows of bodies laid out on the ground and covered with blankets even more poignant, for they were reminders that each Marine pulled out of the rubble had his own private existence, peopled by all those who knew and cared about him.

The loved ones back home needed no reminders. As rescue workers clawed through the smoking ruins last week of what had once been the Battalion Landing Team Headquarters of the U.S. Marines, and the toll grew bleaker, relatives and friends kept vigil across the country, awaiting word. For most, the news came only after several wrenching days of uncertainty. All of a sudden, the dreaded figure in uniform would appear and say, "The Secretary of the Navy has asked that I inform you..."

At week's end the count stood at 229 dead and 81 wounded. It was the highest



The horror of it all: U.S. Marines, aided by rescue

the Lebanese coast, but by Italian, Norwegian and Lebanese rescuers, most of them volunteers. The searchers clambered over the ruins with picks and shovels, but just as often they would fall to their knees and scoop out debris with their hands. Orders, screamed out in any of several languages, often went unheard. At night the wreckage looked especially eerie as workers kept digging under the harsh glare of floodlights.

Efforts quickly were concentrated on separating the four floors of the building, once some 50 feet high but now crunched into about ten feet of rubble. Once a chunk of floor had been lifted away, a team of workers would sift the debris for corpses and personal effects. Some bodies were sandwiched between floors and ceilings and could be re-



workers, gingerly pull apart the grotesque tangle of concrete and steel as they search for fallen comrades

trieved only by cutting off an arm or a leg. Rescuers emerged carrying blood-soaked buckets filled with limbs and tattered flesh. The Marines kept insisting that several comrades might still be found alive in the basement, but such hopes seemed futile. By the end of the first day, the searchers had donned masks to ward off the stench of death.

Every so often, sniper fire from the neighboring Shi'ite Muslim slums would ring out, sending the searchers scurrying for shelter. Then, two days after the blast, came terrifying news. A rumor spread that three vehicles reportedly laden with high explosives were cruising the neighborhood. The Marines were immediately placed on "Condition One," the highest state of alert. Huge amphibious personnel carriers blocked off the roads leading to the base, while the highway curving past

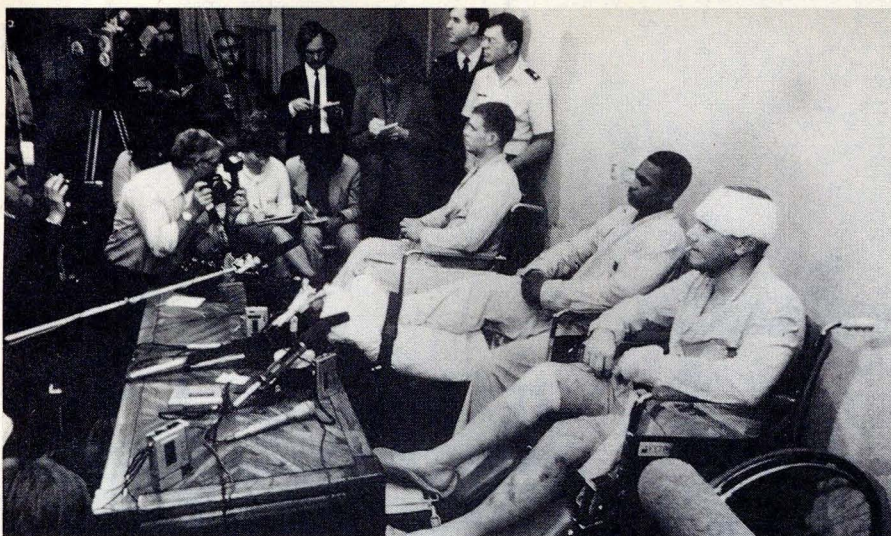
the airport was barricaded with boulders of concrete. Several hours later, without explanation, the alert was downgraded.

That same day, the Marine Commandant, General Paul X. Kelley, flew from Washington to inspect the damage. Accompanied by Colonel Timothy Geraghty, commander of the Marines in Beirut, Kelley watched silently as two more bodies were dragged out of the ruins. The next day, under a tight cloak of secrecy, Bush flew on Air Force Two from Washington to Cyprus, where he boarded a helicopter for the *Iwo Jima*. His arrival in Beirut was delayed for more than an hour when Marine positions east of the airport came under mortar attack from a Druze stronghold in the hills above. The Marines returned the fire, and the shelling died.

After his helicopter had landed, Bush

sloshed through the mud to watch the rescue operations. Flanked by dozens of Marines and nine Secret Service men, he watched as workers jackhammered what was the remains of the building's second floor. He awarded the Purple Heart to two survivors, and met with President Amin Gemayel at his palace overlooking the city. Later he told TIME how his three hours in Beirut had moved him. "One is never prepared for the magnitude of what happened," he said softly. "You're standing there in a crater looking at one-inch reinforcing rods twisted like spaghetti. On the more positive side, I asked a Marine to whom I had just given a Purple Heart what he looked forward to. 'Well,' he said, 'I'll see my family soon. I also want to be with my outfit, to be back on my base in Beirut.'"

Many of the dead Marines were na-



The lucky ones: a trio of survivors tell their stories to reporters in Wiesbaden . . .



. . . while another victim is carried off the plane at Andrews Air Force Base

ked or dressed only in jogging shorts, without their dog tags, making identification difficult. Worse yet, most of the battalion's personnel records and dental charts were destroyed in the blast. To ease the worry of families back home, the Marines were later permitted free five-minute telephone calls home.

Across town, the same fevered search was going on at the French paratroopers' building. One dead officer was found bent over his bootlaces, as if he had been tying them. On Thursday evening, a memorial service was held at the French Ambassador's residence. Two rows of 28 coffins, each draped with the French Tricolor, were lined up in the courtyard. Under a glow cast by Jeep headlights, the military trumpets sounded as the French chaplain sprinkled each coffin with holy water. At the end, the remaining soldiers sang *La Chanson du Para*, a favorite paratrooper hymn, whose melancholy lines floated slowly into the evening air.

As the search went on, many Marines, stunned and angry, swapped memories about those killed. One Navy corpsman had just married a Lebanese woman. He had returned from his honeymoon a day early, on Sunday, just in time for a rendezvous with death. Some recalled the Marine staff sergeant who a few days before the attack was proudly showing a videotape of his newborn son, whom he had never seen and now never will. Few could avoid pointing out that the tour of duty for most of those killed had almost ended, that they were scheduled to leave Beirut in a few weeks for the States.

The most haunting tale belonged to Lance Corporal Robert Calhoun, who was stationed on the roof of the building when the truck came hurtling across the parking lot. "The explosion hit, and everything started falling," Calhoun recalled. "I thought, 'This is how I am going to die.'" Afterward, Calhoun said, he

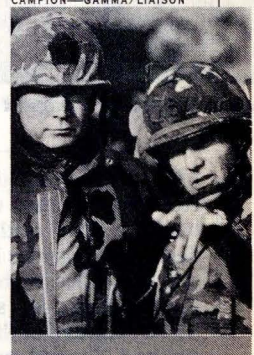
talked with the sentry who had manned the entry gate bypassed by the truck. Said Calhoun: "He says just as the man went by, he'll always remember, the guy was smiling."

Other Marines spoke of their frustrated desire for revenge. "I think we ought to start shooting first," said one. Pointing across to the nearby slum Hay es Sullum, the source of sniper fire that had killed two Marines a fortnight earlier, he added, "You see guys running around there with AK-47 rifles and grenades. We should hit them." Yet others realized that punishment should be meted out only to those directly responsible for the attacks and that finding them would be impossible. "We just want to hit back, but hit back at whom?" asked another Marine. "We can't behave like them, and we won't."

Although some of the wounded were helicoptered to the *Iwo Jima* off the coast of Lebanon and treated in the ship's operating rooms, most were flown directly to U.S. military hospitals in West Germany and Italy or to a British Royal Air Force hospital on Cyprus.* The most seriously injured were sent to West Germany. When word of the explosion was flashed to the U.S. Air Force Hospital at Wiesbaden, where the U.S. hostages in Iran were first treated after their release in 1981, a trio of American doctors immediately flew to Beirut to accompany the victims back on the five-hour flight.

As soon as the planes landed in Frankfurt, their passengers were hustled into Black Hawk helicopters and dispatched to Wiesbaden and two other U.S. military hospitals. Of the 61 injured who were eventually flown to West Germany, about a dozen required major surgery, while others needed broken bones set or dirt and shards of glass cleaned out of hastily bandaged wounds. By Friday, most were in fair condition, and eight felt well enough to fly home to Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington.

Others were not so fortunate. About 20 of them suffered severe burns or were missing arms or legs. Two victims were so badly burned that they were flown on to Brooke Army Medical Center at Fort Sam Houston, Texas. One Marine, with burns over 95% of his body, died in



Geraghty shows Kelley blast area

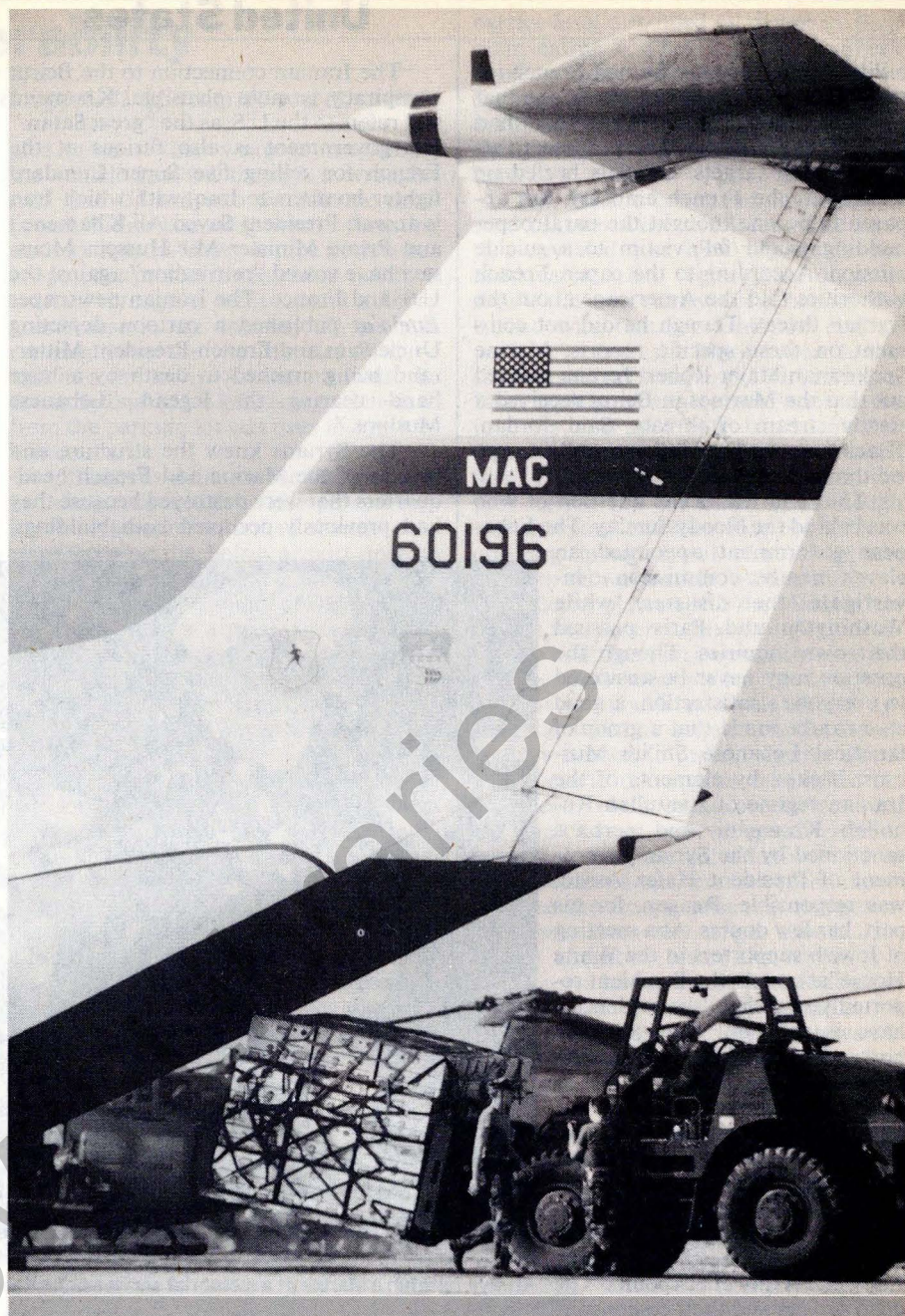
*Israel offered to treat the wounded at Rambam Hospital in Haifa, which has long experience in handling war injuries and is about 30 minutes away from Beirut by helicopter, but the help was turned down. U.S. military officials decided, correctly as it turned out, that their own facilities, including medical evacuation planes, were sufficient. Washington may also have felt that acceptance of Israeli aid, if it was not crucial, would needlessly anger the Arab world. The U.S. Marines did accept body bags from the Israelis.

West Germany, while another died en route. At the U.S. Army Medical Center at Landstuhl, southwest of Frankfurt, where the most badly wounded were taken, the patients said nothing or spoke in monosyllables. As the shock wore off, according to Colonel Richard Swengel, the hospital's chief of neurosurgery, "a lot of their fears and anxieties started coming out." How many were hurt? What had happened to their buddies? When would they get out of the hospital?

The most poignant moment occurred at Wiesbaden, when General Kelley, on his way to Beirut, stopped by to award the Purple Heart to the survivors. As Kelley later recounted the incident at a press conference, he was pinning the medals to the blue hospital gowns of the wounded when he came to a Marine "with more tubes going in and out of his body than I have ever seen in one body." Lance Corporal Jeffrey Nashton of Jacksonville, N.C., reached up and grabbed Kelley's four stars to make sure he was who he said he was. In response to Nashton's signals, a pad of paper was put in his hand. He wrote, "Semper Fi," short for the Marine motto *Semper Fidelis* (Always Faithful). Reagan was so moved by the account that he repeated Kelley's words verbatim during his televised speech last week. Added Reagan: "It says more than any of us could ever hope to say about the gallantry and heroism of these young men."

As the week went on, the wounded spoke about the tragic night, about miraculous escapes and comrades suddenly gone. Although the Marines appeared alert and energetic, their shaking hands betrayed their emotions. Lance Corporal Mike Balcolm, 20, of Vernon, N.Y., was lying awake on his bed on the fourth floor when the bomb went off. He blacked out; when he revived, he found himself pinned under a jumble of concrete. After his cries for help went unheeded, he grabbed a wire and painfully pulled himself through a crack in the rubble. While Balcolm was being treated at a makeshift hospital, however, his dog tags were found in the wreckage. He was declared dead, and his relatives were notified. Balcolm did not learn about the mix-up until he called his brother the next day. Said Balcolm: "My mother thought a miracle had occurred."

At the U.S. naval hospital at Agnano, near Naples, Lance Corporal Wayne Harris, 22, of Richmond, recounted how he was trapped for four hours. "First I was screaming a lot, but then I got worried about losing my air. Finally I just passed out and came to in the back of a truck." Ways of escape could be serendipitous as well as terrifying. Lance Corporal Adam Webb, 20, of Jacobsburg, Ohio, one of four guards on the roof, glimpsed the speeding truck as it disappeared below him. Webb felt the roof crack, then rode it down the four stories to the ground. Sliding off the concrete slab just before it crashed, the stunned Marine



Coming home: the bodies of Marines killed in the blast are loaded onto a plane at Beirut airport

wound up sitting upright in a Jeep parked near by.

Corporal James Hines, 22, of Forest City, Iowa, was not even in the building but was sleeping in a tent about 20 yds. away. "I heard somebody yell to stop the truck, then I saw a flash of light." Entangled in debris, with dirt raining down, Hines squirmed his legs free and began kicking wildly. Rescuers spotted the legs and pulled him out before he suffocated. Did he feel lucky? "I think the chaplain put that rather well," Hines said quietly. "He called us 'the chosen.'"

The forlorn return of the unchosen began last Saturday, when the first 15 bodies arrived at Dover Air Force Base, in Delaware. As weeping family members stood by the coffins in a cavernous aircraft hangar, General Kelley spoke a few words of praise. Then the familiar strain

of the Marine hymn filled the makeshift chapel.

As memorial services for the fallen were held across the country, the Administration mulled over a tactical redeployment to make its forces in Lebanon less vulnerable. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger hinted last week that more of the U.S.'s 1,600 men might be stationed offshore. Another option calls for moving the Marines to higher ground east of the airport, but the hills above Beirut are so crisscrossed with rivalries that the men might be at greater risk there.

Reports circulated in Washington last week that shortly before the bombing, U.S. intelligence officials passed word to Marine officers in Beirut that a terrorist attack was imminent. In addition, the French investigative weekly *Le Canard Enchaîné* reported that dissident Iranian

United States

military officers had informed French intelligence services several weeks ago that a commando squad of six terrorists had left Tehran for Beirut. The purpose: to attack French targets. Officials beefed up security at the French embassy, but apparently no one thought the paratrooper building would fall victim to a suicide mission. According to the paper, French authorities told the Americans about the Iranian threat. Though he did not comment on these specific reports, Marine Spokesman Major Robert Jordan pointed out that the Marines in Beirut received a steady stream of threats. Said Jordan: "Each time, we have taken every measure we thought prudent."

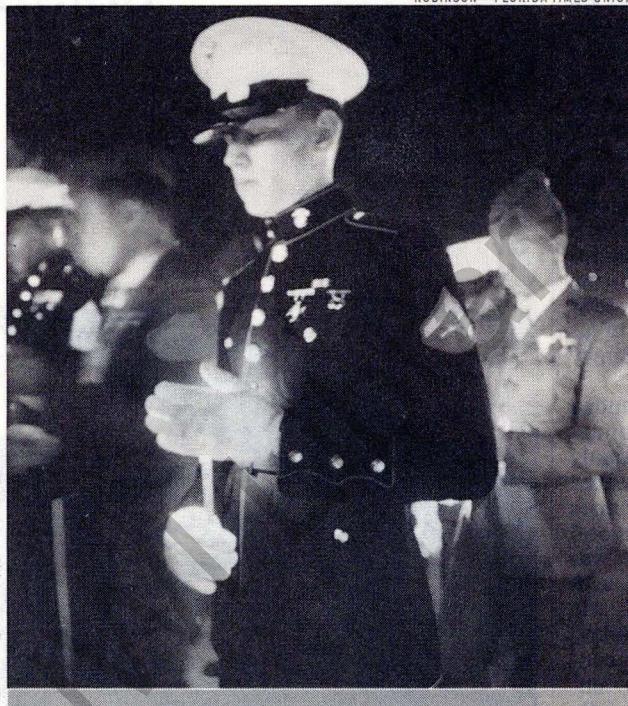
That still leaves the question of who was behind the bloody Sunday. The Lebanese government appointed an eleven-member commission to investigate the disaster, while Washington and Paris pursued their own inquiries. Though the question may never be answered to everyone's satisfaction, a good case can be made that a group of fanatical Lebanese Shi'ite Muslims, backed by elements of the Iranian regime of Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini, and perhaps sanctioned by the Syrian government of President Hafez Assad, was responsible. Reagan, for his part, has few doubts. At a meeting of Jewish supporters in the White House last week, the President reportedly said that "the evidence I have is sufficient that this last horrendous act involved Iranian terrorists."

The drivers of the two bomb-laden trucks are believed to have been Lebanese, if only because it would have been more difficult for others to get through the nearby Lebanese Army checkpoints. The dead drivers and their co-conspirators were thought to be members of two offshoots of the main Shi'ite organization, Amal. Both splinter groups, Hizballah (Party of God) and Islamic Amal, are based in the ancient Lebanese city of Baalbek, which lies in the eastern Bekaa Valley in an area occupied by Syria. They are protected by the Syrian army and by a group of some 800 Iranian Revolutionary Guards whom Khomeini sent to Lebanon last year to fight the invading Israelis and to establish an "Islamic republic" in eastern Lebanon.

Hussein Musawi, a Lebanese who leads Islamic Amal, held a press conference in Baalbek last week to deny that his followers had taken part in the attacks. But he added, "I salute this good act, and I bow to the spirits of the martyrs." Hizballah is one of the prime suspects in the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut last April in which 63 people, including 17 Americans, were killed.

The Iranian connection to the Beirut conspiracy is quite plausible. Khomeini still refers to the U.S. as the "great Satan." His government is also furious at the French for selling five Super Etendard fighter-bombers to Iraq, with which Iran is at war. President Sayed Ali Khamene'i and Prime Minister Mir Hussein Mousavi have vowed "retribution" against the U.S. and France. The Iranian newspaper *Ettela'at* published a cartoon depicting Uncle Sam and French President Mitterrand being crushed to death by a huge hand bearing the legend "Lebanese Muslims."

The Syrians knew the structure and layouts of the Marine and French headquarters that were destroyed because they had previously occupied both buildings.



Always faithful: a Marine at a memorial service in Jacksonville

The Syrians, in addition, control the region of eastern Lebanon where the Shi'ite fanatics are based. Recalling that the truck that destroyed the U.S. Marine headquarters carried some 2,000 lbs. of high explosives, former director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency Richard Helms notes, "You can't go down to the corner drugstore and buy a ton of TNT. Syrian assistance was probably a factor."

Besides sharing Iran's hatred of Iraq, Syrian President Assad has received something from Khomeini that is exceedingly precious to him: recognition of the religious legitimacy of the minority Alawite Muslim sect, to which the Syrian President and his loyalist adherents belong. It is altogether possible, Helms believes, that the Syrians are helping the pro-Iranian terrorists in Lebanon as a way of repaying the Ayatullah for giving the Alawites his seal of approval. Both Syria and Iran denied any role in the

bombings, though newspapers in the two countries called the attack justified.

Ultimately, it is the Lebanese who will have to find the solution to their fractured country's problems. In reiterating their intention to stand by their commitments, the foreign ministers of the countries participating in the Multi-National Force stressed that they expected the Lebanese to stop their chronic warring. Said Shultz: "The leaders of Lebanon owe the people of Lebanon and the international community a real effort to pull themselves together."

A major test comes this week, when Lebanon's multiple factions are due to begin their long-awaited national reconciliation talks in Geneva. President Gemayel, a scion of the Christian Phalange, has repeatedly pledged to give more power to the Muslim majority, but he remains dangerously squeezed between Muslim expectations and the reluctance of his own supporters to accept a smaller slice of national authority. Syria, as ever, remains the spoiler, poised to wreck any agreement that is not to its liking.

The signs last week were mixed. Gemayel telephoned Syrian President Assad and invited him to send a delegate to the conference; it was the first formal contact between the two countries since last spring, when Gemayel earned Assad's enmity by signing a troop withdrawal accord with Israel. On the other hand, the Progressive Socialist Party, led by Druze Chieftain Walid Jumblatt, issued a fresh set of conditions for the talks, including a complete halt to cease-fire violations and a lifting of the nightly curfew in Beirut. Jumblatt himself hinted that the talks might break up over a dispute as picky as the seating. Before leaving for Switzerland, Jumblatt and his fellow leaders in

the antigovernment National Salvation Front met with Assad for six hours in Damascus to devise their strategy for the conference.

On the eve of the talks, the mood in Beirut was not so much sad as fearful. The strike at the Marine compound, like the mortal attack against the U.S. embassy last April, demonstrated that not even a superpower is safe from violence in Lebanon. A former Lebanese Cabinet official argued that such tragedies give the U.S. greater leverage in the country's affairs. "The Americans have over 200 dead. That earns you the right to speak up," he said. "The U.S. has paid the price of admission." If the ticket costs this much, Washington—and the American people—may eventually decide that attendance is not worth it.

—By James Kelly.
Reported by Barry Hillenbrand and William Stewart/Beirut

Visibility vs. Vulnerability

The Marines beef up security, but agonizing questions remain



Even as General Paul Kelley, the Marine Commandant, was insisting in Beirut last week that security for

his troops had been adequate, Marines were hard at work bolstering the compound's defenses. At the main checkpoint, bright yellow Lebanese buses were being positioned to block the only access road. In front of the compound entrance, crews were swinging rows of sandbags into place, while along the main highway, fresh coils of barbed wire were tied to metal stakes. The number of sentries at nighttime guard posts was heavily increased.

These hastily implemented changes raised an agonizing question: Why had they not been made months ago? As angry members of Congress called for an inquiry, there was mounting concern that the Marines had not taken sufficient measures in light of the rapidly declining security situation since the end of August. Moreover, unsettling memories still linger of last April's bombing of the U.S. embassy, in which 63 people were killed.

The main questions involve the ease with which the terrorists' Mercedes truck burst through Marine defenses last Sunday. At 6:22 a.m. it rolled through a Lebanese Army checkpoint that guarded access to the Marine base (1), and drove south into the airport's unguarded civilian parking lot. There it circled once or twice to pick up speed (2), then hurtled through a roll of barbed wire (3) and sped between two guard posts (4). Two sentries were on duty, and under the Marines' standing orders for duty within the compound, their M-16 rifles were unloaded. As they strug-

gled to insert their weapons' magazines, the vehicle crashed through a wrought-iron gate (5) and into the Marine compound. Either bouncing over or thrusting aside a single 18-in. sewer pipe (6) that was supposed to protect the entrance, the truck crashed through or went around a flimsy guardhouse in the doorway (7), perhaps running down the two Marines on duty, and into the lobby. An instant later, the driver detonated his lethal cargo. The dash from the parking lot was over in a matter of seconds.

Officials explain that the Marines' role in Lebanon as a high-profile peace-keeping force, together with the Lebanese policy of keeping the Beirut airport open to commercial flights, made total security impossible. Said Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger at a press conference last week: "Nothing can work against a suicide attack like that, any more than you could do anything about a kamikaze flight diving into a carrier in World War II."

Some terrorist strategies may indeed defy countermeasures. But although murder is a constant worry in Lebanon, precautions can be taken. Mats of steel spikes block the road to the Lebanese presidential palace, while huge stones and chunks of concrete form an inelegant but effective shield around the French embassy. In a sad irony, the Marines recently helped build two rows of heavily reinforced steel guardrails around the British embassy, where U.S. diplomats are temporarily housed.

In contrast, the Marines merely installed a pole gate, similar to the kind found at most railway crossings, and a

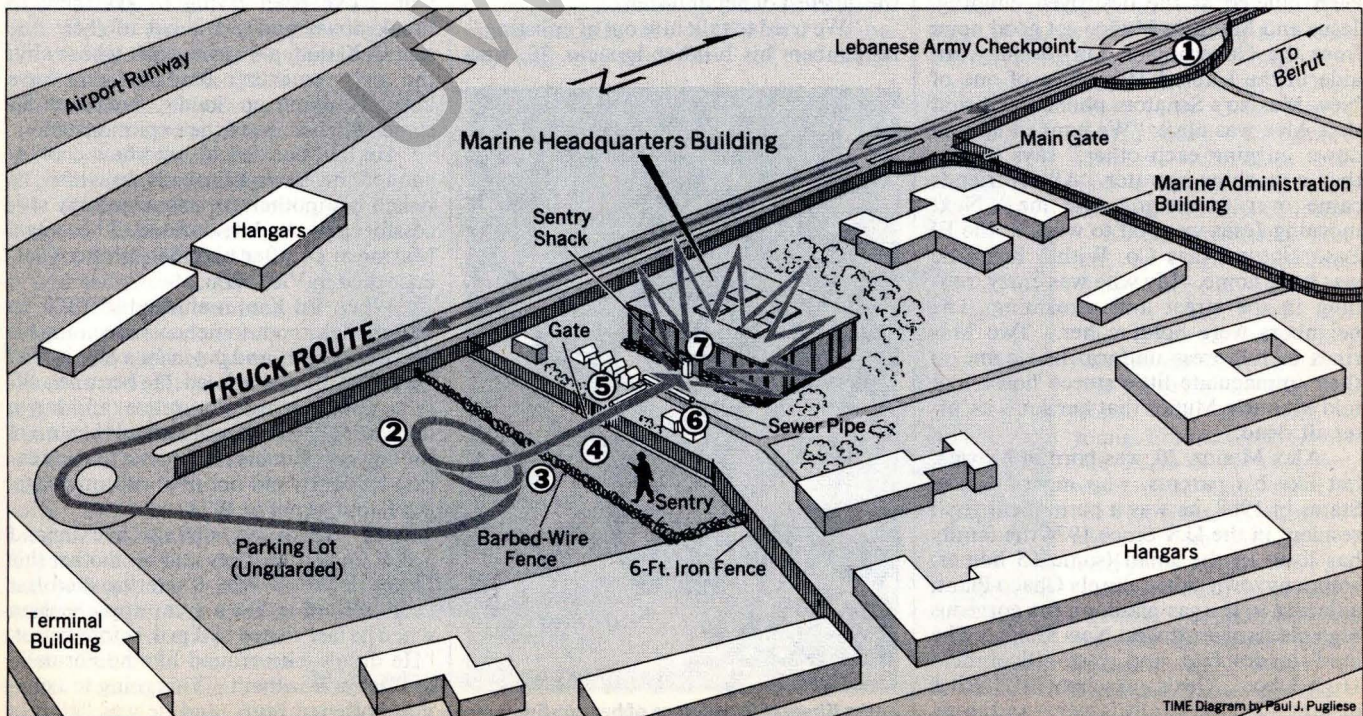
barricade of dirt-filled oil drums at their main entrance. They left their southern flank virtually unprotected. Said Marine Spokesman Major Robert Jordan after the blast: "It [never] occurred to anyone that someone would try to charge through here."

The Marine command in Beirut issued a sketch of the attack route last week that revealed just how vulnerable the headquarters had been. The diagram shows the two sentry posts behind the barbed wire that separated the civilian parking lot from the Marine area. It also shows a second sewer pipe, but instead of being positioned as an obstacle across the roadway, as it apparently had been a few days earlier, it acted as little more than a lane divider on the road between the parking lot and the building. Although earlier reports had described the truck as crashing through a wall of sandbags, the diagram shows no such obstruction.

Security planning for the Marines has always been open to question. Serious efforts to build bunkers began only after the Marines had been shelled by Lebanese factions in July. Even then, officers apparently failed to requisition the heavy timbers needed to protect against direct hits. Despite the attacks that killed six Marines in two months, orders requiring men on duty at interval guard posts to keep their weapons unloaded were never changed. Extra bunkers had been built to disperse the troops, lessening the potential losses from any single assault. Yet on the afternoon before the bombing, a large crowd had gathered in the battalion landing team headquarters to attend a pop concert. Some of them may have decided to sleep over; others were spending the night before leaving on a one-week leave.

—By Kenneth W. Banta.

Reported by Jerry Hannifin/Washington and Roberto Suro/Beirut

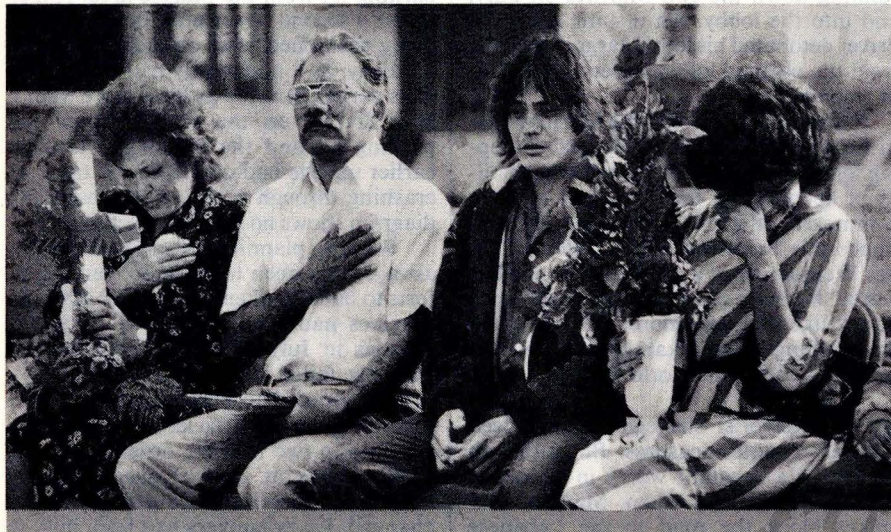


TIME Diagram by Paul J. Pugliese

How Four Families Bore the News

Grief and anger cloud their loving memories of the victims

For most Americans, the horrifying thing about the news from Lebanon was the number of Marines lost, the gross body count. But for more than 200 sets of loved ones, the Beirut explosion was only incidentally a massacre; for them, one particular casualty—the son, husband, brother, buddy—made the week's bad news an ordeal. The families and friends of four victims spoke with TIME last week.



Remembering Alex Muñoz: his parents, brother Juan and sister Celia at a memorial service



Private First Class Alejandro (Alex) Muñoz was going to be home in New Mexico for Christmas. After the Sunday bomb attack, his parents and eight siblings despaired of ever seeing him again. But then, unlike most of the families of troops who had been billeted at the destroyed building, Jesus and Manuela Muñoz got good news from the Government. On Monday, an aide in the Capitol Hill office of one of New Mexico's Senators phoned and said that Alex was alive. "We jumped up and down hugging each other," says his father, a machine operator. "All my friends came over to congratulate me." Next morning Jesus went off to work at the El Paso Natural Gas Co. Within hours he was back home. "My wife was crazy, running in the street and screaming. The neighbors were holding her." Two Marines in full-dress uniform had come to their immaculate little stucco house and told Manuela Muñoz that her son was, after all, dead.

Alex Muñoz, 20, was born in Mexico, but like his parents, who moved to the States in 1968, he was a permanent legal resident in the U.S. Since 1974 the family has lived in the small (some 65 homes) company town called simply Chaco Plant, adjacent to the gas plant, on the gorgeous high plains of northwest New Mexico. The land is desolate and vast—Bloomfield High School, Alex's old school, is 21 miles distant—but the family is warm and close.

Alex played three sports at Bloomfield and lifted weights besides. He was something of a ladies' man. But even rodding in and out of Johnny's Drive-In in his Camaro, he was not the stereotypical rowdy jock. "He was more mature than normal seniors, more levelheaded," says Tony Dinallo, his high school counselor. His mother says he was a serious boy and the quietest of her children.

