

U.S. Hoping to Steer Clear Of O.A.S. Condemnation

By HEDRICK SMITH

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12 — The Reagan Administration faces criticism in the week ahead from the Organization of American States over the invasion of Grenada, but it has apparently headed off a resolution that would formally condemn the action, Latin American diplomats said today.

Val T. McComie, Assistant Secretary General of the organization, said he expected that the O.A.S. General Assembly would not adopt a resolution specifically denouncing the invasion, but would instead approve one "that would reaffirm the principle of nonintervention — which would be the least irritating tactic to the United States."

The diplomats said that in advance of the O.A.S. meeting, which starts Monday and is to run all week, the Administration has been lobbying hard in Latin American capitals to dissuade key governments from pushing for outright condemnation of the invasion. A resolution "deeply deploring" it was overwhelmingly approved Nov. 2 by the United Nations General Assembly.

'A Red Flag to the Bull'

For the last week, ambassadors of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Panama and Peru have been meeting privately to mount some initiative and to coordinate their criticism of the American action on Grenada. Privately, some have expressed irritation that Administration officials boasted that the O.A.S. could not agree on a resolution on Grenada in its first debate on Oct. 26.

"Those comments were like a red flag to the bull," confided one well-placed Latin diplomat. Other participants in the meetings here have insisted that "something has to be done, something has to come out" of the O.A.S. session to show that the organization is not impotent in the wake of American intervention.

If the issue is pressed to a vote, Ad-

ministration officials say, the United States will argue that it requires a two-thirds vote for adoption because it deals with a matter of collective security.

State Department officials are prepared to weather some strong criticism over Grenada but are fairly confident that a resolution of condemnation would not get a two-thirds majority of the 30-member organization and might not even get a simple majority.

"I don't think there are 15 votes for condemnation," said an American diplomat.

Strong Backing Expected

Washington expects strong backing for its position from Caribbean nations like Barbados, Jamaica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Dominica, which joined American forces in the invasion, as well as from some Central American countries like Guatemala and possibly El Salvador and Honduras.

The United States will have a sympathetic ally in the chair if, as expected, Foreign Minister Fidel Chávez Mena of El Salvador is elected President of the O.A.S. annual General Assembly.

The first test on Grenada will come on the issue of whether to recognize Sir Paul Scoon, the Governor General whose authority was restored by the American invasion, as the functional head of state.

Mr. McComie said at a news briefing Friday that he expected the O.A.S. to recognize the Governor General's authority and to respect his request that the credentials of Dessima Williams, the ambassador named by former Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, be lifted.

On a separate issue, the American delegation has been working behind the scenes to avoid a clash over an expected Argentine move to seek O.A.S. endorsement for its claims of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands.

Last year the O.A.S. adopted a resolution urging Argentina and Britain to hold talks on the sovereignty issue, but none were held.

This year Argentina has circulated a resolution that dismisses British claims to sovereignty and makes Argentina clearly sovereign. "If their resolution is not balanced, we can't vote for it," an American official said. "We're still negotiating with them over that."

Americans on Grenada: Military but Not Martial

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

Special to The New York Times

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada, Nov. 12 — From the sky it looks like a score of other Caribbean islands: a slender lily pad in the azure sea, surrounded by a ribbon of beach, with orange rooftops, a church, a soccer field and the all but inevitable landing strip carved out of the lush green hills.

But among the palm fronds and banana trees, along the winnowy streets, in the dusty corner stores and in the remote clearings of this former British colony, there are new settlers, thriving and taking root. They are American soldiers, and along with them are an armada of helicopters, a fleet of military transport vehicles and the makings of a bureaucracy.

They are hidden in the bushes, they are in the tucked-away corners, they are in the bars and bistros. At night, when the paths and mews of this tiny Windward Island nation are lit only by the stars and a brilliant November half-moon, they are in the streets, M-16's in hand.

Now that the residents of Grenada are breathing easier, they are finding a new atmosphere here. It is military, but not martial, imposed by an army of occupation that seems to be occupied, much of the time, with nothing at all.

Not the Most Exciting Work

"We came in and did our job," said Pfc. Steve Pagano of Saginaw, Mich. "I wouldn't call what we're doing now the most exciting thing I've ever done."

Though many of the G.I.'s, recipients of perhaps the warmest welcome given to American servicemen since the last days of World War II, are growing weary of their duty, the American military presence is becoming part of the landscape of Grenada.

Lieut. Col. Earl C. Horan, deputy head of civilian-military operations on Grenada, calls it "military support for nation-building." In less than two weeks, American military personnel have pervaded Grenadian society, from the hospitals to the immigration service.

They are doing medical assistance work, directing automobile traffic, distributing food, building roads, hiring local people for labor and chores — in short, they are doing the things that governments ordinarily do.

Looking for Cubans, Too

In the terminal of the Pearls airport, a building no bigger than a Westchester train station, they stand beside the two immigration officers, checking passports against a master list. What are they looking for? A soldier, a member of the 82d Airborne Division, broke into a broad smile. "Cubans," he said.

"We're looking for the good, the bad and the ugly," added Capt. Patrick Becker of Norfolk, Va. "We want this place to have a happy ending."

Much of the military role is aimed at doing what Maj. Douglas Frey, an Army spokesman here, described as "the responsible thing."

In the first days after the Oct. 25 invasion, it included providing lodging and clothing for civilians displaced by

heavy fighting. In the days to come it will involve repairs to the nation's crippled telephone service and supplies for a newspaper.

On the medical front, American medics in recent days have performed two routine deliveries, flown to Carriacou, the northernmost of Grenada's two islands, to bring a woman here for a Caesarean section and tended to a "fairly vicious machete injury" that grew out of a "domestic altercation."

"We're running a medical center on this island," said Col. James R. Wheeling, the chief United States military surgeon here. "We're operating, doing dental work, taking X-rays. We're not trying to make great changes. We're doing things that they will be able to sustain."

Green, Black, Red and Yellow

One enduring sight is that of certain colors. Many of Grenada's bridges and telephones remain painted in the green, black, red and yellow of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop's revolution. Mr. Bishop was ousted and killed in a coup that led to the request that American forces help restore order on the island. A sign, from the old days, still beams: "Free Grenada Welcomes You."

But now the pictures of Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader who had a hand in the revolution, are gone, and so, too, are many of the graffiti. Now American soldiers stand in front of the street signs proclaiming the virtues of productivity, education, cooperation and, oddly, port expansion.

They are now as much of the back-drop here as the laundry left to dry on the bushes and the coconuts on sale from car trunks. Military personnel are in the offices and institutions of the island, too, and even United States officials say they do not know how long they will remain.

Grenada Invasion Creates Rifts in the Caribbean

By RICHARD J. MEISLIN

Special to The New York Times

GEORGETOWN, Guyana, Nov. 10 — Caribbean officials say the invasion of Grenada has caused new rifts among the countries of the Caribbean and appears to have set back efforts for political and economic cooperation in the area.

There are also signs that the United States-led invasion has increased the level of nervousness here in Guyana, which, among the nations in the Caribbean, had the friendliest ties to the former Government of Maurice Bishop in Grenada. Guyana is itself pursuing what it calls "cooperative socialism" and has good relations with Cuba.

Guyana's President, Linden Forbes Burnham, said of the United States in an interview Wednesday night: "Basically, the prevailing attitude and ethic is that if they don't like your form of Government they are free to use any means, including intervention, to remove it."

Divisions appear to have arisen principally between Barbados, Jamaica and the smaller countries that took part in the invasion, and the four Caribbean countries that opposed it — the Bahamas, Belize, Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago.

Trade talks that were under way between Barbados and Trinidad have been stalled by the invasion, according

to officials in the region. Talk has been circulating as well of disbanding the regional organization known as Caricom, which tries to gain cooperation on economic and political matters, and replacing it with one that does not include the countries that resisted the military action but might include the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

"Whether Caricom survives," said Rashleigh Jackson, Guyana's Foreign Minister, "will be a measure of the maturity of its leaders."

Mr. Burnham, whose country on the northern coast of South America is going through one of the worst financial crises in the Caribbean, has expressed concern since the invasion that his country might be in for greater economic pressure from the United States because of its position.

Even before the invasion, he said, the United States blocked a loan to Guyana from the Inter-American Development Bank, apparently because of its objection to the country's growing tendency to socialism.

Doubts Security Was Threatened

Mr. Burnham dismissed the idea that the United States and Grenada's Caribbean neighbors acted because they felt their security was threatened by Cuba's involvement on the island.

"Everyone knows Cuba is no match and everyone knows that the Soviet Union could not deploy serious and

deadly weapons in Cuba with the United States knowing it," he said.

"The threat," he added, "was that if the Grenadians succeeded in transforming their economy, other countries in the position might say that this ideology or that economic tactic on the part of Grenada must be good. There's nothing in international law that says that's a good reason for invading."

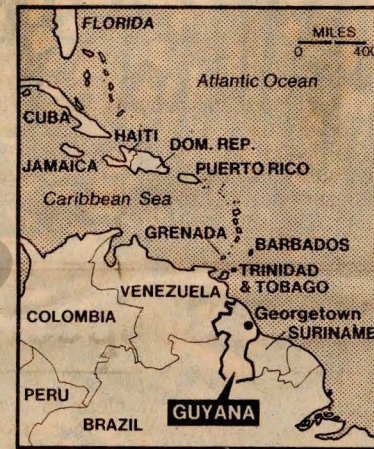
Citing his country's own history, Mr. Burnham expressed doubts that the invasion would succeed in permanently eliminating the political elements it opposed.

"In 1953 the British suspended the Constitution to get rid of Burnham and Jagan," he said, referring to himself and the leader of the opposition, Cheddy Jagan, a Marxist. "In 1957, when the first elections were held, Jagan won; later, Burnham won; and it's been Burnham and Jagan ever since."

Guyana Takes Hardest Line

Guyana, which has taken the hardest line of the Caribbean countries against the invasion, has not yet decided what its relations with the new Grenada Government will be.

While Mr. Burnham originally said that he would not set up diplomatic relations with any new Government formed by the invading forces, his view appeared to have softened after the appointment of Meredith Alister McIn-



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Guyana has taken the hardest line of the Caribbean nations against the U.S.-led invasion of Grenada.

tyre, a former Caricom official who is well-known and well-regarded among regional leaders, to head the interim Government.

Mr. Burnham said Wednesday night that "depending on what his powers are" and what the interim Government's level of independence would be, relations were possible.

While he said that efforts at economic pressure were possible from his Caribbean neighbors as well, "they cannot hurt us with trade — every grain of rice that is exportable we have markets for."

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**Farewell address by Commander In Chief Fidel Castro,
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist
Party and President of the Councils of State and Ministers,
in funeral homage to the heroes fallen in unequal
combat against Yankee Imperialism in Grenada.**

**Delivered at Revolution
Square, Havana, on
November 14th, 1983.**



Fellow Countrymen:

On October 15, 1976, a little over seven years ago, we gathered here, in this same place, to deliver a funeral address for the 57 Cubans who were vilely murdered in the Barbados plane sabotage, carried out by men who had been trained by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Today we have come once again to bid farewell — this time to 24 Cubans who died in Grenada, another island not very far from Barbados, as a result of U.S. military actions.

Grenada was one of the smallest independent states in the world, both in territory and population. Even though Cuba is a small, undeveloped country, it was able to help Grenada considerably, because our efforts — which were modest in quantity though high in quality — meant a lot for a country less than 400 square kilometers in size, with a population of just over 100,000.

For instance, the value of our contribution to Grenada in the form of materials, designs and labor in building the new airport came to \$60 million at international prices — over \$500 per inhabitant. It is as if Cuba — with a population of almost 10 million — received a project worth \$5 billion as a donation. In addition, there was the cooperation of our doctors, teachers and technicians in diverse specialties, plus an annual contribution of Cuban products worth about \$3 million. This meant an additional annual contribution of \$40 per inhabitant. It is impossible for Cuba to render considerable material assistance to countries with significantly large populations and territories, but we were able to offer great assistance to a country like tiny Grenada.

Many other small Caribbean nations, used to the gross economic and strategic interests of Colonialism and Imperialism, were amazed by Cuba's generous assistance to that fraternal people. They may have thought that Cuba's selfless action was extraordinary, in the midst of the U.S. Government's dirty propaganda, some may even have found it difficult to understand.

Our people felt such deep friendship for Bishop and Grenada, and our respect for that country and its sovereignty was so irreproachable, that we never dared to express any opinions about what was being done there or how it was being done. In Grenada, we followed the same principle we apply to all revolutionary nations and movements, full respect for their policies, criteria and decisions, expressing our views on any matter only when asked to do so. Imperialism is incapable of understanding that the secret of our excellent relations with revolutionary countries and movements in the world lies precisely in this respect.

The U.S. Government looked down on Grenada and hated Bishop. It wanted to destroy Grenada's process and obliterate its example. It had even prepared military plans for invading the island — as Bishop had charged nearly two years ago — but it lacked a pretext.

Socioeconomically, Grenada was actually advancing satisfactorily.

The people had received many benefits, in spite of the hostile policy of the United States, and Grenada's gross national product was growing at a good rate in the midst of the world crisis. Bishop was not an extremist, rather, he was a true revolutionary — conscientious and honest. Far from disagreeing with his intelligent and realistic policy, we fully sympathized with it, since it was rigorously adapted to his country's specific conditions and possibilities. Grenada had become a true symbol of independence and progress in the Caribbean.

No one could have foreseen the tragedy that was drawing near. Attention was focused on other parts of the world. Unfortunately, the Grenadian revolutionaries themselves unleashed the events that opened the door to imperialist aggression.

Hyenas emerged from the revolutionary ranks. Today no one can yet say whether those who used the dagger of divisionism and internal confrontation did so *motu proprio* or were inspired and egged on by imperialism.

It is something that could have been done by the CIA — and, if somebody else was responsible, the CIA could not have done it any better. The fact is that allegedly revolutionary arguments were used, invoking the purest principles of Marxism-Leninism and charging Bishop

with practicing a cult of personality and drawing away from the Leninist norms and methods of leadership. In our view, nothing could be more absurd than to attribute such tendencies to Bishop. It was impossible to image anyone more noble, modest and unselfish. He could never have been guilty of being authoritarian, if he had any defect, it was his excessive tolerance and trust.

Were those who conspired against him within the Grenadian party, army and security, by any chance, a group of extremists drunk on political theory? Were they simply a group of ambitious, opportunistic individuals, or were they enemy agents who wanted to destroy the Grenadian revolution? History alone will have the last word, but it would not be the first time that such things occurred in a revolutionary process.

In our view, Coard's group objectively destroyed the revolution and opened the door to imperialist aggression. Whatever their intentions, the brutal assassination of Bishop and his most loyal, closest comrades is a fact that can never be justified in that or any other revolution. As the October 20 statement by Cuban party and government put it, "no crime can be committed in the name of revolution and liberty."