"We tried to talk him out of enlisting," remembers his brother Ignacio, 26, who



Letha Kimm with a picture of her son Ed

has the same job as his father. "But he said this place was too boring for him." He also wanted to emulate his eldest brother Juan, who had been in the Marine Corps. Two years ago, while still in school, Alex got a bootcamp-style skinhead haircut. Says Dinallo: "Alex's feeling was that the Marines were a No. 1 bunch of guys and that's where he wanted to be."

A radioman and Beirut volunteer, he was a year into his four-year service and planned, despite a C high school average, to go to college afterward. A Marine stint, his family told him, would smooth his U.S. citizenship application; the parents had finally applied last spring, just after Alex went to Lebanon.

In a letter, Alex wrote that Beirut, with its shanties and vivid street life, reminded him of Juárez, his border-town birthplace. The family left Juárez when Alex was five; but his mother remembers that as a baby there he would throw a fit whenever she washed his hair. That does not seem long ago to his parents. Says Jesus Muñoz: "He was still like a kid."

Gunnery Sergeant Edward Kimm, 33, was no kid. Rather, he was a decent man who ungrudgingly kept up his child-support payments and arranged to spend a month every year with his two daughters, 7 and 6, who live in Lincoln, Neb., with their mother. Last week his stepdaughter Christina, 9, recalled that during his last visit, Kimm prepared them for the worst. "He said that if two Marines came to the door at our house, then he would be dead."

The Marine messengers arrived the morning after the news from Beirut, both in Lincoln and two hours northeast at Kimm's mother's home in Atlantic, Iowa (pop. 7,789). "I think the girls are trying to block it out," says Janet Kimm, his ex-wife. "I've been trying to get them to break down and get it out of their systems." Kimm, a Marine cook whose chili the girls remember fondly, would have been whipping up Sunday breakfast for some 300 men when the explosion came.

He had decided to become a cook at age ten, his sister Elizabeth says, after he baked his mother an unaccountably successful cake. And he decided to become a Marine at 18, after his older brother Clarence died in Viet Nam.

When Ed Kimm enlisted in 1969, he had an idea about somehow redeeming his brother's death, and put in for a tour in Viet Nam, which was refused. He became a lifer anyway, planning to retire (and buy a horse ranch, he figured) around the turn of the century. But his peripatetic Marine career evidently did not jibe with marriage: the Kimms split in 1978.

All five of his siblings live in and around Atlantic. They and his mother (his father, a World War I veteran, died last year) sensed in Ed a grim apprehension when he last visited in April, before Beirut. "He didn't joke around like he normally did," says Elizabeth. "This going to Lebanon bothered him," and he was "kind of

withdrawn." Says Letha Kimm, 66, "I think he had a premonition."

Lebanon? "It ain't our war!" barks Kimm's brother John, 28. But all mourn regardless. Each house around Letha Kimm's has a black ribbon tied to the porch. And in the rich, rolling countryside some miles east, Ed Kimm will soon be buried in Pleasant Hill Cemetery, not far from the graves of his father and brother.

The members of the Meurer family are primarily angry. They blame the Government for the killing of Lance Corporal Ronald Meurer, 21. They think his death was a stupid waste. One evening last week they gathered in his parents' house trailer near Westport (pop. 200), a Louisville ex-urb on the Kentucky bank of the Ohio River, to rage and cry together.

"As far as I'm concerned," says Mary Lou Meurer, "my son died in vain. My son died for nothing." His widow Deborah, 23, does not go quite so far. "I'm just so mad," she says. "We're all together on that." His brother Jay, 22, has written a protest manifesto ("We the people who have signed this petition feel that it was wrong that President Reagan sent the Marines to Beirut!") in longhand on a yellow tablet. If Reagan makes a condolence phone call to them, Mary Lou says, "he'll be put on hold."

Partly it is the odd nature of the Marines' mission that angers the Meurers, and that apparently galled Ronald. Until he went to Beirut, according to his mother, "he was gung-ho. He was all Marine." Explains his sister Robin: "He'd always felt like he had to prove himself, and he thought if he could make it in the Marines, he would. He just wanted his family to be proud of him." But when he returned to the States on leave this summer, his mother says, "he didn't want to go back. He said it was nothing but a big joke. He was sent to guard a tunnel and took his gun, but he had to keep the ammunition in his pockets."

Partly, too, the family seems upset by fate's particularly dreadful timing. Ronald's brother-in-law, Lance Corporal Terry Roberts, a Camp Lejeune Marine buddy who had introduced Ronald and Deborah last year, died in a car wreck in July. The shock apparently sent Deborah, eight months pregnant, into labor, and Ronald arrived home on an emergency leave the day before Jennifer Meurer was born. The little family bought a trailer near Camp Lejeune; they were briefly happy. But Ronald shipped out for Beirut on Sept. 19. His tour was to have ended next week. Deborah, who had agreed to marry Ronald after a four-day, love-at-first-

sight courtship, got two letters from him the day after he died. "He said he'd rather be home with his wife and little baby."

The Meurers are fond as well as bitter. "We had beautiful times," says Ronald's father. He remembered the winter night four years ago when Ron and another son resuscitated 200 live mail-order chicks that had arrived nearly frozen. He described how the boys "lay in front of the fireplace rubbing them and bringing them back to life." Around the room last week there were chuckles at the memory, and sighs—and then quiet.

The hush was of a different, edgier kind when the Marine Corps captain and sergeant stepped up to the suburban Balti-

thing is O.K., that it has all been a bad dream and he'll soon be coming home and hold me close again."

Of course, Green is not coming home. His room in his family's tidy two-bedroom flat, crammed with artifacts of childhood, may remain suspended in time. Football trophies sit under a huge portrait of Bruce Lee, the martial-arts movie star, and stuck in a closet are stacks of *Archie* comic books. The plastic model airplanes he built, however, are gone, tossed out by his mother. "I do wish I hadn't thrown them all away," she says, now coveting every reminder, even the memory of the crazy feast he ordered the night of his high school graduation (shrimp, fried chicken, ice cream, strawberry shake, orange juice). "But we didn't know—what would happen to him."

Green was a devoted reader of military history, and had long been determined to enlist. "He was always talking about joining up," recalls Brother Damion, 14, who wants to become a Marine himself. "I didn't much like Davin going in at first," his mother admits, "but then there isn't much you can do. He did love the Corps so."

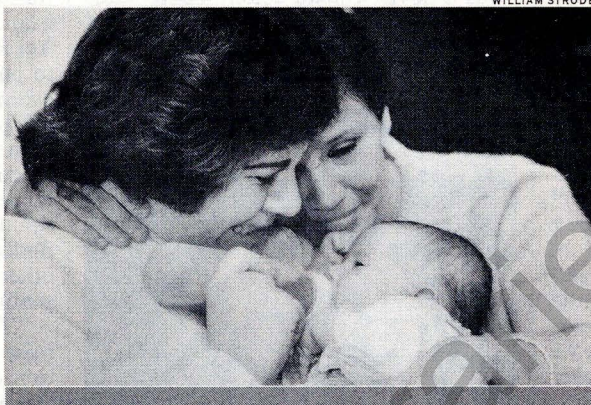
The Marine Corps, one of its slogans claims, builds men. Patricia Briscoe (Davin's mother's name by a second marriage) insists it is so. "When he left home on July 13, 1981, he still called me Mama. When he returned from bootcamp he called me

Mother. Like a film running too fast, he suddenly grew up, so quick it stopped my heart for a second." Some of Green's letters from Lebanon are a record of his growth. Said one from Sept. 10: "This is the hardest thing I've ever done. You walk through the towns on patrol and the little kids wave... We really don't want to be here, but when we see how we are helping these people, it makes you feel good all over." Yet in his last letter he was boyishly reassuring and, to his mother, reassuringly boyish: "Things have

cooled down a little. Don't worry. I'm O.K. Really! Please send Tastykake, Cheetohs, chocolate graham crackers, BBQ chips and Jolly Rancher candies."

Green's mother is hesitant to judge geopolitics. "I do so hope my son hasn't died in vain," she says. "He tried so very, very hard to do what is right." The injustice she sees is a classic one: they are so young. For instance, Green, like most of those killed, was a child when the U.S. left Viet Nam. "It seems unfair all those boys haven't lived yet. And now they are stone cold dead one Sunday morning." —By Kurt Andersen.

Reported by James Wilde/Baltimore and Robert C. Wurmstedt/Bloomfield, with other bureaus



Deborah Meurer and her sister Linda Atkinson feed Jennifer

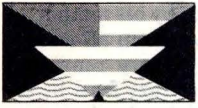
more apartment with news of Lance Corporal Davin Green. His mother had utterly persuaded herself that Davin, 20, was a survivor. "How do you know it's really him," she protested after the men delivered their message, "if he's all blown to pieces?" Days later, her daughter-in-law was refusing to concede she was a widow. "I know he's not dead," said Deborah Green, 19, whom Davin married 48 hours before shipping out for Beirut. "I know he'll call real soon. He'll tell me every-



Davin Green's portrait propped in front of Kia, Damion, his mother and Sheria

Weighing the Proper Role

Grenada and Lebanon illustrate the uses and limits of power



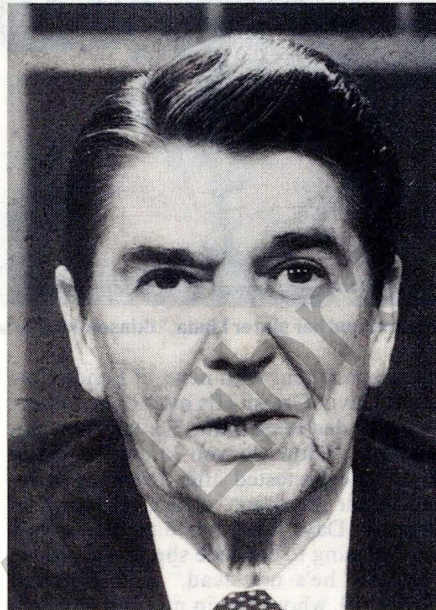
Dispatching gunboats. Sending in the Marines. The projection of American power once seemed

so straightforward. And yet in recent years it has presented more and more of a dilemma for a superpower whose every military endeavor elicits endless review and frequently querulous recriminations at home and abroad. By reaffirming the U.S. commitment to keep its Marines in Lebanon, and by sending troops to a minuscule island in the eastern Caribbean, the Reagan Administration last week attempted to reassert the global role of American military might. "This may be a turning point in history," Secretary of State George Shultz told a Cabinet meeting on Tuesday, hours after the Grenada landing and two days after the Beirut carnage. "We've let the world know that we are going to protect our interests whatever it costs."

Those costs will certainly be high, far higher than the tragic loss of life alone. By invading Grenada, the U.S. risks tarnishing the high moral standard, based on respect for national sovereignty and self-determination, that distinguishes its conduct in the world from that of its Soviet adversary. Indeed, cries of outrage rang forth from Latin America, Western Europe and even the chambers of Congress—not to mention the predictable howl from Moscow, where TASS called Reagan "a modern Napoleon," devoid of conscience and simple-minded. By embroiling itself more deeply in the turbulent situation in Lebanon, the U.S. risks becoming a combatant rather than a peacemaker in the endless strife there. "Our forces in Lebanon are now not a deterrent, they are hostages," said Democratic Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia.

Reagan and his advisers argue that the high stakes and legitimate objectives in each case justify the perils. The invasion of Grenada was necessary, they say, to protect the lives of Americans. But in fact the Marines' mission had a more brazen goal. U.S. timidity in recent years has encouraged Soviet mischief in diverse parts of the world. Particularly in the Caribbean, the U.S. has felt it has a responsibility to stand up against hostile influences and ensure that there are "no more Cubas." The Administration seized on the situation in Grenada to demonstrate, after years of near paralysis, that the U.S. is again able to use military force as an extension of its political will. With a symbolic significance far greater than Grenada's size warranted, the takeover was meant to

show that the U.S. could forcefully roll back a tide of Soviet successes in the Third World. Both U.S. strategic interests and the welfare of Grenada and its neighbors are well served, the Administration's argument goes, by ejecting the Cubans and their East-bloc partners. Grenada "was a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy," Reagan said in his televised speech last



"Grenada . . . was a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy. We got there just in time."

—President Reagan

Thursday. "We got there just in time."

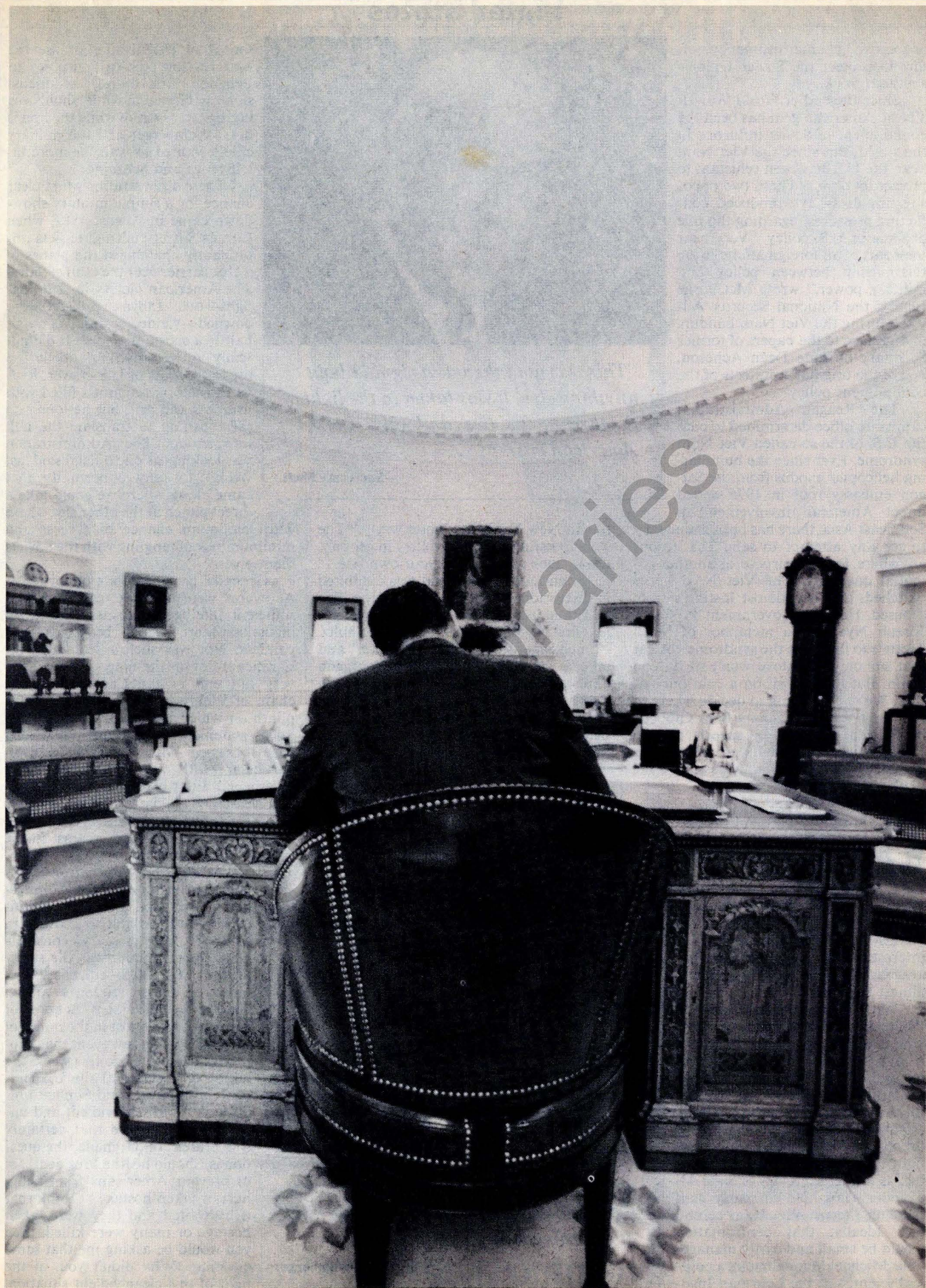
Likewise in Lebanon, the stakes of U.S. involvement in the multinational peace force are viewed as far greater than the professed goal of facilitating the withdrawal of Syrian and Israeli forces. American presence has made possible the survival of the government there, at least for the moment, and helped fend off another Arab-Israeli war. In that region too, Reagan argued, the larger issue is that of resisting Soviet expansionism. Asked the President in his televised address: "Can the U.S., or the free world for that matter, stand by and see the Middle

East incorporated into the Soviet bloc?"

Reagan's actions last week, and his effective speech defending his approach, will likely work to his advantage, at least in the short term. The week began with the nation stunned and reeling from the horror of the mass death in Beirut. News that the U.S. had invaded a little-known island added to the shock and confusion. Yet Reagan for the moment has been able to put an orderly gloss on the staggering events and to rally the public support for the presidency that usually can be summoned in times of international turmoil. In addition, he has bought himself some more time in which to seek a face-saving solution in Lebanon and has given vivid notice to the Soviets, Cubans, Syrians and other adversaries that he will not be pushed around.

The week's dramatic events, however, raise a more troubling fundamental question, one that is likely to be at the center of the ongoing national debate. Final judgment on the events in Lebanon and Grenada will depend on how the nation comes to view the proper uses and limits of military force in conducting foreign policy. As Secretary Shultz explained the Administration view last week, "If we want the role and influence of a great power, then we have to accept the responsibilities of a great power." Democratic Congressman Paul Simon of Illinois was among many who challenged the underlying premise of that vision. Said he: "The military solution seems to be an automatic reflex with this Administration."

Armed intervention is a common international practice, despite the shock many nations express when it is perpetrated by others. From Suez to the Falkland Islands, major powers have used force against weaker nations to protect their real or perceived security interests. In 1979, the French engineered the overthrow of Emperor Bokassa of the Central African Republic and hand-picked a new President for the country. Some 2,500 French troops and nine fighter aircraft now stationed in poverty-stricken Chad represent the third French intervention in that former colony. Israel's current military occupation of southern Lebanon, which began with the Israeli invasion of that country in June 1982, is only the latest of many efforts by that country to protect its territory from Palestinian terrorist attacks. In 1979, Moscow undertook a massive invasion of Afghanistan when a Communist-dominated regime there seemed to be faltering. Now, more than 100,000 Soviet troops are bogged down in an



aggressive counterinsurgency effort to protect the Soviet Union's southern flank.

Since the end of World War II, a basic American goal has been the containment of Soviet influence in the world. But since the Viet Nam War, the U.S. has been reluctant to project its power. These two opposite impulses have produced conflicting pressures regarding the role of force in U.S. policy. "Very near the heart of all foreign affairs is the relationship between policy and military power," wrote McGeorge Bundy, the National Security Adviser during the Viet Nam buildup, in a preface to the papers of former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, one of the original architects of the containment policy.

The Reagan Administration came into office determined to cure the U.S. of the so-called Viet Nam syndrome. Ever since the humiliating helicopter exodus from the Saigon embassy roof in 1975 ended direct American involvement in Southeast Asia, there has been a tendency to see any attempt to send U.S. troops anywhere, for any purpose, as another potential quagmire. The Viet Nam nerve twitched, and isolationist instincts were aroused. Harvard Government Professor Joseph Nye uses a metaphor of Mark Twain's to illustrate the syndrome: "A cat that sits on a hot stove won't sit on one again. But it won't sit on a cold one, either. We're still trying to decide where to sit." Last week, Democrat Sam Gibbons of Florida delivered a speech on the House floor, the brevity of which was matched only by its shallowness. Said he: "Lebanon—Reagan's Viet Nam."

During this period, the Soviets or their surrogates have been expanding their influence, displaying none of the U.S.'s reluctance to use military force, in places such as Angola, South Yemen, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. Other setbacks to U.S. interests occurred in Iran and Nicaragua. The U.S. seemed helpless, almost paralyzed.

When Reagan moved into the White House, he and his advisers vowed to prevent future situations from getting out of hand. The CIA stepped up covert support to insurgents fighting Marxist-led regimes in Nicaragua, the Horn of Africa, Afghanistan and Cambodia. In addition, the U.S. searched for a new fight, one that could be won, in order, as former Secretary of State Alexander Haig told an early staff meeting, "to get Viet Nam behind us." Ideally, that confrontation would be small and easily manageable. Michael Mandelbaum, a political scientist at the Lehrman Insti-



"This was not taken as a signal about anything else. It was taken in the light of the threat to the lives and welfare of American citizens . . ."

—Secretary Shultz

tute in New York City, notes wryly: "The worst possible maxim to follow in geopolitics is 'Pick on someone your own size.'"

A curious role reversal was exhibited in discussions about the use of force. The traditionalists at the State Department, led first by Haig and then by Shultz, seemed eager to "lay down a marker" and take a stand militarily. The Pentagon hard-liners, led by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, were more wary of symbolic displays of power, feeling that the armed forces should be used for precise military missions and not for vague diplomatic goals. That is why the Pentagon was somewhat reluctant to place military per-



"The form of government that we want to get into Grenada is a form of government that enables the people to choose the kind of government they wish."

—Secretary Weinberger

sonnel in El Salvador or use the Marines for political purposes in Lebanon. And during the discussions on Grenada, while Shultz was urging "Let's strike while the iron is hot," Weinberger and the military chiefs wanted to wait for more intelligence and planning.

The Administration's first clear chance for a simple military showdown came in August 1981, when Libya's Soviet-built fighter jets impudently challenged the planes of a U.S. carrier over the Gulf of Sidra. The American victory in that dogfight—two Libyan Su-22s were downed—yielded a brief lift, but hardly a substantive one. It did not really prove anything about the uses and limits of U.S. power. Reagan's rhetoric remained filled with firmness and grit, but he found no safe opening to translate the talk into action. The Administration was looking, as one official said last week, "for any opportunity that came along where we could take a direct punch at the other side's nose with maximum chance of success and minimum risk of tangling with the Soviets themselves."

Grenada provided that opportunity. As events were to prove, there was not sufficient intelligence to assure that an incursion there would be quick and painless. Nor was such a seemingly insignificant dot on the map—down at the very tail end of the Caribbean's long chain of Windward Islands—much of a plinth on which to erect a major geopolitical statement. Yet Reagan had long been obsessed with Grenada, and in particular with the militarily useful lengthened airstrip built there with Cuban assistance. "That airstrip," said one U.S. official, "came to symbolize all we were fighting against in the hemisphere."

After the operation was launched last week, the Administration provided a string of justifications for its assault on a sovereign country. The primary consideration, Reagan said, was the safety of the 1,000 U.S. citizens there, most of them students at St. George's University School of Medicine. Foremost in the minds of U.S. officials was an event that happened four years ago this week: the taking of hostages at the U.S. embassy in Tehran. Said Shultz to reporters: "With the violent and uncertain atmosphere that certainly was present on Grenada, the question is, Should he [the President] act to prevent Americans from being hurt or taken hostage? I think that if he waited and they were taken hostage or many were killed, then you would be asking me that same question: 'Why didn't you, in the light of this clear violent situation,

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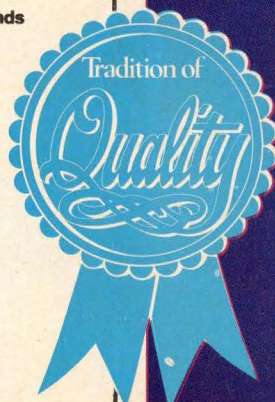
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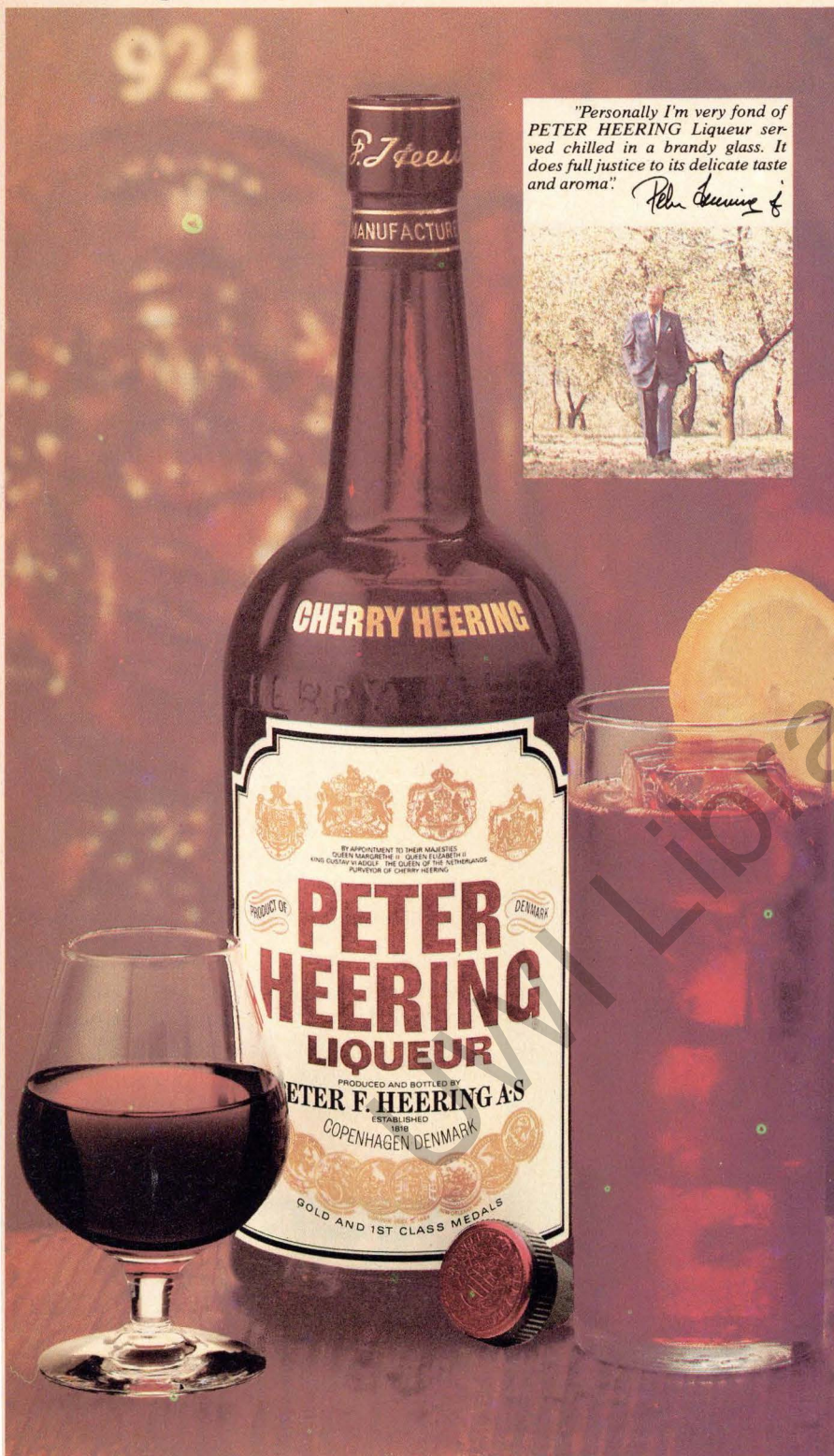
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take some action to protect American citizens there?"

A fair point, though of course the proof for any event that has not taken place must always be subjunctive—and therefore debatable. Moreover, if the safety of U.S. citizens were the primary motivation, a far more limited, and far less inflammatory, rescue and evacuation mission could have been attempted, though given the unexpected resistance of Grenada's defenders, that too might have proved hazardous. But if a straightforward rescue mission had been the goal, there then would have been no need, and no opportunity, to wrest control of the island from its Marxist strongmen. So the Administration put forth other justifications for its actions.

The contention that a request from the little-known Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (O.E.C.S.) provided a legal basis for the invasion seemed fragile. Grenada is one of the seven members of O.E.C.S., the charter of which says that any decision to take military action must be unanimous. Nor is it clear that the O.E.C.S., formed in 1981, has any provisions, or any right, to authorize military intervention in one of its member states.

The organization that is designated to handle matters of collective security in the region is the Organization of American States (O.A.S.), which was formed in 1948 expressly to protect the principles of nonintervention and national sovereignty. The O.A.S. charter is explicit: "The territory of a State is inviolable; it 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 whatever." The O.A.S. was not consulted, nor did most of its members approve of last week's invasion. At an emergency meeting of the O.A.S., most countries called the action a violation of international law and the principles of nonintervention. Professor Abram Chayes of Harvard Law School, who played a key role in the determined and successful effort by the Kennedy Administration during the 1962 missile crisis to get the O.A.S. to provide a legal basis for the blockade of Cuba, said of Reagan last week: "It seems as though the President thinks he is a law unto himself in this situation."

The Administration, along with members of the O.E.C.S., argued that the breakdown of order and authority on Grenada added to the need for some military intervention. Even many Grenadians applauded the invasion, at least initially. That slippery rationale, however, could be used to justify invading any one of a number of countries in Latin America or elsewhere. Indeed, when Shultz made that argument on Capitol Hill, one black Congressman snapped, "Hell, if that's the criterion, the Marines should be sent into my district."

Angry Allies

Some of the most pained comments on the invasion of Grenada came from the U.S.'s NATO allies. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher refused to criticize the U.S. publicly, but she let it be known that she had tried unsuccessfully to dissuade President Reagan from taking military action in a former British colony that was still a member of the Commonwealth. The opposition made the most of the issue. During a stormy session of Parliament, Labor Foreign Affairs Spokesman Dennis Healey declared that the American rejection of Britain's advice "represents a quite unprecedented humiliation of an ally." Thatcher, he said, had become Reagan's "poodle."

In other NATO capitals, reaction centered on the lack of prior U.S. consultation. Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, also the leader of a Commonwealth nation, said that he was "astonished" by the U.S. reticence. The government of French President François Mitterrand termed the U.S. invasion "a surprising action in relation to international law," and said that "the people of Grenada must recover without delay the right to determine their destiny." The government of West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl issued an unusually blunt statement declaring that "if we had been consulted we would have advised against it." In Italy, Socialist Prime Minister Bettino Craxi said that his government "can only disapprove this decision," and added that the U.S. intervention "has dangerous precedents and also establishes another dangerous precedent." In back of all West European minds seemed to be a concern that the sudden U.S. action might add to sentiment against the controversial deployment of U.S.-built Pershing II and cruise missiles on their continent, due to begin in December.

As the shock faded, the allies did their best not to allow the event to stand in the way of hard-won unity on the missile question. Trudeau declared that he was sounding out Commonwealth leaders about a joint peace-keeping force that could replace the U.S. troops on Grenada. The Thatcher government said that it would consider participation in such a venture, and also took pains to deny that the U.S. decision had in any way weakened the alliance. Washington's lack of consultation, said British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe, was "regrettable. But the fact that that has happened does not cast any doubt on the firmness of our commitment to NATO and all that means."

It was obvious that there were deeper reasons for the American action. High among them was the fear that the Cubans, and by extension the Soviets, were establishing a military outpost in the Caribbean that could serve as a way station for ferrying Cubans to Africa and Soviet arms to Latin America. The U.S. was quick to highlight the cache of Cuban and Soviet weapons and numbers of military men found on the island. Vice President George Bush told TIME last week: "What we had felt about Grenada long before the brutal slaying of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was probably accurate. Cuba has been hyperactive there."

Also at the heart of the U.S. action was a message to both adversaries and allies that the U.S. was willing to use its military power in resisting Cuban and Soviet influence. "This was not taken as a signal about anything else," said Shultz, adding, "Of course, those who want to receive a message will have to receive it."

Such a willingness to use military force in the superpower struggle represents a challenge by Reagan to the "Brezhnev doctrine," the late Soviet President's determination, aimed at Poland and other nations, that Moscow has the right to use military force to prevent pro-Soviet governments from drifting or being pulled out of its sphere. The "Reagan doctrine," as indicated by the rationales for the Grenada invasion, is that the U.S. can and may use force to challenge regimes that threaten American security.

Reagan's approach revives a long tradition of American assertiveness in the hemisphere. As President Theodore Roosevelt, the original wielder of the big stick, said in 1904, "The Monroe Doctrine may force the U.S., however reluctantly in flagrant cases of wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power." During the 1920s, U.S. Marines were involved in extended occupations of Nicaragua, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. In all, American forces have intervened 26 times in Latin America during this century.

The most recent previous case, which Reagan advisers have cited as an example of a successful action comparable to Grenada, came in 1965 when President Johnson sent 23,000 troops to the Dominican Republic to quell a left-wing revolution. The action, which was approved after the fact by the O.A.S., was successful for the U.S. The words L.B.J. used to justify the involvement—"to insure the safety of innocent people, to restore normal conditions and to open a path to democratic process"—were almost the same as Reagan's last week. Yet the comparison is not quite apt: the intervention in the Dominican Republic was not exactly an invasion, because the troops had been requested by the military authorities ostensibly in control of that Caribbean country. In fact, never before in this century have U.S.



FITZPATRICK—THE WHITE HOUSE



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5:15 a.m. Saturday Reagan is briefed in his quarters at the Augusta, Ga., National Golf Club by McFarlane and Shultz on the request by five Caribbean nations for a joint invasion of Grenada.

5:58 a.m. Reagan consults with Vice President Bush.

11:45 a.m. After nine holes of golf, the President and Shultz hear an update on Grenada from McFarlane.

12:45 p.m. By radio telephone from the golf course, Shultz, left, confers with State Department officials on invasion plans.

7:17 a.m. to 8:17 a.m. Sunday After learning of the Beirut bombing, Reagan, en route to Washington aboard Air Force One, huddles with Shultz and McFarlane.

FITZPATRICK—THE WHITE HOUSE



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troops actually invaded a country to fight against a ruling government.