In spite of his very close and affectionate links with our party's leadership, Bishop never said anything about the internal dissensions that were developing. To the contrary, in his last conversation with us he was self-critical about his work regarding attention to the armed forces and the mass organizations.

Nearly all of our party and state leaders spent many friendly, fraternal hours with him on the evening of October 7, before his return trip to Grenada.

Coard's group never had such relations nor such intimacy and trust with us. Actually, we did not even know that group existed. It is to our revolution's credit that, in spite of our profound indignation over Bishop's removal from office and arrest, we fully refrained from interfering in Grenada's internal affairs, even though our construction workers and all our other cooperation personnel in Grenada — who did not hesitate to confront the Yankee soldiers with the weapons Bishop himself had given them for their defense in case of an attack from abroad — could have been a decisive factor in those internal events, those weapons were never meant to be used in an internal conflict in Grenada and we would never have allowed them to be so used, we would never have been willing to use them to shed a single drop of Grenadian blood.

On October 12, Bishop was removed from office by the Central Committee, on which the conspirators had attained a majority on the 13th, he was placed under house arrest. On the 19th, the people took to the streets and freed Bishop. On the same day, Coard's group ordered the army to fire on the people and Bishop, Whiteman, Jacqueline Creft and other excellent revolutionary leaders were murdered.

As soon as the internal dissensions which came to light on October 12 were manifest the Yankee Imperialist decided to invade.

The message sent by the leadership of the Cuban party to Coard's group on October 15 has been made public. In it, we expressed our deep concern over both the internal and the external consequences of the split and appealed to the common sense, serenity, wisdom and generosity of revolutionaries. This reference to generosity was an appeal not to use violence against Bishop and his followers.

This group of Coard's that seized power in Grenada expressed serious reservations toward Cuba from the very beginning because of our well-known and unquestionable friendship with Bishop.

The national and international press have published our strong denunciation of the events of October 19, the day Bishop was murdered. Our relations with Austin's short-lived government, in which Coard was really in charge, were actually cold and tense, so that, at the time of the criminal Yankee aggression there was no coordination whatsoever between the Grenadian army and the Cuban construction workers and other cooperation personnel. The basic points of the messages sent to our embassy in Grenada on October 12 through 25, the day on which the invasion took place, have been made public.

Those documents stand in history as irrefutable proof of our clean principled position regarding Grenada.

Imperialism, however, presented the events as the coming to power of a group of hard-line Communists, loyal allies of Cuba. Were they really Communist? Were they really hard-liners? Could they really be loyal allies of Cuba? Or were they rather conscious or unconscious tools of Yankee imperialism? Look at the history of the revolutionary movement, and you will find more than one connection between imperialism and those who take positions that appear to be on the extreme left.

Aren't Pol Pot and Ieng Sary — the ones responsible for the genocide in Kampuchea — the most loyal allies Yankee Imperialism has in Southeast Asia at present? In Cuba, ever since the Grenadian crisis began, we have called Coard's group — to give it a name — the "Pol Pot Group."

Our relations with the new leaders of Grenada were to be subjected to profound analysis, as was set forth in the October 20 statement by the party and government of Cuba. In it, we also stated that, due to our basic regard for the Grenadian people, we would not rush to "take any steps regarding technical and economical cooperation which may jeopardize the basic services and vital economic interest of the people of Grenada."

We could not accept the idea of leaving the Grenadians without doctors or leaving the airport, which was vital to the nation's economy, unfinished. Most certainly, our construction workers were to leave Grenada when that project was completed, and the weapons that Bishop had given them were to be returned to the government. It was even possible that our very bad relations with the new government would make it necessary for us to leave much earlier.

The thing that placed Cuba in a morally complex, difficult situation was the announcement that Yankee naval forces were en route to Grenada.

Under those circumstances, we couldn't possibly leave the country. If the imperialists really intended to attack Grenada, it was our duty to stay there. To withdraw at that time would have been dishonorable and could even have triggered aggression in that country then and in Cuba later on.

In addition, events unfolded with such incredible speed that if the evacuation had been planned for, there would not have been time to carry it out.

In Grenada, however, the government was morally indefensible, and, since the party, the government and the

army had divorced themselves from the people, it was also impossible to defend the nation militarily, because a revolutionary war is only feasible and justifiable when united with the people. We could only fight, therefore, if we were directly attacked. There was no alternative. It should nevertheless be noted that, despite these adverse circumstances, a number of Grenadian soldiers died in heroic combat against the invaders.

The internal events, however, in no way justified Yankee intervention.

Since when has the government of the United States become the arbiter of internal conflicts between revolutionaries in any given country? What right did Reagan have to rend his mantle over the death of Bishop, whom he so hated and opposed? What reasons could there be for its brutal violation of the sovereignty of Grenada — a small independent nation that was a respected and acknowledged member of the international community? It would be the same as if another country believed it had the right to intervene in the United States because of the repulsive assassination of Martin Luther King or so many other outrages, such as those that have been committed against the Black and Hispanic minorities in the United States, or to intervene because John Kennedy was murdered.

The same may be said of the argument that the lives of 1,000 Americans were in danger. There are many times more U.S. citizens in dozens of other countries in the world. Does this, perchance, imply the right to intervene when internal conflicts arise in those countries? There are tens of thousands of Grenadians in the United States, England and Trinidad. Could tiny Grenada intervene if domestic policy problems arose that pose some threat to its compatriots in any of those countries? Putting aside the fallacy and falseness of such pretexts for invading Grenada, is this really an international norm that can be sustained?

A thousand Marxism lessons could not teach us any better about the dirty, perfidious and aggressive nature of imperialism than the attack unleashed against Grenada at dawn on October 25 and its later development.

In order to justify its invasion of Grenada and its subsequent actions, the U.S. Government and its spokesmen told 19 lies. Reagan personally told the first 13.

1. Cuba had to do with the *coup d'etat* and the death of Bishop.
2. The American students were in danger of being taken hostage.
3. The main purpose of the invasion was to protect the lives of American citizens.
4. The invasion was a multinational operation undertaken at the request of Mr. Scoon and the Eastern Caribbean nations.
5. Cuba was planning to invade and occupy Grenada.
6. Grenada was being turned into an important Soviet-Cuban military base.
7. The airport under construction was not civilian but military.
8. The weapons in Grenada would be used to export subversion and terrorism.
9. The Cubans fired first.
10. There were over 1,000 Cubans in Grenada.
11. Most of the Cubans were not construction workers but professional soldiers.
12. The invading forces took care not to destroy civilian property or inflict civilian casualties.
13. The U.S. troops would remain in Grenada for a week.
14. Missile silos were being built in Grenada.
15. The vessel Viet Nam Heroico was transporting special weapons.
16. Cuba was warned of the invasion.
17. Five hundred Cubans are fighting in the mountains of Grenada.
18. Cuba has issued instructions for reprisals to be taken against U.S. citizens.
19. The journalists were excluded for their own protection.

None of these assertions were proved, none are true and all have been refuted by the facts. This cynical way of lying in order to justify invading a tiny country reminds us of the methods Adolf Hitler used during the years leading up to World War II.

The U.S. students and officials of the medical school located there acknowledge that they were given full guarantees for U.S. citizens and the necessary facilities for those who wanted to leave the country. Moreover, Cuba had informed the U.S. Government on October 22 that no foreign citizens, including Cubans, had been disturbed, and it offered to cooperate in solving any difficulty that might arise, so that problems could be settled without violence or intervention in that country.

No U.S. citizen had been disturbed at all prior to the invasion, and if anything endangered them, it was the war unleashed by the United States.

Cuba's instructions to its personnel not to interfere with any actions to evacuate U.S. citizens in the area of the runway under construction near the university contributed to projecting the U.S. citizens residing in that country. Reagan's reference to the possibility that Grenada might turn into another Iran — a reference calculated to appeal to the U.S. feelings wounded in that episode — is a demagogic, politicking, dishonest argument.

The assertion that the new airport was a military one — an old lie that the Reagan Administration had dwelt on a lot — was categorically refuted by the English capitalist firm that supplied and installed the electrical and technical equipment for that airport. The British technicians of the Plessey Company, which has made a name for itself internationally as a specialist in this field worked alongside the Cuban construction workers, to whose civilian worker status they attest.

Several countries of the European community that are members of the Atlantic Alliance cooperated in one way or another with the airport. How can anyone imagine them helping Cuba to build a military airport in Grenada? However, the idea that Grenada was being turned into a Soviet-Cuban base is refuted by the proven fact that there wasn't even one Soviet military adviser on the island.

The supposedly secret documents that fell into the hands of the United States and were published by the Yankee administration a few days after the invasion refer to the agreement between the governments of Cuba and Grenada by virtue of which our country was to send Grenada 27 military advisers, which could later be increased to 40 — figures that coincide with the ones Cuba published on the number of advisers, which was 22 on the day

of the attack, to which were added a similar number of translators and service personnel from the mission. Nowhere in those documents that they have been crowing over is there something that has anything to do with the idea of military bases in Grenada. What they do show is that the weapons that the Soviet Union supplied to the government of Grenada for the army and the militia were subject to an article that prohibited their export to third countries, which refutes the idea that Grenada had been turned into an arsenal for supplying weapons to subversive terrorist organizations, as the present U.S. administration likes to call the revolutionary and national liberation movements. No weapons ever left Grenada for any other country, and, therefore, Reagan can never prove that any did.

The assertion that Cuba was about to invade and occupy Grenada is so unrealistic, absurd, crazy and alien to our principles and international policy that it cannot even be taken seriously.

What has been proven is the absolutely scrupulous way in which we refrained from meddling in the internal affairs of that country, in spite of our deep affection for Bishop and our total rejection of Coard and his group's conspiracy and coup, which could serve only the interests of imperialism and its plans for destroying the Grenadian revolution. The messages containing precise, categorical instructions to our embassy in Grenada, which have been widely publicized by the government of Cuba, constitute irrefutable proof of the clear position of principle maintained by the leadership of our party and state with regards to the internal events in Grenada.

The civilian status of the vast majority of the Cuban cooperation personnel in Grenada has been shown to the whole world by the hundreds of foreign journalists who saw them arriving in our country and who were able to interview each and every one of them. Nearly 50 percent of them were over 40 years old. Who could question their status as civilian cooperation personnel and workers with long years of experience on their jobs?

When the U.S. Government spokesmen asserted that there were from 1,000 to 1,500 Cubans in Grenada at the time of the invasion and that hundreds of them were still fighting in the mountains, Cuba published the exact number of Cuban citizens who were in Grenada on the day of the invasion: 784, including diplomatic personnel with their children and other relatives.

The agencies that sent them and the kind of work they did were also reported, as well as the instructions given them to fight in their work areas and camps if attacked, and the fact it was impossible — according to the information we had — for hundreds to remain in the mountains. Later, the names and jobs of all cooperation workers were published, as well as the known or probable situation of each one. The facts have shown that the information provided by Cuba was absolutely true. There isn't a single fact in all that information that could be proven false.

The assertion that the Cubans initiated the acts of hostility is equally false and cynical, the irrefutable truth is that the Cubans were sleeping at the time of the air drop on the runway and around the camps. Their weapons were stored, they had not been distributed. There weren't enough to go around, and they weren't distributed until the landing was already underway. And that is when the Cuban personnel went to the places assigned to them for that emergency. Even so, our personnel, now organized and armed, had time to see the U.S. paratroopers regrouping on the runway and the first planes landing. That was the invader's weakest moment. If the Cubans had fired first, they would have killed or wounded dozens — perhaps hundreds — of U.S. soldiers in those early hours. What is strictly historical and strictly true is that the fighting began when the U.S. troops advanced toward the Cubans in a belligerent way. It is also true that when a group of unarmed cooperation personnel was captured, they were used as hostages and forced to lead the way in front of the U.S. soldiers.

The invasion of Grenada was a treacherous surprise attack, with no previous warning at all — just like Pearl Harbor, just like the Nazis, the note from the government of the United States to the government of Cuba on Tuesday, October 25, in an attempted response to our note of Saturday, October 22, was delivered at 8:30 in the morning, three hours after the landing had taken place and an hour and a half after the U.S. troops began attacking our compatriots in Grenada. Actually, on the afternoon of the 25th, the U.S. Government sent the government of Cuba a deceitful note that led us to believe that the fighting would cease in a reasonable and honorable manner, thus avoiding greater bloodshed. Although we immediately responded to that note, accepting that possibility, what the U.S. Government did was to land the 82nd Airborne Division at dawn on the 26th and attack with all its forces the Cuban position that was still resisting. Is this the way a serious government behaves? Is this the way to warn of an attack? Was this the way to avoid greater bloodshed?

Mr. Scoon blatantly declared that he approved of the invasion but that he had not previously asked anyone to invade Grenada. A few days after the landing, Mr. Scoon — lodged in the helicopter-carrier Guam — signed a letter officially requesting the intervention. Reagan could not prove any of his false assertions. When, as a pretext for keeping the Viet Nam Heroico — which was in the port of St. George's on the day of the invasion from being used as a means of transportation for evacuating the Cuban hostages from Grenada — it was alleged that it carried special weapons, its captain was immediately asked if by any chance he carried weapons on board, and the only thing that was determined was that it had just one fearful weapon its name: Viet Nam.

The slanderous charge that Cuba had given instructions to carry out actions against U.S. citizens in other countries was given a worthy, official and public reply based on the reality, proven by the history of the revolution, that Cuba has always been opposed to acts of reprisal against innocent people.

The Government of the United States has not condescended to offer the number of people arrested nor the figure of Grenadian losses, including civilian losses. A hospital for the mentally ill was bombed, killing dozens of patients.

And where is Mr. Reagan's promise that U.S. troops would withdraw in a week? President Reagan himself in his first address to the U.S. people, at 8:30 A.M. on the day of the invasion, in a speech prepared before the landing, stated that the situation was under control. That same day, his own spokesmen described the resistance

the invading forces were facing. The military parade the Pentagon had planned to hold in four hours did not take into account the tenacious and heroic resistance of the Cuban cooperation personnel and of the Grenadian soldiers. Who, then, has told the truth, and who has cynically lied about the events in Grenada? No foreign journalists — not even those from the United States — were allowed to see and report on the events on the spot. The pretext that this prohibition was a security measure for the journalists is both superficial and ridiculous. What they obviously wanted was to monopolize and manipulate information so they could lie without any hindrance to world public opinion, including the people of the United States. This was the only way they could spread deliberate lies and falsehoods of all kinds — which would be difficult to clear up and refute after their initial impact and effect on the people of the United States. Even in this, the method used by the U.S. Administration was Fascist.

What is left now, objectively, of those 19 assertions? Where are the silos for strategic missiles that were being built in Grenada? But all those lies that the world did not believe, told by the U.S. President and his spokesmen, made a tremendous impact on U.S. public opinion.

Moreover, the invasion of Grenada was presented to the U.S. people as a great victory for Reagan's foreign policy against the Socialist camp and the revolutionary movement. It was linked to the tragic death of 240 U.S. soldiers in Beirut, to the memory of the hostages in Iran, to the humiliating defeat in Vietnam and the resurgence of the United States as an influential power on the world scene. A dirty, dishonest appeal was made to U.S. patriotism, to national pride, to the grandeur and glory of the nation.

This was how they got a majority of the U.S. people — it is said that it was 65 percent at first and then 71 percent — to support the monstrous crime of invading a sovereign country without any justification, the reprehensible method of launching a surprise attack, the press censorship and all the other similar procedures the U.S. Government used for invading and justifying its invasion of Grenada. Hitler acted the same way when he occupied Austria in 1938 and annexed Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, in 1938 in the name of German pride, German grandeur and glory and the happiness and security of German subjects. If a poll had been taken in Hitler Germany at that time, in the midst of the chauvinistic wave unleashed by the Nazis, around 80 or 90 percent of the people would have approved of those aggressions.

The deplorable, truly dangerous fact — not only for the peoples of the Caribbean, Central and Latin America, but for all the peoples of the world — is that, when world opinion unanimously denounced the warmongering, aggressive, unjustifiable action that violated peoples sovereignty and all international norms and principles in the United States as manipulated, misinformed and deceived, majority opinion supported the monstrous crime committed by their government.

There is something even more disturbing: when this about-face was effected in U.S. public opinion, many U.S. politicians who initially had opposed these events ended up by condoning Reagan's actions, and the press — censured, humiliated and kept at a distance from the events — ended up moderating its complaints and criticism.

Are these, perchance, the virtues of a society where the opinion and the political and informational institutions can be grossly manipulated by its rulers, as they were in German society in the time of Fascism? Where is the glory, the grandeur and the victory in invading and defeating one of the tiniest countries in the world, of no economic or strategic significance? Where is the heroism in fighting a handful of workers and other civilian cooperation personnel whose heroic resistance — in spite of the surprise elements, the shortage of ammunition, and their disadvantage in terms of terrain, arms and numbers — against the air, sea and land forces of the most powerful imperialist country in the world forced it to bring in the 82nd Airborne Division when the last stronghold was being defended at dawn on October 26 by barely 50 fighters? The United States did not achieve any victory at all — not political or military or moral. If anything, it was a pyrrhic military victory and a profound moral defeat, as we pointed out on another occasion.

The imperialist Government of the United States wanted to kill the symbol of the Grenadian revolution, but the symbol was already dead. The Grenadian revolutionaries themselves destroyed it with their spirit and their colossal errors. We believe that, after the death of Bishop and his closest comrades, after the army fired on the people and after the party and the government divorced themselves from the masses and isolated themselves from the world, the Grenadian revolutionary process could not survive in its efforts to destroy a symbol, the United States killed a corpse and brought the symbol back to life at the same time. Was it for this that it challenged international law and won the repudiation and condemnation of the world?

Does it feel such contempt for the rest of mankind? Is that contempt really so great that Mr. Reagan's appetite for breakfast on November 3 was not at all affected, as he declared before the press?

If, unfortunately, all this were true — and it seems to be — the invasion of Grenada should lead us to an awareness of the realities and dangers that threaten the world.

Mr. O'Neill, Speaker of the House of Representatives, said that it was sinful that a man who was totally uninformed and ignorant about international problems and who doesn't even read the documents, was President of the United States. If we consider that the United States has powerful sophisticated means of conventional and nuclear warfare and that the President of that country can declare war without consulting anyone, it is not only sinful but truly dramatic and tragic for all mankind.

An air of triumph reigns in the Reagan Administration. The echoes of the last shots in Grenada have barely died away and already there is talk of intervening in El Salvador, Nicaragua and even Cuba.

In the Middle East and Southern Africa, imperialism's acts of interference and military aggression against progressive countries and national liberation movements continue unabated.

In Europe, the first of the 572 Pershing and Cruise missiles are already being deployed, surrounding the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries with a deadly ring of nuclear weapons that can reach their territories in a matter of minutes. Not just the small countries, but all mankind is threatened. The bells tolling today for Grenada may toll tomorrow for the whole world.

The most prestigious and experienced scientists and doctors assure us that man could not survive a global nuclear conflict. The destructive power of these stockpiled weapons is a million times greater than that of the unsophisticated bombs that wiped out the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in just a few seconds. This is what the Reagan Administration's aggressive, warmongering policy can lead to.

Meanwhile, the arms race is already a reality in the midst of the worst economic crisis the world has witnessed since the '30's. And, with the problems of development of the vast majority of the peoples in the world still to be solved, who can feel confidence in a government that acts as precipitously, rashly and cynically as the U.S. Government did in Grenada?

Reagan did not even bother to listen to the advice of a government as closely linked to him politically, ideologically and militarily as the British Government. It is not strange that in a poll taken just a few days ago more than 90 percent of the British citizens were categorically opposed to the United States' having the unilateral prerogative of using the Cruise missiles that are being deployed there.

In our hemisphere, just a year and a half ago, a NATO power used sophisticated war means to shed Argentine blood in the Malvinas. The Reagan Administration supported that action. It did not even consider the Organization of American States or the so-called security pacts and agreements, but scornfully pushed them aside. Now, basing itself on the alleged request of a phantasmagoric organization of micro-states in the Eastern Caribbean, it has invaded Grenada and shed Caribbean blood and Cuban blood. Nicaragua paid a price of over 40,000 lives for freedom, and nearly a thousand more sons of that noble people have been killed in the attacks made by mercenary bands organized, trained and equipped by the U.S. Government. In El Salvador, over 50,000 people have been murdered by a genocidal regime whose army is equipped, trained and directed by the United States. In Guatemala, more than 100,000 have died at the hands of the repressive system installed by the C.I.A. in 1954, when it overthrew the progressive Arbenz Government. How many have died in Chile since imperialism staged the overthrow and assassination of Salvador Allende? How many have died in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil and Bolivia in the last 15 years?

What a high price our peoples have paid in blood, sacrifice, poverty and mourning for imperialist domination and the unjust social systems it has imposed on our nations.

Imperialism is bent on destroying symbols, because it knows the value of symbols, of examples and of ideas. It wanted to destroy them in Grenada and it wants to destroy them in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba. But symbols, examples and ideas cannot be destroyed. When their enemies think they have destroyed them, what they have actually done is made them multiply. In trying to wipe out the first Christians, the Roman Emperors spread Christianity throughout the world. Likewise, all attempts to destroy our ideas will only multiply them.

Grenada has already multiplied the Salvadoran, Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutionaries' patriotic convictions and fighting spirit. It has been proven that the best U.S. troops can be fought and that they are not feared. The imperialists must not ignore the fact that they will encounter fierce resistance wherever they attack a revolutionary people. Let us hope that their pyrrhic victory in Grenada and their air of triumph don't go to their heads, leading them to commit serious, irreversible errors. They will not find in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba the particular circumstance of revolutionaries divided among themselves and divorced from the people that they found in tiny Grenada.

In more than three years of heroic struggle, the Salvadoran revolutionaries have become experienced, fearless and invincible fighters. There are thousands of them who know the land inch by inch, veterans of dozens of victorious combats who are accustomed to fighting and winning when their odds are one to ten against elite troops, trained, armed and advised by the United States. Their unity is more solid and indestructible than ever.

In Nicaragua the imperialists would have to confront a deeply patriotic and revolutionary people that is united, organized, armed and ready to fight and that can never be subjugated.

With regard to Cuba, if in Grenada the imperialists had to bring in an elite division to fight against a handful of isolated men struggling in a small stronghold, lacking fortification, a thousand miles from their homeland, how many divisions would they need against millions of combatants fighting on their own soil alongside their own people?

Our country — as we have already said on other occasions — might be wiped off the face of the earth, but it will never be conquered and subjugated. In the present conditions of our continent, a U.S. war against a Latin American people would raise the morale of all the peoples of Latin America and turn their feelings against the aggressors. A bottomless abyss would be opened between peoples that, because they are in the same hemisphere, are called upon to live in peace, friendship and mutual respect and cooperate with one another.

The experiences of Grenada will be examined in detail to extract the utmost benefit from them for use in case of another attack against a country where there are Cuban cooperation personnel or on our own Motherland.

The Cubans that were captured and made virtually hostages had an unforgettable experience of what a country occupied by invading troops is like. The physical and psychological treatment given the cooperation personnel who were taken prisoners was insulting and vexatious, and promises of all kinds were made to each of them to try to get them to go to the United States. But they were not able to break their steel-like firmness. Not a single one deserted his homeland. In our country there was no manipulation of the news, nothing was hidden from the people. All reports concerning the invasion that were received directly from Grenada were transmitted to our population just as they arrived, even though the ones on October 26 turned out to be exaggerated.

As a matter of principle, at no time were efforts made to play down the seriousness of the situation or to minimize the magnitude of the dangers facing our compatriots.

We are deeply grateful to the international committee of the Red Cross for its interest, dedication and efficient efforts to identify and evacuate the wounded, sick and other prisoners and the dead as quickly as possible. We are also grateful to the governments of Spain and Colombia for the efforts that initially they made in this regard.

In bidding farewell to our beloved brothers who died heroically in combat fulfilling with honor their patriotic and internationalist duties, and in expressing our deepest solidarity to their loved ones, we do not forget that there are Grenadian mothers and U.S. mothers who are crying for their sons who died in Grenada.

We send our condolences to the mothers and other relatives of the Grenadians who were killed and also to the mothers and other relatives of the U.S. soldiers who died, because they, who also suffer from the loss of close relatives, are not responsible for, but victims as well of their Government's warmongering, aggressive, irresponsible actions.

Every day, every hour, every minute — at work, at our study and combat positions — we will remember our comrades who died in Grenada.

The men whom we will bury this afternoon fought for us and for the world. They may seem to be corpses. Reagan wants to make corpses of all our people, men, women, elderly and children. He wants to make corpses out of all mankind. But the peoples shall struggle to preserve their independence and their lives; they will struggle to prevent the world from becoming a huge cemetery; they will struggle and pay the price necessary for mankind to survive. However, they are not corpses, but symbols. They did not even die in the land where they were born. There, far away from Cuba, where they were contributing with the noble sweat of their internationalist work in a country poorer and smaller than ours, they were also capable to shed their blood and offer their lives. But in that trench, they also knew they were defending their own people and their own homeland as well.

It is impossible to express the generosity of human beings and their willingness to make sacrifices in a more pure way. Their example will be multiplied, their ideas will be multiplied and they themselves will be multiplied in us. No power, no weapons, no forces can ever prevail over the patriotism, internationalism, feelings of human brotherhood and Communist consciousness which they embody.

We shall be like them, in work and combat.

*Patria o Muerte.
Venceremos.*

After Grenada, Could There Be a Next Time and Place?

AS the political debate on Grenada continued last week, *The Week in Review* asked two members of Congress with opposing views to discuss the implications. Paul E. Tsongas, Democrat of Massachusetts, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Western Hemisphere affairs, and Henry J. Hyde of Illinois, a Republican member of the corresponding subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, talked with Steven V. Roberts of *The New York Times* Washington bureau and Milt Freudenheim, a *Review* editor. Excerpts follow.

QUESTION. After Grenada will it be easier for a President to use force?

Representative Hyde. More difficult. The world reaction was largely negative. Every exercise like this always has to be circumscribed by time and goal limitations, although the message certainly is that the United States is capable and has the will to use force in an appropriate situation.

Senator Tsongas. There's no question this is a plus for the President in domestic politics. And most of the people who made this decision feel they made the right decision — (that) they sent a message to the Soviets and Cubans. The arguments against would be — the evacuation rationale is less likely to be as convenient in the next case; as the details and misinformation are brought out, the invasion will look less attractive, and most important, you're not likely to find another tiny island willing to give you such an easy opponent.

Mr. Hyde. We were confronted with a situation involving real human beings, many of whom I met at the Rose Garden the other day, and a Governor General who got a message out that they were in serious trouble. Our response was decisive and effective, but I don't see it as a pattern repeating itself. As for erroneous information, every operation has its share. But the interviews with citizens of Grenada and the people who were evacuated make the President's operation look very good.

Mr. Tsongas. Why was the press kept out? It was all right for the press to land in Normandy (in World War II), where there was enormous danger.



American troops in Grenada.

Representative Henry J. Hyde

Senator Paul E. Tsongas

Mr. Hyde. For the same reason the press was kept out of the Iranian operation to rescue the hostages. If you're an assault commander, your first responsibility is the safety of your troops and the success of the operation. To have to divert your attention to the press would certainly interfere.

Mr. Tsongas. You can take the national security argument to the point where you have no free press.

Q. Do you agree with House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill's latest statements, notably that the threat to the students justified the invasion after all?

Mr. Tsongas. Any President faced with the threat to his citizenry has an obligation to react. As to the larger issue of whether the United States is going to be in the business of changing governments through military intervention, I agree with the Speaker that it would be "hell on earth" and certainly would not have bipartisan support.

Grenada Versus Afghanistan?

Q. What price have we paid with our allies?

Mr. Hyde. There is a price. The failure of our allies to support us is a bitter lesson, particularly Margaret Thatcher in view of our support for her adventure in the Falklands.

Mr. Tsongas. Chapter 18 of the Organization of American States Charter, which calls for nonintervention, has been violated. And from the European perspective, Grenada is nickel-dime stuff compared to Euromissiles. We give the anti-Euromissile constituency (in Europe) a major issue. Also, when you are on the losing side of a 108-to-9 vote in the United Nations, you've got serious problems. As the author of the resolution to support the Afghan rebels, I can tell you this kind of venture makes that effort all the more difficult to sell.

Mr. Hyde. Are you comparing Grenada with Afghanistan? These six countries in the eastern Caribbean (Grenada's neighbors) have no army; the United States

is the only country that has the ability to withstand a subversive takeover of the island. The only legal authority smuggles a message out for help. To even compare that to the obscene invasion of Afghanistan with Soviet troops who are there to impose tyranny is really reaching.

Mr. Tsongas. There are clearly distinctions. But to take the position that the world community will see no similarities is wishful thinking. I spent a year in the West Indies; I know some of these islands reasonably well. The argument that somehow it was going to be a major threat to the United States really just stretches believability.

Mr. Hyde. The entire Government was put up against the wall and assassinated; there was lawlessness and fear and a shoot-on-sight curfew. We had 1,000 Americans present and we got a plea from the Governor General.

Mr. Tsongas. The purpose was only evacuation?

Mr. Hyde. No, it was evacuation plus responding, as the only legitimate, effective authority, to the call of the Governor General. If you think the cause of human rights and freedom is advanced by another Cuban-Soviet base in the south Caribbean, then we don't look at these things alike.

Mr. Tsongas. Wherever there is going to be a significant increase in Cuban influence, the United States has a military option?

Mr. Hyde. No, or we'd go right into Cuba. . . .