Even so, the Dominican Republic incident provoked an undercurrent of resentment in Latin America that helped spell the end of the Alliance for Progress. "Ever since the invasion of the Dominican Republic, we've been trying to tell other countries that the U.S. has forsworn military intervention," says Sol Linowitz, a former U.S. Ambassador to the O.A.S. who helped negotiate the Panama Canal Treaty. By far the greatest cost of the Grenada invasion, and the new assertiveness it exemplifies, may be that it resurrects in Latin America the "Yankee imperialist" stereotype that the U.S. has been struggling to shake off. "Gringos out of Grenada," was the cry in front of the U.S. embassy in Mexico City as a cardboard Reagan was burned in effigy. The Mexican Senate denounced the U.S. as an aggressor and said the invasion violated the "principle of nonintervention."

The specter of American military intervention has long been brandished by leftist governments, such as the Sandi-

nista regime in Nicaragua, and by revolutionary movements seeking to stir anti-American sentiment. Nicaraguan newspapers last week published a list of all U.S. interventions in Central America since 1854, when the U.S. Navy destroyed the Nicaraguan port of San Juan del Norte to avenge an insult to the American minister. Until now, such propaganda seemed shopworn. "This would appear to prove everything the Sandinistas have been saying about the intentions of the U.S. here," one American official in Managua said last week. "It gives them the chance to consolidate their support."

Nicaragua has reason to be concerned about Reagan's new willingness to wield American power. The U.S. has been covertly supporting *contra* terrorists attempting to overthrow that government. Daniel Ortega Saavedra, head of Nicaragua's junta, charged last week that the U.S. is preparing to manufacture a provocation that would justify an invasion. The revitalization of a Central American defense alli-

ance known as CONDECA might serve as the vehicle to launch an American attack. The military chiefs of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala secretly met with the head of the U.S. Southern Command a month ago in Guatemala and agreed that the aims of CONDECA included "the use of force against Marxism." Edgar Chamorro, a leader of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the largest of the CIA-backed *contra* groups, predicts that the O.E.C.S.-sponsored invasion of Grenada will serve as a model for a CONDECA-sponsored U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. "The U.S. will let some time go by and then they'll do it again," he says.

In both Grenada and Nicaragua, the Administration has been somewhat disingenuous in its public explanations of U.S. policy. The rationale in Nicaragua has been that the U.S. is trying to force that country to stop aiding the rebels in El Salvador, while in fact the real American purpose is to alter, or perhaps even overthrow, the Nicaraguan regime. Likewise in Grenada American aims go well beyond those stated. Whether or not the



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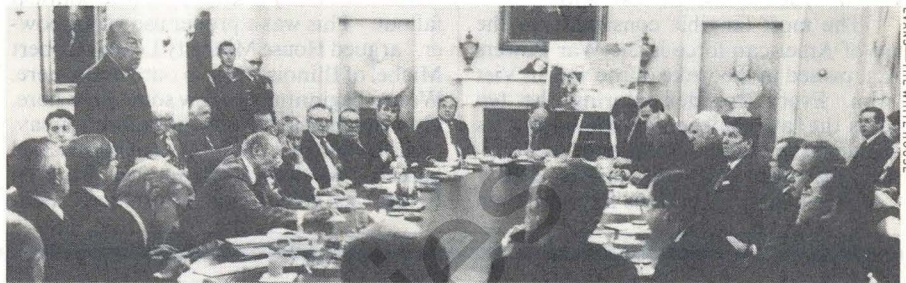
FITZPATRICK—THE WHITE HOUSE

8:38 a.m. Arriving on the White House lawn in a downpour, Reagan clasps Nancy's hand as he meets briefly with reporters, denouncing the killing of U.S. and French troops in Beirut.

4:00 p.m. In the White House Situation Room, top right, Reagan confers on the Beirut bombing and the developing Grenada situation with Advisers Shultz, General John W. Vessey Jr., Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Weinberger, foreground.

8:15 a.m. Tuesday As the President looks on, Shultz briefs congressional leaders gathered in the Cabinet Room on the Grenada strike force.

9:07 a.m. At a White House press conference, Reagan, with Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica, announces to the nation that the invasion of Grenada has begun.



EVANS—THE WHITE HOUSE



KENNEDY

goals in each case are valid, by obscuring those true objectives and pretending to be pursuing others, the Administration may be creating bigger problems for itself down the road.

The invasion of Grenada has also altered the terms in which America will be able to question the Soviet Union's use of military force. Moscow at least had obvious national security interests regarding Poland and Afghanistan, and could point to the justification, however flimsy, that it was acting at the behest of those governments. Nonetheless, Washington quite justifiably protested vigorously when the Soviets intervened in their affairs. After Grenada, the wording of such denunciations will require a little more care. "What's the difference between Afghanistan and Grenada?" a concerned Democratic Congressman asked one of his party's leaders. "Afghanistan is larger," the leader quipped cynically, "and Grenada is in our sphere of influence." Vice President Bush made a more serious distinction to TIME. Said he: "The objective in Grenada will be democratic constitu-

tional government. That is a far cry, it seems to me, from putting in one's own puppet who doesn't adhere to democratic institutions."

That may be the case, but many Americans are still concerned that important principles were among the casualties of the landing. "It may earn us a bitter harvest," says Linowitz. "We can't assert we are committed to nonintervention and then act as we have in Grenada." Harvard Government Professor Stanley Hoffmann, author of *Duties Beyond Borders*, says: "An intervention of this sort is justifiable only if there is very strong evidence that the regime in power has begun actively to subvert neighbors." Columnist Anthony Lewis wrote in the *New York Times*: "It undermines the ability of free people to complain effectively when the Soviet Union uses force for its purposes. It legitimizes Soviet intervention in other countries."

Others, however, see the invasion as a welcome reversal of the post-Viet Nam

paralysis. Richard Pipes, a professor of history at Harvard and former Reagan adviser, says Washington should be launching more actions like the one in Grenada. Says he: "Some people have the notion that America cannot use force short of an absolute Pearl Harbor-like attack, and that's just ridiculous." Richard Helms, former director of the CIA, contends, "If one is going to use power at all, the way we did it in Grenada was the proper way to do it. You can't abdicate the use of power in the real world." Administration officials argue that the U.S. will garner more influence by being willing to use power than it will by carefully treading a moral high ground. In addition, the Western democracies in the post-war world face the constant challenge of internal subversion and indirect aggression, with few means short of force to counter such activities.

Another serious cost of the invasion has been increased tension within the Western alliance at the critical moment when NATO countries are scheduled to deploy intermediate-range U.S. missiles (see

box). The world has a short memory for such matters, but last week the concerns were widespread. Most offended of all was Britain, and for good reason: Grenada is part of the Commonwealth and has the Queen as its monarch. France proved to hold the key anti-American vote during the United Nations Security Council debate on the invasion. It cast its weight behind a resolution that "deeply deplores the armed intervention in Grenada, which constitutes a flagrant violation of international law and of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that state." The vote was 11 to 1, with Britain abstaining; the U.S. was forced to use its veto in order to kill the resolution.

The most tangible constraint on the use of American force is the War Powers Act, passed in the wake of the war in Viet Nam. Every President during the ten years the law has been on the books has disputed the constitutionality of its provision that the President cannot deploy troops in combat situations for more than

60 days without the approval of Congress, and the Supreme Court has not ruled conclusively on the issue. Reagan informed Congress of the invasion of Grenada, as required by the law, but refrained from indicating compliance with the 60-day requirement. The Senate voted 64 to 20 on Friday to set the act's 60-day clock ticking. Said Democrat Gary Hart of Colorado: "We are dealing with an Administration that is not inclined to obey the law." The House will vote on the measure this week.

Congressional reaction to the invasion hewed to party lines at first, indicating that it may have been too early to assess the true political fallout. "This was a proper use of our power," argued House Minority Leader Robert Michel of Illinois. "It is in our hemisphere. We are beginning to draw some lines here. How much of it do you take before you say, 'This is enough'?" Trent Lott of Mississippi agreed: "We don't want another pro-Castro Marxist government down there." Sen-

ate Democrats were far harsher. Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts called the invasion "Reagan's new interventionism," Thomas Eagleton of Missouri said it represented "a trigger-happy foreign policy," and New York's Daniel Patrick Moynihan noted: "I don't know that you restore democracy at the point of a bayonet." House Democrats were initially more muted, with Speaker Tip O'Neill contending that criticism was inappropriate while the fighting was under way. But once the battle on the island was winding down, O'Neill declared, "We can't go the way of gunboat diplomacy. His policy is wrong. His policy is frightening."

Editorial reaction to the Grenada invasion was mixed. "It doesn't show much resolve to take over as soft a target as Grenada," noted the *Chicago Tribune*, which suggested that the move may have been taken to drum up domestic political support for Reagan as a stalwart anti-Communist. The *New York Times* commented that the attack was undertaken because it

The Cuban Crisis Revisited

The subject was how the U.S. should counter menacing Communist moves on a Caribbean island. The President's advisers were sorely perplexed: every idea they could think of posed the gravest dangers. But in the end they hit on a successful course of action, and a partial record of how it evolved came to light last week. Timed with inadvertent irony as American troops were invading Grenada, the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston released tapes and transcripts of two meetings between J.F.K. and his top aides at the start of the Cuban missile crisis 21 years ago.

That confrontation was immensely more ominous than the Grenada conflict. It raised the threat of nuclear war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. But the sometimes indistinct tapes and the voices of officials uh-ing and uhm-ing as they thought fast, on the spot, point a lesson for government planners facing any unexpected trouble. George Ball, who participated in the meetings as Under Secretary of State, spelled it out in a Washington *Post* article published just before the release of the tapes. "Had we fixed on a response within the first 48 hours," Ball wrote, "we would almost certainly have made the wrong decision." Crisis planners, he said, must "carefully examine all the consequences and look far beyond our initial action."

The tapes establish that J.F.K. and his advisers did exactly that. The heavily censored records cover a morning and an evening meeting in the White House on Oct. 16, 1962, the day after U.S. photo reconnaissance proved that the Soviets were installing nuclear missiles in Cuba. Initially, the planners more or less assumed that the U.S. would have to take direct military action. President Kennedy at one point described an air strike, at least on the missiles, as something "we're certainly going to do." His prime question then was

whether the action could be kept limited or would have to be expanded, possibly to include an eventual U.S. invasion of Cuba.

Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Maxwell Taylor and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara were dubious about the prospects for a "surgical" strike limited to the missiles. If the U.S. wanted to "knock out" all Soviet weapons capable of hitting American soil from Cuba, said McNamara, it would have to bomb "airfields, plus the aircraft . . . plus all potential nuclear [warhead] storage sites." The President's brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, fretted that such extensive bombing would "kill an awful lot of people," in which case it would be "almost incumbent on the Russians" to threaten a strong counterblow, perhaps far from Cuba. Moreover, the secrecy necessary for successful military action would preclude consultation with allies, and that worried Secretary of State Dean Rusk. He warned that if the U.S. took "an action of this sort without letting our closer allies know of a matter which could subject them to very great danger . . . we could find ourselves isolated and the [NATO] alliance crumbling . . . at a moment of" maximum peril.

Toward the close of the evening meeting, McNamara eloquently pleaded that the planners consider "what kind of world we live in after we've struck Cuba . . . how do we stop at that point?" Instead of an air strike, McNamara began talking of a blockade, accompanied by "an ultimatum" to the Soviets, which he conceded would have dangers also. Said he: "This alternative doesn't seem to be a very acceptable one, but wait until you work on the others." That provoked grim laughter, but after many more meetings a blockade was decided on. It ultimately drew overwhelming support from world public opinion, and it induced the Soviets to pull their missiles out of Cuba without any necessity for the U.S. to fire a shot.



Kennedy and McNamara during a tense planning session

was feasible, not because it was right, and was concerned that under the standards set forth by Reagan, "there would be no end to the wars fought to topple 'thugs.'" But the Indianapolis *Star* accused critics of the action of "advocating a U.S. be-
 reft of power in an area of the world vital to its security."

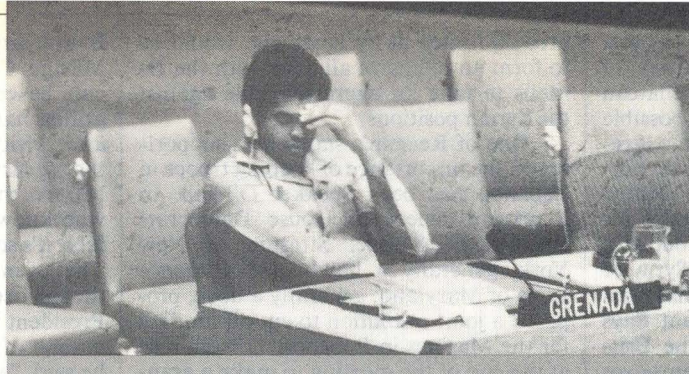
The public, on the other hand, seemed ready to rally to the President's defense, especially in the wake of Reagan's skillful television appearance. A New York Times/CBS

News poll taken after the speech showed that 55% supported the invasion, while only 31% opposed it. Inquiries poured into Marine recruiting stations at two to three times the normal rate from those seeking to enlist or re-enlist. (One volunteer in the Midwest was a 71-year-old woman.)

The reaction to the troubled situation of the Marines in Lebanon, however, was far less supportive. Americans have increasingly been uncomfortable with the prolonged murky mission of the troops there, and the attack on headquarters a week ago came as a further blow to public confidence. The outrage went beyond the loss of so many lives; the death of troops in a worthy cause, however sad, could be borne. What upset most Americans was the sense that the deaths were the unnecessary result of lax security and that lives were sacrificed for a goal that is, if not futile, at least hard to understand. While most people agreed with the President that the Marines should not be forced into retreat by terrorist fanatics, many expressed concern that the reasons for having Marines in Lebanon at all were becoming more and more doubtful. There is an essential difference between the use of force in Grenada and Lebanon: In the former case, the mission was militarily attainable; in the latter, there seems nothing the Marines can productively do except serve as sitting ducks in a situation that offers scarcely any signs of resolution.

Reagan in his speech last week asserted that "the Marines will stay," and that their role will remain the same. But by virtue of the fact that they continue to be bogged down in Beirut month after month, their role is subtly changing even without a change in policy. They were first sent in as part of a temporary multinational force to oversee the removal of the Palestinians from Lebanon after the Israeli invasion. That mission was accomplished in 16 days. But less than three weeks later, in the wake of massacres at two Palestinian refugee camps and the assassination of the President of Lebanon, they came back as part of another multinational force, along with troops from France, Britain and Italy.

This time their role was to help stabilize Lebanon so that an agreement could be worked out for the withdrawal of Syrian and Israeli troops. They would not, the President promised, be involved in com-



Grenada's delegate, Ian Jacobs, at the U.N. Security Council debate

bat. That too seemed a worthy and workable plan. It met with general approval, and the main controversy in Congress was not over the mission but over whether the War Powers Act applied to it. Yet there were some who had reservations. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger pointed out that fighting forces were not necessarily suited for what was basically a symbolic and diplomatic role. Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, while providing key support in passing the resolution that authorized the Marines to be there, privately argued against the plan. He wrote the President on Oct. 7 urging that "every avenue be explored to achieve the removal of American troops."

Flip-Flop

It was scarcely any surprise that the violence in Grenada angered Desi Bouterse, the paranoid dictator of Suriname (pop. 350,000), about 600 miles away on the coast of South America. What raised eyebrows was that Bouterse, a self-styled Marxist, directed his wrath not against the U.S. but against his ally Cuba. Last week he abruptly expelled Havana's Ambassador, giving him six days to get out of the country, and suspended all Cuban cultural and education agreements. Bouterse's explanation: "The leadership of the Suriname revolution is convinced that a repetition of developments in Grenada should be prevented here."

He was probably telling the truth. Bouterse may have feared that he would suffer the same fate as his friend Maurice Bishop, the Marxist Prime Minister of Grenada who was deposed and killed. Bouterse hinted that he suspected Cuban complicity in Bishop's overthrow. Perhaps too, Bouterse, who seems motivated primarily by a desire to maintain his repressive regime, did some political recalculating in the wake of the U.S. invasion of Grenada. He may have concluded that leftist revolution is no longer the wave of the future in the Caribbean and that he should make himself less obnoxious to the U.S.

The reservations, both in Congress and the country, began to shift as the role of the Marines did. It became clear that there would be no agreement in the foreseeable future for the withdrawal of Syrian troops. The Marines soon found themselves *de facto* allies of the Lebanese Army in its struggle against Syria and its allied radical Muslim and Druze factions.

Once it became clear that the Marines were no longer in Lebanon to facilitate a with-

drawal, and once it became clear that the Lebanese government of President Amin Gemayel was far from consolidating its power beyond Beirut, there seemed to be no mission for the troops except as a symbolic presence. George Ball, who was Under Secretary of State under Kennedy and Johnson, expresses the dilemma that such a situation creates: "God knows we might have learned from our tragic Viet Nam fiasco that, as a great power, we should deploy our troops only where they are vitally needed and it is clear they can be effectively used . . . [otherwise] their bitter plight will exhibit not America's strength but its impotence."

Complicating the situation was the growing Soviet presence. Moscow steadily rearmed the Syrians, who became increasingly determined to assert their own military and political role in Lebanon. The symbolic role of the Marines thus shifted again. Now by propping up the Gemayel government they were standing firm against the encroachment of Soviet influence. Still, the Marines remained officially noncombatants in a very combative situation. The only military change was the arrival of a naval armada offshore to shell the high grounds where gunners took aim at the symbolic targets. "These forces right now don't have a mission," said Kissinger after last week's bombing. "I don't think it's clear what we're trying to achieve in Beirut . . . It doesn't make sense to say American forces are put somewhere simply to defend themselves. They can defend themselves better in Camp Lejeune."

The main reason that the Marines must remain in Lebanon, it seems, is that there is no satisfactory alternative: pulling them out right now would clearly be worse. But the situation shows that a military presence cannot be a substitute for diplomatic efforts. Short of an all-out military campaign, the Marines can do little to assure a stable central government in Lebanon. That task requires the U.S., along with its partners in the multinational force, to concentrate its efforts on the "national reconciliation" talks, which are scheduled to begin this week in Geneva, designed to broaden the composition of the Gemayel government.

In other diplomatic circles, the possibility was raised of retaliating against whoever launched the attacks on French and American forces. Secretary Shultz

floated the idea of reprisal on his way to a meeting with the foreign ministers of France, Italy and Britain in a château near Paris. That is, of course, impossible until it is known with assurance who is responsible for the bombings. British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe seemed concerned that Reagan, flushed by his success in Grenada, might lash out at a Lebanese rebel group, or even Syria or Iran. Howe pointedly remarked that massive retaliation would be imprudent. Says a State Department official: "The Brits were just seeking to reassure themselves that we were not planning to take out a country, or go off half-cocked." Shultz did not respond to the remark because, as one participant recalls, "there was a sense that Howe was stating the obvious."

proach, hinted at by Kissinger, would be to form an offensive alliance with the Israelis to take an aggressive role against the Syrian positions.

One of Reagan's staunchest supporters on the importance of keeping troops in Lebanon has been Speaker O'Neill. In a private caucus of House Democrats Wednesday, Samuel Stratton of New York, generally a hawk, and Clarence Long of Maryland, generally a dove, proposed a joint resolution to cut off funding for the Marines in Lebanon. O'Neill rose at the end of the meeting to make a grandiloquent and emotional appeal. "This is not the time," he cried, "to cut and run." He urged the party to put "patriotism above partisanship" and said he supported Reagan "because I am a patriot!" A

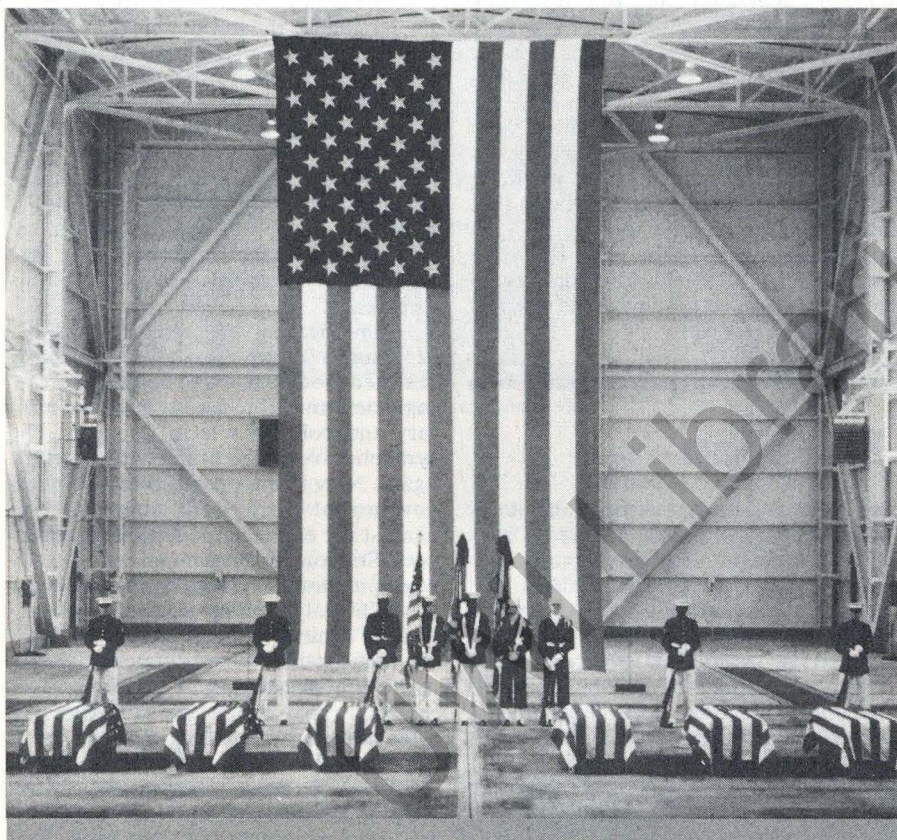
Beirut airport were so obviously faulty. Marine Corps General Paul X. Kelley will be called to testify, and probably grilled harshly, in light of his insistence after visiting the scene of the bombing that security had been adequate. "I can't believe that statement," said McDade, who knows and admires Kelley. "On its face, it's so unresponsive."

The events in Lebanon and Grenada, though oceans apart, are closely related," President Reagan maintained in the summation of his televised address. Moscow, he said, "assisted and encouraged the violence in both countries." As a consequence, the U.S. must become less reticent about asserting itself in the world. As Reagan noted, "We are not somewhere else in the world protecting someone else's interests. We are there protecting our own."

The situation in Grenada, and certainly the one in Lebanon, actually bristles with many more complexities than simply Soviet adventurism. But Reagan is doubtless correct that America's global responsibilities demand a willingness to take risks and make sacrifices in protecting national interests. The crucial judgment lies in determining when the use of force can be effective, when it is counterproductive and, perhaps above all, when it is morally right.

In assessing this question, distinctions have to be made between Grenada and Lebanon. Assaulting a small Caribbean island is, or ought to be, a quick and precise operation. Unlike establishing a presence in Lebanon, it carries relatively little risk of becoming a protracted stand-off or of holding American troops hostage to a baffling diplomatic and political situation. In that limited sense, it is a job suited for the Rangers and the Marines. Yet there are deeper differences between the two involvements. The U.S. is in Lebanon because it was invited by the government in power. The military force is designed to protect the important principles of sovereignty and nonintervention—the same principles that were called into some question by the invasion of Grenada.

Should the U.S. be willing to use power to pursue its foreign policy objectives? Clearly it must. Can the projection of power be a substitute for diplomacy? Just as clearly it cannot. Power asserted for its own sake, or as a symbolic action designed to cover deficiencies of diplomacy or policy, can be as feckless and futile as eschewing the use of force altogether. The question in Grenada is whether America's force has justifiably been used to intervene in the affairs of another nation. The question in Lebanon is to what extent America's military presence can remain effective in pursuing complex and seemingly intractable political objectives. Each situation exacts its own lessons and challenges—all of them painfully difficult—about the proper uses and limits of military force. —By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Strobe Talbott/Washington



An honor guard with the coffins of slain Marines at Dover Air Force Base, Del., on Saturday

There is, nonetheless, a growing desire within the Administration to allow the Marines to take a more aggressive role against Syria. The radical Iranian groups thought most likely to be responsible for the attack operate from behind Syrian lines. Said Shultz: "Syria must bear a share of the responsibility for any Iranian actions in Lebanon whether or not it knew of any specific terrorist plans." His tough talk may have been laying the groundwork for a retaliatory assault. This could come through an attack on the Syrian artillery positions far up in the mountains, or on their weapons dumps in the Bekaa Valley, or on the camps of the pro-Khomeini factions near the town of Baalbek. The U.S. is also considering a move to coordinate diplomatic and economic pressure on Syria. An even stronger ap-

vote on the joint resolution was postponed for a week.

Nevertheless, Capitol Hill resounded with criticisms of the ill-defined policy for the troops in Lebanon. "Our Marines have been placed in an untenable situation, and I think it is criminal," said conservative Democrat Sam Hall of Texas. "There's a real need to clarify our policy and to explain exactly what the Administration's goals are," said Pennsylvania's Joe McDade, a key Republican on the Appropriations Committee. "A nation cannot wear two hats," said Democratic Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia, "one being that of a peace-keeping force and the other being that of taking sides with one of the warring factions."

Congress specifically plans to look into why security arrangements at the

Keeping the Press from the Action

For the first time, a major U.S. military operation is blacked out



No sooner had President Reagan taken to television with the announcement that the U.S. had joined forces with six small Caribbean countries to invade Grenada than the press scrambled to do its job. Within hours, the first wave of more than 300 newspaper, magazine, wire-service, radio and television journalists were arriving on the island of Barbados, which, though some 160 miles northeast of the action, was the closest they could get. But there were no pictures of the combat on television screens that night or the next night, nor any dispatches from newspaper reporters on the ground. Members of the press were not allowed any nearer.

At an extraordinary Pentagon press conference eight hours after the President's Tuesday announcement, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and General John Vessey Jr., Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, briefed reporters in Washington on the progress of the fighting while attempting to explain why journalists were not being allowed to observe it. The reasons: the necessity for complete secrecy to ensure the success of the surprise attack, and concerns over correspondents' safety. When would the press be allowed in? "I hope as soon as tomorrow," said Weinberger, adding, "I wouldn't ever dream of overriding the commander's decision that he was not able to guarantee any kind of safety for anyone."

That justification for an unprecedented news blackout instantly raised a furor. Major news organizations fired off stiff protests. The American Society of Newspaper Editors formally complained that the exclusion went "beyond the normal limits of military censorship." Two more days passed before the first handful of reporters were escorted to Grenada.

Despite this news blockade, six reporters and one photographer, including TIME Correspondent Bernard Diederich, had managed to get to Grenada in a small fishing boat as the invasion was starting. On Day 2 of the invasion, having learned that telex and telephone lines had been knocked out in the fighting, four of the reporters—Don Bohning of the Miami *Herald*, Edward Cody of the Washington *Post*, Morris Thompson of *Newsday* and Greg Chamberlain of Britain's *Guardian*—accepted a U.S. military offer to be airlifted to the U.S.S. *Guam*, a helicopter carrier, in the belief that they could file their dispatches back to the U.S. from there. Instead, the reporters found themselves, as Bohning later put it, "more or less captives of the U.S. Navy," forbidden to send their stories. Not until

Thursday did they get back to Grenada.

Said Washington *Post* Executive Editor Ben Bradlee: "As long as I have been in the business, the press has been on military landings right along with the troops." In fact, starting with the Mexican War in 1846, reporters have taken risks right along with the soldiers. During the years of war in Southeast Asia, more than 50 were killed. To suggest that the press was kept out for its own good, said an incensed CBS News President Ed Joyce, "is an in-

mitted from the battle zone. Nevertheless, they were allowed to accompany the task force and go in with the first troops. Says ABC News Vice President David Burke: "And they don't even have a First Amendment!"

U.S. journalists do. In practice, however, U.S. combat reporters have always agreed to sensible limits on what they report, especially in situations where dispatches could conceivably endanger the lives of U.S. fighting men. American reporters have often accompanied troops to battle under restrictions. When President Johnson sent the Marines to Santo Domingo in 1965, no journalist broke the embargo placed on the prebattle confidential briefings that the President pro-



sult to the men and women who died covering wars." On its editorial page on Friday, the New York *Times* referred to the photograph that shows the first American Marines raising the flag on Mount Suribachi in Iwo Jima. Wrote the *Times*: "How much safety does he [Weinberger] think was guaranteed to Joe Rosenthal of the Associated Press, who took the famous picture?"

There are more dangerous places than Grenada these days, including El Salvador and Lebanon, where reporters are reasonably free to go wherever they choose. But the safety of journalists may not have been the primary concern of Defense officials. "We learned a lesson in the Falklands," one U.S. lieutenant colonel candidly told an American reporter. The officer was referring to the Thatcher government's severe restrictions on British journalists covering the Falklands conflict last year. British reporters were required to agree in advance to heavy censorship, and no live television pictures were trans-

mitted. During the Viet Nam War, reporters were allowed to go along on nearly all missions. When U.S. soldiers secretly crossed the border into Cambodia in 1970, General Creighton Abrams lent his personal aircraft to reporters, and trusted them to hold their stories until the action was well under way.

That spirit of trust and cooperation between press and government was absent right from the start of the week's dramatic events. When CBS Correspondent Bill Plante asked White House Press Spokesman Larry Speakes on Monday afternoon whether an invasion was imminent, Speakes checked and came back with the reply: "Preposterous!"

As it turned out, Speakes simply had not been told the truth by Administration officials. Afterward he complained bitterly to senior White House aides in an inter-office memorandum. If he had known the facts, says Speakes, he could have kept the secret without telling an outright lie. "I could say, 'I'm sorry, I can't answer that

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

The Test of True Leadership

question," he explains. "Or, 'I'll check on that.'" Says ABC Paris Bureau Chief Pierre Salinger, a former press secretary who was kept similarly in the dark about the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 by President Kennedy: "You can always make a deal with the press when it knows it is dealing with a national security situation." Argues syndicated Columnist Jody Powell, who was President Carter's press secretary: "The Government has not only the right but sometimes the obligation to lie. If I had been asked hours before an invasion if an invasion was about to take place, I would have denied it and tried to make it a convincing lie."

In the absence of independent reporting from the scene of the battle, and with little detail coming from the Pentagon, reporters did what they could; the television networks used file footage, lively electronic graphics and innumerable maps of Grenada. ABC stood its Pentagon correspondent, Jack Smith, in front of a table model of the island with a pointer to explain what the Pentagon said was happening. On Wednesday, CBS Correspondent Sandy Gilmour chartered a plane in Barbados to capture the first television pictures not supplied by the Government. He taped the naval activity around Grenada from a distance until a U.S. jet fighter cut precariously close to chase his plane off. When the Department of Defense finally provided a short videotape of Cuban weapons caches found in warehouses on Grenada, Cuban prisoners and a few seconds of combat, CBS aired it with a prominent label on-screen reading, "Cleared by Defense Department Censors." At week's end NBC filed a Freedom of Information Act request with the Government, demanding the unedited footage that was shot by military photographers.

Even after some reporters were given a limited tour of Grenada by military officials on Thursday, news executives felt that they had got only what one of those reporters, ABC Correspondent Richard Threlkeld, called "a worm's-eye view, just a little segment of what was going on." Journalists who attempted to reach the island on their own by private boat, as *TIME*'s Diederich and his companions had done earlier, were run off by U.S. destroyers and other naval vessels.

Last week's press protests undoubtedly strike some Americans as special pleading. Says the *Washington Post's* Bradlee: "Their attitude is, 'There you go, bleeding again!'" But any break, even for only a few days' time, in the vital U.S. tradition of reasonably open press coverage during military combat has implications that are exceedingly troubling (see ES-SAY). Sums up the U.P.I.'s veteran White House correspondent Helen Thomas: "The American people should not have been left in the dark." Indeed, they should never be left in the dark. —**By Janice Castro.**
Reported by Patricia Delaney/Washington, with other bureaus

Public opinion polls on what to do next in Lebanon or Grenada are fantasies, arising from sudden emotions of shock, grief or relief. The scholars and experts search for faults, contradicting the Government and one another in hasty judgments. The Congress is 535 shattered pieces of political authority, most of whom are frightened and bewildered, reverting to the safe ground of doubt and complaint. The presidential candidates scrutinize and wait, ready to pounce. White House aides bicker among themselves, tempers superheated, judgment clouded by fatigue. Leaks and counterleaks fill the air. The choices for action in both places are not between good and bad, but between terrible and dreadful.

For times like these we have a President.

His loneliness is his strength and his mandate for swift, decisive action. Fear momentarily is his ally, giving pause to foreign enemies and holding domestic public opinion in suspension for vital hours. In the ashes of failure and death, in the uncertainty of crisis there almost always lies opportunity for strokes of great leadership. It is one of the perverse and melancholy facts of the presidency, not wished by any White House occupant but as certain as night and day. Effective Presidents move quickly beyond mourning, beyond events.

Ronald Reagan has entered that hallowed ground. Some would suggest he got there through his own lack of understanding in Lebanon and his itchy trigger finger in Grenada. Right or wrong, he is there.

The risks to Reagan's presidency and to the nation and indeed the world are formidable. But that is the case in meaningful action. Some interest or some authority must be opposed, thwarted. And in such times, only success will succeed. A long time ago Abraham Lincoln summed it up in the greatest crisis this nation has ever faced: "If the end brings me out all right," he said, "what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference."

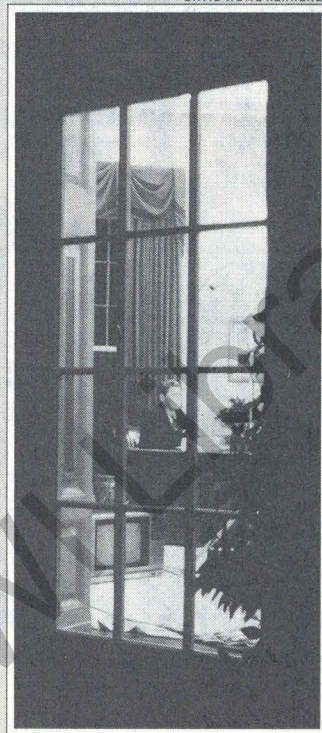
Bryce Harlow, the very wise aide who served Eisenhower, Nixon and Ford, developed a theory that the mettle of a President and his Administration is never really taken until there is a failure, whether from within the Government or thrust on them from the outside. How these people shed their jealousies and fears, how

clearly they see ahead, how they come together and embrace the national interest instead of their own ends is the true measure of a President and his aides.