Mr. Tsongas. Let's take Nicaragua. Nicaragua has an airport, too. Cuban construction workers, the military presence, Marxism, military capability — you can say the same about Nicaragua. Are we going to take on Nicaragua? I tell you, as someone who was there in August, if you go into Nicaragua, you're going to get all these 12-, 13-, 14-year-old students taking up arms to fight the United States.

Mr. Hyde. Except the Contras, on the other side.

Mr. Tsongas. The Contras are an insignificant proportion of the population.

Q. Is there a real threat to Nicaragua?

Mr. Hyde. The differences are profound. Nicaragua is surrounded by countries that have a military establishment — Honduras, El Salvador. In the eastern Caribbean, nobody has military capability. The likelihood of invading Nicaragua to protect Honduras and El Salvador is minimal.

Mr. Tsongas. That is in sharp contrast to the arguments I've been hearing from the Administration in the Foreign Relations Committee — (that) Nicaragua has a force disproportionate to its population and its neighbors.

Q. In terms of the War Powers Act, Grenada, Lebanon, what lessons can we draw about Congress's role?

Mr. Hyde. I don't think the President can initiate, nor follow through on, any substantial foreign policy undertaking without the support of Congress. That includes both parties.

Mr. Tsongas. On Grenada, Congress has been passive and low-profile — a direct result of the fact that the invasion was popular.

Q. Should Congress be more aggressive?

Mr. Tsongas. If you are going to have a Foreign Relations Committee worthy of the name, and it's going to live up to the stature of its predecessors — which is not the case — Congress is going to have to be an active participant. There should be hearings, issues brought out. When one looks back on the three years of the Administration, the invasion of Grenada would be the single most significant foreign policy success — at least to date — which speaks volumes about the difficulty we're in.

Mr. Hyde. That's a little unfair. President Reagan found the world in the condition it was in; foreign policy successes are not within the control of the White House. You have events, you try to control events.

Q. The Harris Poll last week showed people worried, 56 percent to 39 percent, that President Reagan might get us into a war. Are there political risks in Grenada?

Mr. Hyde. It will be portrayed by the Democratic National Committee as a further example of macho. But most Americans understand what was at stake (and) admire somebody who isn't paralyzed by inaction. On bal-

ance, it will be a plus. Decisiveness, the will to act on behalf of freedom, should not hurt.

Mr. Tsongas. I would agree that people instinctively are drawn toward someone who exhibits strength and decisiveness. The question is whether that is balanced with an equal perception of someone who is willing to take a risk for peace and believes in the diplomatic process. If you look at the Euromissile issue, you had a commitment to the dual track: Put the missiles in *and* negotiate. There's no question this President is as tough as anybody you're going to get elected. The question in people's minds is the other half of the equation. To go through one's entire first term and never meet a Soviet leader is not the kind of thing the average American can quite understand.

Congress and Public Opinion

Mr. Hyde. These meetings don't necessarily solve anything. (Mr. Reagan) will meet if there's something to talk about. This has to be settled on a lower level so the chiefs of state can talk about something other than just balance a teacup. Risks for peace have been taken by this President. We have made four different proposals on arms control, all rejected by the Soviet Union.

Q. Can Congress stand up when a President is doing something the country is excited about and likes?

Mr. Tsongas. The ideal is that Congress is a counterbalance, that we introduce a process of deliberation. The fact is, we are a Presidential system. Go back and look at Vietnam, Watergate. Congress is unfortunately a reflector of public opinion.

Mr. Hyde. Why unfortunately?

Mr. Tsongas. Because principle and public opinion may be in conflict. What you get from the Congress is basically what you get out of (pollsters) Lou Harris and George Gallup.

Mr. Hyde. I agree largely with Paul on that. You have a diffusion of authority. You've got a hundred Senators, 435 House members; they can share the blame and the responsibility. You've got one President.

Intervention in Grenada: Right or Wrong?

To the Editor:

We should not be too hasty in concluding that U.S. intervention in Grenada violates international law.

In April 1914, President Wilson sent marines into Mexico to overthrow Gen. Victoriano Huerta, who the previous year had murdered the elected president of Mexico and seized control of the government. Huerta accepted an offer of mediation, and two months later stepped aside as part of an overall settlement that led to the establishment of a provisional constitutional government.

Wilson's forceful commitment to democratic process has been criticized ever since as having been overly moralistic. Yet the idea of human rights that he appears to have championed — that people are not to be subjected to the rule of a government that has achieved power by murder and violence — is arguably part of an emerging norm of international law that justifies certain military interventions (e.g., Entebbe, Tanzania's overthrow of Idi Amin, the U.S. rescue attempt in Iran).

Humanitarian intervention ties in with a longstanding international legal exception to the prohibition of transboundary force.

There has always been an exception for foreign military forces being invited in to a country to help the government in power. If Prime Minister Maurice Bishop had survived the attack on his life, he might well have invited the United States into Grenada to protect him against the coup by Gen. Hudson Austin. Consider also that the British-appointed Governor General of Grenada, Sir Paul Scoon, did in fact request assistance when Bishop was assassinated.

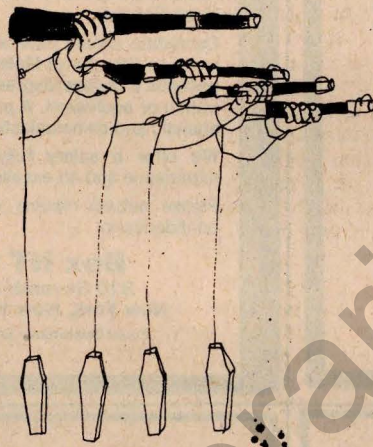
Should the fact that Austin succeeded in murdering Bishop erase an invitation that otherwise surely would have been extended? Is there not a constructive invitation to the U.S. to preserve the legitimate government (even if most of its personnel have been killed) against what President Reagan has called "a brutal group of leftist thugs"?

The idea of a constructive invitation gains added force from neighboring countries' support of the intervention. The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States is itself something of a larger organic unity: its charter provides for a regional coordination in the basic governmental areas of economic integration, cooperation in non-economic areas and coordination of foreign policies. In a sense, this "regional nation" invited the U.S. to protect one of its constituent parts.

Once there is an invitation by a gov-

ernment for military assistance, none of the prohibitions that have been quoted widely, such as those in the U.N. Charter or in the Charter of the Organization of American States, are relevant. An invitation is an absolute exception to these prohibitions on the use of transboundary force.

Still, I have not advanced these arguments to contend that the inter-



Mark Podwal

vention is legal but rather to counter overly hasty conclusions to the opposite effect. There is much more here than meets the eye.

ANTHONY D'AMATO
Professor of Law
Northwestern University
Chicago, Oct. 26, 1983

To the Editor:

America has apparently gone on the offensive against what the Administration sees as the monolithic Communist threat. Our continued support for the corrupt and deadly government of El Salvador, the C.I.A.'s attempts to sabotage the Nicaraguan revolution (à la Allende's Chile), our too costly adventure in Lebanon and, in the great tradition of the Bay of Pigs, our invasion of Grenada have put the United States in the harshest light among all progressive-minded people.

Questions arise that require answers:

How can the Government justify the invasion of Grenada on the grounds of restoring democratic institutions while it sends millions in aid to a government that kills its people with horrible regularity and is kept in power only by force of arms?

What sort of Grenadian government will be acceptable to the U.S. and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States as sufficiently democratic? At

what cost will the U.S. continue to fill the void in the Lebanese Government? How long will we sacrifice American lives to protect a peace that has yet to come about in a country whose strategic interests lie in the Israeli sphere and in the minds of a cold-warrior Administration?

Will U.S. intelligence forces continue to undermine the economic infrastructure of the popular, albeit leftist, Government in Managua? And will the State Department continue to attack "Marxist" governments in the Caribbean and throughout the world?

As Europe is armed with increasingly sophisticated nuclear weapons and as strategic arms talks grind to a halt we find ourselves on the brink. We can only hope for a reappraisal of our priorities. Our fear of Communism is becoming an unhealthy obsession. The inclination to answer each international crisis with overt or covert force portends a dangerous future.

If this is the Administration's road to global peace and security, it is the strangest road this citizen has yet encountered.

JOSEPH KOSLOWSKI
Jersey City, N.J., Oct. 26, 1983

To the Editor:

Bravo to President Reagan for taking prompt action against the Communists in Grenada! If President Eisenhower had done the same in Cuba when Castro expropriated American property, we would have been spared 20 years of trouble.

Now we should stop being coy about our efforts to bring democracy back to Nicaragua and mount a full-scale effort to oust the Sandinistas and the Cubans from that beleaguered country. Castro will learn soon enough that the Soviets are not going to fight a nuclear war to save him or his troops in Central America, and the next step would be to restore democracy in Cuba itself.

If the Soviets felt they were "right" in taking over half of Eastern Europe to protect themselves from "European capitalism," then we are "right" in rooting out the cancer of Communism so close to our borders.

As for the politicians who attempt to curry the favor of the people by obstructing the President from achieving these aims, they are clearly doing their country a disservice and are actually working for the Soviets, even if they don't realize it now.

We must be strong in supporting our principles lest we shall ourselves be subverted by our enemies from within and without.

SHELDON RITTER
Fresh Meadows, N.Y., Oct. 25, 1983

New York Times Oct. 30 1983

Goliath in Grenada

If there is an argument at all for the way the United States invaded Grenada, President Reagan has been clumsy in making it. The rescue of medical students was, almost by his own admission, only a pretext. Their evacuation, if necessary, could have been accomplished by lesser means. The legal justifications were a sham. Such breaches of treaties and sovereignty can only be rationalized by the aggressions of others.

Four days after the landings, Mr. Reagan finally pointed to a valid question, conceding his underlying concern: What were all those Cubans doing in Grenada? But whether or not the President is vindicated in his belatedly admitted suspicions about a Cuban threat, he has surely failed to reckon fully with the cost of his response.

If Cubans, on behalf of the Soviet Union, were subverting Grenada's Government and establishing a base "to export terror and undermine democracy" in Latin America, their expulsion is surely a proper American objective.

What is the evidence? The presence of a force of Cuban worker-soldiers larger than Washington anticipated, better trained and hoarding more weapons than anyone knew. Though Mr. Reagan voiced concern last March about the airfield the Cubans were building on Grenada, he either had inadequate intelligence about them before the invasion or is being served a much inflated picture of their operation now.

Plainly the President was predisposed to attack, to seize a moment of turmoil on the island to rid himself of the Grenada headache. If his worst suspicions are confirmed in the coming days, he will have denied the Russians and Cubans another Caribbean airfield, an auxiliary station for small-

arms transfers and a modest source of new recruits for international mischief.

Set this still uncertain gain against the price. It, too, cannot yet be fully reckoned, but it will be far more costly than the loss of a dozen soldiers. Simply put, the cost is loss of the moral high ground: a reverberating demonstration to the world that America has no more respect for laws and borders, for the codes of civilization, than the Soviet Union.

To liberate Grenada from some local henchmen, and perhaps from Cubans, America has defined its duty and security in ways that make it look like a paranoid bully. To much of the world, the invasion appears no different than the Soviet suppression of Poland or the occupation of Afghanistan. Even friends in the hemisphere and in Europe are tempted to think of the superpowers as equally selfish, possessed by geopolitical games. In their private thoughts, they may even raise a cheer for the Davids who dare to stand up to either Goliath.

A great many Americans, to be sure, feel better about their country this weekend than last. The carnage among passive marines in Lebanon struck them as one more sign of impotence, exposing a chronic failure of will to stand up to terrorists. Now, in tiny Grenada, Americans have shown that they can play hardball, too, that they can be just as tough at defending their turf as the Commies. Watch Out, Nicaragua. Beware, Syria. Keep Out, Russia.

It's a seductive but immature reaction. When all is done, pacifying Grenada will prove only the obvious about American power. The enduring test for Americans is not whether we have the will to use that power but the skill to avoid having to. A President who felt he had no other choice last Monday night should not be celebrating a victory. He should be repairing the prior political failures and forestalling the bitter harvest to come.

A Wave of Anxiety Washes the Caribbean

By RICHARD J. MEISLIN

MEXICO CITY

THE disquiet in the eastern Caribbean over tiny Grenada's new Marxist revolutionary rulers was transformed last week into disquiet throughout the hemisphere over the United States reaction to them. By sending in more than 3,000 troops to topple the "brutal group of leftist thugs" who had seized power and killed Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, President Reagan opened a new range of questions about the way the United States sees its role in the area.

The first landing of United States troops in the Caribbean since 1965 came after the Reagan Administration and the little-known Organization of Eastern Caribbean States decided that while they had been able to live with the moderate Marxism of Prime Minister Bishop, they could not live with the harsher doctrine and apparently more vicious style of the men who had taken over.

The action found support from the British common-

wealth nations in the Caribbean, who were made nervous by Grenada's increasing leftward bent and growing ties with Cuba. But no support came from the Caribbean nations that are of French and Spanish origin and farther from the eastern Caribbean both geographically and politically. And the action met considerable opposition elsewhere in Latin America, where some countries hold long, bitter memories of United States incursions into their territories.

"The invasion of Grenada is reminiscent of the occupation of Veracruz in 1914, and we can therefore understand that island-nation's situation," said Fidel Valesquez, Mexico's chief labor leader. The Mexican Government said the action would "aggravate the situation in the Caribbean and Central Americas and create new dangers" in the region.

Concern appeared, too, in the former Dutch colony of Suriname. The leftist Government, which also came to power in a coup, seemed to have second thoughts about its close ties with the Cubans. Expressing fears of a repetition of Mr. Bishop's demise, the Government expelled the Cuban Ambassador, suspended its agreements with Cuba and downgraded the status of the Cuban diplomatic mission.

The official reasons initially given by Mr. Reagan for the invasion raised doubts even among friendly nations in the region. Many officials and diplomats doubted that the President's primary concern had been the safety of the medical students and other United States citizens on the island.

Instead, they saw in the invasion a reflection of his views of the East-West conflict on an island close to home. Mr. Reagan's characterization of the island Thursday in his television address as "a Soviet-Cuban colony" tended to

confirm this judgment. Some saw in the rift in the Grenadian Government the signs of a rivalry between Cuban and Soviet influences in the country. Mr. Bishop, a close ally of Fidel Castro, seemed content with an evolution to socialism at a moderate pace; he had even visited Washington earlier this year, expressing interest in improving ties with the United States. Bernard Coard, his Vice Minister, who was closer to the Russians, favored more radical action and appears to have initiated the coup that led to Mr. Bishop's death. Now there is no government in Grenada, only a governor general who represents Queen Elizabeth II as the head of state. The United States and the Caribbean islands, which liberated Governor General Sir Paul Scoon from house arrest, appear to be relying on him to form a provisional government that would later hold elections.

What Happens to Dialogue?

There was a widespread belief that Mr. Reagan was trying to send a message to Nicaragua, whose warm relationship with Cuba has provoked only slightly less hostility from its neighbors and from the United States than Grenada did. The Nicaraguans, already made nervous by attacks from United States-backed rebels, moved in the United Nations Security Council to condemn the action. A resolution sponsored by Nicaragua, Zimbabwe and Guyana that demanded an end to the invasion was vetoed by the United States. How effective the message may be remains to be seen; the unexpected difficulty the United States had in overcoming a relatively small force on a tiny island could cause Washington to hesitate about taking on the more powerful Nicaraguans.

But Fidel Castro acknowledged last week he could not help Nicaragua if it was invaded. Whether in Nicaragua, Grenada or Suriname, things were not going Cuba's way. The relative moderation it was displaying seemed to reflect its limitations.

Another question is what Mr. Reagan's overt military action will do to diplomatic options in the region, such as the continuing efforts of the Contadora Group, the four Latin American negotiators to which the United States has generally left the lead in seeking a peaceful

From Beirut to Grenada, The Price of Power Rises

By HEDRICK SMITH

WASHINGTON

IF one central principle has animated President Reagan's foreign policy, it has been the urge to confront and contain Soviet Communism. For nearly three years, that policy has found expression in strident talk about Moscow's "evil empire," an ambitious military buildup, and the show of American power on maneuver in Central America.

Now one watershed week of the Reagan Presidency has brought a qualitative change. The President's tactics have escalated. His policy is now embodied not just in words and arms, but in combat and casualties. The cost in American lives has sown seeds for political controversy over the price of projecting power abroad. It has raised questions as to whether the Administration is trying to force the country to shed post-Vietnam restraints and assume a worldwide policeman's role.

This fall, Mr. Reagan's foreign policy has entered a more assertive and venturesome phase. In Beirut, the painful and still incomplete toll of 229 American marines and sailors lost in the bombing of their barracks-headquarters last Sunday was an unanticipated byproduct of deepening American entanglement in Lebanon's factional wars. In Grenada, the smaller but still telling count of 11 dead and 67 wounded — as of late yesterday — arose from a deliberate power strike.

The initial rationale in both cases was given more sweeping significance as casualty totals rose. The Marine mission in Lebanon was originally portrayed as a limited peacekeeping task to buttress the frail Christian-led Beirut Government. The Grenada invasion at first was justified as a rescue mission for 1,000 Americans and as proper assistance for neighboring island-states frightened by a brutal leftist takeover. But by week's end, the President defended both operations as necessary to check Soviet threats.

The Cuban Connection

"The events in Lebanon and Grenada, though oceans apart, are closely related," he said in a televised address. "Not only has Moscow assisted and encouraged violence in both countries, but it provides direct support through a network of surrogates and terrorists." In Lebanon, the labyrinth of internal feuds went unmentioned as the President warned against American timidity and withdrawal. "It won't just be Lebanon sentenced to a future of chaos," he said. "Can the United States or the free world, for that matter, stand by and see the Middle East incorporated into the Soviet bloc?" He made a similar point on the Caribbean: "It is no coincidence that when the thugs tried to wrest control over Grenada, there were 30 Soviet advisers and hundreds of Cuban military and paramilitary forces on the island."

In Grenada, the Soviet Union became more involved than Washington bargained for. Moscow charged that its embassy there was hit by American planes and that one staff member was injured, though the State Department said the embassy had not been fired on. A Soviet warning of "serious consequences" may have been pro forma but it underlined the risks of the tactics of force.

There was a touch of John Wayne blowing the smoke from his pistol when Robert C. McFarlane, the President's usually matter-of-fact national security adviser, told a huddle of reporters in the White House driveway, "We got there just in time." Picking up that note in his speech, the President said the American invasion had nipped a Cuban "occupation" in the bud and prevented Grenada from becoming "a Soviet-Cuban colony" that would export "terror and subversion."

In terms of power politics, Administration officials can make the case that America's world position and credibility are bolstered when a President dares to use armed force as an instrument of policy. Adversaries be-

come more careful and friends are emboldened. Cuba's Fidel Castro has already been dealt a blow, losing his Grenada bridgehead and influence in Central America and the Caribbean. Nicaragua must now tread more carefully. For an Administration in need of a foreign policy victory, Grenada offered what Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Republican of Maryland, called "a digestible, bite-sized" target, although it proved harder to chew than anticipated. With armed Cubans retreating into the hills, 6,000 American troops could be hard-pressed to quit the island in "a matter of weeks," as officials predicted.

Moscow may be less impressed with the power play in Grenada if, as many experts fear, American force proves impotent in Lebanon. Many critics suggest that in Lebanon, Mr. Reagan has engaged military power in the wrong place and that this may eventually overshadow any short-term gains in Grenada.

Former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger has argued that internal political developments have been eroding the authority of the Beirut Government and that only substantially larger American forces allied with Israel could halt the trend toward pro-Syrian elements. Many in Congress fear that no amount of American force can prop up a Christian-led Government in a predominantly Moslem country and that as long as American marines are identified with that effort, they will be the target of Moslem terrorists.

The President's options are restrained by a wary Congress and public and by the rising concern of Pentagon brass that military resources are already overtaxed. Mr. Reagan has put 1,600 marines in Beirut and up to 6,000 troops in Grenada — small numbers among the more than two million people in uniform. But they are supported by battleships, aircraft carriers and other offshore protection while many forces are tied up permanently in such places as West Germany, South Korea and other bases around the world.

The net effect of commitments in new areas is to create real if unspoken limits on the President's strategy of force. Strategists contend military resources were stretched thin even before Mr. Reagan's activism. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, President Carter added the Persian Gulf to the European and Japan-Korea zones America must defend. By adding Lebanon, Central America and the Caribbean to the growing list of "vital interests," Mr. Reagan has prompted Congress to challenge him by moving to invoke a 60-day limit on his use of force in Grenada.

More broadly, the President has risked reviving fears that he is bellicose and trigger-happy. Britain, France and West Germany, among many others, challenged the wisdom or legality of Grenada. In the United Nations Security Council, the United States stood alone. Some Republican senators accused the President of for-

feiting the moral right to attack the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., a stalwart on Lebanon said he was "frightened" by Grenada. "We can't go the route of gunboat diplomacy," he warned bluntly.

White House officials last week cited heavily favorable telephone calls and Mr. Reagan's improved standing in opinion polls as dividends of his boldness. This is the historical pattern. At the outset of most foreign policy crises, the public rallies patriotically around the President. It is the long-run assessment that counts.

Invasion in Grenada: Lawmakers Speak Out

Senators Talk About Beirut And Takeover of Grenada

By JANE PERLEZ
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29 — After President Reagan's speech Thursday night on the invasion of Grenada and the bombings in Lebanon, the six Senators from the New York metropolitan region were asked for their views of United States policy. Following are excerpts from their remarks:

Alfonse M. D'Amato

On the invasion of Grenada, Mr. D'Amato, Republican of New York, said: "America has a responsibility not to allow people to shoot their way to power, not in this area which is important strategically. We cannot allow the whole chain of islands to be overthrown."

"I think the students were hostages in the sense they couldn't move and get off the island. You might not be able to prove that in a court of law, but given their state of mind, that's the case."

"The worst of this thing was the rush to politicize it and to go after the President before they knew the facts. Now I don't see the critics as much. They threw their bombs, got their publicity and now they're sliding in the back somewhere."

Mr. D'Amato, who has been somewhat critical of Administration policy in Lebanon and at times called for the pullout of the Marines, said President Reagan's speech helped clarify matters.

"I think the President defined the mission in Lebanon more clearly. Whether that peace can be obtained is something that has to be assessed and the time may have passed. The security of the Marines is paramount and I disagree with P. X. Kelley. I don't think they had enough protection." The Senator, who was referring to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, said he did not believe the Marines did enough to defend themselves. "I've been informed that certain measures will be taken to minimize the vulnerability."

As to whether there should be retaliation for the bombing of the Marine headquarters, Mr. D'Amato said: "You have to identify those elements who were responsible first."

Daniel Patrick Moynihan

On Grenada, Mr. Moynihan, Democrat of New York, said: "There is something that makes me uneasy. An act of war may be in the interests of the United States or maybe not, but it was not in the interests of democracy in Grenada. I don't think they should have gone in, in the way they did."

Mr. Moynihan, who is vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, said the discovery of arms that the Administration said had come from Cuba and the Soviet Union, "might work" as an after-the-fact justification of the invasion. But he added that he did not know how to assess the quantity of arms discovered.

"In the long run, the principle of non-intervention is so important. If there was to be collective action, we should have involved the more principal nations in the region. The British should have been involved." Mr. Moynihan said that the "war of the Augusta golf course," in reference to President Reagan's presence on a Georgia golf course while he was making decisions on the Grenada invasion, "had the quality of impulse about it."

"It cannot be said we knew anything

about the Austin Government," he said. "We had no diplomats there." He was referring to Gen. Hudson Austin, the Grenada Army's chief of staff.

On Lebanon, Mr. Moynihan said: "I'm sympathetic with the proposition we have a role and ought to pursue it. I also know its limits and they may have been reached."

Bill Bradley

On Grenada, Mr. Bradley, Democrat of New Jersey, said: "I have not yet been able to find out enough to determine how much danger our Americans were in, or whether a military response was the only option to guarantee their safety or what efforts the Administration made to negotiate a nonmilitary solution."

"If Americans were in jeopardy and a military response was the only viable option or securing their safety, the action was justifiable. I take seriously the possibility that Cuba and/or the U.S.S.R. are engaging in activities that could be genuinely menacing. Moreover, if this is the case, then I think we would be correct to draw the line and make it absolutely clear that the U.S. finds such deployments deplorable."

"If we leave Grenada after evacuating our citizens who want to leave, then a case can be made that we have not violated the O.A.S. treaty. If we stay and use force unilaterally and persistently, then we will have violated the O.A.S. treaty."

Regarding Lebanon, Mr. Bradley said he was upset with President Reagan's apparent open-ended commitment of United States forces in Lebanon. If a reconciliation of warring actions could not be achieved "very soon" the Marines should be withdrawn, he said.

Frank R. Lautenberg

Regarding the Grenada invasion, Mr. Lautenberg, Democrat of New Jersey, said: "I'm not willing to make my final judgment on Grenada. I think the reasoning they got us there is a relatively weak argument."

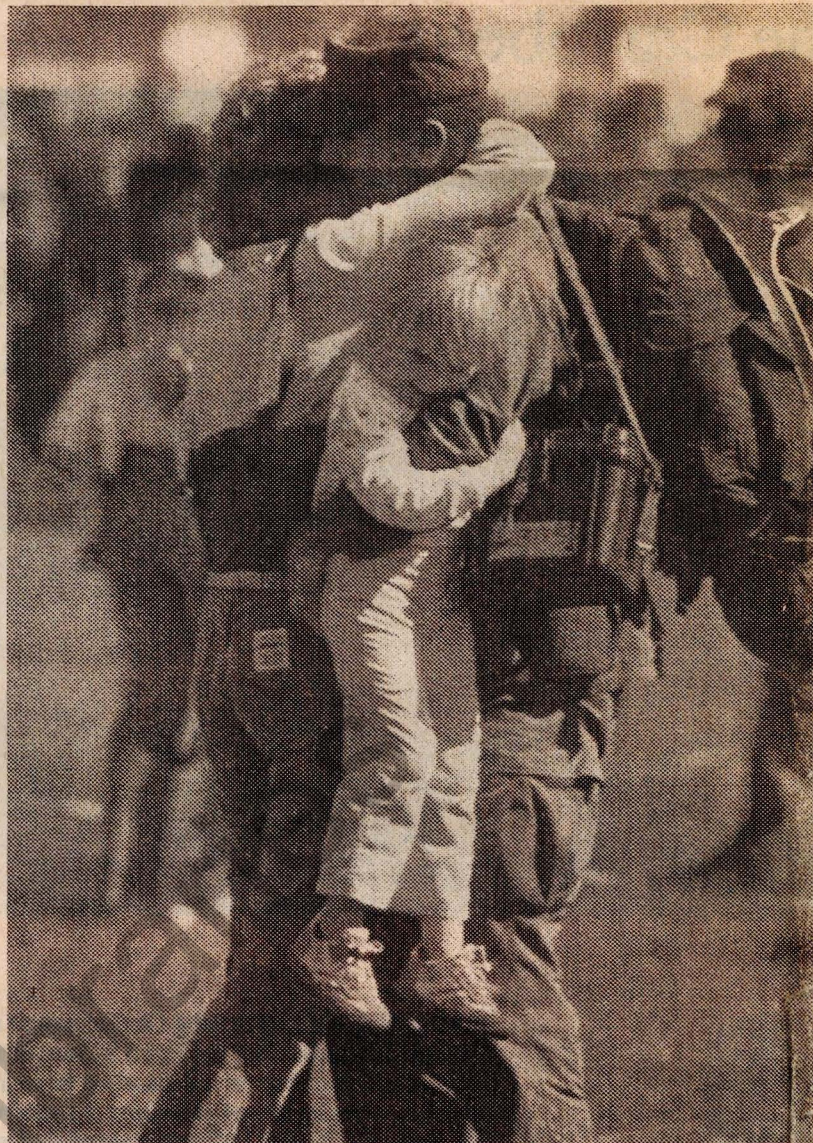
"My mind is being tilted a little bit as I see the weapons and as I hear more reports on the number of externals involved there, the countries from which they come and the huge presence of Cubans."

Mr. Lautenberg said that he was unsure about the legality of the invasion, but that it would be difficult "to defend our action in the eyes of the world when we wouldn't tolerate this or certainly we would holler loudly about it if the Soviets did the same thing."

The Senator said he was more disturbed about Lebanon, in part, because he had come to the conclusion that the Marines were trapped there.

He said he noticed that Mr. Reagan in his televised speech made no reference to pulling out foreign troops from Lebanon, and presumed this was because of "ludicrousness" of trying to withdraw the Marines in the face of "30,000 Syrians equipped with the most modern Soviet equipment."

"That is a preposterous assignment and one that is really very ominous in what it could mean to us in terms of casualties," the Senator said. "My preference is to be able to withdraw, but I don't want to withdraw in panic. Some of us who voted against allowing the Marines to stay for 18 months are



United Press International

HOME SAFE: A member of the 75th Rangers being greeted in Savannah, Ga., by his family yesterday after he returned from Grenada.

now saying we can't pull out overnight because we were there for a purpose and if so you don't walk away and say we made a mistake. I'd like to hear the definition of purpose."

Lowell P. Weicker Jr.

In a speech that he later gave on the Senate floor, Mr. Weicker, Republican of Connecticut, said: "The President is in violation of the terms of that treaty of the Organization of American States, of which we are a part. The President is in violation of the War Powers Act on Grenada. The President is in violation of the Constitution of the United States as far as freedom of the press is concerned."

"If you want swift and effective action, that should have been taken in June of this year when Maurice Bishop was alive and in this country seeking the assistance of the United States to effect a rapprochement between his Government and this Government."

"It will not work to deny every Government we have a disagreement with the common protocol to talk. A little chat back in June, 1983, would have saved a lot of lives, both Grenadians and Americans and who ever else has lost their life on that island."