Reagan has never really faced this kind of test before. His crises have been legislative, administrative and political, dealing with party theology, dollars and personnel. Now, lives and land have been claimed, the two ultimate objectives when the power game is played to the end. Ronald Reagan's world has changed.

So it has been with every one of the recent Presidents, no one of them facing greater failures and coping with them better than John Kennedy in his first year in the White House. Within a few months, the Soviets sent the first man into space, Kennedy's Cuban invasion failed at the Bay of Pigs, access to West Berlin was threatened and then the Berlin Wall was built by the Communists. When he looked back, Kennedy could say that he had been fortunate to learn the harsh dimensions of leadership in his first days. Regrettably, there is no way to pass these lessons on to new Presidents. Sacred beliefs too often must be shattered, old comrades too often must be judged harshly. That is not something Presidents do voluntarily.

When the Bay of Pigs was long in the past, Kennedy wondered aloud one night how such a collection of bright, experienced people could produce such a calamity. "Some day," he instructed a friend, "study that and write how we could have all fooled ourselves." That book has never been written, nor is it likely to be. Nobody really can know. And what matters more is how a President turns crisis to his advantage.



On TV from the Oval Office

Trying to Censor Reality

The wisdom of the U.S. invasion of Grenada will be debated for years. The unprecedented exclusion of the American press from that operation requires no debate; clearly it was a bad mistake, an outrage to press freedom and an ominous symptom of a tendency in the Reagan Administration to try to control the flow of information.

All Administrations attempt to do this, up to a point. Actually the Reagan White House has been far more intelligent and helpful in its dealings with the press than was customary during the Nixon age of paranoia and the Carter era of petty meanness. Thus the attempt to fight a little war in secret, out of range of reporters and cameramen, is all the more startling and unfortunate.

The explanations offered by the Administration were preposterous. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger argued that the armed forces could not have guaranteed the safety of journalists. But American journalists have never demanded such guarantees.

They have worked and died in the Civil War, World War I, on the beaches of Normandy and Okinawa, in Seoul and Saigon. Weinberger's other reason, that the commander in the field did not want the press along, was a glaring cop-out. No question was raised about press coverage aiding the enemy; that was wise. The press invariably accepts ground rules on matters of true security, where lives and operations are at stake.

Why should anyone care about this? Many people might assume that the press was protesting against its exclusion out of a prurient or even commercial itch, annoyed at missing some sensational headlines and pictures. That is simply not the case. The press has a serious quasi-constitutional function as a representative of the public. Obviously the White House or the Pentagon remembered the Viet Nam "living-room war" and the revulsion it created. Obviously they admired and envied Margaret Thatcher's dealing with the press during the Falklands invasion, when the Iron Lady's government allowed only a small contingent of journalists along, under wraps.

It was quickly apparent that banning reporters—and later giving them only a few quick guided tours—hurt the Administration itself. Whenever the press is excluded, speculation and rumor take over. Several days after the invasion there was still determined resistance here and there, but no one knew how much, how serious or by whom. The result was vague and nagging alarm, a suspicion that the world's largest military power had trouble subduing a flyspeck island. However that impression might be dispelled later, some of the damage will linger. More important, the Administration's case for the invasion rests increasingly on the assertion that the Cubans had been attempting to transform Grenada into a sort of island fortress. Eyewitness reports from correspondents might have made that claim quickly convincing. Their absence may cause the question to persist: What was the Administration trying to hide?

Certainly the press has no corner on virtue—far from it. Journalists exaggerate, misunderstand, mislead. They can be irresponsible in big ways and in small. It is hard to forgive those television reporters who, after the Beirut attack, intruded on anxious families with fatuous and cruel questions like "How would you feel if your son were among the dead?" On a larger scale, it can be argued that ever since Watergate much of the press has been too automatically hostile toward government.

But freedom of the press, like all freedom, has its risks. It cannot apply only to journalists who are always responsible or posi-

tive. Such freedom would not be freedom at all. On balance, for all their doubts about the press, Americans have usually felt that it represented a pretty good bargain: the occasional outrageous or merely irritating lapse is an acceptable price for journalism's role as witness and watchdog.

Secrecy is addictive. Perhaps the greatest danger in the banning of the press from the Grenada operation is that the Administration will try to repeat it in other situations. The Grenada ban is not an isolated incident, but part of a pattern. Members of the Reagan Administration try not only to control the news and the "image" of its doings but also to shape a whole climate of opinion. The Administration has been active in excluding foreign speakers deemed dangerous or subversive. It has tried to discredit as propaganda fairly innocuous foreign films, and it has fought sharply to limit the Freedom of Information Act. To plug leaks, it has made an estimated 2.5 million federal employees subject to random lie detector tests.

Reagan also has moved to establish sweeping new rules requiring senior Government employees with access to highly classified information to submit any writings—books, articles, letters, speech drafts—for advance Government clearance if there is any possibility that they allude to sensitive activities. This rule, temporarily stalled in the Senate, would apply to these Government employees for their entire lifetime. Had it been in force in the past, it would have required previous clearance and presumably endless battles with censors by writers ranging from Grover Cleveland to George Marshall to Henry Kissinger.

There is no denying that the Government must be able to do certain things in secret. Diplomacy is one of them. So are covert activities, in which all nations, democratic or otherwise, engage. Arguably the threat on

Grenada should have been handled by the CIA rather than by the Marines and paratroopers—except that for years now, the CIA has been unable to do anything much without almost instant publicity. But the fault for this absurd situation lies more with Congress and Government officials than with the press. It is also true that the Freedom of Information Act has been abused. But taken together, the Administration's measures suggest a certain mind-set: the notion that events can be shaped by shaping their presentation, that truth should be a controlled substance.

All of this does a real disservice to Ronald Reagan. In many ways he is the most open President we have had in a long time. It is hard to question his sincerity. When he speaks, he radiates conviction. He is attempting to do something important about America's position in the world, to restore its strength and self-respect. One can question specific acts and policies, but the overall goal is urgent and valid. That goal, however, is jeopardized by misperception of what the world is really like, what works and what does not work. The left-wing liberals have been the master illusionists for years, and their image of the world is as mistaken as any right-wing ideologue's. Reagan has a real opportunity to steer between the wishful thinking of the doves and the vengeful daydreams of the hawks, to introduce more realism into American foreign policy. In fact, he has shown signs of doing precisely that in recent months. The crude attempt by bureaucrats in and out of uniform to censor reality, to manage not only news but history, undermines that realistic trend. It also undercuts the trust the country still has in Reagan himself.

—By Henry Grunwald



EAST-WEST

Andropov's Ultimatum

If the missiles go in, the Soviets pledge to walk out at Geneva

Seldom had the vast Soviet propaganda machine sputtered and coughed so loudly. It began when Kremlin Spokesman Leonid Zamyatin strongly hinted three weeks ago that the Soviets would pull out of the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles if NATO went ahead with deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe. Two days later, Warsaw Pact foreign ministers meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria, ambiguously announced that they favored continuation of the negotiations, but only if NATO delayed deployment. Then Zamyatin took another tack, telling the West German magazine *Stern* that it would be the fault of the U.S. if the negotiations were suspended, but that he opposed breaking off the talks.

Last week Soviet Leader Yuri Andropov put an end to the mounting speculation over Soviet intentions at Geneva. "The appearance of new American missiles in Western Europe," Andropov declared in an interview with the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda*, "will make a continuation of the present talks in Geneva impossible." He added, "On the other hand, the Geneva talks can be continued if the United States does not start the actual deployment."

Andropov's announcement was an obvious bid to cow West European leaders into seeking a delay in deployment. It came on the heels of large antimissile demonstrations across Western Europe the previous weekend, and only a day after U.S. forces invaded the Caribbean island of Grenada. It was the second threat from the Kremlin in two days. Before Andropov's message was released, the Soviet Defense Ministry confirmed that Moscow was prepared to retaliate against Western deployment by moving new nuclear missiles into East Germany and Czechoslovakia. "Preparatory work is being started on the territory of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia for the deployment of missile complexes," said the statement, which was read over Soviet television. "These steps are one of the planned measures in case the American missiles are sited in Europe."

NATO arms-control experts downplayed the Soviet threat to station new missiles in Eastern Europe: some Soviet missiles and warheads were already in the East bloc satellites, and their replacement by a new generation of shorter-range, mobile SS-21s, SS-22s and SS-23s has been expected for some time.

Andropov's ultimatum was another matter. Since the planned mid-December deployment of the NATO missiles in West Germany and Britain is now a virtual certainty, Andropov was effectively signaling the collapse, for the moment, of the second track of NATO's 1979 "double-track" strategy: to pursue both the deployment of new medium-range weapons and

an agreement on their limitation. Although he was careful to propose marginal Soviet "concessions" in order to achieve at least the appearance of continued flexibility, Andropov asserted that Moscow "will not retreat" from its stance that a nuclear balance now exists in Europe. Any new U.S. missiles, he insisted, would "sharply change the entire military strategic situation to NATO's advantage."

His statement was clearly designed to lay blame on the U.S. for any failure of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) talks. It amounted, in the words of one Western diplomat, to a "last-ditch effort" to drive a wedge between NATO governments. On both counts, the Soviet strategy seemed to fall flat. In Washington, President Reagan deftly countered Andropov by challenging the Soviets "to negotiate seriously at Geneva" and vowing that the U.S. "will stay at the negotiating table as long as necessary."

NATO defense ministers, meeting last week at the Canadian resort of Château Montebello, near Ottawa, summarily dismissed the Soviet walkout threat and announced that NATO planned unilaterally to scrap 1,400 existing warheads in Western Europe during the next five or six years. The weapons are part of the alliance's stockpile of tactical nuclear arms, which many experts feel are obsolescent and redundant; they would join 1,000 old warheads that have already been withdrawn in anticipation of the deployment of the 572 new missiles.

For its part, the U.S. State Department called Andropov's threat to end the INF talks "totally unjustified." Officials also charged that the proposed Soviet concessions did not begin to address the two basic points of contention in Geneva: first, that Moscow refuses to accept the deployment of *any* new NATO missiles in Europe; second, that the Soviets want "compensation" for the independent nuclear deterrents of Britain and France. The U.S. rejects both positions.

The Soviet party chief offered to lower the number of Soviet SS-20s from the current level of 243 to "about 140." Since each of the SS-20s is equipped with three

At the ready: U.S.-built Pershing II set for launching in Florida



REINER—CONTACT

warheads, the total figure would closely match the 434 warheads in the French and British arsenals. The offer represented a slight improvement on a December 1982 Soviet proposal to reduce the number of SS-20s to 162. However, SS-20 warheads are independently targetable—the British and French weapons are not—and are less vulnerable to attack.

Andropov also promised, pending an INF agreement, to put an end "to the deployment of SS-20 missiles in the eastern areas of the U.S.S.R." Chief U.S. Negotiator Paul Nitze and his Soviet counterpart Yuri A. Kvitsinsky tentatively agreed to a similar freeze on Soviet missiles aimed at China and Japan during their now famous and repudiated "walk in the woods" in July 1982. But even then, the deal would have left the Soviets with 90 SS-20s in Soviet Asia; today the figure would be 108.

U.S. officials charged that both new proposals were "too vague" and contained "unacceptable conditions" for agreement. But the Americans cautiously refused to close the door on "certain proposals," like Andropov's offer to measure the European nuclear balance in warheads rather than in launchers. Washington also blasted the Soviets for using the two years of negotiations to "dramatically" increase the number of their SS-20s in Asia and for publicly airing the current proposals in order "to split the allies and their public."

Andropov's shift in tactics suggests that Moscow now views deployment as unavoidable. Soviet Negotiator Kvitsinsky said as much to a group of West German disarmament experts in Geneva last week. Social Democratic Arms Spokesman Egon Bahr, who participated, reported afterward that Kvitsinsky "told us that the Soviet Union regards Nov. 22* as the watershed date after which negotiations would be pointless." Bahr said he was given the impression that "there is no chance of an accord before the deployment." Similarly, U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger reported to the NATO defense ministers that the talks have ground to a halt and seem unlikely to get anywhere. Yet at least one U.S. official said he "would not exclude some kind of agreement in Geneva even at this late hour."

Even as Western embassies in Bonn were reporting that the worst of Western Europe's "hot autumn" had passed without major incident, antimissile protest leaders converged on the West German capital to plan what they promised would be an equally tense and active winter of



Soviet Leader Yuri Andropov photographed at the Kremlin in August

discontent over the missiles. Earlier in the week, a seven-member delegation from the radical Green Party, including Petra Kelly, a Bundestag deputy and prominent antimissile spokeswoman, flew to Moscow at the sudden invitation of Soviet leaders. The Soviets got more than they had bargained for. As tourists in Red Square watched in disbelief, Kelly and her colleagues staged a five-minute antinuclear rally directed at both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Still, the seven Greens later promised to recommend the Andropov proposals to their countrymen, despite their disapproval of the Soviet human rights record and the invasion of Afghanistan.

Back in Bonn last weekend, West German activists were considering a number of



West German Antimissile Activist Petra Kelly Promising a tense winter of discontent.

strategies for the coming months, including a lobbying effort aimed at influencing the outcome of the Nov. 21 Bundestag vote on deployment, which is expected to be carried by pro-NATO forces. Said Protest Leader Jo Leinen: "We must let people know that we are still fighting."

Few NATO or West European government officials seemed worried about a resurgence of peace demonstrations. "Whatever we did," said British Defense Minister Michael Heseltine, "[the peace protesters] would not change their minds." Nor was there much concern about the threat of a Soviet walkout in Geneva. Said West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher: "Since the Soviet Union has considered it quite natural to negotiate with the West while continuing its deployment of SS-20 missiles, it would make

no sense for Moscow to break off negotiations just because we started to deploy." Far more worrisome to officials in Paris, London and Bonn was news of the U.S. invasion of Grenada. It was widely unpopular in Western Europe and seemed certain to complicate NATO's already testy internal relations.

As they pored over Andropov's announcement last week, Western analysts were struck by the manner of its delivery: it came in an interview, rather than in an address made in person by the Soviet leader. Inevitably, there were questions about his physical and political well-being. "Where is the man?" asks U.S. Kremlinologist William Hyland. "Is he an apparition?" Andropov has not been seen in public since Aug. 18, and Hyland has noticed an uncharacteristic tendency of Soviet leaders recently to emphasize different aspects of Soviet policy with little apparent coordination. "That's just not the Soviet way," notes Hyland. "It suggests disarray."

Whatever his travails, Andropov seems to have sharply limited Soviet options. After last week's ultimatum, Moscow cannot continue the arms talks, at least for a time, without losing considerable prestige. Key U.S. officials believe the Soviet move is an opportunity for the West to see to it that Moscow gets full blame for jeopardizing the arms-control process. They point out that the negotiators routinely take a Christmas-New Year's recess, and expect the Soviets to extend the break for several months. That will give the Soviets time to assess West European reaction and begin their counterdeployments before returning to the bargaining table. If the Soviets fail to resume the talks, their intransigence could backfire by uniting Western opinion behind NATO.

—By Russ Hoyle.
Reported by Roland Flamini/Bonn and Strobe Talbott/Washington, with other bureaus

*The date that components of the first Pershing II missiles are scheduled to be flown into Ramstein Air Force Base near Frankfurt. The missiles will be operative by Dec. 15.

FRANCE

The Sorrow and the Pity

Amid sagging polls, the Socialists gather to take stock

France's ruling Socialist Party assembled in the Burgundian town of Bourg-en-Bresse last weekend to assess, among other things, its alarmingly low standing with voters after two years in power. Few of the 2,600 delegates and other members present would dispute that the Socialists, along with their Communist allies in government, were disillusioning much of an electorate that had turned leftward in hope of change. Despite the free-flowing Beaujolais and steaming Lyons sausages served in a flood-lit glow of camaraderie, the party's biennial congress was marked by a somber, even demoralized mood.

President François Mitterrand was in Tunisia. As Chief of State, he does not

devaluations of the franc in 17 months, a four-month freeze on wages and prices, hefty cutbacks in government spending, a 1% income tax surcharge and a 2,000-franc (\$253) limit on the currency French travelers could take abroad. This was not the kind of change voters expected.

According to the latest polls, Mitterrand's personal-approval rating is lower than at almost any time since he took office: 52% disapprove of his performance and only 33% approve. No President of the 25-year-old Fifth Republic has ever been quite so unpopular. Since early 1982, moreover, local and regional elections have gone against the leftist majority. In nationwide municipal elections last spring, the two

At the party congress, former Research and Industry Minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement, leader of one of the party's left-wing factions, called for a more radical, inflationary and protectionist economic course. Chevènement, who was forced to resign from his cabinet post this year after opposing austerity, claimed the support of close to 20% of the delegates. The consensus of the congress, following Mitterrand's lead, was that rigor had to be sustained for another year or more, but that ways must be found to ease the pain of economic sacrifice. Mitterrand and the party leadership were responding to pressure from trade unions and Socialist rank and file. André Bergeron, leader of Force Ouvrière, an independent but largely pro-Socialist labor confederation, warned that "the government has reached limits that cannot be exceeded without jeopardizing the social equilibrium."

Mitterrand's popularity appeared to be at a low point just as the austerity measures of his Finance Minister Jacques Delors were beginning to see results. Last year's trade deficit of \$14 billion is dwindling rapidly, with this year's gap expected to be \$7.5 billion. Delors will fall short of his goal of bringing inflation down to 8% this year, but the projected level, just above 9%, would be the lowest in France in ten years. Compared with inflation in the nation's major trading partners, especially West Germany, that level still is judged to be too high to avoid another devaluation of the frail franc.



Members of the white-collar *Confédération Générale des Cadres* protest austerity

The signs of economic hope were small help to the delegates at Bourg-en-Bresse.

attend such partisan occasions. But as architect of the party's unity and its 1981 electoral victory, Mitterrand dominated the proceedings anyway. His words boomed through the hall as his keynote speech was read aloud. His status as the Fifth Republic's first Socialist President elevated him to near-sainthood in the minds of many delegates. In the Socialists' time of adversity, Mitterrand indeed had become their major asset. Said Party Vice Secretary Jean Poperen: "In the end, after all, there is the President, again the President and always the President."

Even the President, however, is not immune to resentment of his government's economic austerity program, euphemistically called "rigor" by the Socialists. In its heady first year in office, the Mitterrand government enacted sweeping measures to nationalize key industries, create jobs and spend the country out of recession. The results: three formal

leftist parties lost control of 22 major cities as the conservative opposition took the edge in the popular vote, 53% to 47%.

The Socialists point out that local votes are different from national elections, in which party loyalty takes a stronger hold. But none of the delegates at Bourg-en-Bresse could deny the basic trend. Earlier this month, Communist Party Chief Georges Marchais publicly conceded that "unfortunately, it has to be recognized that the left has grown weaker. Disappointment, disillusion and at times discontent are on the increase among the men and women who assured its success in 1981." Even Premier Pierre Mauroy, the government's avuncular optimist, said that austerity "may somehow have caught the left off balance." The Socialists have difficulty drumming up public support for an economic squeeze that is ideologically and emotionally uncomfortable for most of them.

These signs of hope on the economic front were of small help for the delegates at Bourg-en-Bresse. Said a Socialist Deputy from the southwest: "If I go into my rural district and tell my constituents that the foreign trade deficit has improved, they just look at me." Pocketbook concerns also overshadowed Mitterrand's assertive foreign policies, including the dispatch of troops to Chad and Lebanon, and the maintenance of firm support for the Atlantic Alliance. Such moves are quietly disapproved of by his Communist allies and by small factions of his own party, but endorsed by the majority.

The Socialists at least could take some consolation from the continuing division among the three leading opposition figures. Former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, a conservative centrist, was sagging in the popular-opinion sweepstakes (with 8%). Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac, a neo-Gaullist, was still in the lead but slipping (with 37%). Only former Finance Minister Raymond Barre, a champion of austerity himself, seemed to be gaining in popularity (up 5% in the past month, to 20%). For Mitterrand, who is waiting for the fruits of austerity to help the Socialists in parliamentary elections two years from now, that could be a good omen. As the President told the dispirited congress: "Better days will come!"

—By Frederick Painton.

Reported by Jordan Bonfante/Bourg-en-Bresse

Foreign Matters

"A threat from within"

Until last month, President Reagan had planned to visit Indonesia as part of his five-nation tour of Asia. Alarmed by the trouble in the Philippines and pleading a heavy congressional schedule, the President decided to limit the trip to Japan and South Korea. Last week TIME International Editor Karsten Prager and Hong Kong Bureau Chief Sandra Burton visited Jakarta to speak with Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Foreign Minister of one of the three nations dropped from the itinerary. Excerpts from the interview:

On postponement of the Reagan visit to Indonesia. It was obvious from the circumstances that the trouble in Manila was the reason for the cancellation, and we understood that. It was a no-win situation for the President. So it would have been better if said outright, at least in private communications with us. But a cancellation does not mean a deterioration in the relationship. It is strong enough to withstand such minor problems.

On a possible rescheduling of the visit next spring, when President Reagan plans a trip to China. That is a sensitive question. If at all, President Reagan should come here first. That would make it less troublesome. But the objective difficulty is that our President [Suharto] will have a budget session in April for the first budget of the new five-year plan. If April is not acceptable for a visit because of the budget, it should not be seen as a tit-for-tat on Indonesia's part.

On the efforts of Indonesia and the other nations of ASEAN to resolve the Kampuchean problem. I would say ASEAN has succeeded in containing Viet Nam as a potential threat to Southeast Asia through diplomacy. People who say we have not solved the Kampuchean problem should be reminded of ASEAN's real objectives in Kampuchea. The first objective is to contain Viet Nam. We have succeeded there.

In the other objective, which is no less important—solving the Kampuchean problem itself—we agree that we have not succeeded. But that is a very difficult problem of nationhood. Kampuchea is an independent nation. Its long history aside, in its modern history it simply has not had time to grow into a stronger nation. The Indochina war helped destroy Kampuchea, and putting it back together again now will not be easy.

On the report that Indonesia has invited Viet Nam's Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach to visit Jakarta in late November. I invited him. There has been no reply yet. This is an attempt to maintain links with Viet Nam and to continue to communicate with that country. Ours is a longstanding relationship, and we feel

that a strong and peaceful Viet Nam is essential for peace in Southeast Asia.

On whether the Vietnamese want to be freed from their isolation. Basically they are the same as ever. They like to be independent. On the other hand, the very suggestion of weaning themselves away from the Soviets is displeasing to them because it implies that they are no longer independent. It is a very tricky situation. The fact is, of course, that they are quite dependent on Soviet assistance, but their pride says that they are not.

On relations between Viet Nam and ASEAN. I think the Vietnamese have come to accept ASEAN as a genuine association of Southeast Asian states. They always thought we were a creation of the



Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja

[U.S.] State Department, SEATO in disguise. We never tried to contradict them. We just showed them by our actions that we were independent.

On Soviet influence in the area. The Soviets are quite happy to have a presence here, but maintaining it is difficult. The nearest Soviet airport is covered by ice half the year, and the sea routes between Soviet ports and Southeast Asia are easily interdicted. Yet it is a useful presence for them and relatively low in cost. I would say there is an increase in the Soviet presence here, but it is a balance to the U.S. presence, which was always here, and as such it is to be expected because the superpower rivalry is global. However, the rivalry in this area is among the lowest in intensity anywhere in the world.

On threats to the security of Southeast Asia. I perceive the threat in Southeast Asia not so much as an overt threat but rather as a threat from within. If our development efforts do not succeed, if our efforts to create a suitable political system and an equitable distribution of wealth do not succeed, that is the threat. ■

Faded Image

Pastora walks out of ARDE

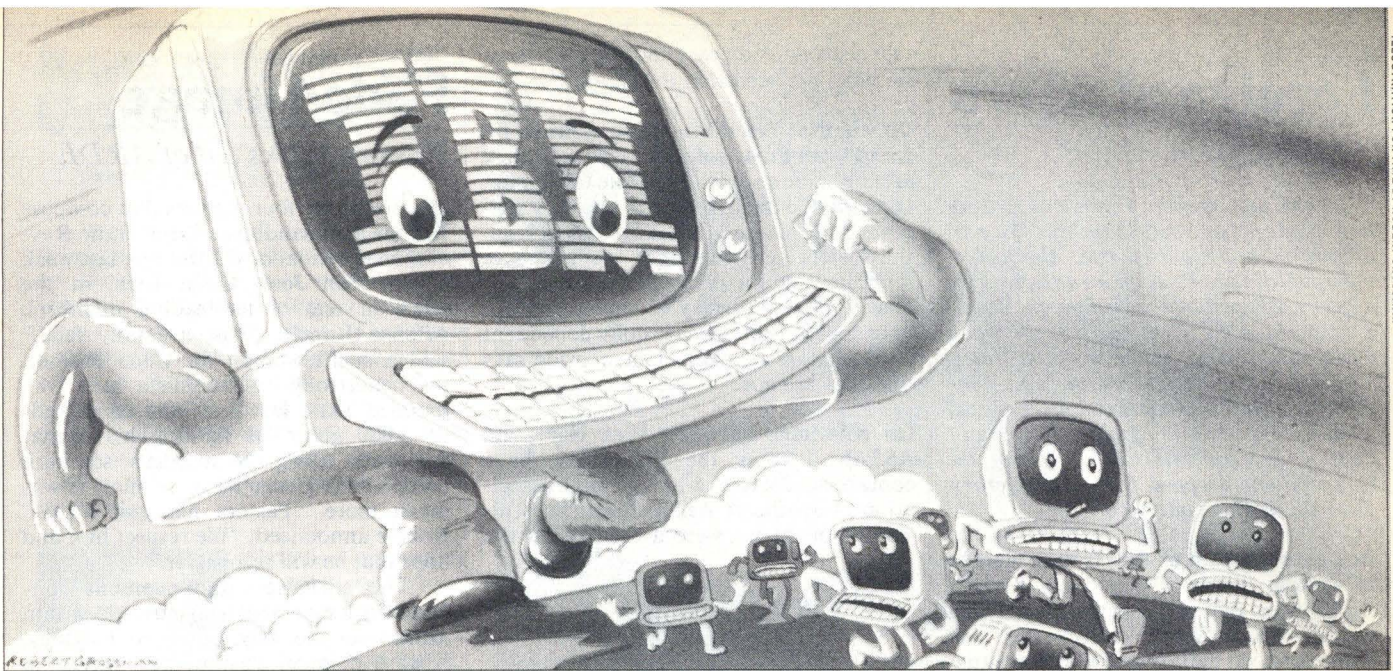
Quietly, the four factions that compose the anti-Sandinista Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) met last week outside San José, Costa Rica, in the office of one of its leading members, Alfonso Robelo. "Just a family feud," said a spokeswoman for Edén Pastora, the headstrong ex-Sandinista hero who founded ARDE last year, and commands its 2,000 guerrillas fighting his former comrades along Nicaragua's southern border with Costa Rica. In fact, it was much more. "Pastora has quit ARDE," Robelo announced. "We respect him and hope that he will reconsider."

The surprise announcement confirmed a long-smoldering struggle within ARDE over ideology, power and money. Always a loner, Pastora has refused to cooperate with the other *contras*, particularly the Honduras-based Nicaraguan Democratic Force (F.D.N.), whose leadership is dominated by officers of ex-Dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle's National Guard. Robelo accuses his longtime friend of being impractical and overbearing, and he has the support of two key ARDE lieutenants, Brooklyn Rivera and José Davila. Until last week the three, plus Pastora, made up ARDE's ruling directorate. Pastora's abrupt departure leaves the movement weakened, but it clears the way for his former colleagues to forge an alliance with the larger F.D.N.

Rivera and Davila have called for reconciliation, but the differences between Robelo and Pastora are great. In recent weeks, Robelo has urged ARDE to accept a CIA formula calling for unity with the F.D.N. Pastora has refused because the CIA plan would oblige him to share military decision-making in a new high command within ARDE. While the CIA is supposedly willing to purge the F.D.N. leadership of ex-Guardsmen, the deal would also include Pastora's removal from major influence in ARDE. To force the matter, the CIA reportedly persuaded the Israelis to stop supplying ARDE with captured Palestinian arms. By late September, the CIA squeeze on ARDE had left the organization nearly broke. Until then, Pastora's popular image had been considered indispensable to ARDE's cause. But as one ARDE lieutenant complained, "We can't live on Pastora's image alone." It appears that Robelo is already on the CIA team. In the past three weeks, the CIA is said to have supplied the rebel organization with \$8 million, along with a major arms shipment via El Salvador. The betting in San José is that neither the money nor the weapons are destined to reach Pastora. ■



Edén Pastora



Economy & Business

D-Day for the Home Computer

Marching from success to success, IBM now has a product for the living room

The secrecy, intrigue and rampant speculation made it seem more like a cloak-and-dagger thriller than just the introduction of a new product. For nearly a year, computer buffs, retailers and IBM's competitors have anxiously awaited the appearance of a home computer by the industry's giant (1982 sales: \$34.4 billion). IBM repeatedly denied that the product even existed, but newspapers and trade journals were filled with speculation about the new machine and its expected announcement date. Late last week the guesswork grew frenzied. After the Boston *Globe* published what it called a photograph of the home computer, Wall Street began hearing rumors that an angered IBM would delay the new model until early next year. But industry watchers quickly dismissed the reports as "disinformation" put out by the company to heighten suspense.

It is expected that IBM will finally and formally present its new home computer this week. About 100,000 of the machines are to be shipped to stores across the U.S. before Christmas. Originally code-named Peanut and now styled the PCjr, the computer should be exultantly greeted by computer-store owners, who have been turning away would-be customers for months. "We've never seen such a tremendous demand for a product that does not even exist," says one Manhattan store manager.

The clamor for the new product reflects the continually growing power of the world's largest computer maker. Since August 1981, when it unveiled its first Personal Computer, or PC, IBM has claimed a pacesetting 28% of the market for machines costing between \$1,000 and \$5,000. The PC, intended mainly for office use, is costlier and more powerful than a home computer. Last year IBM sold 185,000 PCs. This year sales are expected to reach some 800,000. Runner-up Apple, once the leader in small machines, this year will have sales of about 600,000, and now has approximately 17% of the market. Says one IBM executive: "The reason there is so much excitement about the introduction of an IBM home computer is that people expect us to do in the home market what we have already done in the office one."

Last month the Armonk, N.Y.-based company reported that third-quarter earnings had climbed to \$1.3 billion, up 25% from the same period in 1982, when the company was already the most profitable U.S. manufacturer. Among those watching intently have been investors on Wall Street, where IBM stock has more than doubled since August 1982 and stood at 128 at the end of last week.

IBM's success has contrasted with striking setbacks for many competitors. Last week Texas Instruments (1982 sales: \$4.3 billion) announced a \$110.8 million

third-quarter loss and said that it was pulling out of the home-computer market. The company, which will continue to make and sell its Professional Computer for office use, said it is halting production of its 99/4A home model "in order to limit further financial drain." TI's losses for the first nine months of 1983, which were largely due to poor sales of home computers, totaled \$222.9 million.

Apple Computer (1983 sales: \$982.8 million) reported last week that its fourth-quarter profits fell 73%, to \$5.1 million, compared with last year's earnings results. The plunge forced Apple, hitherto one of the most prosperous firms in California's Silicon Valley, to suspend payment to its employee profit-sharing plan for the first time since the company went public in December 1980. A day after Apple's announcement, Massachusetts-based Digital Equipment Corp. (1982 sales: \$3.8 billion) announced that its profits were off 72% during its most recently ended quarter. Digital's stock lost 21% of its value in a single day two weeks ago, sliding 21 points, to 79¼, on the news that it would report a drop in profits. The company's stock closed last week at 66¼.

IBM, meanwhile, has been relentlessly pouring it on with new products, aggressive pricing and an avalanche of advertising. Last month it introduced a pair

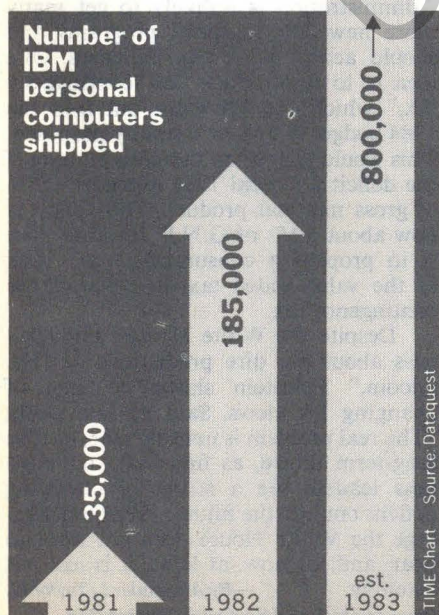
of new PC models, the 3270 and the XT-370, that will give users of IBM's desktop equipment access to the company's large mainframe computers. Since an estimated two-thirds of the 1,000 largest U.S. industrial firms use IBM mainframes, the new machines will make the company even tougher to beat. Says Ulric Weil, a computer-industry analyst for Morgan Stanley: "The 3270 could lock Apple, Tandy and other major personal-computer makers right out of the top corporate markets."

IBM has increased the allure of its machines by offering seductively low prices. The 3270 will sell for just under \$6,000, or approximately \$2,000 less than Apple's top-of-the-line Lisa, which has similar features. Both Lisa and the 3270 can display so-called windows on their monitor screens to enable users to work with several programs at once.

But it is the PCjr that has captured the computer world's imagination. A few retailers, including Macy's and some computer-store operators, have reportedly had a look at the new machine, but only after signing nondisclosure agreements that bar them from discussing what they have seen.