"In my discussion with the Secretary of State the other day, he turned to me aghast saying: 'But Senator, you expect us to receive a head of State, a professed Marxist Communist, one nation that has voted against us in the United Nations every time?' And I turned to him and I said, 'Mr. Secretary, how do you like the regime that wanted to replace him?'"

"Our Government thought it would stick it to Maurice Bishop and it did, and he is dead today, and now we have an invasion today, and we have others dead. That is not a foreign policy. It might be an arms policy, but it is not a foreign policy, and it is time we had one."

Christopher J. Dodd

Mr. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut and a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that if the American students on Grenada were in an "intimidating situation" the invasion was correct. "I'm willing to give him the benefit of the doubt until someone tells me otherwise, because like most people I guess I believe Presidents until there proven wrong," the Senator said.

"There isn't a treaty I know of that says a nation cannot take those steps necessary to protect its people. I think it is proper exercise of authority for any nation to defend its people."

But the Senator said that if the presence of Cubans on Grenada turned out to be the real motivation for the invasion, the Administration should have used diplomacy.

"President Kennedy took those other steps in 1962 in the missile crisis. He went to the Organization of American States. He had a blockade set up, there are a whole bunch of things you can do in concert with your neighbors, short of actual intervention."

On Lebanon, Mr. Dodd said: "No one here is arguing for precipitous withdrawal. They're arguing for a planned withdrawal to be done in concert with our allies."

New York Times Oct. 30, 1983

Families Meet Army Rangers

SAVANNAH, Ga., Oct. 29 (AP) — Hundreds of Army Rangers who returned from the American invasion of Grenada were reunited with their families today in tearful embraces.

The Rangers met their families at a training area at Hunter Army Airfield. One group arrived in ten 2½-ton vehicles and lined up for the first round of meetings. A second group, in heavy battle pack, marched down a road for the second round.

It was the first time the families had seen or heard from the Rangers since the invasion.

There were no bands and no speeches.

Coast Rangers Secluded

The reunion involved only units stationed at Hunter. Rangers from Fort Lewis, Wash., remained secluded in the Ranger compound at the base. No word was available on when they would return to their home base. The crowd clapped and cheered as the Rangers marched into view. Most of the reunions were quiet. There were tears in some eyes as soldiers knelt to get face to face with small children and as parents hovered near embracing couples.

The first planeload of Rangers arrived at Hunter Friday night, greeted with a ceremony in which Gen. John Wickham, the Army Chief of Staff, hailed the soldiers as "the best elite infantry in the world."

An ABC Call-In Poll Shows 90% Support Invasion of Grenada

A telephone call-in survey sponsored by the ABC News "Nightline" program on Saturday night found almost 90 percent approval for the participation of the United States in the invasion of Grenada.

Officials at ABC News acknowledged that the survey was not a scientific poll. "We were just offering an opportunity to the public to call in and express an opinion," said Kim Edmonds, a spokesman for the "Nightline" program.

Miss Edmonds pointed out that callers could vote more than once if they were to complete their calls through busy telephone terminals. She said some callers had complained to ABC that busy telephone lines kept them from registering their vote. Bill Lord, executive producer of "Nightline," said such complaints were common during telephone call-ins.

During the one-hour "Nightline" broadcast, between 11:30 and 12:30 P.M. Eastern Daylight Time, ABC News reported registering 279,323 telephone calls in favor of the invasion and 33,483 calls against.

Viewers were given two different long-distance telephone numbers to register their opinion, one for those in favor of the invasion, the other for those opposed. Miss Edmonds said an equal number of phone lines were open for each number.

The results of the ABC call-in were at variance with a New York Times/CBS News poll conducted last Wednesday and Thursday. That poll found 51 percent of those contacted approved of sending United States troops to Grenada, while 37 percent disapproved. Eleven percent expressed no opinion.

The New York Times/CBS News poll was based on a survey of 1,093 adults selected at random from around the United States.

Soviet Calls Reagan a Napoleon

MOSCOW, Oct. 29 (AP) — The Soviet press agency Tass said today that President Reagan might be proclaimed a latter-day Napoleon for the "feat" of seizing tiny Grenada with a United States armada.

The mocking comment was contained in a Tass commentary on Mr. Reagan's speech Thursday on the situations in Lebanon and Grenada.

Tass said Mr. Reagan spoke "with the simple-mindedness that is typical of him" in describing events that led up to the invasion of Grenada.

It mocked his assertion that the invasion forces had secured the island in a brilliant campaign and rescued grateful American students studying at a medical school there.

"The Pentagon must have worked very hard," Tass said, "to seize the tiny island with the help of a whole armada of naval ships, helicopters, planes, artillery and detachments of marines."

"It should come as no surprise if, as a result of this 'feat,' Reagan will be proclaimed in the United States a latter-day Napoleon.

"Mark Twain once said he would not want to remain alone with his conscience after spending four years in the post of President of the United States. This does not apply to Mr. Reagan, who has spent a thousand days in his post: He cannot remain alone with something he does not have."

Grenadian Envoy Confers

MOSCOW, Oct. 29 (Reuters) — Grenada's Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Richard Jacobs, said today that he had met with Georgi M. Korniyenko, a First Deputy Foreign Minister, to discuss the situation in Grenada.

Mr. Jacobs, who is in the Diplomatic Clinic being treated for gout, declined to give details about the discussion.

GRENADA HOLDOUTS HUNTED; U.S. REPLACES PART OF FORCE; SENATE CHIEFS URGE INQUIRY

NEWS CURBS CITED

Byrd and Baker Agree on Sending Fact-Finding Group to the Island

By **STEVEN V. ROBERTS**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29 — Senate leaders, concerned about a lack of information about the Grenada invasion, called today for a Congressional fact-finding mission to the island.

During an unusual Saturday session, called to debate a debt ceiling bill, the issue of press curbs on news coverage of the Grenada operation also reached the Senate floor.

Senator Donald W. Riegle Jr., Democrat of Michigan, offered an amendment to the bill declaring that "restrictions imposed upon the press in Grenada shall cease." The rider was adopted, 53 to 18.

Meanwhile, Democratic and Republican members of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence said the Administration had exaggerated Cuba's role in Grenada. [Page 16.]

Qualified Approval by Baker

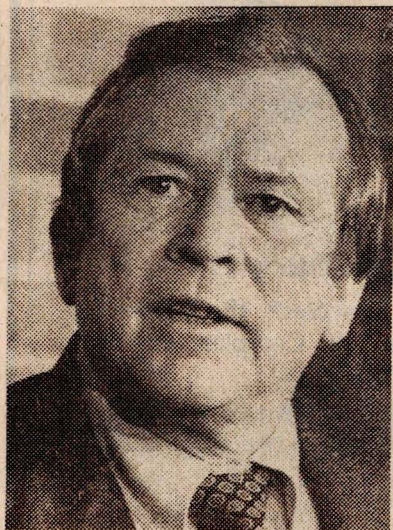
The idea for a fact-finding mission originated with Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, the Democratic minority leader. He said the mission was needed because "censored news reports" had given only "little morsels of information" about Grenada.

Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, the Republican majority leader, said, "I think that is a good idea."

Later, an aide said Senator Baker wanted to see more details of the proposal to be sure that it had no "partisan tint." Senator Baker, the aide added, also suggested that the fact-finding tour might include Lebanon on the ground that it "carried more weight" as a foreign policy issue.

Before the Senate recessed, Mr. Byrd said he would offer a formal resolution on Monday. According to staff aides, it would probably empower the majority and minority leaders to appoint members representing three committees — Foreign Relations, Armed Services and Intelligence. It was still undecided whether House members would be invited and what the time schedule would be.

Senators Byrd and Baker have



United Press International

Senator Howard H. Baker Jr.

Continued on Page 13, Column 1

SENATE'S LEADERS FAVOR AN INQUIRY

Continued From Page 1

generally supported the invasion. On Friday, Senator Baker introduced a resolution praising President Reagan for taking "swift and effective action" to save American lives, and today Senator Byrd called the operation "regrettable but necessary."

Their proposal for a fact-finding mission reflects concern that official explanations have left many questions unanswered.

On Friday, these unanswered questions helped convince Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., the leading Democrat in Congress, to turn against the President and describe his foreign policy as "frightening."

In other foreign policy developments, the Senate agreed by voice vote to an amendment that would require Congressional authorization for financing any Jordanian military force organized by the United States. The rider was attached to the debt-ceiling bill.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the New York Democrat who sponsored the amendment, referred to news reports that the Administration had organized a Jordanian brigade as a special strike force in the Middle East. Mr. Moynihan said such a force would pose a threat to Israel, with which Jordan is still nominally at war. The amendment has yet to be taken up by the House.

The invasion of Grenada continued to receive sizable support from both parties. Senator Rudy Boschwitz, a Minnesota Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, called the operation "an important expression of our national will" and said that, if Grenada had fallen to Cuba, other Caribbean nations would have followed. He added:

"What were we supposed to do? Sit and wait for all that to happen?"

Senator Lawton Chiles, a Florida Democrat, said the invasion would impress Cuba and other leftist forces in Central America.

"At some stage," he said, "there has to be some feeling that the United States is not totally impotent."

Other lawmakers criticized the operation, including the curbs on news coverage.

"I think the most disturbing thing is the unprecedented treatment of a free press," said Senator Paul Sarbanes, Democrat of Maryland. "The implications of that, if that becomes a pattern, are enormous."

Mr. Sarbanes said the press curbs mirrored other policies that "clamp down on information," including the use of lie detector tests and restrictions placed on former Government employees. These policies, he added, could lead to a situation where "the only sources of information are official sources."

Senator John Tower, the Texas Republican who heads the Armed Services Committee, tried to get the Senate to reconsider the rider on news coverage by arguing that unrestricted press access could risk the lives of American troops. A resolution of the was left until Monday.

Senator Byrd, in discussing his fact-finding proposal, said one purpose was to explore why intelligence about Grenada had been "so bad." He noted that the Pentagon had underestimated the Cuban resistance and the time that American troops would need to complete the operation. Military sources originally estimated that it would take five to seven days; now estimates run to weeks or even months.

Some lawmakers also question whether the medical students in Grenada were in real danger and whether the United States could have used other means to evacuate them.

"Apparently England thought so, and so suggested," he said.

Senator Paul E. Tsongas, Democrat of Massachusetts, said the student issue might have been used as pretext.

"A lot of people believe the reason they went in was political," he said.

Other senators want to explore the background to the invasion, and United States treatment accorded Maurice Bishop, the slain Grenadian leader who came here earlier this year and sought to improve relations. Senator Lowell P. Weicker Jr., a Connecticut Republican, said Friday that Mr. Bishop had been sent home "empty-handed" and that decision, Mr. Weicker said, had contributed to Mr. Bishop's downfall and the subsequent chaos in Grenada that led to the invasion.

Another purpose of the fact-finding mission would be to investigate the applicability of the War Powers Resolution. On Friday, the Senate voted to invoke the War Powers measure, and if the bill becomes law, the President would have to withdraw troops within 60 days unless Congress authorizes their continued presence.

The Administration contends that the War Powers Resolution is irrelevant because American troops will soon leave in any event. But Senator Sarbanes noted, "As we get these reports, the War Powers Act seems to be coming less and less irrelevant."

Senators Suggest Administration Exaggerated Its Cuba Assessment

By PHILIP TAUBMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29 — Democratic and Republican members of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence said today that the Reagan Administration had exaggerated Cuba's role in Grenada.

Based on intelligence information they have received, including a briefing Friday by two senior Administration officials, the Senators said that evidence of Cuban activity in Grenada does not support claims that Cuba was on the verge of occupying the island or turning it into a base for the export of terrorism and revolution.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York and vice chairman of the intelligence committee, said: "We simply do not know enough yet to draw any firm conclusions about Cuba's role or intentions. Nothing has been discovered so far that would show with any certainty that Cuba was planning to take over Grenada."

'Serious Analysis' Needed

He added, "The Government owes itself and the public some serious analysis of the evidence that has been found rather than offering instant conclusions on TV."

A Republican Senator, who asked that his name not be used, said, "The Administration has rushed to judgment about the Cuban presence in Grenada. Yes, there were more Cubans and more Soviet and Cuban weapons than we thought, but we need to know a lot more before I'd be willing to accept the assessment that Grenada was about to become a Cuban proxy."

The Reagan Administration initially

said it had ordered the invasion of the small Caribbean island Tuesday to protect the lives of United States citizens on the island and to restore democratic institutions in the wake of a bloody coup earlier this month. Administration officials have increasingly cited the Cuban presence in Grenada as the reason for the invasion; Mr. Reagan said Thursday that the United States move prevented a planned "Cuban occupation of the island."

On Friday, Adm. Wesley L. McDonald, commander in chief of United States forces in the Atlantic region, said that Cuban military documents found in Grenada showed that Cuba was planning to send 341 additional officers and 4,000 reservists to Grenada in the near future, bringing the total number of Cuban troops on the island to more than 5,000.

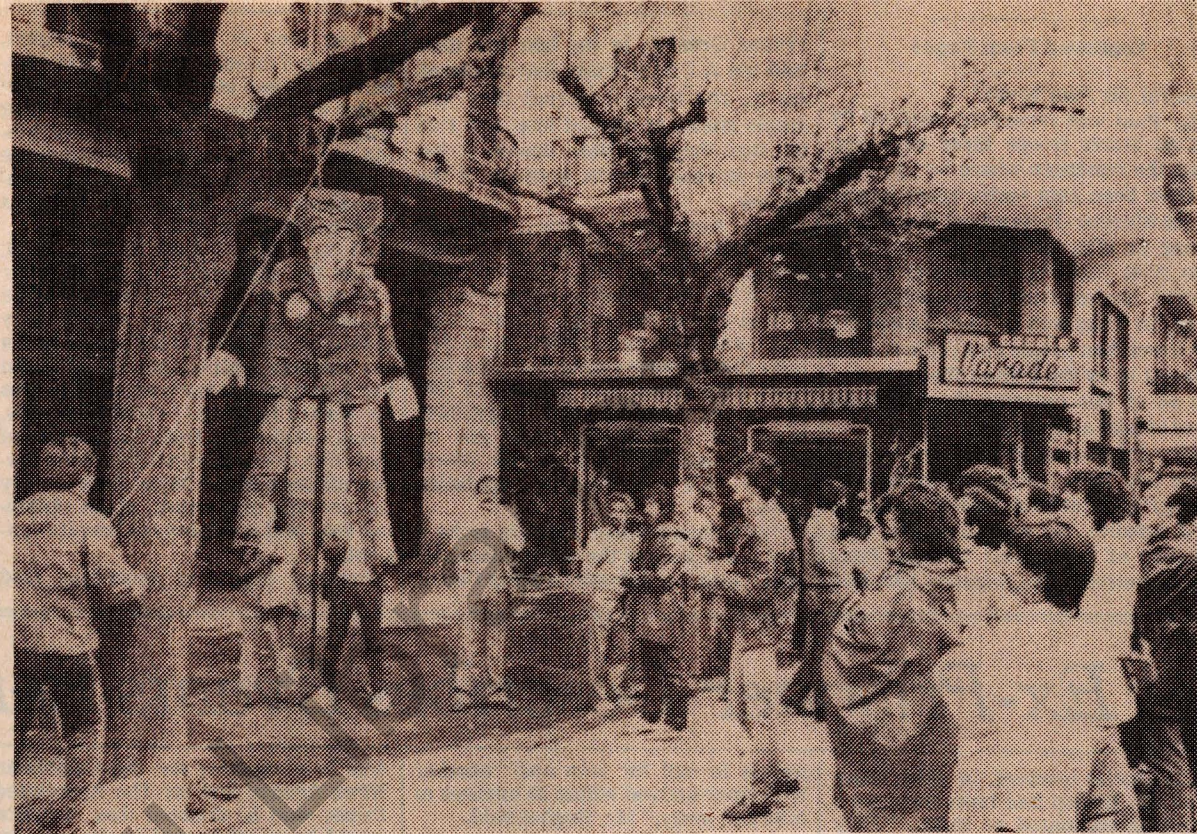
Admiral McDonald said that there were more than 1,100 Cubans in Grenada when the invasion began Tuesday. He said more than 600 had been captured, and the rest are presumed to have fled to the hills, where resistance to the American invaders is continuing.