The long-awaited machine has been causing other computer makers to tremble. Two weeks ago, Atari disclosed that it was delaying plans to market two advanced home computers. Many analysts attributed that postponement to fear of the PCjr. So intense have expectations grown in the face of IBM's silence that the mere rumor of an announcement can shake a competitor's stock. As recently as Sept. 28, the shares of four computer makers lost \$340 million in combined total value after two Wall Street analysts predicted that the PCjr would arrive this fall.

Despite IBM's secrecy, industry watchers have been able to describe the new home computer in fine detail. It is expected to come in a basic version with 64,000 characters of memory for \$695.



and an expanded model that includes a disc drive and twice as much memory for \$1,295. Both versions will have far less overall capability than the PC itself, to keep them from biting deeply into the costlier product's sales. Perhaps the most striking feature of the new machine is a battery-operated keyboard that is not attached to the main part of the computer and will enable users to move about a room. Like an American Telephone & Telegraph terminal out last summer, the IBM home computer can communicate with display screens by infrared signals.

All the hoopla notwithstanding, some experts who claim familiarity with the PCjr are unimpressed. They point out that the IBM machine has a relatively high price, in comparison with competitive products already on the market. The Coleco Adam, which was first shipped last month, includes a printer along with the computer and is available for less than \$600. Commodore's hugely successful Commodore 64 has a base price of just \$200. *The Seybold Report on Professional Computing*, a respected industry newsletter, describes the PCjr as "a surprisingly modest machine, embodying relatively little innovation."

Innovation, however, has seldom been IBM's strongest selling point. The company has traditionally stressed service and reliability. The PC, for example, was not a technological breakthrough and is assembled largely from parts made by outside suppliers. Its microprocessing heart is manufactured by California-based Intel, while the monitor's display tube is produced by Japan's Matsushita. Microsoft of Bellevue, Wash., provides the operating system, or master program. The PC has been successful largely because the IBM name symbolizes confidence and security in a field known for instability and uncertainty.

The lack of originality in IBM's PC has hardly been a drawback. The company deliberately made the computer's specifications widely available so that the machine could become the industry standard. That tactic has worked so well that PC users are now able to choose from a vast array of programs that run on the machines. Says David Wagman, chairman of Softsel, a Los Angeles software distributor: "The change has been overwhelming. Eighteen months ago, 85% of the software we saw was for Apple and 5% for IBM. Now 29% is for IBM and 26% for Apple."

Even well-established computer makers are being forced to copy IBM. In September, Hewlett-Packard (1982 sales: \$4.2 billion) introduced an office computer built around the same microprocessor that the PC uses and employing the same operating system. "It's the first time we've conformed to an industry standard," says Cyril Yansouni, general manager of the Palo Alto, Calif.-based company.

The companies now enjoying the

greatest growth in personal computers are those that produce virtual clones of IBM's PC. Houston-based Compaq Computer, which last week announced that it was registering stock for an initial public offering, makes a portable version of the PC. Sales of the 21-month-old company reached \$36 million during the quarter that ended Sept. 30. Eagle Computer, which had sales of \$14.2 million in the three months ending Sept. 30, a more than fivefold increase from last year, now sells nine IBM work-alikes. Boasts Eagle President Ron Mickwee: "We have more IBM-compatible products than IBM does." Columbia Data Products of Columbia, Md., has three IBM-type models. Chief Financial Officer Joseph Kelley says that his firm's strategy is simple: "We'll always be cheaper than IBM."

Apple, meanwhile, has been chastened by its struggle against the PC. The California company's 17% market share



Cloak-and-dagger: the Boston Globe's photo

for personal computers is down from the 28.9% it commanded in 1981 when IBM entered the market. Now Apple is scrambling to recover. "IBM has forced us to squeeze three years of work into the next twelve months," says Apple President John Sculley. The company, which is stressing its record of technological innovation, plans to show off MacIntosh, a computer that will sell for about \$2,500, at its shareholders' meeting in January.

With IBM on a roll, some computer dealers worry about its growing market dominance. Companies like Apple and Compaq may be helped in the future by the eagerness of computer-store owners to have something to sell besides IBM products. Says Seymour Merrin, a Westport, Conn., dealer: "We cannot allow our futures to be totally controlled by an outside force like IBM. If you do, you become a slave, not a business." But if IBM continues to move forward at its present pace, dealers may have little choice. IBM controls 70% of the mainframe computer market, and the company is unlikely to settle for anything less in the personal-computer market.

—By John Greenwald.
Reported by Michael Moritz/San Francisco and Frederick Ungeheuer/New York

The Administration's Dr. Gloom

Martin Feldstein loses friends by warning about deficits

The setting last week was a session of the House Budget Committee, and the subject was deficits. Peering from behind his oversize tortoise-shell glasses, Martin Feldstein, the scholarly chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, patiently explained once again the harmful impact on the U.S. economy of a succession of \$200 billion deficits. Finally Michigan Democrat Howard Wolpe asked: "What on earth does the Treasury Secretary say to you when you lay out these arguments?" Feldstein laughingly replied: "I think you'll have to discuss the Treasury Secretary's views with the Treasury Secretary. You can't get two for the price of one today."

As the good-natured answer indicated, Feldstein, who favors raising taxes in

in the two speeches were minor and that the canceled address will be rewritten and given later. Further, he notes that his compliance with a well-publicized White House order that his speeches be reviewed before delivery is voluntary. Asked about reports of his imminent resignation, Feldstein combatively replied: "I know there are people who would be happy to see me back in Cambridge. I'm not going to give them the satisfaction. The President isn't well served unless he gets honest advice from his advisers."

Feldstein's leading antagonist within the Administration has been Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, cheerleader of the "deficits don't matter" school of economic thought. Regan strongly opposes increasing taxes in order to bring down

stein and Regan is the 1985 budget, which will be submitted to Congress in late January. Budget Director David Stockman has already begun presenting the overviews of his 1985 proposals to the President. In his Capitol Hill appearance last week, Feldstein warned that inaction on the \$200 billion deficits that are anticipated would "probably produce" a recession in 1986.

So far there is no sign of such a downturn. Last week the Government announced that the index of leading economic indicators advanced .9% in September, the 13th consecutive month of increase. To keep the economy growing, Regan wants to cut taxes even further. The Treasury Department is currently working up a proposal that would lower the capital gains tax by reducing from one year to six months the holding period needed to qualify for the reduced tax.

Since only Regan's message seems to be getting through to the White House, even Feldstein's friends think he is fighting a quixotic battle. Says Rimmer de Vries, chief international economist at Morgan Guaranty Trust: "Marty is lost in the political shuffle in Washington."

Feldstein's quandary is not an unfamiliar one. Thirteen men have held the job of chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers since Congress created the post in 1946, and many of them have had troubles combining academic objectivity with political reality. Feldstein's predecessor Murray Weidenbaum was earnest but ineffectual and served mostly as a mediator between White House factions. He resigned 15 months ago in frustration.

Nonetheless, Feldstein has some powerful allies within the Administration. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige and Trade Representative William Brock also favor raising taxes. Budget Director Stockman is getting ready to lobby hard within the Administration for tax increases as part of his plan to bring down the 1985 deficit. Stockman argues that the Administration is unlikely to get many more new cuts in social programs and should accept some tax increases. One idea is to reintroduce the "contingency tax," which the President put into the 1984 budget but never formally proposed. This would trigger an increase in taxes if the deficit for fiscal 1986 exceeded 2.5% of gross national product. The deficit is now about 6.1% of G.N.P. Another plan is to propose a consumption tax, such as the value-added tax, in place of the contingency tax.

Despite the White House's unhappiness about the dire predictions of "Dr. Gloom," Feldstein shows no sign of changing his views. Said he last week: "The real problem is not this year, but the long-term future, as financial and business leaders see a string of unending deficits out into the future." That is a message the White House does not want to hear, and for now, at least, it is just not listening.

—By Alexander L. Taylor III.
Reported by David Beckwith/Washington



The President's top economist testifying last week before a House committee

order to reduce the deficit, is tiptoeing through the minefields of economic policy. He has become the target of whispers and leaks from Administration loyalists trying to undermine his already shaky standing with the White House. Presidential aides recently forced him to decline an invitation to appear on *Meet the Press* on the ground that it would highlight internal policy differences. A staff member on his own council leaked a story that Feldstein had been forced to alter two speeches and "throw away" a third one because of White House censorship. Top Administration officials have been hinting that Feldstein, who plans to return to his teaching post at Harvard next September, should quit sooner.

Feldstein insists that there is little truth to all the stories. In an interview with *TIME* last week, he said that changes

the deficit. While that view has few adherents in the business or academic world, it has many advocates in the White House. The notion of a tax increase before next year's election is anathema to Reagan's political advisers.

In addition to pushing unpopular programs, Feldstein has undermined his credibility with a series of inaccurate economic forecasts. Last January he projected that business would grow only 3.1% this year. That low forecast earned him the nickname "Dr. Gloom." He has since revised that figure an embarrassing four times, and now predicts that the G.N.P. will increase 6% to 6.5% this year. Says one White House observer: "This record reinforces Reagan's tendency to disregard the doomsaying of economists generally and to follow his instincts instead."

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RAOUL FOMIZZA

The entrepreneur in his firm's Turin factory

Sizzling Seller

Maurizio Vitale's brash ways

"I decided to name my product after the biggest revolutionary in history," says Maurizio Vitale, 38, president of a booming Italian sportswear company called Maglificio Calzificio Torinese. The product, Jesus Jeans, has become a symbol of entrepreneurial audacity since it first appeared in the early 1970s. Its success, moreover, helped to transform Vitale's company from a staid maker of socks and underwear into one of the fastest-growing and most aggressive firms in Italy. Vitale's sales jumped from less than \$7 million in 1970 to \$65 million last year.

Vitale now is moving quickly into the U.S. market. The American track and field team will compete in the 1984 and 1988 Olympics in Kappa Sport-brand attire made by his company. Kappa was also a sponsor of this year's New York City Marathon. A Kappa warehouse in North Carolina distributes the firm's products throughout North America.

Even the Soviet Union is doing business with Vitale. Earlier this year the Soviets began turning out Jesus Jeans in Moscow under a licensing agreement. Vitale had won the contract, which calls for 10 million pairs of pants to be produced through 1985, in competition with two U.S.-based clothing giants, Levi Strauss and Wrangler. Moscow is paying Vitale about \$1 million for the license and technical aid.

Vitale's family-owned concern, headquartered in a two-story stucco factory in Turin, was founded in 1916 as a manufacturer of men's socks. His parents fled to Switzerland in 1943 to escape Fascist anti-Semitism, but returned to Turin after

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Economy & Business

World War II to rebuild their shattered plant. When Vitale left school to join the company full time in the late 1960s, he immediately set out to diversify it. "In this world," he says, "it's very important to understand things 15 minutes before somebody else."

Noticing the popularity of blue jeans in Europe and the U.S., as well as the growing number of youthful so-called Jesus freaks, Vitale combined the two enthusiasms into a single product, and thus created Jesus Jeans. To advertise the new pants, he used billboards displaying curvaceous, jean-clad female bodies and slogans like "Thou shalt have no other jeans before me," and "He who loves me, follows me." The attention-grabbing campaign quickly spurred sales, despite protests from church leaders that the ads were blasphemous.

In 1978, Vitale started his Kappa athletic-wear line of products and began sponsoring Juventus, Turin's internationally known professional soccer team. It was the first Italian soccer team to have a commercial sponsor. The Kappa name became so widely known through the Turin team that Vitale was soon able to sell licenses to produce the clothing outside Italy. The athletic events he sponsors now include marathons in London, Paris and Athens, as well as in New York City. In addition, such track stars as Edwin Moses and Sydney Maree run in Kappa clothing and appear in the firm's advertising.

The company scored a major coup when it outbid West Germany's Adidas for the right to sponsor the U.S. track and field team from 1981 through 1988. Vitale is paying \$8.2 million to the team to outfit the American athletes in exchange for the right to proclaim Kappa a team sponsor. Kappa will furnish the team's competitive attire, while Levi Strauss, the U.S. Olympic team's overall clothing sponsor, will provide the track and field athletes with such items as presentation suits to be worn on the victory stand. The arrangement, says Vitale, has already paid dividends in the form of a spate of new licensing contracts. One of the largest so far, from Phenix of Japan, is worth a minimum of \$3.5 million to the Italian company.

Next year Vitale will add a women's leisure-wear collection designed by his Dutch-born wife Carolin. Also due in 1984 is a line of athletic shoes created by Giorgetto Giugiaro, an Italian industrial designer whose products range from cigarette lighters to cars. Meanwhile, like a runner intent on the distance left to cover, Vitale is looking ahead to increased business in the U.S. "For me, this is the year zero," he says. "Everything we've done before was nothing. Now we take off." ■



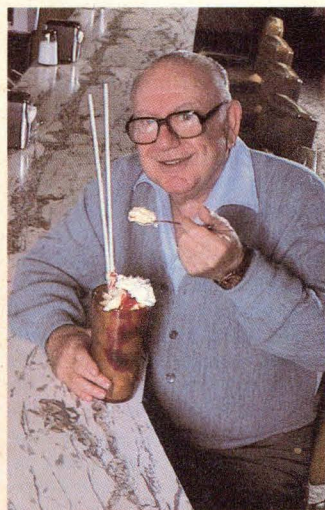
Peddling jeans

People



Swagger and snap: Nolte and Hepburn at work in *Quigley*

Charlie Chaplin and the Marx Brothers liked to get behind the counter and whip up their own milkshakes. Gloria Swanson often dropped by in a chauffeur-driven limousine, and celluloid myth has it that Lana Turner was discovered there (she was not). Last week, 51 years after it opened its doors and became a tinsel-town landmark, Schwab's drugstore dimmed its neon sign on Sunset Boulevard for the last time. Citing financial pressure and what he called a "family dispute," Leon Schwab, 72, the brother of Founder Jack, decided it was better to close than sell. For its many loyal patrons, news of the demise was a real Hollywood tearjerker. "Everybody's trying to figure out where they're going to gather," said Alice Co-Star Vic Tayback, a Schwab's regular for 15 years. Nursing a final sundae,



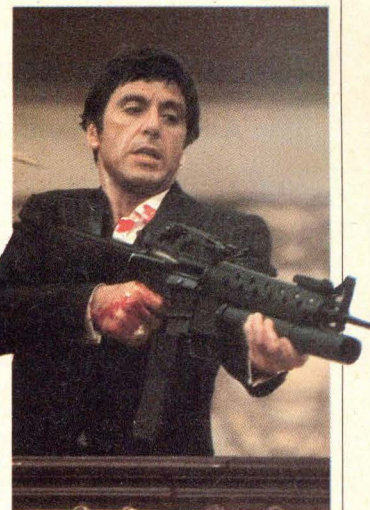
Schwab savoring old memories

Schwab was nostalgic: "You know who called the other day? Barbara Stanwyck. She said, 'I want to thank you for taking care of me for 35 years.'" He sighed, still star struck after all these years.

They have wanted to work together since the mid-1970s, but Nick Nolte, 42, and Katharine Hepburn, 73, did not get a chance until *The Ultimate Solution of Grace Quigley*, a black comedy now filming in New York City. Behind the cameras, Nolte discovered that the real Hepburn was every bit as feisty as her on-screen persona. The actor, who is also not un-

like his swaggering on-screen self, turned up half an hour late for filming one day. Snapped Hepburn: "I hear you've been drunk in every gutter in town." Nolte was not shriveled. "She is a legend," he says. "But once you get past that, she's just a kind of cranky old broad who's a lot of fun."

The dirty rats. It seems like everyone has been after Director Brian De Palma, 42, since he started filming his updated version of the 1932 gangster classic *Scarface*. Instead of Paul Muni playing the real Italian immigrant, Al Capone, Al Pacino stars as Tony Montana, a fictional Cuban immigrant who is part of the modern cocaine trade in Florida. First the Cuban community in Miami tried to stop the film, claiming that it portrayed Hispanics in an unfavorable light. Next, De Palma reportedly got death threats from real-life mobsters, who were disinclined to have nationwide publicity. Now the \$23.5 million film, due for release in December, is in trouble with the motion-picture industry's rating board. The eight board members have found *Scarface* so violent that they want to give it an X rating. To avoid that box-office poison, De Palma has already recut the movie four times, and now he claims that any addi-



Gun control: Pacino in *Scarface*

tional cuts will destroy his "artistic vision." Universal, meanwhile, refuses to release the film in an X-rated form. The R-biters and X-aminers who looked at the director's latest cut last week will soon announce a verdict.

Actor Robby Benson, 28, Skier Jean-Claude Killy, 40, and Boxer Floyd Patterson, 48, all finished in respectable times, but the leading man in the 14th New York City Marathon was Rod Dixon, 33, who came from Down Under and from way back. The New Zealander, a highly regarded middle-distance runner attempting only his second marathon, had to scramble through bramble bushes to get into position at the front of the 15,193-person pack at the start in Staten Island. As thousands of New Yorkers braved a steady rain to cheer the racers along the 26-mile 385-yd. course, Dixon gradually moved into the No. 2 position behind Britain's Geoff Smith, closing to a scant 18 sec. as they entered Central Park at the 23-mile mark. Taking the lead in the final 385 yds., the lanky victor finished at 2:08:59, 46 sec. off the 1981 record set by Alberto Salazar (who skipped this year's race). As Runner-Up Smith tumbled onto the pavement behind him, Dixon knelt and kissed the wet ground before rising to give a victory salute. "I did want it very much," said Dixon. "And somehow you just express how you feel. I had tears."

—By Guy D. Garcia

An exultant Dixon finishes as Smith collapses near by



Goodbye, Nathan Zuckerman

The Anatomy Lesson concludes Philip Roth's comic trilogy

"Does he know his sentence?" "No," said the officer, eager to go on with his exposition . . . "There would be no point in telling him. He'll learn it on his body."

—Franz Kafka, *In the Penal Colony*

Nearly 25 years after *Goodbye, Columbus* brought him early fame and 15 years since *Portnoy's Complaint* made him notorious and rich, Philip Roth continues to be misunderstood, or understood too quickly. There are causes for confusion: the contrast between the high-minded explainer of literary culture and the unbuttoned comedian who writes America's

tion, out of the pervasive boredom and the stifling despair, out of the painful marital situations and the endemic social falsity, into what they take to be a vibrant and desirable life." Kepesh, a randy academic, discovered his freakish freedom in *The Breast*, a tale about a man who turned into a mammary gland.

Roth has a genius for the comedy of entrapment. He is an uncompromising myth buster with a taste for bruising intimacy. Neil Klugman of *Goodbye, Columbus* and Alexander Portnoy were devoid of sentimentality and nostalgia for a lost paradise. Their Newark neighborhood

vigorous supporter of his son's work.

In Act III, *The Anatomy Lesson* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; 291 pages; \$14.95), Mr. Z. is battling disillusionment and the grand paradox of the writer's life: "Chicago had sprung him from Jewish New Jersey, then fiction took over and boomeranged him right back. He wasn't the first: they fled Newark, New Jersey, and Camden, Ohio, and Sauk Centre, Minnesota, and Asheville, North Carolina; they couldn't stand the ignorance, the feuds, the boredom, the righteousness, the bigotry, the repetitious narrow-minded types; they couldn't endure the smallness; and then they spent the rest of their lives thinking about nothing else. Of all the tens of thousands who flee, those setting the pace for the exodus are the exiles who fail to get away. Not getting away becomes their job—it's what they do all day."

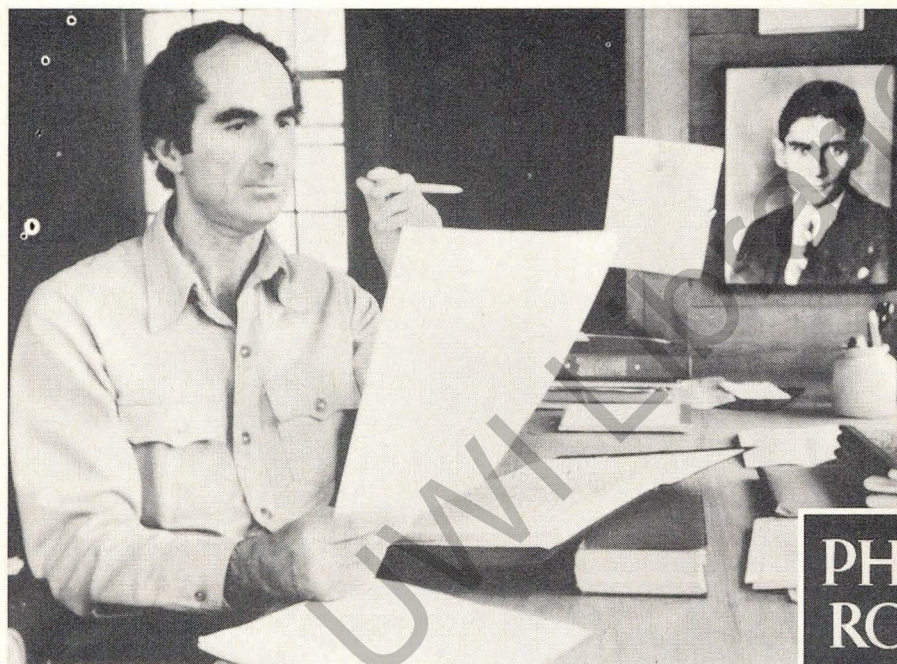
Nathan Zuckerman, now 40, spends many of his waking hours stretched on the floor with *Roget's Thesaurus* under his head. He suffers from chronic, undiagnosed pain in the neck, arms and shoulders. "When he is sick, every man wants his mother," begins Roth. "If she's not around, other women must do. Zuckerman was making do with four other women." In turn, they feed him, read his mail and distract him with sex as he lies nearly motionless on his playmat.

The veteran novelist is too conscious of his unconscious to believe that the agony is mere retribution for his novels. "No," Zuckerman reasons, "if the pain intended to accomplish something truly worthwhile, it would not be to strengthen his adamancy but to *undo* the stranglehold . . . Let the others write the books. Leave the fate of literature in their good hands."

Fed up with writing ("ten talons clawing at twenty-six letters"), he heads for the University of Chicago with plans to enroll in medical school. The decision restores his creative urges in an unfortunate way. He buttonholes strangers with wildly obscene monologues describing himself as Milton Appel, a no-holds-barred pornographer. Appel is the name of Zuckerman's

nemesis, a leading literary critic who once branded *Carnovsky* and its author vulgar and demeaning.

Zuckerman is propelled through Chicago by pain, anger, remorse, Percodan, alcohol and a woman driver in wicked black boots. He is undone by a visit to a Jewish cemetery. Burdened by guilt, he attacks an aged mourner and cries: "We are the dead. These bones in boxes are the Jewish living! These are the people running the show!" The last things he sees before regaining consciousness in the hospital are his driver's boots. His jaw is broken and must be wired shut.



Philip Roth at work in his Connecticut studio as Franz Kafka looks on

Comedies of the unconscious vs. the pieties that protect hidden feelings.

most raucously funny novels; the zigzagging from realism to fantasy, political satire to slapstick; and the dual image of the Connecticut country gentleman and the writing drudge whose spiritual home is Kafka's Prague.

There is also the matter of Nathan Zuckerman, Roth's fictional alter id and hero of a comic trilogy that has forever flattened the myth of the glamorous writing life. Zuckerman, of course, is not Roth but rather the fullest and most personal expression of a theme that has come to dominate his work: the mayhem unleashed by those who would escape their pasts. This may be what David Kepesh in Roth's *The Professor of Desire* had in mind when he spoke stiltedly of "the destructive power—of those who see a way out of the shell of restrictions and conven-

had its charms, but it was basically a staging area for an assault on the sophisticated culture of New York, perhaps even London and Paris. The golden ghettos of suburbia struck them as Newarks with wall-to-wall carpeting.

Ambitious boy kicks burg is a familiar story, and central to the Zuckerman books. *The Ghost Writer* (1979) introduced a young Nathan, like Roth a Newark-born writer who was hailed as the most promising voice in American letters. *Zuckerman Unbound* (1981) found the hero in his 30s, beleaguered by celebrity and controversy. *Carnovsky*, a Portnoy-like novel, had angered the community and his own family. His father's dying word to his son was "Bastard." Roth's father, a retired insurance executive, is a

PHILIP
ROTH
THE
ANATOMY
LESSON

Zuckerman's comeuppance leaves little to the imagination, though Roth teases the reader with two possibilities: his most personal character has either been kicked or fallen on a gravestone. In any case, he is silent because he has nothing more to say; or to put it another way, Roth has exhausted the possibilities of his character.

The trilogy is Roth's most complex and structurally satisfying work. It is a disciplined string ensemble compared with *Portnoy's Complaint*, which had the primal power of a high school band. Yet Zuckerman and Portnoy have close ties. Both star in comedies of the unconscious, burlesques of psychoanalytic processes whose irreverence and shocking explicitness challenge the pieties that protect hidden feelings. "I'll tell you your calling," screams Zuckerman at Critic Appel, "President of the Rabbinical Society for the Suppression of Laughter in the Interest of Loftier Values! Minister of the Official Style for Jewish Books Other than the Manual for Circumcision."

Roth has expressed similar sentiments, more suitably phrased for literary debate, in *Reading Myself and Others* (1975). In this collection of essays and interviews he answered his critics, among them Irving Howe. In the pages of *Commentary*, the monthly magazine of the American Jewish Committee, Howe rendered the solemn judgment that *Portnoy's Complaint* degraded American Jews. Roth saw the roots of such attacks in history. Wrote the embattled author: "He [the Jew] is not expected to make a spectacle of himself, either by shooting off his mouth or shooting off his semen, and certainly not by shooting off his mouth about shooting off his semen."

One of the ironies of Roth's career is that his style is so immediate, his sense of phrasing so vital, that readers cannot be blamed for blurring the distinction between the writer and his creation. Even Claire Bloom, with whom Roth shares a "paperless marriage," sometimes slips and says "you" when referring to Zuckerman. Bloom, 52, and the novelist, 50, have been together seven years. Roth's only marriage ended when his wife, Margaret Martinson, was killed in a 1968 car accident. The couple had been separated for five years; they had no children.

Both Roth and Bloom spend much of their time in the writer's 1790 colonial farmhouse on 40 orderly acres in northwest Connecticut. There are frequent stays in London, where Bloom continues to act on stage and before the camera. In January she will appear in Roth's adaptation of *The Ghost Writer* on Public Broadcasting.

"Life is being alone in a room," says Roth, who does most of his writing in a

Excerpt

“ Enough of my writing, enough of their scolding. Rebellion, obedience—discipline, explosion—injunction, resistance—accusation, denial—defiance, shame—no, the whole God damn thing has been a colossal mistake. This is not the position in life that I had hoped to fill. I want to be an obstetrician. Who quarrels with an obstetrician? Even the obstetrician who delivered Buggy Siegel goes to bed at night with a clear conscience. He catches what comes out and everybody loves him. When the baby appears they don't start shouting. 'You call that a baby? That's not a baby!' No, whatever he hands them, they take it home. They're grateful for his just having been there. Imagine those butter-covered babies, Diana, with their little Chinese eyes, imagine what seeing that does to the spirit, *that* every morning, as opposed to grinding out another two dubious pages. Conception? Gestation? Gruesome laborious labor? The mother's business. You just wash your hands and hold out the net. Twenty years up here in the literary spheres is enough—now for the fun of the flowing gutter. ”

two-room cottage several hundred yards from the main house. "At this stage of the game I know it. I know there is no way out. You choose your prison, and I've tried to put mine in paradise." The room is neat and sparsely furnished. A worn book about Newark is at hand for reference, and a haunted Franz Kafka gazes from a prominently displayed photograph to remind the writer of paradise's alternative.

Roth has never had an easy time behind his typewriter. He is a demanding craftsman who has chosen difficult material. "Intimacy and subjectivity are my subjects," he explains, though that is as far as he goes toward defining the boundary between himself and Nathan Zuckerman. Their Newark are the same; both lived in the Weequahic section, which Roth describes as once having been a Jewish village of hard-working plumbers, salesmen and shopkeepers.

Herman and Elizabeth Roth's youngest son skipped two grades, entering high school at twelve. His senior yearbook was

Roth and Claire Bloom: a paperless marriage



premonitory: "A boy of real intelligence, combined with wit and common sense." Roth recalls that at Bucknell University, in Lewisburg, Pa., he asked his English instructor if he should participate in activities that would help him get along with people. "Why would you want to do a thing like that?" replied the prof. Says the reluctant joiner: "It was wonderful . . . the first great line of my education."

Formal learning continued at the University of Chicago, where Roth earned a master's degree in literature. Quarterlies published his first stories. One of them, *The Contest for Aaron Gold*, was selected for the 1956 Martha Foley collection of Best American Short Stories. By this time, he was a 22-year-old PFC churning out press releases for the U.S. Army. In off-hours, he used his Government-issue typewriter to compose the tales that would eventually merge in *Goodbye, Columbus*.

This work won the 1960 National Book Award for fiction and launched a career that has seen its share of fluctuations. Readers and critics kept expecting the fresh voice of that first book, while Roth labored to expand his range. *Letting Go* was a solid conventional novel about graduate-school life; *When She Was Good* told a depressing story of how a Middle Western girl became a man hater. *Portnoy* brought his distinctive tone back with a vengeance. Its success freed him from money worries but encouraged what he calls "the unreckoned consequences of art." It was as if the smartest and nicest boy in the class had robbed a bank. Says Roth: "I understood what literary fame and recognition were. I didn't know what it was to create a scandal—a scandalous act for which I was then paradoxically rewarded."

The Zuckerman trilogy distorts those rewards with comic punishments. Roth's inspiration for the character came after several trips to Czechoslovakia. He was stirred by the contrast between the benign annoyances of literary celebrity in the U.S. and the repression of writers in Prague, Kafka's home town. "In America," he observes, "everything goes and nothing matters. While in Eastern Europe, nothing goes and everything matters." The calculated absurdity of the Zuckerman books is that everything goes and everything matters.

Roth once wrote that deadly seriousness and playfulness were his friends, but he left out frustration. Of the six years it took to finally shut Zuckerman's mouth, he says, "Ten out of every twelve months spent writing are spent being wrong." This is a hard fact of literary life. It might well be the origin of Dr. Spielvogel's concluding line in *Portnoy*: "Now vee may perhaps to begin."

—By R.Z. Sheppard.
Reported by Joelle Attinger/Boston

The Case of the Purloined Tapes

Concerning the free press, fair trial and a porn king

The videotape was devastating. There is John Z. De Lorean, the sleek, charming onetime Wunderkind of General Motors, meeting with several purported cocaine traffickers in a tacky Los Angeles hotel room. De Lorean appears thrilled as one of the "dealers" drags a suitcase containing 55 lbs. of cocaine into the room and opens it on a table. "It's better than gold," exclaims De Lorean after fingering the packets of snow-white powder. "Gold weighs more than that, for God's sake." Later he raises a champagne glass in a toast: "This is to a lot of success for everyone." Moments afterward, he is standing with his hands behind his back,

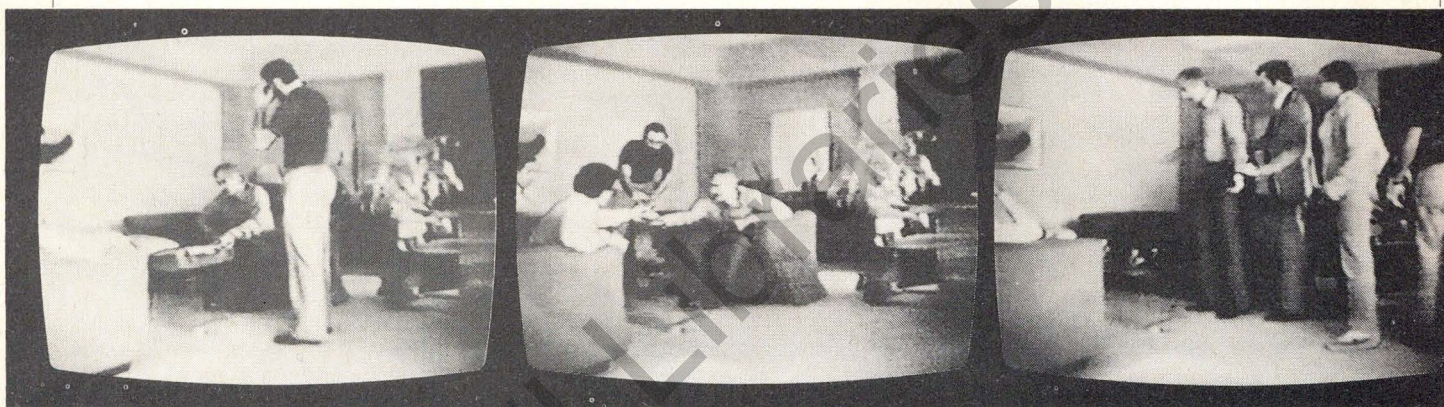
"There was nothing in those tapes that the Government hadn't described in detail" a year ago, at the time of De Lorean's arrest. So what was the news? All CBS had done, Hewitt explained, was to put "the real picture alongside the Government's word picture and show that they matched." In short, CBS believes that it performed the service of showing that the prosecutors were not lying.

De Lorean's chief defense attorney, Howard Weitzman, was naturally upset at the premature presentation of evidence that would have been hard enough to deal with during the trial. The lawyer had tried to prevent the broadcast after he learned

CBS's purpose was "titillation and sensationalism," an example of how the "scoop syndrome sometimes becomes a disease." Concludes Hentoff: "They have every right to do it, but they ought to be ashamed of themselves."

Can a fair-minded jury now be impaneled? Though De Lorean's lawyers will argue otherwise, courts have regularly ruled that even the most notorious defendants can be given fair trials if care is taken in selecting members of a jury. "Jurors base their decisions on the facts presented in court. They forget what they have read or heard," says Jack Landau, executive director of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press.

Meanwhile, the source of the brouhaha, Larry Flynt, is about to come under some official scrutiny. The U.S. Attorney in Los Angeles has launched an investigation to find out how Flynt got his hands on



De Lorean (seated in first picture) examines suitcase full of cocaine, offers a toast to everyone's "success," and is placed under arrest

dazed, while FBI agents handcuff him.