The Administration has also said that several warehouses full of modern Soviet and Cuban weapons were discovered in Grenada, including sufficient ammunition to supply thousands of troops for a month of fighting.

Reporters who were permitted by the Defense Department to visit Grenada on Friday toured several of the warehouses and found that they contained large stocks of Soviet-made arms and ammunition, including AK-47 rifles as well as large quantities of antiquated weapons.

Senator Moynihan and other members of the committee questioned the Administration's statement about the arms cache. "On Friday we heard that Grenada was a Soviet and Cuban arsenal," Senator Moynihan said. "Today I pick up the newspaper and read that many of the weapons kept in storage were made 100 years ago and are valuable historical pieces, including 19th-century carbines."

A second Republican Senator on the



Associated Press

PROTEST IN SPAIN: Demonstrators applauding yesterday as an effigy of President Reagan was hung in San Sebastián to protest the invasion of Grenada.

intelligence committee, who also asked not to be identified, said that after hearing Friday from William J. Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, and Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth W. Dam, most members of the panel believed that more information was needed before conclusions could be reached about Cuba's role in Grenada.

This reaction, several senators said, reflected a general air of anxiety in Congress about the invasion of Grenada and the Administration claims about Cuban activities.

"I guess, given the stakes, that it's not surprising that the White House and Pentagon would make the most they could out of the Cubans, but in fairness we've got to say the case isn't that black and white," the Republican Senator said.

Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, said: "The general attitude on the committee was wait-and-see. There isn't sufficient information

yet to make an informed judgment, and what is available keeps changing. Every time someone from the Administration speaks there seems to be a new total for the number of Cuban troops in Grenada."

Formal Examination Planned

Democrat and Republican committee members said that the panel plans to conduct a formal examination of what the United States knew about the Cuban presence in Grenada before and after the invasion.

One Republican Senator said: "I can understand that there wasn't time to provide the kind of intelligence information you'd like to have before launching an invasion, but if it turns out that Cuba was in fact planning to turn the island into a base, that Castro was moving massive amounts of arms and large numbers of troops to Grenada, then I'd like to know why our intelligence agencies couldn't detect that

until we landed 6,000 troops on the island."

Senior military officers have complained that a lack of intelligence information about Cuban forces in Grenada left invading troops unprepared for the intense resistance they say they encountered from Cuban soldiers.

Several committee members said Mr. Casey said the Central Intelligence Agency did as good a job as it could, given the limited time it had to help prepare for the invasion. Administration officials have said that serious planning for the invasion began late last week.

The Senators said Mr. Casey also told the committee that there was no truth to widely circulating rumors that the St. George's University School of Medicine in Grenada, where hundreds of United States citizens were enrolled, was used by the C.I.A. to provide fictitious, or cover, occupations for United States intelligence agents in Grenada.

New York Times Oct. 30, 1983

ENVOY IS APPOINTED

State Department Deputy to Be Chargé on Island — Food Flown In

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN

Special to The New York Times

BRIDGETOWN, Barbados, Oct. 29 — United States forces using helicopters searched today for up to 600 Cuban soldiers thought to be hiding in the heavily wooded hills of Grenada.

As the search went on, teams from the United States Agency for International Development began flying in emergency food rations and drinking water for displaced civilians.

At the same time, the United States began preparations to establish an embassy on the island, even though there is no acting government.

Information Is Sparse

Officials said Deputy Secretary of State Richard W. Gillespie had been named chargé d'affaires at the Embassy. He was reported to be in St. George's, the Grenadian capital.

United States officials here and in Washington did not release any information today on new fighting on the Caribbean island, which was invaded Tuesday. The Pentagon said Friday that the number of American troops in the invasion force had grown to 6,000 from 1,900. More than 300 soldiers from seven Caribbean nations are also involved.

In Washington, Defense Department officials said that most of the 1,200 marines involved in the original invasion had been withdrawn and would be sent shortly to Lebanon. The officials said they had been replaced by Army units.

U.S. Seems to Take Up Duties

There were signs that the United States was taking increased responsibility for civilian administration of the island in the face of food shortages, sanitation breakdowns and transport problems that began in the political chaos and curfews of the last month and mounted with Tuesday's invasion.

Blaine Johnson, an official of the A.I.D. office in Barbados, where in normal times a staff of 23 looks after projects throughout the Caribbean, reported today that a medical health officer and sanitary engineers flew to the island Friday to assess the immediate needs of the civilian population.

Question of Accreditation

"They reported back that the situation was rather chaotic," he said. "There were a number of conflicting reports about food supply and numbers of refugees. There appeared to be at least 700 people at the airport who fled from their homes though some reports said there were as many as 1,400 at the Point Salines facility. There were at least 50 small children."

A State Department spokesman, asked about to whom Mr. Gillespie, the new chargé, was accredited, replied: "Good question. I suppose it's to the representative of Her Majesty's Britannic Government, the Governor

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Holdouts Are Hunted in Grenada; U.S. Replaces Part of Its Force

Continued From Page 1

General, Sir Paul Scoon."

Sir Paul was reportedly rescued by United States troops three days ago from the residence where he was said to have been kept under house arrest by the Marxist Government that seized power in 1978, subsequently splitting into rival factions. According to the United States Embassy spokesman here, Sir Paul was to have addressed the Grenadian people on a radio station brought in by the United States forces but as of this morning there was no word of such a broadcast.

Mr. Johnson said that the A.I.D. team had been unable to get into St. George's, the capital, to determine the food supplies. He said, however, that officials of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization who had

visited Grenada in the last few days told the A.I.D. officials that wholesalers on the island reported they had ample stocks of canned food and rice but that they had been unable to get these to retail outlets because of the curfew.

In St. George's on Friday, residents seen walking freely if cautiously alongside United States tanks. Some of these told of having no food and being unable to find any in the shops. Those shops that could be seen had been looted and their shelves were empty. Gasoline stations were closed and because of fuel shortages, bananas and vegetables from the countryside could not be brought into the city region where nearly half the island's population lives.

"In Grenada there appears to be a real breakdown of the distribution system," said Mr. Johnson, adding that as

a first step in the rescue mission, \$25,000 in canned foods, rice and powdered milk had been purchased in Barbados and flown out yesterday, along with large plastic containers of drinking water. It was explained that these supplies were mostly for people congregating at the airport where teams were building latrines.

At the Queen's Park football field, where the marines have set up their headquarters in St. George's, some American troopers were seen Friday taking care of several old people and a few mothers with infants, all of whom had asked to be taken from their homes for fear of fighting. Two British nuns, flying a white flag from the antenna of their car, drove in to talk to the marine officers, whose forces were clearly the de facto authorities, about obtaining food and medicine for hospital patients.

Another report of mounting food

shortages was made in Grenada Friday by Don Rojas, who had been press secretary to Maurice Bishop, the slain Grenadian Prime Minister. Mr. Rojas, who had been in hiding on the island since Mr. Bishop and three Cabinet

ministers from his New Jewel movement were killed, was transported yesterday from Grenada to Barbados because his wife and children, who were in hiding with him, are United States citizens.

Invasion in Grenada: The View From Havana

CUBANS ASSERT U.S. IS VICTIM OF PANIC

Havana Says Washington Sees Enemies 'Behind Every Tree and Rock' in Grenada

Special to The New York Times

HAVANA, Oct. 29 — The Government, calling United States estimates of the number of Cubans on Grenada a product of "fantasy and panic," has issued a detailed list of its personnel there.

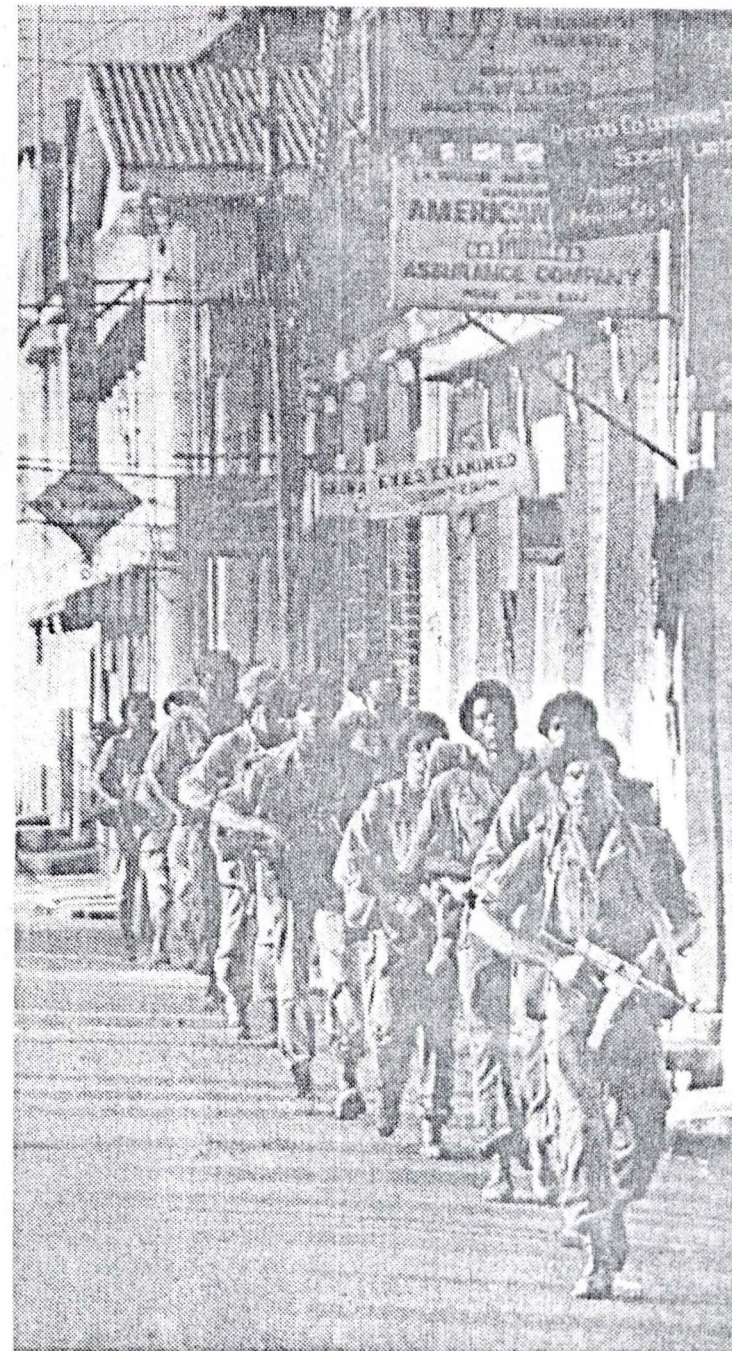
It said were only are 784 Cubans on Grenada, not 1,100, as the Reagan Administration has contended.

In a statement Friday night, it insisted that only 43 of the 784 were members of the armed forces. "They seem to see Cubans resisting behind every tree and rock," the statement said

Nine Diplomats Present

The statement said that of the 43 members of the armed forces, 22 were army officers and the rest translators and support personnel. There were also nine from the Ministry of the Interior, it said.

On Duty in the Caribbean



The United States Administration estimate of 1,100 Cubans, announced earlier Friday, was 10 percent higher than its estimate the day before. American officials said they believed that 500 Cubans had fled to the hills to continue a guerrilla resistance, while 638 had been taken prisoner.

"If you take as certain the figure of 638 Cubans, including the injured, in the power of the U.S. armed forces," the Cuban statement said, and 85 Cuban citizens in the Cuban Embassy, "there are only 61 left."

"And if among those you discount those fallen in combat," it said, the number of Cubans who could be left fighting would be small.

"It is possible that some have gone to the mountains," the Cubans said, "but there would be very few because Cuban personnel had instructions to fight in their work areas and encamp their encampments and work areas at the airport if they were attacked. Their positions were in a small and narrow peninsula where it was practically impossible to withdraw."

The Cubans offered a detailed breakdown of the assignments of the Cubans on Grenada. Of these, it said, the largest number, 636, were construction workers. It said the others were in fields such as public health, education, fishing, transport, trade, culture and communications.

Also counted were the 12 members of the crew of the plane that arrived in Grenada carrying Col. Pedro Tortoló, chief of the Cuban construction personnel, and Carlos Díaz of the Americas department of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.

Adding 18 people in the Cuban diplomatic mission, the statement said, the total number of Cubans on the island is 784, including 44 women.

They Disavow Weapons

Arms found in Grenada, the Cuban Government contended, belonged to the Grenadian militia. "Cuban personnel had absolutely nothing to do with these weapons," the Government said.

Earlier in the evening, Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcón said the Cuban Ambassador on Grenada had been unable to reach the head of the United States forces, as he had been asked to do, to arrange for the evacuation of Cuban personnel.