With that minute and 48 seconds of videotape, CBS-TV last week gave the nation a riveting summary of the core of the Government's case against the fallen business hero, charged with conspiring to distribute \$24 million worth of cocaine to save his faltering De Lorean Motor Co. The broadcast came only nine days before jury selection was to start in the trial in Los Angeles. While CBS officials were pleased by their scoop, prosecutors and defense lawyers, plus many of the network's peers in journalism, denounced CBS for unnecessarily jeopardizing John De Lorean's right to a fair trial.

The network had obtained the tapes from Larry Flynt, the millionaire publisher of lurid *Hustler* magazine. Flynt made copies available both to *60 Minutes* Executive Producer Don Hewitt and to a reporter for KNXT-TV, the CBS station in Los Angeles. The news executives concluded that there would be little impact on De Lorean's ability to get a fair trial and that the tapes' newsworthiness more than outweighed the risk. The CBS arguments about lack of impact and newsworthiness seemed to carom into each other. "This story is an old story," insisted Hewitt.

from CBS that it had the tapes. Weitzman raced into the courtroom of U.S. District Judge Robert Takasugi, who will preside over the trial, and demanded a temporary restraining order. Judge Takasugi quickly complied. But an appeals court just as quickly struck down his order. After CBS aired the tapes, Takasugi denounced the network for "interference" in the judicial process, lamenting that the TV reporters had not taken "moral pause" before rushing onto the air waves. He then postponed the trial.

Constitutional experts agree that CBS had a legal right to broadcast the tapes, but there was debate on whether it was ethical and responsible to do so. On balance, it was, says Columbia University Law Professor Benno Schmidt. "The case is, obviously, highly newsworthy, and it deals with a matter of proper general public concern, namely a criminal offense of some importance for the public to know about and to be able to evaluate."

But many attributed the decision to run the tapes to baser motives, and wondered what purpose had been served by not waiting for the trial. Nat Hentoff, a New York City journalist and longtime First Amendment defender, charges that

what was presumably closely guarded Government evidence. The mercurial publisher, basking in the media lights, claims that the tapes came from a Government agent. Flynt says he paid \$25 million for them. Flynt, who is running for President on a platform that alleges various Government conspiracies, says his purpose here was to prove that De Lorean had been framed. Since he hardly seemed to have done that, Flynt late last week conjured up yet another showy stunt. He summoned reporters and played what he said was an audio recording of a Government informant threatening the automaker and his daughter if De Lorean refused to participate in the drug scheme. De Lorean has claimed such a conversation did occur, but before the new tape could be checked by experts, it somehow disappeared at the press conference. Reporters had made tapes of the tape, but poor reproduction quality will make verification difficult.

The upshot of the sorry spectacle was doubt, delay and the sense that the public interest had not been so much served as manipulated to cause chaos in the case.

—By Michael S. Serrill.
Reported by Russell Leavitt/Los Angeles

Toppling a Jewish Tradition

A Conservative seminary votes to ordain women rabbis

When Susannah Heschel was growing up as a rabbi's daughter in New York City, she once attended a Simhat Torah celebration, during which men traditionally dance for joy while holding scrolls of Scripture. She wanted to join the dance, which is forbidden to women, and under the disapproving eyes of many in the crowd, joined her father in the festivities. When asked who had given her permission, Susannah snapped, "God."

Her father was the legendary philosopher Abraham Joshua Heschel, who for 27 years was a professor at New York City's Jewish Theological Seminary of America; J.T.S. is the only institution in North America that trains and ordains rabbis for the Conservative branch of Judaism. Shortly before he died in 1972, Heschel urged his daughter to apply to the seminary as a candidate for ordination as a rabbi. "I think things might change," he said. Though women had long studied and taught at J.T.S., none had ever tried to become a rabbi. Susannah's request was denied.

Last week Susannah Heschel was back on campus as the seminary's faculty voted 34 to eight to admit women for rabbinical training, despite strong opposition from some of the institution's leading scholars. The first women candidates will be admitted next September, and those who complete the four- or five-year course will be ordained. Susannah, a doctoral student at the University of Pennsylvania, has not decided whether to join them.

There was exultation among activist Jewish women that the change had finally come. "This is one of those days when you have a sense of participating in Jewish history, not just teaching it," said Paula Hyman, dean of the seminary's undergraduate division. Judith Hauptman, a professor of Talmud at the seminary who has long taught rabbinical students, declared that "now I'm going to have the option of becoming one myself."

The Conservatives, however, still lag behind Judaism's Reform wing, which began ordaining women in 1972, and the tiny, liberal Reconstructionist movement, which first accepted women rabbis in 1974. Today there are 73 female rabbis in the U.S. and Canada, and a number of them, in fact, are serving in Conservative synagogues. Although the 1,200-member Rabbinical Assembly, the organization of Conservative rabbis, has favored the ordination of women for years, it left the final decision to J.T.S., the intellectual center of the 100-year-old Conservative movement. In 1979 the seminary's faculty put off making a decision indefinitely, even though there were ample votes to make the change. Reason:

fear that bringing women into the rabbinate would divide not only the school but also Conservative Judaism as a whole.

The problem is that traditionalists in the Conservative branch believe, along with Orthodox Jews, that *Halakhah* (religious law) clearly rules out women rabbis. According to the Talmud (teachings of religious sages compiled more than 14 centuries ago), women may not perform certain functions reserved to men, such as witnessing betrothals and marriages and

leading congregations in prayers. J.T.S. Chancellor Gerson D. Cohen, who presided over the vote, left little doubt that he rejects the Orthodox view and believes that women should be allowed to perform these functions. Said Cohen: "I believe it is incumbent upon us to do away with discrimination against women in Judaism, especially when it is not mandated by *Halakhah*."

Four leading faculty members refused to attend last week's meeting, and Israel Francus, former chairman of the seminary's department of Talmud and Rabbinics, said angrily, "We have committed suicide by handing over the whole Conservative movement to the Reform wing." But to many Jewish women the risk of schism is the price of revolution. Declared Susannah Heschel, now 28 and editor of a recent anthology, *On Being a Jewish Feminist*: "It is so important and noble to be a rabbi." ■



Heschel awaiting historic vote

Milestones

SENTENCED. Truman Capote, 59, author (*In Cold Blood*) and sardonic, falsetto voice of the glitterati; to three years' probation and a \$500 fine for drunk driving; in Southampton, N.Y. Capote had been driving on an expired out-of-state license, and the Long Island judge barred him from applying for a New York State driver's license for six months. The judge also directed the writer to continue alcoholic counseling. Said Capote: "I pleaded guilty to this thing to get it out of the way, even though I know I wasn't drunk."

INJURED. Jerry Dunphy, 62, \$450,000-a-year anchorman of Los Angeles' most popular local news program (KABC-TV's *Eyewitness News*); when four gunmen pulled alongside his Rolls-Royce and opened fire on him and his companion, Studio Makeup Artist Sandra Marshall, 36; in Hollywood. Dunphy, who is recovering in the hospital, was struck by a

bullet in his neck and one in his left arm; Marshall was shot in her right arm. There was no apparent motive for the ambush.

DIED. Rodolfo Siviero, 72, Italy's national art sleuth whose life mission was recovering his nation's stolen treasures, particularly those pilfered by the Nazis; in Florence. An agent of the underground Italian resistance during World War II, Siviero traced at least 2,000 works of art throughout the world in his lifetime, and saw that they were safely returned home. Next year the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence will open a special museum with 200 pieces of Italian art, mostly paintings, that the relentless Siviero recovered after they vanished from the looted private collections of Adolf Hitler and Hermann Göring.

DIED. Joseph T. McGucken, 81, Archbishop of San Francisco (1962-77), noted

ecumenist and human rights advocate, known principally as a builder who supervised the creation of new missions, schools and hospitals and raised millions for the reconstruction of his home base, the fire-consumed St. Mary's Cathedral; in San Francisco.

DIED. Frank W. Epperson, 89, concocter of the Popsicle; in Fremont, Calif. On a cold San Francisco night in 1905, eleven-year-old Frank left a glass of lemonade on his back porch and awoke the next morning to find the drink frozen solid around a spoon that was in it. Nineteen years later, Epperson patented his "handled, frozen confection or ice lollipop." Dubbed the "Epsicle," it was quickly a success, but Epperson sold his patent in 1929 to a small company that changed the name to Popsicle. "I was flat and had to liquidate all my assets," he said years later. "I haven't been the same since."



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Cruise and Thompson make their move

Winning Ugly

ALL THE RIGHT MOVES

Directed by Michael Chapman

Screenplay by Michael Kane

Everybody's somebody's baby, especially when Hollywood goes on a field trip for new stars. Nothing succeeds like last year's success, and this year the talent scouts came back with Tom Cruise, who looks like a baby-faced Christopher Reeve. Here he is, Superman in miniature (Reeve is 6 ft. 4 in., Cruise 5 ft. 9 in.): the hooded eyes, the sculpted body, the off-beat comic timing, the self-deprecating manner, the winning smile. Cruise played a psychotic cadet in *Taps*, a winsome greaser in *The Outsiders*, but it was in Paul Brickman's sleek and sexy summer comedy *Risky Business* that Cruise first turned on the wattage. Star power has translated into box-office dollars: in its first eleven weeks *Risky Business* earned \$56 million, tying Cruise with Michael Keaton (of the equally successful *Mr. Mom*) as a surprise package of 1983.

Now Cruise travels from the Chicago North Shore glitz of *Risky Business* to the dying towns of the Appalachian Coal Belt to play a working-class jock in *All the Right Moves*. Life here is picturesquely grim. Shanties that look as if they were about to implode perch uneasily on streets set at a San Francisco diagonal. The JUST MARRIED legend on the car of a young bride and groom is scrawled in Polish; the not-so-happy couple plans to honeymoon in Pittsburgh. The guys at the Ampipe steel mill who have not been laid off probably wish they could be, and the high school football team manages to blow its big game against an upscale rival. The only escape route for Stefan Djordjevic (Cruise) is a college sports scholarship, and his prospects look grim: the coach (Craig T. Nelson) thinks Stef has a "bad attitude." He needs the love of his good woman Lisa (Lea Thompson) to keep him

from falling into the slough of his family's steelworker tradition.

The background of *All the Right Moves* may be gunmetal gray, but the characters and situations are as colorful as your favorite coming-of-age clichés. These teen-agers are good-looking kids with big dreams and a bright line of patter. The coach carries on like a sensitive drill sergeant, psyching his team into a football frenzy by using curses, inspirational locker-room speeches and the odd face-mask violation. Michael Chapman, who graduated to the director's chair with this film after making his name as the cinematographer of *Taxi Driver*, *Raging Bull* and *Personal Best*, brings a virginal intensity to each hoary plot device. He hardly gives his audience time to realize that the football team is only an updated platoon from a 1940s war movie (the Irishman with his well-fingered rosary, the Italian with his lurch for the ladies, the slow Poles and happy blacks), or that the big football game follows a scenario that is both predictable and improbable (with only a few seconds left to play, the coach calls for a hand-off in his own end zone in monsoon mud), or that the heroine is called upon to utter lines that Gale Page would have found too naive to speak in *Knute Rockne—All American*.

It is precisely this clear-eyed disingenuousness that may make *All the Right Moves* a hit on date nights this fall. Today's teen-agers may talk hip and move fast, but when it comes to movies, they still like their coal dust leavened with fairy dust. Stefan's dream comes true; the coach turns out to be a mensch; Lisa stands by her man. With Tom Cruise luring the girls into the theater, and high school machismo hooking the boys, this naive little movie hopes to prove itself the *Flashdance* of football.

—By Richard Corliss

Losing Big

UNDER FIRE

Directed by Roger Spottiswoode

Screenplay by Ron Shelton
and Clayton Frohman

A freelance photographer is covering a revolutionary war in the Third World. Among his many expectations of discomfort, danger and the constant threat of death, he dares harbor only one decent hope: that in some unlikely 250th or 500th of a second his shutter will open and shut and almost by accident freeze an image that will make some human sense out of the anguish to which he is the world's paid witness.

A post-Hemingway adventurer like Russel Price (Nick Nolte) does not, of course, permit himself to articulate such aspiring thoughts. With his thick voice, his beefy former jock's build and his wary-passive manner, Nolte plays Price (very



BRUCE MCBROOM

Cassidy and Nolte stoke their fire

authentically) as a man who is all reflexes of the single-lens variety. The big picture in Nicaragua, as the Somoza regime yields to the Sandinistas in 1979, means little to Price, who is portrayed as being on assignment for *TIME*; he is more concerned with the succession of little money-makers he must try to capture as they flee past his view finder. It is the business of the film to arrange a not entirely persuasive series of events that shatter Price's illusions about the power of objectivity to defend itself when political passion is afire. The rebels want him to fake a picture that will aid their cause; the government points him toward their secret base, hoping some of his other pictures will help it identify the state's enemies.

To its credit, *Under Fire* does advance sensible arguments for letting history, not the correspondents on the scene, judge the ultimate meaning and morality of political events. But ironically it is the senseless death of the newsman who expresses these sentiments (Gene Hackman in a well-judged performance, not too cynical, not too idealistic) that turns Price into a Sandinista sympathizer. He takes with him into the rebel camp the newswoman both men love. And since Joanna Cassidy brings such attractive intelligence to her role, one's first impulse is to accept without protest the film's ambiguous climax.

But *Under Fire* is as duplicitous as it is busy. It has been sneaking in this direction from the beginning, showing all government figures as almost comically dumb and decadent, all rebels as rather decent sorts. One wishes it would state its sympathies openly, and perhaps allow Price to assert his craftsman's integrity and his disgust with everybody who wants to turn his camera into a deadly weapon. But that assertion requires an ability to make fine judgments and take a long view that no one, except the actors, has brought to the enterprise. Without a sufficient measure of authority, *Under Fire* ends up as a movie too pleased with its own intellectual bravado.

—By Richard Schickel

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Music

Kid Zipper's High Horn

Wynton Marsalis swings easily from Monk to Mozart

Miles Davis may have heard it coming, or surely sensed it. Down in New Orleans in the mid-'60s, he was saying hello to a widely regarded jazz pianist, Ellis Marsalis, who was playing behind Al Hirt. Marsalis had a little boy of six named Wynton at home, and Wynton had an older brother named Branford, who was playing both clarinet and piano by the time he reached second grade. Feeling a few faint nudges of paternal concern that Wynton not fall behind in the musical Futurity Stakes, Ellis hit Hirt for an advance to finance the purchase of

Now, one year later, Marsalis has issued a new jazz album, *Think of One* (title track courtesy Thelonious Monk), and, concurrently, a piece of classical virtuosity, three trumpet concertos (Haydn, Leopold Mozart and Hummel). And Marsalis just seems to be warming up. Remarkable the classical trumpet virtuoso Maurice Andre: "He is potentially the greatest trumpeter of all time."

There may never have been a soloist who passed so freely over the closely guarded borders between jazz and classical. Marsalis, who has just turned 22,



Wynton Marsalis leaning into his favorite kind of spiritual elevation

After a little unheeded advice from Miles Davis, becoming "potentially the greatest."

a trumpet. "Don't get that boy no trumpet," Davis interrupted. "It's too hard. Let him play something else."

Advice heard, advice unheeded. No advance was forthcoming, but Hirt passed along a horn to Wynton, who made his first public appearance the following year, blowing the *Marine Hymn* during a recital at the Xavier Junior School of Music. Over the next decade, following a few years of preadolescent musical indifference, teen-age funkifying, intense jazz practicing and a little professional seasoning with Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers, Wynton Marsalis found himself with a major-label record contract. His debut album has sold about 125,000 copies—a surprisingly strong showing for a jazz record—and pulled down a brace of awards while earning Marsalis a reputation as the hottest young horn in town. Are those footsteps you hear behind you, Miles?

makes the usual declaration at customs ("I'm just a musician, I just play music"), but though his predisposition may be toward jazz, his training is markedly classical. "Not very much is similar between jazz and classical," he says, "but both are about the elevation of the audience. Both have spirituality. You learn the jazz vocabulary by listening to records and watching other musicians. Dizzy Gillespie, Sonny Rollins, Art Blakey. Jazz is the first Western music in which the audience participates in the creative process. With classical, you have to really learn the music, learn the instrument. You have to be as faithful to it as possible." On Dec. 4, Marsalis will test his fidelity in concert at New York City's Lincoln Center, appearing with Flautist Hubert Laws and Soprano Kathleen Battle on a program that will highlight both Bach and Ellington. Next year Marsalis promises he will be doing

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"a number of classical performances." This apparently effortless shuffle between styles was characteristic even of the young Marsalis, who started to study seriously at age twelve. So was a kind of competitive fearlessness that flirted with brashness. According to Branford Marsalis, who now blows a wizard saxophone in his brother's quintet, it was a fellow high school student who really got Wynton fired up. Wynton just said, "Man, I'm gonna practice until I zip this kid." At 14, Wynton performed the Haydn *Trumpet Concerto* with the New Orleans Philharmonic ("I believed you should play every gig that you could play"). At about that time, he and Branford were part of an eight-member high school funk group called the Creators, who pulled down 30¢ per person per gig. Wynton says, "We were real sad, but we had a lot of fun. The '70s was an age of fusion and funk and stuff. I would try to play any kind."

Marsalis scored a full scholarship at Juilliard, but he had not been there for a complete term when he sat in with Drummer Blakey at a Manhattan nightclub. The interlude resulted in a prompt invitation to spend his summer vacation as a sideman with the Jazz Messengers. After another summer spell in 1981 with Herbie Hancock and a few months more with Blakey, he formed his own group and cut his debut album, Hancock-produced and rigorously jazzy. No fusion allowed, and check your funk at the door. "I don't like it when pop is sold as jazz," Marsalis says. "That's the record companies trying to redefine jazz. I can't go for that. I'm just sorry that saying it makes me sound arrogant. If I were 41, it would be cool."

It's cool enough just as it is. The fact that the debut album sold so well, and that this new follow-up is also flourishing, may be a tribute to Marsalis' single-mindedness. Although he remarks wistfully, "It'd be nice to just chill out all the time and hunt and fish," most of his free time, aside from an occasional foray onto the touch-football field, is spent practicing, reading or listening to music. But the healthy sales may be taken as a sign that there is indeed a sizable audience for hardheaded jazz. Marsalis is already masterly and just conservative enough to be reassuring. The bebop foundations of the Marsalis style are so solid and strict that he still seems slightly more at ease playing something from the standard jazz rep, from reworked pop standard to a 1960s model, than with a free-for-all improvisation. "I listen to musicians when they were in their prime, and I know how good they felt because I can hear something in their playing," he says. "And I know it's not in mine yet. They're playing with a certain exuberance. To get to that point is the ultimate goal." He has lots of time yet to get there. Listening to him play, though, it is easy to forget just how much in the sheer rush of imaging what he will do once he gets there.

—By Jay Cocks.

Reported by Don Winbush/Chicago and Georgia Harbison/New York

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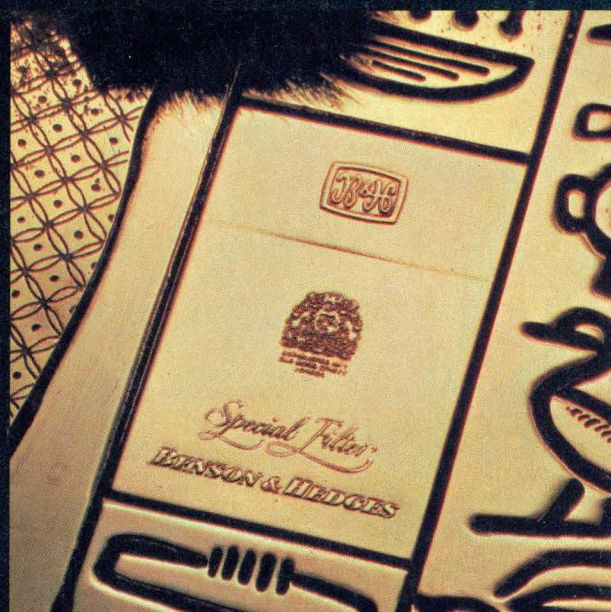




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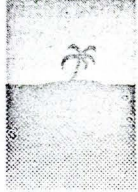
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Grenada's "rescue" accomplished, the task of rehabilitation begins



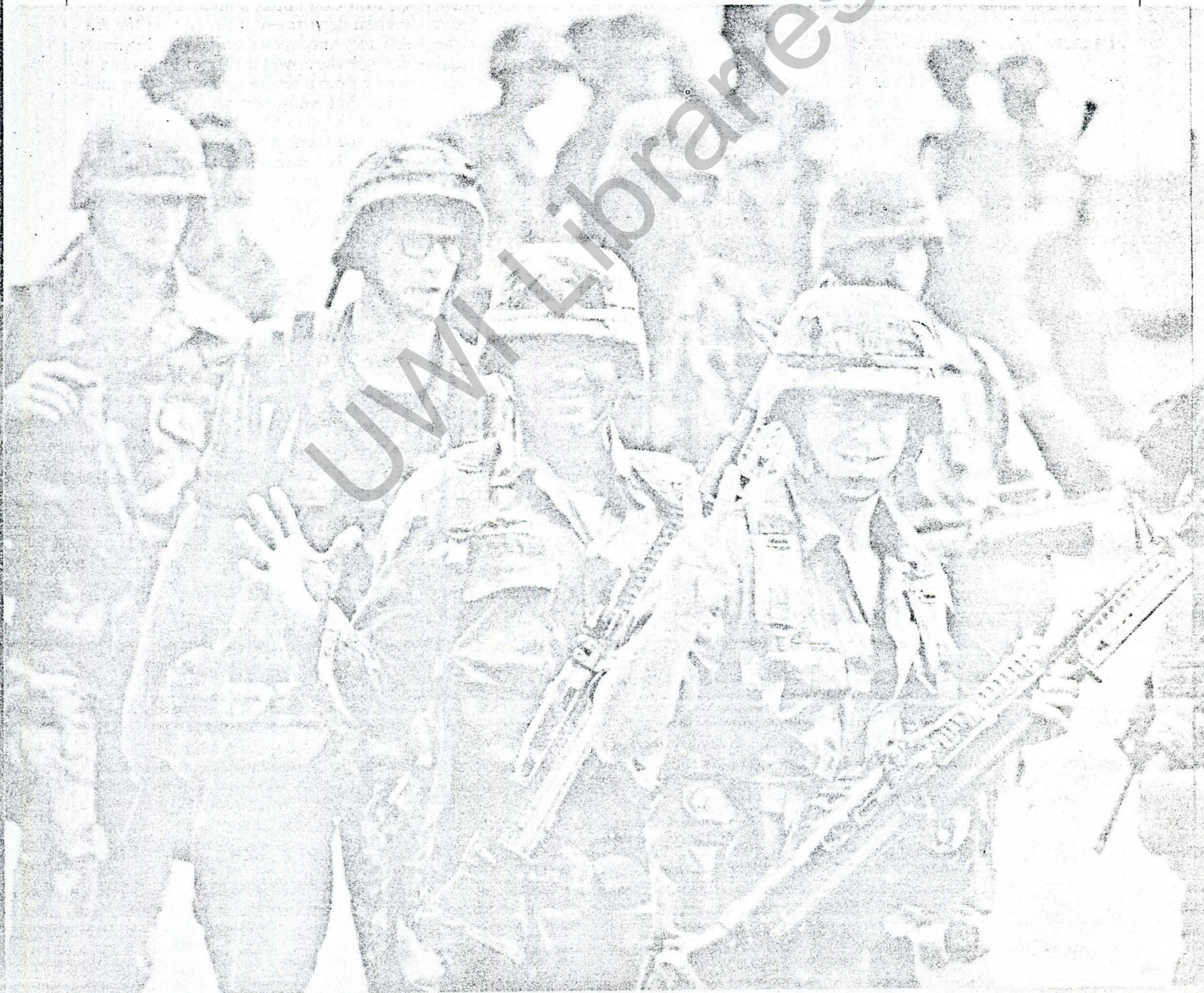
Sweat soaked the layers of their camouflage battle uniforms. Their rifles and backpacks grew heavy in the 100° F heat of the tropical isle. But it had been a long time since American soldiers had felt so good, or so welcome, in a foreign land. Declared a delighted U.S. paratrooper as he patrolled a post in a suddenly peaceful Grenada: "We're surrounded by friendlies."

Indeed they were. The Grenadians

had lived through the intrigue and excitement of a Marxist revolution and experienced one of the bloodiest days in the tiny island's history when their popular leader, Maurice Bishop, and more than 100 citizens were gunned down by renegade leftist radicals on Oct. 19. They had fearfully endured a round-the-clock curfew imposed by an undisciplined military regime that issued orders to kill any violators. They had huddled in their houses after the American invaders had jolted them awake in a furious predawn assault on

Oct. 25. Last week Grenadians let their spirits soar.

"The chains have been removed from our hands, the stitches from our lips," said Wilkie Edwards, a bus driver in the fishing town of Grenville on Grenada's east coast. The zesty beat of steel-band calypso music from radios and portable tape decks followed the U.S. military patrols as smiling Grenadians surged about the Americans. They offered the soldiers fruit and vegetables and serenaded them with guitars. Women rushed to embrace the young





U.S. paratroopers of 82nd Airborne Division in Grenada; girls returning to school, above, pass friendly police and pro-American graffiti

paratroopers. "I feel so settled; I feel so free," declared Linda Charles, a cashier in a reopened gas station in St. George's. With a grin, David Rodd, a cement-plant worker, proclaimed: "This is the week of our liberation." Newly painted writing appeared beside the faded slogans of the revolution on the walls of buildings. GOD BLESS AMERICA read some. A few residents suggested as delicious irony: the island's new 10,000-ft. airstrip, begun with Cuban labor and long the object of deep concern in Washington, be completed with U.S. dollars and be named "Ronald Reagan International Airport."

The euphoria on the picturesque island, roughly the acreage of Detroit, may fade as Grenada tries to rebuild its shattered political system and economy. It will not be easy to fashion a new government that islanders, badly split in political ideology, can trust, or to revive an economy hurt by falling crop and tourist income. In addition, the country still faces the task of repairing its rocky roads as well as its war-damaged power facilities and water systems.

For the moment, however, Grenadians were not worrying much about the difficult tasks ahead. With only an occasional sniper firing at U.S. soldiers from isolated sites, the Defense Department announced on Wednesday that "hostilities have ceased." Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger then ordered the withdrawal of U.S. forces to begin. By week's end the invasion force of 6,000 paratroopers, Army Rangers and Marines had dwindled to about 2,500 men of the 82nd Airborne Division from Fort Bragg, N.C., and up to 500 support personnel. The 400 soldiers contributed by Grenada's neighboring island nations (Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Jamaica, St. Lucia and St. Vincent) took up routine police duties, patrolling harbors and checkpoints. A task force of six Navy ships, headed by the aircraft carrier *Independence*, resumed its interrupted mission to relieve U.S. Marines in Lebanon, now carrying troops that had unexpectedly been tested in battle. Declared President Reagan: "Our objectives have been achieved."

For Reagan, the Grenada operation seemed to be turning into a political gain

How Necessary Was the Invasion?

Was the U.S. right to move into Grenada? Although polls showed support for the invasion, that was the most difficult question for Americans sifting through press reports and Government statements. A final verdict will depend on answers to crucial lesser questions:

► **Were the U.S. students in imminent danger?**

Not imminent danger, but 600 young Americans so close to an inherently unstable regime could eventually have been in jeopardy. At the least, they were an attractive hostage target.

► **Would evacuation have been better?**

Yes, if their safety was the primary concern.

► **Was Grenada in a state of anarchy?**

Yes. All signs indicate that the new leaders would have been unable to establish control and were unwilling to give up power. More arrests and violence were likely.

► **Were the Cuban construction workers also soldiers?**

Many were. U.S. officials admit they underestimated the capabilities of the Cubans before the invasion.

► **What were the stockpiled arms for?**

It is hard to say. There were too many solely for Grenadian self-defense, but whether that proves expansionist ambitions or mere paranoia is not clear. On the other hand, Cuba had a motive in trying to destabilize the region.

► **Was the new 10,000-ft. airstrip a legitimate source of concern for the U.S.?**

The Grenadians argue plausibly that they needed something better than the existing 5,300-ft. unlit grass strip to attract tourism, which provides 40% of their foreign exchange. Large commercial jets of the type that land at Barbados, Trinidad and many other islands require a runway of at least 8,000 ft. But it is also true that although the new strip was not built with the protective structures and support facilities usually found at military airports, it certainly could have been used by heavy military aircraft as a ferrying point for Cubans on their way to Africa and Soviets transporting weapons to Central America.

► **Was Grenada being turned into a Soviet-Cuban fortress?**

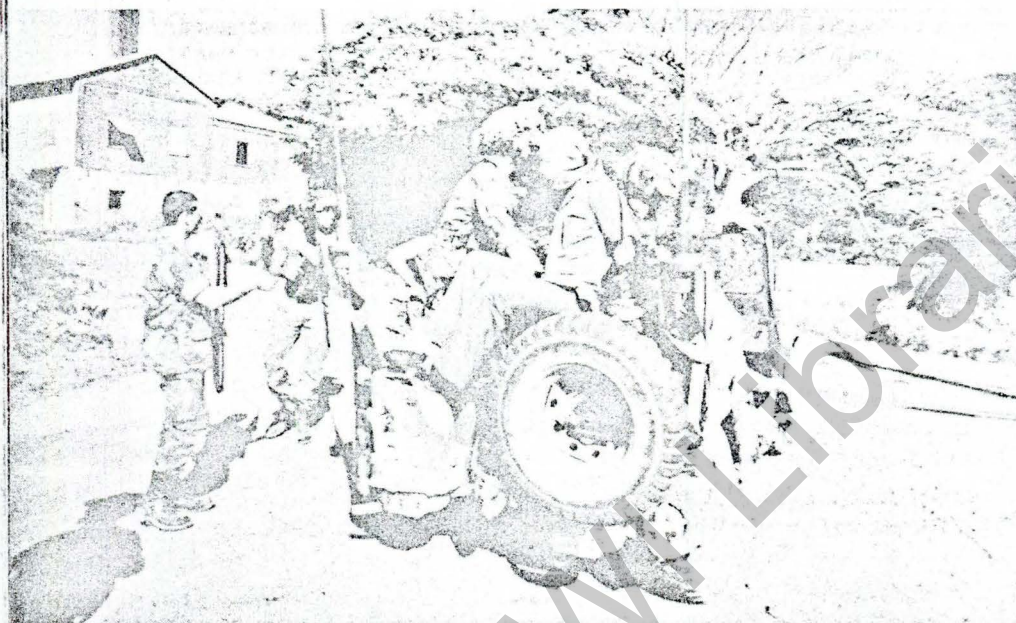
Of a sort, yes. The island's armory dwarfed that of its neighbors, posing a permanent threat to their tranquillity. The Cuban and Soviet compacts with Grenada seem to have been more elaborate than the U.S. had thought.

► **Was the U.S. invasion legal?**

If the consent of the majority of Grenadians and the evidence of Soviet-Cuban indirect aggression is of any lawful importance, yes. But in terms of the treaties cited by the State Department, the case is weak.



American troops guard suspected members of Grenada's Revolutionary Army



A hooded Cuban prisoner, above, on his way to join others in the Point Salines compound, below



at home, particularly if the pullout continues at a rapid pace. With the serendipitous discovery in Grenada of large Cuban arms stockpiles and documents disclosing secret military agreements between Grenada's former leaders and Cuba and the Soviet Union, the mission, which both Reagan and many Grenadians insisted be called "a rescue" rather than "an invasion," seemed easier to justify. Some of those documents were released by the State Department last week with considerable fanfare.

Fidel Castro's prestige and adventurism in the Caribbean and Central America had sustained a setback. The U.S.'s European allies, who had initially been highly critical of the American resort to military force, began softening their rhetoric as the success of the intervention seemed clearer. The U.N. General Assembly voted 108 to 9 to denounce the U.S. move, but Reagan airily dismissed its action with the quip: "It did not upset my breakfast any." (The White House press office promptly produced Reagan's breakfast menu: one poached egg, fruit, toast, coffee.)

Finally permitted by U.S. military authorities to roam freely on Grenada, newsmen found that even some of the island's ardent leftists were enthusiastic about the American intervention. Former Prime Minister Maurice Bishop had been their hero, and when he was placed under house arrest by extremists led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard and then executed by a Military Revolutionary Army Council headed by General Hudson Austin, the earlier revolutionaries lost their zeal. Said Lloyd Noel, a former Attorney General under Bishop who had been imprisoned after breaking with Bishop's party: "The Americans should feel free to establish a base here." He urged that the U.S. stay for at least two years of transition to a more stable government. Lyden Ramdhany, Bishop's former Minister of Tourism, conceded that "there is an end to the revolution in Grenada. We feel very embarrassed and upset. We have disappointed the left all over the Caribbean." Many Grenadians not active in politics took a similar view. "The revolution taught us what the masses can do, and what the masses are going to do today is destroy the revolution," said Norris Cox, another cement worker.

The Cubans clearly had lost favor on the island. When a noon crowd watching the police station in Grenville saw 82nd Airborne officers arrive with Godwin Horsford, a well-known Coard supporter, in their custody, the spectators booed Horsford and shouted, "Cuban! Cuban!" Ermyrn Campbell, who lived next door to the Cuban embassy in St. George's, recalled that "the Cubans were darling neighbors, very polite. But the U.S. is the best thing for us now. Things were coming so unstuck that I'm sure we were just snatched in time from the devil's own mouth."

Grenadians seemed eager to comply with the pleas of Sir Paul Scoon, the Gov-

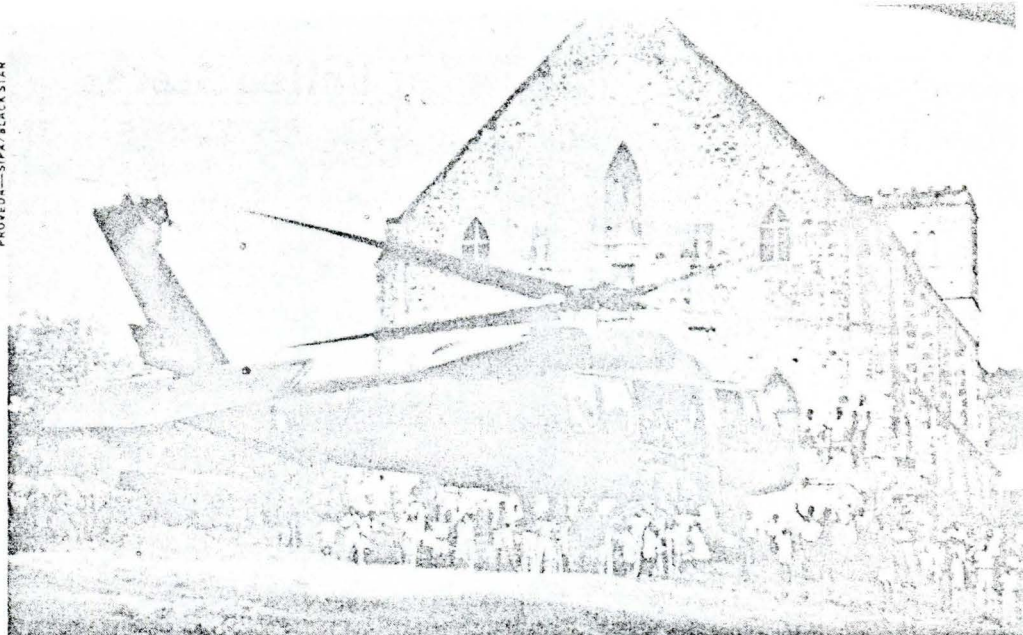
ernor-General, who represents Queen Elizabeth II. His ceremonial post, virtually ignored by the Bishop government, suddenly became a temporary center of power. The residents heeded his call to go back to their jobs, even though many found little to do there. In St. George's Harbor, where colorful fishing boats bobbed in the coral-studded water, customs inspectors appeared for duty in a nearly empty storeroom. Said Haddon Latouche, one of the inspectors: "In the past, we saw crates and shipments, but we couldn't inspect them. There was always a superior authority from the party present." Some \$475,000 worth of emergency food and basic supplies were on their way from the U.S. to replenish dwindling stocks. But even without them, Grenadians were in an optimistic mood. Said one shopkeeper: "We have plenty enough. The cows are in the pasture, and the fish are in the sea."

Reporters also learned for the first time the true dimensions of the massacre on what the residents call "Bloody Wednesday." This event proved pivotal; it turned Grenadians against the revolution and soured them on Cuba, since many believed that the Cubans, despite Castro's proclaimed fondness for Bishop, had been behind Bishop's arrest and death. His supporters had carefully organized a rally to free him on that fateful day. The crowd had swelled to about 25,000 people, nearly a fourth of the island's entire population. They had swept past the guards holding him prisoner at his house, snake-danced up a winding hill, carrying Bishop along, and rushed into the limestone-walled Fort Rupert, an army stronghold renamed after Bishop's father.

There, Bishop pleaded with the soldiers to put down their weapons, shouting, "For God's sake, don't point guns at your own people." Taking charge, he ordered that the fort's canteen be opened and cold drinks served to the hot, dust-choked people. Suddenly, a Soviet-built, eight-wheel, mud-colored armored personnel carrier pointed its turret at the throng. A recoilless machine gun, powerful enough to knock aircraft out of the sky, opened fire randomly into the crowd. Some fled over the walls. Many others died. The bodies piled up in the fort's yard. Bishop, who was out of the line of fire, and Education Minister Jacqueline Creft (the two had a four-year-old son, Vladimir) were seized, taken deeper into the fort and executed with single pistol shots to their heads. Two other Cabinet ministers and two union leaders were also murdered.

For days, Grenadian families did not know how many people had died. The bodies had been quickly carried away by General Austin's soldiers and burned, probably at Camp Calivigny, later the site of an invasion battle at the island's southern tip. But the families began totaling up their missing members, mostly young supporters of the revolution. Their first count reached more than 70. Last week, moving

PROVEDA—SIPA/BLACK STAR



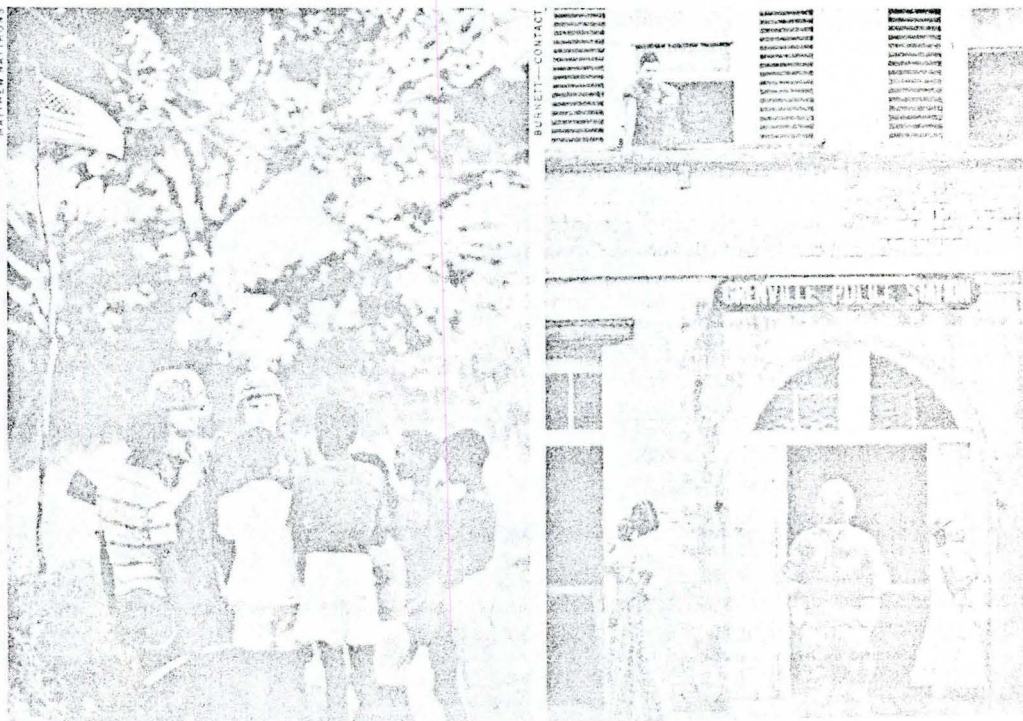
Grenadians watch a U.S. Black Hawk helicopter land near their church

BURNETT—CONTACT

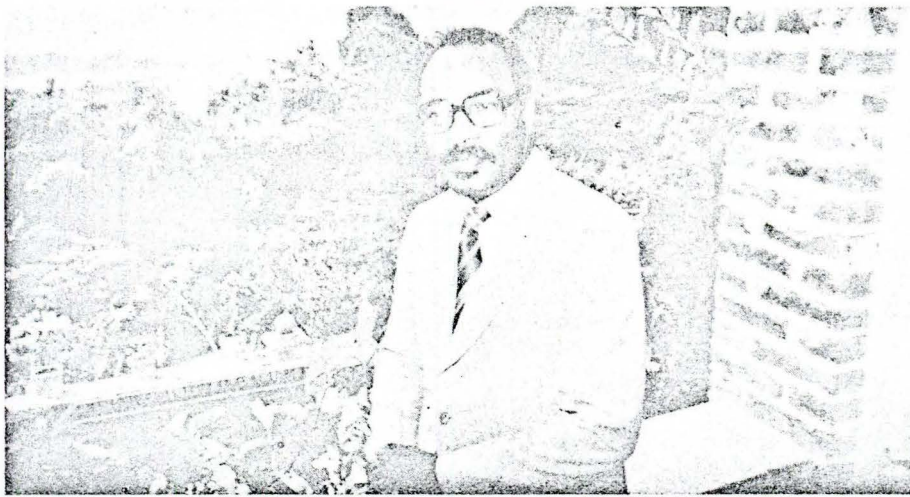


An abandoned Cuban vehicle; Americans with "friendlies"; U.S. soldiers at police station

MATTHEW NATHANS



United States



The one-man government: Grenada Governor-General Scoon at his house last week

more freely about the island to compare reports, most thought the death toll would reach about 140.

TIME also learned that the plotters against Bishop had first hatched a different scheme: they had intended to poison him and blame the murder on the CIA. A period of mourning would have been used hypocritically by the poisoners to stir fury against the U.S. But Bishop's delayed return from a trip to Cuba apparently disrupted the timing of the plot. Instead, he was held captive in a back room of his house, clothed only in his underwear.

At least two years earlier, a Western intelligence officer had tried to tell Washington that U.S. pressure against Grenada was only strengthening the hand of the leftist militants who were trying to push Bishop aside. The man arranged a rendezvous in Canada with CIA agents and warned that the U.S. had only three options: 1) leave Grenada alone, 2) support the island's businessmen as a rival source of power against the Communists, 3) continue to pressure and isolate Grenada. If Washington pursued the third course, he claims to have told the CIA, Grenada would turn increasingly toward Cuba, which would dominate the island, and the only way to save it would be "to send in the Marines in five years." The CIA reply, he said, was "You must be joking."

When the American forces did arrive and gain control of the island, Grenadians were eager to direct them to leaders in hiding who, many felt, had betrayed the revolution. Marines ringed the house in which Coard and his wife Phyllis had taken refuge. Only when a U.S. officer began a loud countdown, threatening to open fire on the building, did the two emerge and were taken into custody. Austin was holed up in a palatial coastal resort that once was a haven for the island's leading capitalists. He fell for a ruse by Grenadian intelligence agents who pretended to accept his offered bribe of \$2,000 to take him by boat to the neighboring island of Carriacou or \$3,500 to get him to Marxist-

dominated Guyana. Instead, they set him up for easy capture by Army paratroopers. The U.S. held the two for eventual return to the custody of a new Grenadian government, which, it is assumed, will bring them to trial for the murder of Bishop and for the Wednesday massacre.

Sir Paul Scoon, meanwhile, became in effect a one-man local government, backed by the authority of U.S. guns. He acted decisively in severing all diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and Libya, ordering them to close their embassies. He directed that the Cubans retain only one diplomat on the island. The three embassies were guarded by U.S. troops. Officially, this was for the protection of the diplomats. Privately, a State Department official in Washington admitted, "We don't want them rattling around the island."

With normal communications between Grenada and the rest of the world cut off during the invasion, and then ap-

parently kept that way by U.S. military authorities, the U.S. played a most unusual role: it served as the only communications channel between the isolated Soviet embassy and Moscow. Washington relayed a list, provided by the embassy, of Soviet citizens in the Grenada chancellery to Moscow, as well as the embassy's request for instructions on what to do next. The Kremlin orders, sent through Washington, were that everyone, including a number of East Germans, North Koreans and Bulgarians, should leave the island, as Scoon had demanded. The Soviets, who had paid \$40,000 each for two Mercedes embassy cars, reached the dealer on the island to see if he would buy the autos back. He did, for \$4,000 each.

When Soviet Ambassador Gennadi I. Sazhenev rode one of the Mercedes to the new airstrip, where 126 occupants of the Soviet embassy were to board a U.S. military C-130 transport, a bizarre diplomatic clash occurred. U.S. soldiers insisted on searching the car. "We're looking for bombs," an American officer disingenuously explained. The ambassador grumpily assented. But for nearly eight hours he angrily resisted efforts by U.S. soldiers to search all of the Soviet baggage, including a number of unsealed crates. When he finally and reluctantly yielded, the reason for his obduracy became clear: one crate contained 28 AK-47 automatic rifles, 300 loaded AK-47 magazines and five loaded pistols. The cache was confiscated before the passengers were flown to Mexico to catch an Aeroflot jet to the Soviet Union.

Cuban embassy officials held out against the eviction orders, demanding to remain until they were certain that more than 650 Cuban construction workers and military personnel being held by the U.S. Army were being properly treated and until arrangements for their return to Ha-



Ruins of the mental hospital wing bombed by U.S. aircraft during the invasion
Skilled paratroopers, heroic helicopter pilots and some tragic mistakes.

vana were complete. Army troops kept U.S. newsmen from entering the Cuban embassy. Reporters learned, however, that during the invasion U.S. paratroopers had vandalized the Cuban ambassador's one-story residence on a promontory near the uncompleted Point Salines airport. Furniture was smashed, windows broken and an obscene message written on the wall. Libya's ambassador, meanwhile, finally arranged a meeting with U.S. officials to deliver a plaintive question: "How can we get off the island?" He was flown to Barbados aboard a military plane two days later.

After sitting for six days under the eyes of U.S. Army guards, the Cuban construction workers were permitted to move to a more habitable tent city they had erected near the airstrip. All of the captured Cubans were sent there as the tedious process of interviewing each man continued. The U.S. interrogators wanted to determine just how many were professional soldiers, trained reservists, ordinary workers or various combinations of all three. Many of the prisoners looked too old, paunchy or otherwise unfit to be soldiers.

When 57 wounded Cubans were returned to Havana, Western journalists were permitted to interview some in their hospital beds. Most claimed that on Grenada they had been asked whether they would like to defect to the U.S. They contended that they had received no advance warning of the U.S. invasion—a claim that conflicts with Castro's report that he sent warning to "Cuban representatives in Grenada" on the Saturday before the Tuesday strike. Even the U.S. State Department told Havana just hours before the invasion that the strike was imminent, assuring Castro that it was not aimed at his workers. This tip-off angered the Pentagon.

The wounded Cubans say they did not hear Havana's radio instructions that they should resist "to the death." They surrendered in small groups, they said, because they had run out of ammunition. Asked how long the Cubans had possessed large stores of weapons on the island, Lieut. Colonel Mariano Márquez López evaded the question, finally saying that he could not remember.

Arrangements for releasing all of the captive Cubans were finally worked out, and the movement started late in the week. U.S. military planes began taking the Cubans from Grenada to Barbados, where they were picked up by Cuban airliners. They were welcomed as heroes in Havana.

Inevitably, as in every military action, there would be detailed assessments of how well, or how poorly, various armed units had performed. There was immediate praise by military experts both in the U.S. and abroad for the skill shown by the Army Rangers. Pilots of the first transports carrying the Rangers on the invasion strike found so much deadly anti-air-

Striking a Delicate Balance

Alister Hughes, 64, editor of the Grenada Newsletter, has not found it easy to be a journalist on the island. In 1973, under the despotic regime of Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy, Hughes was beaten up while covering pre-independence rallies. Five years later, the Marxist government of Maurice Bishop began harassing him because of his editorial independence. Three weeks ago, Hughes was thrown into jail for having reported on the violent coup that brought down Bishop. Freed one day after the U.S. invasion, Hughes, who is also a part-time reporter for the London Sunday Times, ABC and TIME, offers his view of his country's future:

Island history teaches us something. However welcome the Americans seem to us at the moment, they might be well advised to learn some lessons from the arrival of the first French invaders more than three centuries ago. The records show that in 1650 Grenadians happily "sold" their island for "some knives and hatchets, a large quantity of glass beads and two bottles of brandy for the Chief himself." Only nine months later (presumably after the brandy ran out), the islanders began bridling under the restrictions imposed on them by an alien culture and decided they wanted their island back. In the end, a bloody confrontation erupted in which bows and arrows were smashed against French guns. Our moods have not changed much since then: we are quick to welcome those who come here, even quicker to suspect those who stay too long.

The Grenadians of today are, to be sure, grateful to the U.S. for rescuing them from a dangerous predicament. But, unlike our forebears, we have not sold the island. Perhaps the Reagan Administration understands this. But if the point is missed, the welcome will sour, recriminations will begin, and the same people who are now willing to exchange their hospitality for U.S. humanitarianism may start pointing accusing fingers at the Americans.



Journalist Hughes after his release

We are worried that the "rescue mission" may turn into an occupying force; that the U.S. may seek to dominate Grenadian political decisions; that the very sovereignty of our 120-sq.-mi. home may be threatened.

In the weeks immediately ahead, Americans must realize that our spontaneous expression of joy upon being saved cannot be sustained indefinitely. Roadblocks, searches and overall military control are now accepted with good-natured tolerance. But as the days pass, the risk of misunderstandings, irritations and even confrontations increases. The G.I.s who now float on a comfortable cloud of acceptance as our "rescuers" may find themselves rejected as "invaders."

Grenadians are also anxious about what some call the "threat" of U.S. aid. The U.S. is undoubtedly aware of radical political elements in all the region's former British colonies. Having wrested Grenada from the grasp of Havana and Moscow, the U.S. may wish to prove to Grenadians, and everyone else in the Caribbean, that the capitalist world can provide more economic benefits than the Communist. Some Grenadians fear that as the U.S. tries to administer that lesson, the islanders will lose their distinctive characteristics as a West Indian people. They do not want a community shorn of its traditions and hankering after the American way of life. They feel that an injudicious lavishing of American largesse on Grenada would result in horrendous social consequences.

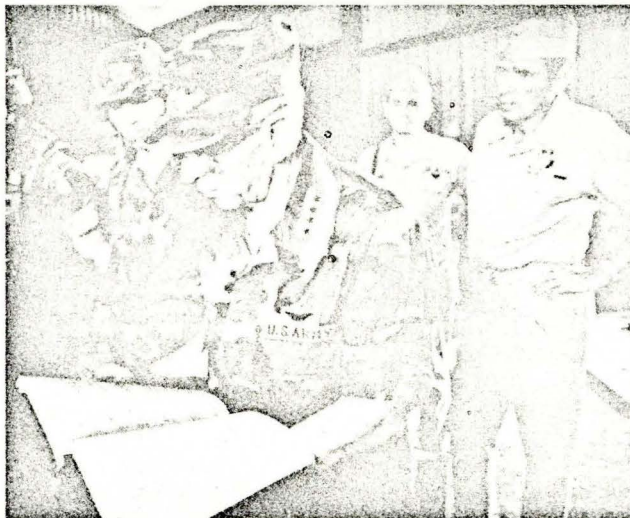
We fear the political effects even more. All Grenadians recognize that our island needs economic help. No one wishes to reject U.S. aid. But because of our circumstances, Grenada could easily, almost unconsciously, slip into the role of a U.S. satellite. We are concerned that our rescue from the terror of the "revolutionary armed forces" may have left us with an American godfather willing to foot the bills, while obliging us to play the role of Washington's little boy.

Our various factions must now work to create a new administration to serve all Grenadians. Sir Paul Scoon must now move from a ceremonial position to the real challenge of assembling a government that represents everyone, favors no one and functions efficiently. Above all, both Grenada and the U.S. must exercise great skill in striking a careful balance that will promote our development without smothering us under a blanket of dollar bills. Grenada is already grateful to the U.S. If this delicate mission is accomplished, we will have even more reason to be grateful.

craft fire at the normal jump altitudes of about 1,000 ft. that they quickly changed the plans. The C-130s dived in under the umbrella of flak, forcing the Rangers to leap from a mere 500 ft., a height not employed in combat since World War II. It gives the jumpers only 19 seconds before their bone-jarring landing. Said a high U.S. military commander: "The Cubans weren't expecting that." The jumps, said a foreign military expert, demonstrated the "superb training" of the Rangers.

The Navy Seals also won praise for moving swiftly by landing craft to secure early beachheads and to fight their way through enemy forces to the hilltop house overlooking St. George's Harbor, where Scoon had been under virtual house arrest. The Seals protected him throughout a night as Grenadian revolutionary troops surrounded the compound. Many of the Seals inside suffered wounds before Army units finally broke through to free them and Scoon. During the beach landing in rough seas, however, a landing craft carrying the Seals overturned, drowning four of the commando-style specialists.

There were also some tragic mistakes. The worst was the U.S. bombing of a mental hospital, some 200 yards from Fort Frederick, on Richmond Hill above St. George's. The fort was one of the last heavily defended sites manned by Grenada's soldiers. It was protected by anti-aircraft guns, one of them only 150 yards from the hospital. The soldiers had placed a Grenadian army flag outside the hospital building, which bore no markings showing that it was a medical facility.



Joint Chiefs' Vessey checking Cuban arms in Grenada warehouse
A setback to Castro's Caribbean prestige and adventurism.

Corsair jets from the U.S.S. *Independence* were sent to knock out the anti-aircraft batteries and to bomb the fort. But the pilots blasted the hospital as well, apparently in the belief that it was part of the military complex. A three-story wing was leveled, burying many of the occupants. Mortuary workers found at least 20 bodies in the rubble, but other patients were missing. The death toll was difficult to determine, since some of the mentally ill occupants had wandered away from the building during the U.S. attack.

The bombing of the hospital seemed to be an understandable error. But it was less excusable that it was first reported by a Canadian journalist and was not promptly confirmed by Pentagon officials. The Pentagon explained that by the time U.S. Marines took over the fort on foot the next day, the hospital personnel had buried the victims, and the Marines

had no reason to suspect that anyone had died there.

Another mistake resulted in a Corsair strafing a group of U.S. paratroopers. The airborne unit was trying to rout Cuban soldiers in their well-fortified Caligny barracks when it called for Navy air help. Their position was close to an abandoned Cuban anti-aircraft gun that still pointed toward the sky. From the air it looked like the intended target. "All of a sudden the world blew up," said Lieut. Scott Schafer, who was hit by shrapnel when the Corsair fired. Twelve paratroopers were wounded. As the plane banked for another strike, a ground officer reached the pilot by radio to warn it away.

U.S. gunships, including the Navy's Cobra and the Air Force's Spectre, proved highly effective with their shooting rate of up to 6,000 rounds a minute. They knocked out Cuban mortar and gun positions that threatened the invading troops early in the action. But they also suffered casualties, some in heroic low-level flights to draw ground fire, thereby exposing the enemy position to attacks from other U.S. choppers. The Pentagon said five helicopters had been shot down. One transport helicopter, hit by ground fire as it brought troops into the Point Salines airstrip, struck another chopper in its uncontrolled descent. Both crashed.

The final American toll was put at 18 killed, 91 wounded. The Pentagon said it had no estimate of Cubans killed or wounded. There was no estimate either of civilian deaths, except for the probability of perhaps 20 at the mental hospital. Nor was there a count of casualties among

Dead in the Water

Soviet nuclear-powered submarines routinely ply the heavily trafficked sea-lanes off the U.S. East Coast, but few ever surface. Thus Navy pilots patrolling the Atlantic in a P-3C Orion antisubmarine aircraft early last Tuesday morning were astonished to sight a Soviet attack sub moving through rolling seas some 470 miles off the coast of South Carolina in the infamous Bermuda Triangle. The 341-ft.-long vessel was clearly having mechanical troubles, but it issued no international distress signal. Instead, the ship and its crew of about 90 men braved the winds and waves, bobbing, in the words of a U.S. officer, "like a Ping-Pong ball in a stormy bathtub." A Soviet intelligence ship eventually appeared to monitor the activities of the submarine and an Amer-

ican destroyer that was keeping watch over the stricken craft, while the queasy Soviet sailors waited for a salvage ship that eventually arrived from Cuba. Said a Pentagon spokesman during the uncomfortable hiatus: "She isn't going anywhere. She is dead in the water."

TIME has learned that the *Victor III*-class Soviet sub was forced to surface after its screw propellers became entangled in a 2- to 3-in.-thick steel undersea cable that was being used by a U.S. surveillance frigate to track the sub's movements.



Wallowing in the Bermuda Triangle: the hapless Soviet sub

The mechanical mishap was only the latest in a series of embarrassing setbacks for the Soviet fleet. In 1981 a diesel-powered Soviet sub snooping in a restricted zone off the Swedish coast ran aground and had to be pulled to a safer anchorage by Swedish tugboats. According to U.S. intelligence, another nuclear-powered attack sub sank in deep water last summer off the Siberian peninsula of Kamchatka.

Cuba on the Defensive

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GORGONI—CONTACT

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Internally, as the airport ceremony

A Treasure Trove of Documents

Captured papers provide insights into a declining regime

For more than a week the Administration had tantalized newsmen and members of Congress with hints about what Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam called a "treasure trove" of captured Grenadian documents that would put to rest any questions about U.S. motives for the invasion. Late last week the State Department finally released 196 pages of its vast stockpile. The documents did not quite represent the "smoking gun" needed to substantiate President Reagan's claim that Grenada was being transformed into a "major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy." But the papers did offer solid evidence that Grenada's Marxist government had grown increasingly reliant on its connections with Cuba, the Soviet Union and North Korea, especially for arms. Together with other documents seen by TIME last week, the State Department's trove portrays a regime obsessed with three problems: the almost total alienation of the Grenadian population, deep divisions within the leadership itself, and counterrevolution.

Five secret arms-delivery agreements, three with the Soviet Union and one each with North Korea and Cuba, show that the government of the late Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was to receive \$25.8 million in Soviet and \$12 million in North Korean military aid. Cuba was to send 27 permanent and a dozen temporary military advisers.

For the most part, the treaties consist of lists of military hardware. Under an agreement signed on Feb. 9, 1981, the Soviet Union promised to ship 5 million rubles (\$7.5 million) worth of arms and equipment to Grenada, including 1,000 submachine guns, 1.3 million rounds of ammunition, five jeeps, a mobile bakery, 12,600 complete infantry uniforms and thousands of pairs of "olive-colored socks." A subsequent agreement, dated July 27, 1982, lists 14 pages of equipment and supplies, including 50 secondhand armored personnel carriers, to be delivered between 1982 and 1985. Moscow also promised to train Grenadian soldiers in the Soviet Union and send specialists to Grenada. In each of its treaties, the Soviets insisted that deliveries be routed

through Cuba, presumably to conceal Moscow's direct connection.

Far more intriguing were the insights into the events that led to Bishop's ouster and assassination. According to a series of mostly handwritten minutes of the Central Committee meetings of Grenada's New Jewel Movement that took place after July, Bishop proposed that the party take a more moderate stance toward the West. The idea was rejected. Warned one unidentified participant: "If the revolution is turned back now, it has

Colo., monthly magazine that specializes in military weapons and tactics; it said the papers had been overlooked by U.S. forces. The documents indicate that Grenada also had military agreements with Viet Nam, Nicaragua and at least one Soviet-bloc country. A top-secret paper dated May 18, 1982, records a shipment of ammunition and explosives that arrived from Czechoslovakia via Cuba. One document, signed last November by Nicaragua's Vice Minister of Defense, provides for the establishment of a course in Grenada to teach English-language military terminology to members of the Nicaraguan army.

Despite the steady stream of equipment deliveries, Grenada appeared to lack military readiness. In particular, the government seemed plagued by a shortage of spare parts for army vehicles. Bishop sent a letter to Cuba's Defense Minister General Raúl Castro, Fidel's brother, stating that the dearth of Soviet spare parts had rendered 23 out of 27 trucks and eight out of ten jeeps completely immobile. Bishop also complained that the Soviets had shipped to Grenada thousands of combat boots that were too small for the island's troops.

One top-secret Grenadian report, dated April 6, 1983, warned that the CIA was masterminding a counterrevolution out of Trinidad. "The enemy," it says, "is at an advanced stage of preparation, and the main force will be Cuban exiles and mercenaries." The report also singles out one American student on the island for suspicion. "He lives just below the Soviet embassy," it says, "and seems to pay more than casual attention to all activities of the embassy."

Among the more revealing pieces of correspondence obtained by TIME is a letter from Cuban President Fidel Castro to the New Jewel Movement's Central Committee. Dated Oct. 15, two days after Bishop had been placed under house arrest, the letter appears to be an attempt to save Bishop. "Everything that happened was for us a surprise," wrote Castro. "Even explaining the events to our people will not be easy." With haunting prescience, he predicts that Bishop's overthrow will bring disaster to Grenada. Wrote Castro: "In my opinion, the divisions and problems that have emerged will result in considerable damage to the image of the Grenadian revolution, as much within as outside the country."

—By Susan Tifft. Reported by Johanna McGeary/Washington and Christopher Redman/Boulder

Article 1

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall ensure free of charge the delivery in 1981-1983 to the Government of Grenada of special and other equipment in nomenclature and quantity according to the Annex to the present Agreement to the amount of 5,000,000 Roubles.

Description	Unit of measure	Total quantity	Years of delivery		
			1981	1982	1983
Armour					
BTR-60PB armoured personnel carriers	piece	8	8	-	-
BRDM-2 armoured reconnaissance and patrol vehicles	piece	2	2	-	-
14,5-mm cartridges:					
with B-32 bullet	thous. pieces	6,3	6,3	-	-
with BZT bullet	thous. pieces	6,3	6,3	-	-
7,62-mm rifle cartridges without clips:					
with steel core bullet					

Strict secrecy and a delivery route through Cuba: an arms treaty with the U.S.S.R. Revolution gone awry, useless combat boots and a dearth of spare parts.

regional and international implications."

Minutes of other meetings held from Sept. 14 to Sept. 16 showed a party worried about its tenuous hold on Grenadian popular support. "The mood of the masses is characterized at worst by open dissatisfaction and cynicism," said the document, "and at best by serious demoralization." During a meeting on Sept. 28, one participant referred to "the crisis in the party, the atmosphere of confusion." On Oct. 12, the language was heavy with suspicion and paranoia. "There seems to be a mood in the party for blood," one leader is quoted as saying. It was at this session that the Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard and the Central Committee decided to remove Bishop. He was placed under house arrest the next day and executed six days later.

Additional documents were shown to TIME by *Soldier of Fortune*, a Boulder,

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for the wounded demonstrated, Castro is appealing to patriotic fervor rather than revolutionary enthusiasm to maintain his hold on the populace. There is, in fact, little of the old guerrilla spirit left in Cuba: like Castro, the revolution has gone middle-aged and gray. Visitors to Havana are struck by the similarity to most Communist countries: a rigid bureaucracy, a once lively press that is now dismissed even by sympathetic leftists as boring, buildings that are shabbily maintained.

Another factor that dismays even some leftists visiting Cuba is the extent to which Castro has militarized the nation. The official force of 127,500 is one of the largest in the Western Hemisphere, but that is only the beginning. Estimates of the number of Cuban troops (usually called "military advisers") stationed in Nicaragua, Angola, Ethiopia and South Yemen range from 33,000 to 61,000; almost 7,000 Cuban civilians are believed to be in those countries too. At home, Castro plans to double the size of the territorial militia from the 1981 count of 500,000 to a million by next year, or more than 10% of Cuba's total population of 9.9 million. Some 70% of the new recruits will be women. The Pioneers, a Soviet-inspired youth organization, is encouraged to play war games. Cuban TV admiringly shows Pioneers as young as eleven practicing loading and firing surface-to-air missiles and driving tanks.

Ostensibly the mobilization is designed to deter the U.S. invasion that Castro regularly warns against in time of crisis. Its real motive is probably to instill enough patriotic feeling to draw the people closer to Castro. If so, it has worked. Says a Latin American diplomat in Havana: "As long as Fidel is around, support for the government will be strong. The people adore him. When they are unhappy with the government, they say, 'Many things happen that the *commandante en jefe* [commander in chief] doesn't know about.'"

Officials in Washington are quick to warn that Castro's potential for international troublemaking should not be discounted. They expect future Cuban ventures to be more cautious than the attempt to take over Grenada, which apparently went further and faster than Castro intended; American officials doubt Castro wanted Bishop killed. The Cubans, says a State Department official, "always try hard to keep below the threshold of our tolerance, and they were in Grenada until their threshold fell out from under them." But U.S. diplomats fully expect the Cubans to continue striving for regional influence. Says one: "They lost something of value on Grenada, but they're not about to turn into Boy Scouts as a result. They're still a powerful and dangerous adversary, and they're persistent as hell."

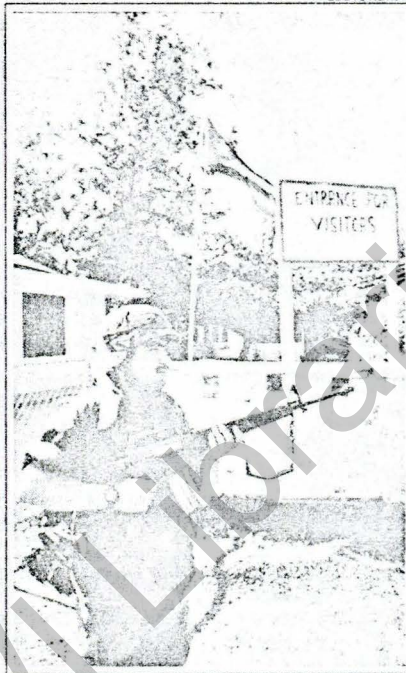
—By George J. Church.

Reported by Timothy Loughran/Managua and Ross H. Munro/Havana

What Is Aggression?

"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." That sweeping injunction, embodied in a 1970 United Nations General Assembly resolution, seemed to be what most members had on their minds last week as they voted, 108 to 9, to "deeply deplore" the Reagan Administration's invasion of Grenada. In the U.N. majority's eyes, the U.S. action seemed to provide a prima-facie case of the kind of direct intervention that has long been forbidden by international law. But to many international legal scholars, the issues raised by the fighting in the Caribbean are more complicated. Says British Lawyer N.A. Maryan Green: "Our present-day notions of aggression are antiquated. The invasion of Grenada has brought to the forefront the necessity to redefine some terms in international law."

EDDIE ADAMS



U.S. guard at the Cuban embassy in Grenada

tional law has got a grip on the issue of covert activity, in which you arm and support rebels within a country."

A further complication is that violations of international law are often subject to interpretation by the General Assembly, which is now dominated by newly independent Third World nations. To many of these countries, there is nothing wrong with intervention that can be labeled anticolonialist. Notes International Law Professor Rosalyn Higgins of the London School of Economics: "The preoccupation with self-determination and ending colonialism has led to stresses and strains on the old limits on the use of force. In the newer trend, lending aid to gain self-determination is accepted." For Marxist-Leninist governments, a double standard is even easier to achieve, since Communist ideology rejects non-Marxist forms of government. Says Alfred P. Rubin, professor at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy: "The Soviets can get away with major, minor or theoretical violations of international law because their power and standing in the world do not rest on a respect for legal niceties." The U.S., on the other hand, is usually held to a higher moral and legal standard.

Many legal experts feel that the problem of indirect aggression is already handled adequately in the canons of international law. Among other things, they point to the 1970 U.N. resolution, whose text further states that not only armed intervention but also "all other forms of interference, or attempted threats against the personality of the State, or its political, economic and cultural elements, are in violation of international law." Sums up Derek Bowett, Whewell professor of international law at Cambridge University: "All law can do is provide basic rules, the application of which requires a good deal of judgment. No legal system relies just on force. All depends on world opinion."

Green and other experts are afraid that current readings of international law fail to take account of the many acts of indirect aggression that increasingly shape world politics. Says Jacques Kosciuszko-Morizet, a former French Ambassador to the U.S.: "It is easy to point to armies invading your territory and say that that is aggression. But there are many forms of indirect aggression, such as subversion or changing a government through a *coup d'état* with the threat of an external power." In the Reagan Administration's view, Grenada is a case in point: the U.S. may have intervened directly two weeks ago, but the Soviets and the Cubans have been engaging in indirect aggression in the Western Hemisphere for years. Nor is the problem confined to superpowers. The Sandinista government of Nicaragua provides tactical aid and support for the Marxist-Leninist rebels of nearby El Salvador, and the U.S., of course, is backing anti-Sandinista rebels. (Last week the U.S. Senate approved \$19 million in continuing covert aid for the Nicaraguan insurgents.) Says Detlev Vagts, professor of law at Harvard: "I don't think interna-

A Rallying Round for Reagan

His handling of Lebanon and Grenada boosts his standing

During the singing of *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*, the voice of a small boy could be heard among the rows of mourners. "Where's my daddy?" he asked. His mother hugged him and cried. President Ronald Reagan, who later told aides, "This is not the happiest of my days as President, but it's one of my proudest," had come to Camp Lejeune, N.C., home base of the 24th Marine Amphibious Unit, for a memorial service honoring the 230 U.S. servicemen killed in Beirut and the 18 killed in Grenada. There he was given a poem by Scott Scialabba, whose 14th birthday is this Thursday, about the father he lost in Beirut: "My life is full of sadness upon this gloomy day./ My father is in heaven and all the birds have flown away." Afterward, standing in the chilly rain at a nearby airbase, Reagan tried to explain the sacrifice. "We commit our resources and risk the lives of those in our armed forces to rescue others from bloodshed and turmoil and to prevent humankind from drowning in a sea of tyranny," he said. "The world looks to America for leadership, and America looks to the men in its armed forces."

The confused public mixture of exhilaration and anxiety brought on by the rapid-fire events in Lebanon and Grenada presented Reagan with one of the most critical challenges of his presidency. The Beirut tragedy had brutally underscored the risks of his ill-defined purposes in Lebanon. The armed assault in Grenada threatened to reify his image as a gunslinger. Yet—at least for the moment—he has been able to channel and perhaps even capitalize on the complex emotions aroused by both events. Despite the Administration's continued worry about the situation in Lebanon, it has been able to win surprising acceptance for the projection of American power abroad. Indeed, as Democratic Pollster Peter Hart noted, "Reagan has ended the week stronger than he began it."

Perhaps the most important factor was the instinctive tendency of Americans to rally behind the presidency in times of international turmoil. In addition, Reagan was aided by the successful outcome of the Grenadian operation. The U.S. medical students who were evacuated from the island loudly expressed their gratitude, and the White House plans to hold a ceremony with a number of them this week to hammer home the point. The evidence Reagan was able to reveal about a planned Cuban-Soviet buildup on that minuscule island provided, albeit after the fact, additional justification for the American action. Although the hazardous situation of U.S. forces in Lebanon caused widespread dismay, the anger and frus-

tration over the Beirut bombing seemed to be counterbalanced by the relatively clean strike in the Caribbean. New Hampshire Democrat Robert Stephen, a state senator whose son took part in the Grenada invasion, describes the impression he got from talking to his constituents and customers at his Manchester restaurant: "The President might have been hurt by what happened in Beirut, but he made that up in Grenada."

Through careful tracking of public opinion polls, the White House was able to confirm that the President has been temporarily helped by the tumultuous events. Just before the Beirut disaster two



With Nancy in the rain, listening to prayers at memorial service in Camp Lejeune, N.C.

"This is not the happiest of my days as President, but it's one of my proudest."

weeks ago, private White House polls showed his approval rating had reached a high point for recent months of close to 60%. That showed immediate slippage when news of the carnage shocked the public. The first bulletins on Grenada seemed to have even more negative impact. But after the news from the island began to come out, and after Reagan went on television with one of the most polished performances of his presidency, his standing was restored. Said one top adviser to the President: "We really believe that everything turned out well."

Reagan's own confidence that the events had crested in his favor was reflected in a feisty appearance he made last Thursday night before a reunion of workers from his 1980 campaign. "Under this Administration our nation is through wringing its hands and apologizing," he said to enthusiastic cheers. "We all grieve

over the lives of those splendid young men lost in Beirut and Grenada. But I just have to believe we can honor their memory best not by withdrawing from our role in the world, but by remaining the force for freedom and peace that makes America the brightest star of hope in the world today." His best applause line was a purely political one. He told the faithful followers that their work made possible the 1980 victory, "and will make it so again in '84." Besides being the closest he has come verbally to a formal announcement, the line laid to rest speculation that the strain of the past two weeks might prompt Reagan to reconsider his plans to run for re-election.

Reagan was also combative at a brief press conference last Thursday called to announce the appointment of former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld as special Middle East envoy. A newsman

asked about comparisons of the Grenada action with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. "Well, for heaven's sakes, anyone who would link Afghanistan to this operation..." sputtered the President testily. "Against all the opposition of the Afghanistan people [the Soviets] have used every vicious form of warfare including chemical warfare." Reagan also took issue with calling the operation in Grenada an invasion, even though he initially used the term himself. "This was a rescue mission," he avowed.

The public seemed to agree. "The reaction has been gung-ho support for the President," says Michael Jackson, Los Angeles radio host whose call-in program is heard around the country. Nebraska Governor Bob Kerrey, a Democrat and Viet Nam War veteran, notes, "The support for Grenada is there and it's strong." When the Cable News Network solicited

phone calls on Grenada, "the response was overwhelmingly in favor of the President's action," says Anchorwoman Beverly Williams. "Coming on the heels of Beirut and the frustration over the deaths there, it was something to cheer about. People seemed to be saying they want a more forceful country, one that is not afraid to keep the Communists in check."

The public was less sure about keeping the Marines in Lebanon. Chuck Green, editorial page editor of the *Denver Post*, says that readers are evenly split on that issue. "There is a sense of futility about the Marines being sitting ducks. Most people seem to look at the Grenada invasion as being justified." Some Democrats predicted that the tragedy in Lebanon, along with the invasion of Grenada, might eventually add to public worries that Reagan is reckless with the use of military force. "The combination of Beirut and Grenada has hurt the President in Wisconsin," said Matthew Flynn, chairman of the state's Democratic Party. "He's had this nice-guy image. But there's a new feeling that the brakes are no longer on."

The prevailingly positive public mood was reflected in Congress, where the critical outbursts that erupted two weeks ago were more muted last week. With the help of Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill and the Democratic leadership, the Administration beat back, by a 274-to-153 vote, an attempt in the House to cut off funds for the Marines in Beirut. Lee Hamilton, an Indiana Democrat, expressed the feeling of most members when he argued that withdrawing the Marines would damage the fragile peace talks under way in Geneva, hurt the government of Lebanon and help Syria have its way in the Middle East. The most intense discussions over Lebanon occurred in committee investigations into who was responsible for defining the military role of the Marines in Lebanon and who should be blamed for the obvious lapse in security there.

The House did take some action on Grenada, passing by an overwhelming 403-to-23 vote a resolution that would apply the War Powers Act to the troops on the island and require that they be withdrawn in 60 days unless an extension is granted. Since Reagan announced last week that the withdrawal was already beginning, the vote was motivated mainly by a desire to assert Congress's disputed authority under the War Powers Act rather than actually to direct Administration policy. Far more indicative of Congress's attitude was the favorable action taken on the fiscal 1984 defense budget. The House followed the Senate and by a close vote (217 to 208) approved funds for the MX missile and by a wider margin (247 to 175) funds for the B-1 bomber.

Not that Congress has suppressed all of its doubts about U.S. policy. Speaker O'Neill designated a delegation of 14 House members to investigate the situation in Grenada; the group departed for

Into the Breach

Donald Rumsfeld, with typical self-deprecating humor, likes to tell the story of coming home one evening after Richard Nixon appointed him director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. When he reached into the refrigerator for a beer, there was a note in doggerel from his wife saying, "He tackled a job that couldn't be done..." At the bottom was the kicker: "...and couldn't do it." If ever there was a job that seemed to defy success, it was the one Rumsfeld accepted last week from President Reagan: that of special envoy to the Middle East.

Rumsfeld's résumé reads like a litany of challenging tasks. Before 1977, when he began a successful career as president of the pharmaceutical firm G.D. Searle & Co. (1982 profits: \$140 million on \$1.04 billion in sales),



Envoy Rumsfeld

Rumsfeld handled the war on poverty and then wage and price controls for Nixon, and served as Chief of Staff and Defense Secretary for Gerald Ford. But although highly ambitious, the former Illinois Congressman and Princeton wrestling captain does not go in for suicide missions. When Watergate loomed over the Nixon Administration, Rumsfeld engineered an appointment as Ambassador to NATO, as far away as possible from the gathering storm. "He was a cool and careful planner," noted Speechwriter Robert Hartmann, who tussled with him for influence at the Ford White House. "As a politician, he recognized and respected fate; as a wrestler, he was ever alert for an opening to take fate by the forelock."

Rumsfeld, 51, was generally a hard-liner as Defense Secretary, arguing that the U.S. must struggle to overcome what he saw as the Soviets' military superiority. Yet as a pragmatic politician and the latest in a line of Ford alumni advising Reagan, he may provoke some criticism from the far right. Dealing with the Gordian knot of Middle East politics and coping with the inflammable situation in Lebanon, however, are tasks far more suited to a wrestler than an ideologue. Rumsfeld's first move will have to be an attempt to get a hammer lock on the shifting complexities of the situation in Lebanese "reconciliation talks" in Geneva.

the island on Friday. And these involved in the hearings on Lebanon remained dedicated to changing what they regard as the Marines' impossible status there. Says Democratic Congressman Bill Alexander of Arkansas: "We're seeing the beginning of the debate on Reagan's foreign policy."

The debate is likely to be sharp. Although Congress held off on taking any substantive action in opposition to Reagan's policies, some members voiced their deep reservations. Democratic Congressman Clarence Long of Maryland, one of the sponsors of the failed attempt to force the withdrawal of the Marines from Lebanon, spoke for many when he said that U.S. policy in Beirut "is based on the phony theory that if you put American uniformed men there, the enemy won't shoot at them. The theory has been blown up along with the Marine barracks." O'Neill, who supports keeping the troops in Lebanon, assailed the President on Grenada: "You cannot justify any government, whether it's Russia or the U.S., trampling on another nation." He also broadly criticized Reagan's handling of world affairs, saying, "He has no knowledge or no talent of the things that are happening there."

The most hostile response on Grenada last week came in the U.N. General Assembly. The 108-to-9 vote deploring U.S. "armed intervention" (compared with the January 1980 vote against the Soviet Union on Afghanistan of 104 to 18) reflected the mindless anti-Americanism of that body. Only Israel, El Salvador and the six other nations involved in the invasion joined the U.S. in opposing the resolution.

Final judgment, both at home and abroad, on the tough U.S. stands in Lebanon and Grenada will of course depend on what eventually happens in those areas. Reagan is dispatching his two special envoys to follow force with diplomacy. Richard Stone is going to Central America to see if the military display in Grenada has produced a greater willingness to negotiate on the part of the rebels fighting in El Salvador; Rumsfeld will try to promote progress toward peace in the Middle East.

The envoys' missions dramatize the issue now paramount in most people's minds: Where do we go from here? While conceding that Reagan has won some temporary political support, Democratic Pollster Hart argues, "The more important thing is where attitudes will be three or six months from now. One of the questions the President will have to deal with is whether the world is a safer place than it was four years earlier." The way Reagan gets the Marines out of Grenada and Lebanon, rather than the way he got them in, will be crucial in determining whether he is considered laudably tough or dangerously bellicose.

—By Walter Isaacson, Reported by Sam Allis and Laurence L. Barrett/Washington, with other bureaus.

Keeping the Issues Separate

Europeans say no to the invasion, but still yes to missiles

Sweeping down from low, dark clouds, the giant U.S. Air Force Galaxy transport rumbled to a landing at Greenham Common airbase in Britain. It was bearing a historic and controversial cargo: the first cruise missile launchers (minus as yet their nuclear warheads and missiles) to arrive in Western Europe under NATO's 1979 "two track" decision. That policy asserted that NATO would begin modernizing the alliance's nuclear armory by the end of this year if the U.S. and the Soviet Union do not reach an agreement to curb intermediate-range nuclear weapons. For a moment after the plane cut its jet engines, there was a stunned silence among about 100 women peace demonstrators from the camp set up outside the base for 26 months to protest the new U.S. weapons. Then came screams as the women pounded the base's perimeter fence with their fists in outraged frustration. Several groups linked arms and wept. Cried one anguished demonstrator: "It's here, it's bloody well here."

It was a long way from the Caribbean, but the impact of the invasion of Grenada was still reverberating among U.S. allies. With various shades of reprobation, every major West European capital continued to express disapproval of Washington's resort to military might. Still, in an unspoken consensus, there appeared to be a determination to prevent differences over U.S. policy in the Caribbean from spilling into the Atlantic Alliance's crucial and most immediate challenge: persuading a dubious public, particularly in West Germany, to accept the new U.S.-controlled nuclear weapons on their soil. The invasion did not make that task any easier. It came, said a West German Foreign Ministry official, "at exactly the time when we have to convince the public that the U.S. is serious in its attempts to pursue nonmilitary solutions to international problems."

The arrival of the first cruise missile launchers was symbolic of the West European effort to keep the two issues separate. Although the West German government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl maintained its formal opposition to the invasion, Kohl last week expressed "understanding" for the U.S. move. West German Government Spokesman Jür-

gen Sudhoff explained that "additional elements," such as the discovery of armed Cuban construction workers and the Grenadian Governor-General Sir Paul Scoon's plea for help, had cast new light on the events.

Similarly, French President François Mitterrand had quickly and dryly criticized the U.S. action, but in private French officials were taking a more detached view. Said one: "If the Americans withdraw quickly and set up some truly democratic institutions, Grenada could fade mercifully into the political

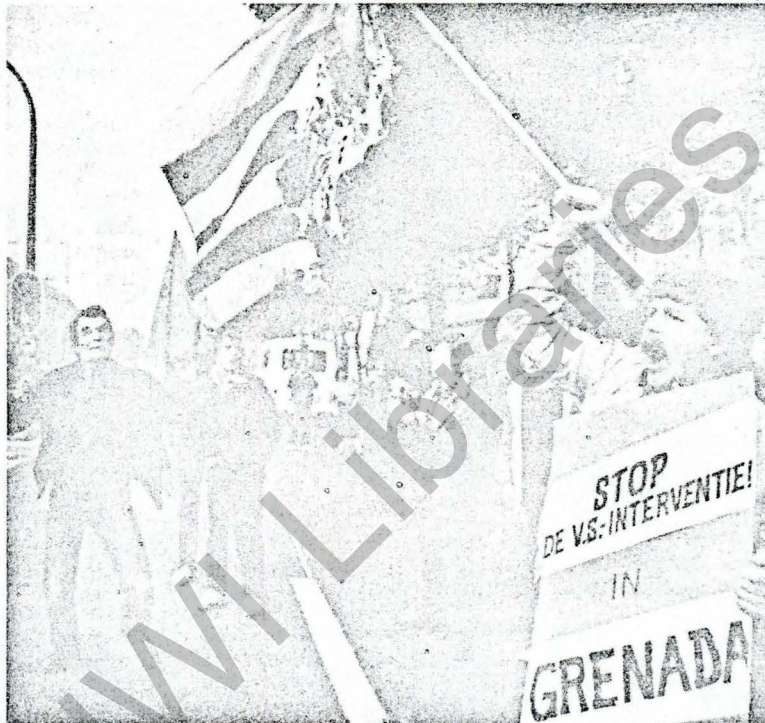
showed that 73% believed the U.S. President would violate the terms of cruise missile deployment by firing them even if the British government objected.

Behind the scenes, many of Thatcher's ministers were showing deep alarm over what they considered Reagan's anti-Communist obsessions. Said a senior Cabinet official: "One is beginning to agonize about what the President is likely to do next." A top-level diplomat added that "the U.S. must stop believing its own propaganda about Reds under every bed."

In West Germany only the leftist opposition could afford to indulge in that kind of indignation, and the Social Democrats proceeded to revel in it. Said SPD Foreign Policy Spokesman Karsten Voigt: "Now those who argue that we have to trust the Reagan Administration are told, 'Just look at Grenada.'" He added that the invasion would strengthen the demand for some kind of veto power over the American finger on the trigger controlling nuclear weapons in West Germany. Said Peace Movement Leader Jo Leinen: "Instead of associating ourselves with the aggressive militaristic tendencies in Washington, we have to try to go our own way."

That point was made more dramatically at a huge peace demonstration in The Hague, where protesters held up a banner that said simply TODAY GRENADE, TOMORROW WOENS-DRECHT! In The Netherlands, Woensdrecht has become a household name as the site of the NATO airbase where cruise missiles are scheduled to be installed. In Brussels, within hours of the Grenada invasion, a crowd of about 200 leftist demonstrators swarmed around the U.S. embassy in angry protest.

Amid the chorus of condemnation, there were also voices of support. In France, the opposition rightists and centrists generally backed Reagan's decision. Former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing said that he was impressed with evidence that the Cubans were building an airfield far in excess of Grenada's own needs. Declared former Premier Raymond Barre: "I don't approve of military intervention in any country, but the U.S. cannot accept a destabilization process in the Caribbean." More biting was the comment from the conservative *Berliner Morgenpost*. Reflecting well-founded concern over the erosion of popular support for NATO, it observed that "in Europe some people urgently wait for a criticizable decision by President Reagan as an alibi for their own creeping withdrawal from the Atlantic Alliance." —By Frederick Painton. Reported by Jordan Bonfante/Paris and Gary Lee/Bonn, with other bureaus



Belgian demonstrators burn American flag at U.S. embassy in Brussels

Far from the Caribbean, the impact of the invasion was reverberating.

background within a month." Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi made it clear that the invasion of Grenada would not affect Italy's commitment to the NATO decision.

No nation, though, was in a greater quandary than Britain. From Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on down, the country was seething. "I am totally and utterly against Communism and terrorism," Thatcher told listeners on a popular radio phone-in program. "But if you are going to pronounce a new law that wherever Communism reigns against the will of the people, the U.S. shall enter, then we are going to have really terrible wars in the world." Thatcher made the same point six times during the broadcast.

For once, it seemed, the government, the Labor opposition and the public were united in bitter resentment against the U.S. A London *Sunday Times* poll

would say that was all he wanted to do.)

Overall, Senate Republican leaders have shown more political courage on the deficit than the House hierarchy. "There is virtually no dispute that the deficit does threaten recovery," Dole insists, "because it will either drive interest rates back up or lead to renewed inflation. The time to act is now, not 1984, not after the presidential elections—but now." Majority Leader Howard Baker, Budget Committee Chairman Pete Domenici and Appropriations Committee Chairman Mark Hatfield fought hard all year to keep the budget process of Congress from dying. Domenici's committee produced a bill that would have required the various appropriations measures to be "reconciled" with \$28 billion worth of new revenues and program cuts. But the Administration denounced the Republican effort and Domenici decided to try again next year.

Such Republican conservatives as Colorado Senator William Armstrong not only opposed the Dole and Domenici deficit-reduction plans but also tried to block any increase in the national debt ceiling. Armstrong argued that the only solution was to cut federal spending enough to keep the debt limit unchanged. He finally yielded, and the debt limit was set by both houses at \$1.49 trillion, estimated to keep the debt funded until next April.

Such conflicting currents in the Congress, coupled with the lack of presidential participation, have rendered the legislative body virtually inert on the urgent economic issues. This is all the more troublesome because nearly every unbiased analyst knows what must be done to tackle the deficits: there must be some substantial tax increases, some further reductions in military spending, and new cuts in nondefense expenditures. Most also agree that the only way to get significant slices out of domestic spending is to take a knife to the politically sensitive entitlement programs, notably Medicare and Social Security. Democrats want no part of that, while Reagan refuses to consider tax hikes or military cuts. Both sides fear that the one who moves first will be sandbagged by harsh criticism from the other.

Senator Dole and House Budget Chairman Jim Jones have both proposed a way out of the impasse: a summit meeting involving congressional leaders, the President and his top economic aides. The aim would be to seek a solution in which both sides would accept an equal share of the political heat. Such a "big fix" approach might be feasible next spring, when the impact of the deficits on interest rates will be clearer. If the cost of money is rising, the public outcry could force Congress and the Administration to the bargaining table. But in the absence of urgent signals, the two stubborn Irishmen—Tip O'Neill and Ronald Reagan—will probably play chicken over the deficits right up until Election Day.

—By Ed Magnuson.

Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Neil MacNeil/Washington



Peaceful if not perfectly serene: Grenadian fishermen cast their nets in St. George's Harbor within

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Not All Sugar and Spice

Grenada is grateful for U.S. troops, but also a little uneasy

Grenada has been more quiet than serene for the past couple of weeks, like a drunk sobering up after a bender. A kind of national hangover would be understandable: the tiny country has just endured four years of supercharged socialist revolution, a week of political chaos, a U.S. invasion, then a few giddy days simply feeling liberated. But what happens next is uncertain, and Grenadians and the American invaders both seem to be getting cranky. Military occupation, no matter how well intentioned, is never pleasant. "For the fact that the U.S. came, I say

thanks," remarks Kevin Williams of Grand Roy (pop. 300). "But the quicker they get out, the better." On that point everyone seems to agree: last week the Reagan Administration promised that most of the 4,200 U.S. troops would be home before Christmas. But not all. "We will probably have a small presence well into 1984," says a Pentagon spokesman.

In the meantime, however, the troops cannot just sit back and sip rum punch: even when off duty, wandering the beaches in bikini swimming trunks, they carry M-16s. Last Thursday, in an almost slap-



At the U.S. interrogation camp near the airport, some detainees were kept in wooden crates

ARTHUR GRACE

some were obliged to crawl inside 8-ft. by 8-ft. wooden crates and spend 24 hours there. Finally, last week, Washington ordered the unseemly cages dismantled.

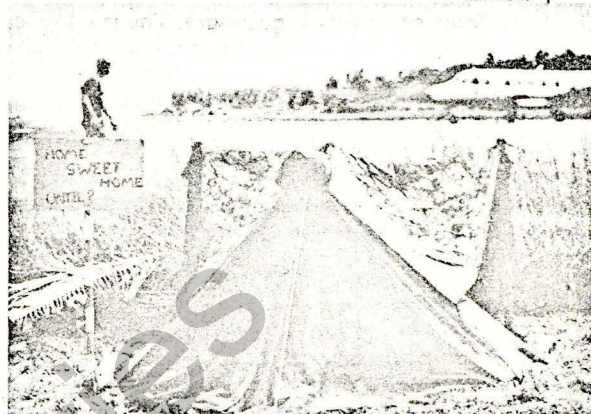
In at least one case, the U.S. forces claimed the solitary confinement was to protect a prisoner from fellow detainees: former Grenadian Justice Minister Kendrick Radix spent a night in one of the plywood boxes as prisoner No. 1,120. "The rain came in the night and I was drenched," complained the Irish-educated lawyer, still indignant. "I need a vacation." Indeed, in the span of three weeks, Radix, 41, has been imprisoned twice—first by the *ad hoc* Revolutionary Military Council (R.M.C.), the junta that overthrew and killed Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, then (for "spreading bad will among the people") by the U.S. forces that overthrew the R.M.C. Says Radix of Grenada's last month: "It was better theater than Shakespeare."

Truckloads of his countrymen, not yet charged with crimes, have been taken from the interrogation camp up to Richmond Hill prison, where they are being held for eventual trial. Among the 60 imprisoned at Richmond Hill is Bernard Coard, 39, Bishop's erstwhile deputy and the apparent mastermind of last month's coup. Because authorities are keeping Coard incommunicado, his brother Robert, director of Boston's antipoverty agency, has hired former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark to intervene. "I just don't want Bernard to be railroaded," Robert Coard said. "All I'm saying to the American Government is let's play fair."

The U.S. Government has turned Bernard Coard into a poster boy. His photograph and those of fellow R.M.C. members, each defaced with a printed black X, are arrayed under a rather prejudicial pretrial headline: "These criminals attempted to sell Grenada out to the Communists. Now they have surrendered." The posters were produced by the Army's 100-mem-

ber "psychological operations" group; some have been ripped down by islanders. Although the "psy ops" tacticians have wisely avoided attacks on the late and locally lamented Prime Minister Bishop, their campaign may backfire anyway. A new broadside went up last weekend that struck Grenadians as an insult to their national pride and joy, the Cuban-built airport. Above pictures of Cuban weapons seized at Point Salines is the slogan ARE THESE THE TOOLS THAT BUILD CIVILIAN

NATHANS



At Point Salines, a G.I.'s tent and plaintive sign

sight of a cargo ship and two U.S. destroyers

stick incident, Americans came under fire. Before dawn on tiny Green Island, just off Grenada, a patrolling American literally stepped on a man, who leaped up, fired a few AK-47 rounds and scrambled into a waiting motorboat with three comrades. Two of the Americans were grazed. (The week had started with a wild rumor that Soviet commandos had put ashore. Their submarine turned out to be, in the words of a U.S. spokesman, "a whale and two intoxicated fishermen.")

Who are the lurking guerrillas and what is the point of their rear-guard sniping? Officially the only Cubans left on Grenada are an embassy official and his aide, but Major General Jack Farris, commander of the U.S. forces, believes no fewer than a dozen and as many as 30 holdouts are hiding in the bush. Another U.S. military official, however, thinks the stragglers want to make love, not war: the Cubans, he is convinced, are intent only on staying with their Grenadian girlfriends.

Almost four weeks after the invasion, the other combat statistics also remained inexplicably unsettled. Only the 18 Grenadian civilians accidentally killed in a U.S. air attack, and the American casualties—18 killed, 113 wounded—are definite. Officials in Cuba and Grenada seem to agree that 25 Cubans and 21 Grenadian soldiers were killed. The Pentagon, meanwhile, counts 71 Cuban and more than 100 Grenadian dead.

Interrogations, conducted in assembly-line fashion, are nearly finished. Out of a population of 110,000, 2,200 Grenadians have been questioned at a jerry-built camp behind the nearly finished Point Salines airport on the island's southwestern tip. Most prisoners were kept in tents behind snarls of barbed wire, but

AIRPORTS? Army Jeeps fitted with loudspeakers cruise the island, blaring outdated propaganda ("Help send the Cubans back to Havana where they belong! Protect your hard-won freedom!"), and U.S. troops operate "Radio Spice Island," the only station permitted since the invasion.

Grenadians last week were dismayed to learn of what seemed a ham-fisted exercise of Yankee power: a unit of heavily armed U.S. troops closed and occupied a thriving Roman Catholic community house that a sergeant says had been "a center for Communist propaganda." Mab, a woman who worked at the facility, is upset. "It was a relief when the Americans first came," Mab says, "but this moving of us isn't so nice."

The occupation is not all rough spots, however. In St. George's, the capital, a ser-



A million of Castro's compatriots listen to him condemn the U.S.—and revolutionary traitors

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Learning to Look for Trouble

geant was manning the Army's new claims office one day last week. "Come in tomorrow," he told a taxi driver whose cab had been commandeered and wrecked by U.S. troops. "Washington has okayed the funds." The U.S. Agency for International Development, already funneling \$3.5 million in reconstruction funds, has proposed sending another \$30 million to Grenada in the coming year, equivalent to a third of the island's annual G.N.P.

Some generosity is necessary. The invasion has ruined tourism for this season at least. Last year Grenada got about \$40 million in economic aid from Communist countries, which certainly won't continue. The popular Socialist government was able to give Grand Roy residents free cooking oil and powdered milk once a month. "The Cubans made a positive image here," says William Wheeler, AID chief in the Caribbean, "with education, with medical treatment and with the airport." All 30 Cuban teachers and two dozen doctors on the island have been deported. This week 26 replacement teachers will arrive from Barbados. There are hastily contrived public jobs, mostly make-work for 1,600 suddenly unemployed Grenadian soldiers. The ex-soldiers, admits Ted Morse, an AID official, "are making square potholes out of round potholes."

Now that U.S. combat troops are committed to leaving in a month, the Grenadians must all the more urgently refashion a political order. Last week, as General Farris stood by with his holstered pistol, five members of Governor-General Sir Paul Scoon's nine-member "advisory council" were installed. They are to run the country until popular elections are held, probably next spring or summer.

Despite some disillusion with the Americans among the islanders, international censure of the U.S. has faded fast. At the Organization of American States' meeting last week in Washington, not one delegate suggested that the U.S. should be formally criticized for the invasion.

Even Fidel Castro, in a speech last week, practically made excuses for the U.S. With a million cheering Cubans crowded into the Plaza de la Revolución, Castro gave his obligatory harangue of the U.S., but he also powerfully condemned Grenada's Octoberists for last month's coup. "Coard's group," Castro said, was a "morally indefensible" regime that had "destroyed the revolution and opened the door to imperialist aggression."

The imperialist aggressors, at least, are spending their money in St. George's crowded restaurants, especially Mama's and the Red Crab. The island's electricity is back on. Conch fishermen are working, and the banana-boat traffic has resumed. But with roadblocks up, public meetings banned and M-16s as commonplace as homespun fishing spears, there is still some trouble in paradise.

—By Kurt Andersen.

Reported by Bernard Diederich/St. George's and Christopher Redman/Washington

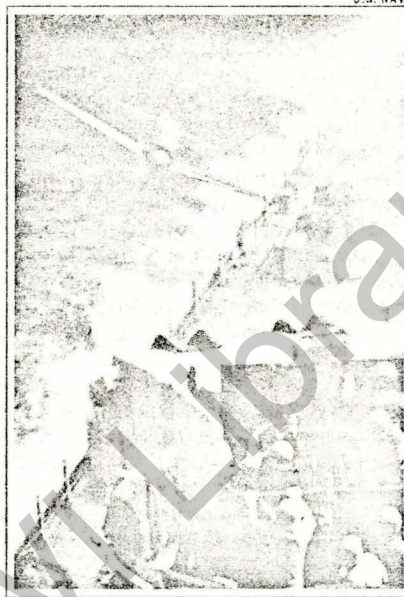
Taking action in time to prevent disaster has been difficult for the U.S. Our society wants to be left alone and never quite gives up the vain hope that other people and governments want the same thing for themselves. American foreign and domestic policy has often been inspired and shaped by calamitous events that could have been anticipated and possibly avoided.

Ronald Reagan's decision to invade Grenada to forestall human tragedy and further erosion of our influence in the Caribbean stands as one of those rare occasions when a President was able to act in time.

"The hardest thing in the world for a President is to see trouble coming—and then do something to prevent it," says Bill Hyland, former aide to Henry Kissinger and soon to be editor of *Foreign Affairs*. The short-run political risks can be immense. Even as powerful congressional Democrats were declaring Reagan's decision justified, the likes of Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. were scoffing at the invasion as unnecessary. There can be no final proof either way, at least now.

Franklin Roosevelt's efforts to get the U.S. prepared for war form a bright page in his history, but at the time they were bitterly opposed by many Americans who did not understand the approaching catastrophe. Dwight Eisenhower sent U-2 planes over the Soviet Union because he realized our first line of defense was information. When a U-2 was shot down in 1960, exposing the gigantic spy scheme, he was bitterly condemned by some for unnecessary provocation. The longer view now hails his foresight and courage.

For the most part, however, the record is not so happy. F.D.R. and his commanders did not move to prevent the Pearl Harbor debacle, though there was warning. We knew about Japanese kamikaze pilots in World War II, but we lost dozens of ships to suicide planes during the invasion of Okinawa. Hans Mark, a former Secretary of the Air Force who has analyzed these events, believes there is something in the American psyche that makes it difficult for our leaders to prepare for human behavior so far from our norms.



A kamikaze bears down on a U.S. warship

When the Bay of Pigs invasion began to falter, General Charles Cabell, deputy director of the CIA, called the President. He wanted U.S. airpower to blast Castro's tiny but effective air force from the sky. John Kennedy turned him down. Such a drastic step was beyond his ken. Some strategists still feel the invasion would have succeeded had Kennedy looked ahead and used more force.

The signals that hostages might be seized by revolutionaries in Iran were not properly weighed by Jimmy Carter and his aides. Marine officers in Beirut apparently did not give enough credence to the evidence available that terrorists might mount an attack with a truck full of high explosives, even if it meant blowing themselves up. Both events were too far from American experience.

The U.S. record is just as uneven in areas other than national security. Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover have been castigated by historians for watching the signs of looming economic chaos in the 1920s and failing to take action that might have helped control the damage. The entire roster of modern problems—central-city decay, environmental pollution, civil rights conflict—could be seen approaching, but no President really moved to head them off.

History's examples and recent events pose an intriguing question for Reagan's leadership. Can he see the trouble coming from those predicted \$200 billion annual federal deficits and, as in the case of Grenada, do something about them before they bring crisis? The evidence of how all this red ink will affect our economy is mixed for the short run. But most thoughtful people are justly frightened by the long view. Failure to cope in time with the deficit problem could obliterate Reagan's Grenada success and mar his presidency. Prescient action could make history smile on him.