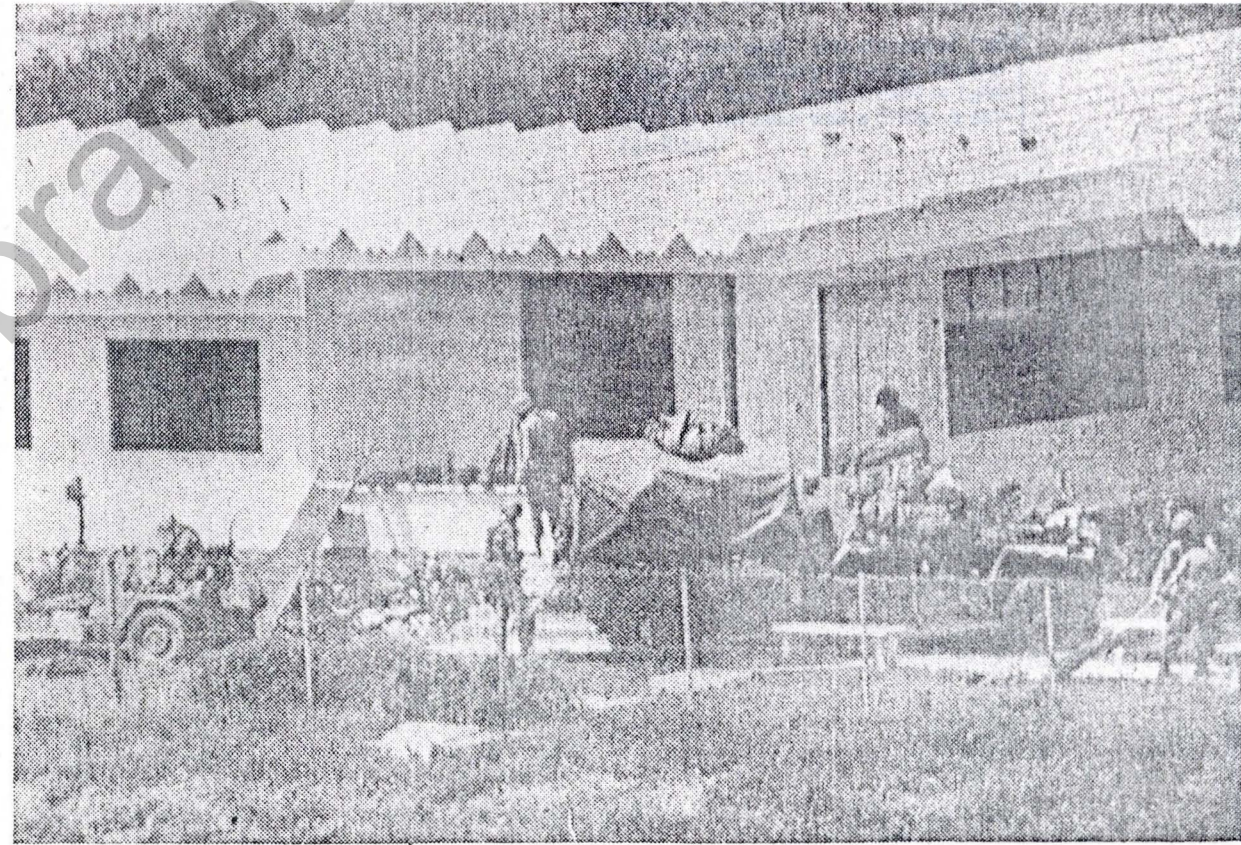


Above, U.S. soldiers driving Grenadians to an evacuation center near the Point Salines airfield and, at left, members of the invading force at the airfield. At right, troops patrolling the streets of St. George's. Below: U.S. servicemen removing body of a Cuban, at right, from spot in front of a building at the airport, according to the NBC News program "First Camera," which plans to broadcast the picture tonight.

In Havana the families of the construction workers waited anxiously.

Lila Coto, 53 years old, who was clutching a handkerchief, gasped with relief when the Government official at the door of her second-floor apartment said his unannounced visit was only to bring a journalist from the United States. Her husband, Manuel, 53, is a granite worker who went to Grenada last June to work on the new airport.

"Every time someone knocks on the door, I think it's bad news," she said. "Here I am, listening to the radio. I hear nothing. I have the TV. It's the only news I have. Imagine! Just imagine! We're in anguish. We don't know how he'll come home — live, dead."



United Press International; Associated Press; NBC News via Sygma and Associated Press

'Back in Jungle': Ex-Prisoner Describes Events Before Invasion

By JAMES FERON
Special to The New York Times

BRIDGETOWN, Barbados, Oct. 29 — A Grenadian journalist who had been interned on Grenada until the American-led invasion said today that "we need some authority to maintain order," but said he hoped it would include Caribbean forces only.

The journalist, Alistair Hughes, said that Grenadian soldiers had shed their uniforms and were hiding weapons, and that Cubans may have retreated to the hills to fight a guerrilla war.

The 64-year-old Mr. Hughes, generally regarded as the most respected journalist on the island, was arrested Oct. 19, the day that Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was freed from house arrest but then killed, reportedly during a rally by soldiers loyal to the military, which had ousted his Government.

Mr. Hughes, who was freed by fellow prisoners from the Richmond Hill Jail near St. George's, the Grenadian capital, said of the American-led incursion: "Thank God they came." Speaking to reporters here, he said, "If someone had not come in and done something, I hesitate to say what the situation in Grenada would be now."

The crucial moment, he said, came after Mr. Bishop had been freed by a crowd he estimated at 10,000. "They had been denied the opportunity to choose between Bishop and Coard," he said, referring to Bernard Coard, the Deputy Prime Minister and leader of the coup.

"So 10,000 and maybe more were saying that morning they wanted Bishop," he said. "But they were fired on by the army — defenseless people — and at that stage we were back in the jungle." As for the action by the United States and Caribbean forces, he said, "I don't regard it as an invasion, but a rescue operation. I haven't met any Grenadian who had expressed any other view."

Mr. Hughes's account of the events that led to the invasion also included a dramatic version of some of the fighting, in one case as witnessed by his brother, Leonard, who had also been detained.

"He said he saw a helicopter shot down on a open playing field," Mr. Hughes said. Two American servicemen got out, one of them wounded. "The other one dragged him free, then ran, but was hit by sniper fire and killed," he said. The wounded soldier used the radio he pulled from his

pocket to call for help and "another helicopter arrived within 20 minutes to take him away," Mr. Hughes said.

"They didn't take the body, though, which was rifled of a watch, papers, service revolver and other items," Mr. Hughes said. An hour later a man in the uniform of the Grenadian People's Revolutionary Army arrived, took it to a sea wall and threw it in, he said, then stood over it "raking the body with automatic fire."

Mr. Hughes, who arrived here Friday and is to return to Grenada Sunday described widespread looting, especially of the capital's major supermarkets. "There is no authority in Grenada now," he said, and stores are being broken into. "In addition to food they are taking suitcases, cameras, radios — and it's mostly young people."

He thought the hiding of weapons might be widespread. A friend told him that some young girls had seen men hiding arms in a pasture and asked him what to do. The friend told the children to tell the United States Marines, which they did, and "quite a lot of arms were found," Mr. Hughes said. The journalist added that "if people are hiding weapons there, they must be hiding them elsewhere."

Mr. Hughes, a former businessman

who is a reporter for the Caribbean News Agency and for The Associated Press, said he doubted that elections would be possible within six months, which has been suggested by leaders of Caribbean nations participating in the seizure of the island.

'Feeling of Free Speech'

"The sooner some authority is created in Grenada," he said, "the sooner we'll get an answer" through elections, "but six months is far too short a time." He said Grenadians had "lost the feeling of free speech."

He said he hoped that members of the the 13-member Caribbean Community would be represented on an interim force, but added that the United States forces "can't finish in a week and leave."

He said that it had become clear before the recent coup that "Bishop had the charisma and popularity, and Coard didn't." He recalled that Gen. Hudson Austin, the leader of the military, delivered a speech the night Mr. Bishop was killed. The speech said that "there had been a suggestion in the party that Maurice continue his work with the people and that Coard continue with the political direction," Mr. Hughes said.

"That sounded to me like Coard was

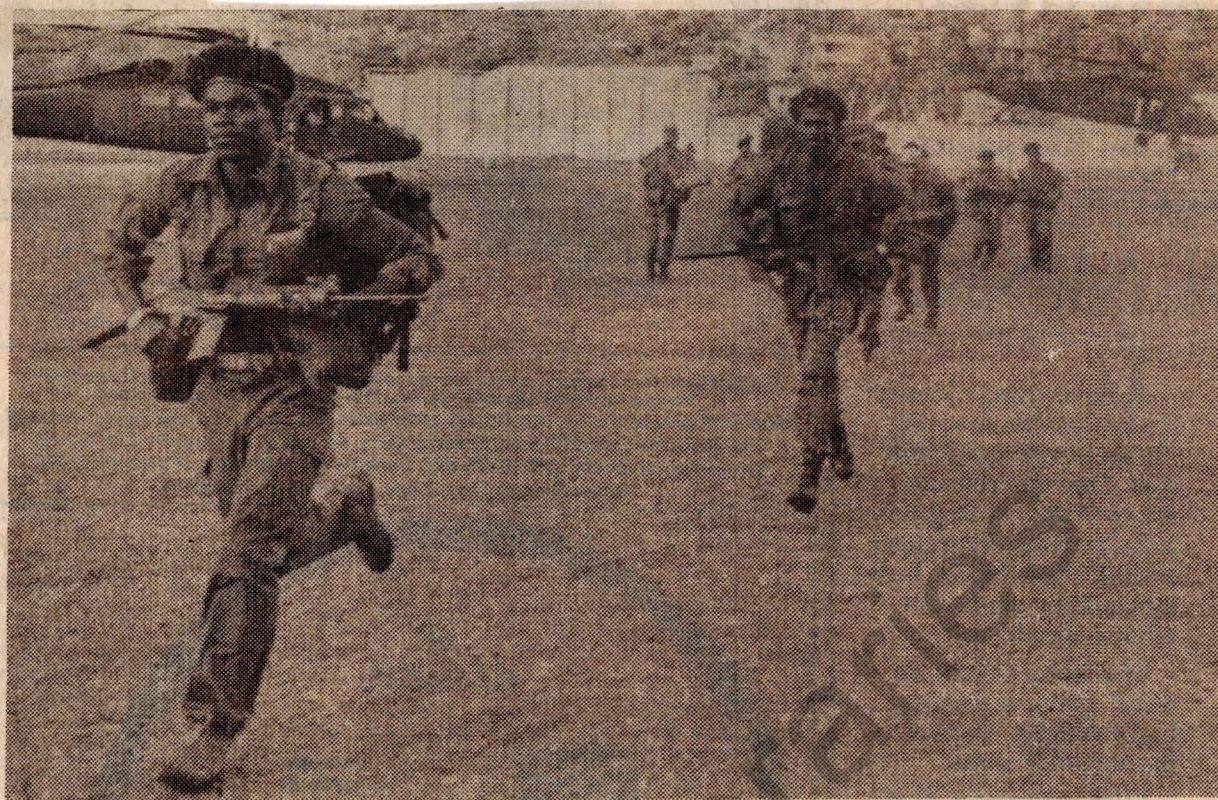
more or less intending to take the leadership," Mr. Hughes said. He also said General Austin described Mr. Bishop as having become "dictatorial — that he would not take advice."

General Austin also sought during that speech to explain Mr. Bishop's death by saying that soldiers in a military vehicle had come under fire from the crowd, suffering two fatalities. That was followed by what sounded like rifle fire, General Austin said.

That night, Mr. Hughes said, he was taken from his home, placed in a holding facility called the goat pen, once part of a prison farm, and later switched to a cell. He said he was treated well by the regular guards and prison officials and became worried only when the guards fled, locking the warden outside and the prisoners inside.

When the first jets flew over Tuesday morning, the armed militia outside shouted with glee. "They're MIG's! We've got two MIG's!" Mr. Hughes quoted the militia as shouting, mistaking the American jets for Soviet-made fighters.

Mr. Hughes and others were eventually released by other detainees and prisoners who had broken out of their cells.



The New York Times / Michael T. Kaufman

Caribbean soldiers running across a field Friday as helicopters took off in St. George's, Grenada.

Steps to the Invasion: No More 'Paper Tiger'

By **BERNARD GWERTZMAN**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29 — The Reagan Administration's overriding reason for invading Grenada was to keep the United States from being perceived as a "paper tiger" in the eyes of both friendly and hostile Latin American nations, Administration officials said today.

"We had a clear, unambiguous frantic request from everybody around Grenada to go in, and what do you do?" one senior official said as he recalled the steps leading up to last Tuesday's invasion.

"If we said no," the official said, "not only might there have been another Iran with the American students — who knows? — but no one would have taken us seriously any more down there. What good are maneuvers and shows of force, if you never use it?"

Determined to Be Resolute

An inquiry into what led to the invasion, from interviews and analysis of published documents and remarks, has revealed some hitherto unknown details that indicate the Reagan Administration was preoccupied with demonstrating that it would be resolute in

dealing with the Cubans and the radical Grenadians because of concern about "another Iran" involving American hostages.

Another concern was to let it be seen in the Caribbean and around the world that the United States would stand by its friends, even the tiny islands of the eastern Caribbean.

In fact, officials said, the United States first began discussing the use of military force in Grenada with friendly Caribbean governments as early as Oct. 15, one day after Prime Minister

Continued on Page 14, Column 1

Steps Behind Invasion: No More 'Paper Tiger'

Continued From Page 1

Maurice Bishop, a Marxist who nevertheless was acceptable to neighboring nations, was put under house arrest.

This started a week of diplomatic messages of concern that increased in intensity after the execution of Mr. Bishop in Grenada on Oct. 19. After his death, the United States decided on a path that led to the invasion last Tuesday, Oct. 25.

Among the disclosures that emerged from the interviews and documents was resident Reagan not only ordered marines headed for Lebanon to be diverted toward Grenada on the evening of Oct. 20, as previously announced by Secretary of State George P. Shultz, but also instructed the Joint Chiefs of Staff to undertake urgent contingency planning for the invasion of Grenada, something that had not previously been done.

The order to start contingency planning came after a secret message from Prime Minister J. M. G. Adams of Barbados that day pleading with Mr. Reagan to lend American support for an invasion. Intelligence information, meanwhile, was suggesting that those now in charge of Grenada were ruthless and might possibly try to hold the Americans hostage.

Another disclosure was that with the American ships heading toward Grenada, Mr. Adams persuaded other eastern Caribbean nations on Oct. 21 to join in a for an invasion.

'Go Order' From Georgia

Because of the earlier decision to plan for an invasion, when the Caribbean request reached the President's party in Augusta, Ga., early in the morning of Oct. 22, Mr. Reagan was awakened and promptly gave a "go order" for invasion plans to proceed. This was earlier than first announced by Mr. Shultz, who said last Tuesday that the initial invasion decision was not made until late last Sunday, Oct. 23.

The formal request that the United States and other friendly countries provide military help was made by the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States last Sunday at the request of the United States, which wanted to show proof that it had been requested to act under terms of that group's treaty.

The wording of the formal request, however, was drafted in Washington and conveyed to the Caribbean leaders by special American emissaries. Paradoxically, the driving force for seeking American aid was Mr. Adams, whose country is not a member of that organization.

Urgent Messages From Cuba

Both Cuba and Grenada, when they saw that American ships were heading for Grenada, sent urgent messages promising that American students were safe and urging that an invasion not occur. But the Administration did not take the messages seriously, since it was determined to end the Cuban presence in Grenada and did not trust either the Cuban or Grenadian word.

In addition to not taking the Cuban and Grenadian notes seriously, there is no indication that the Administration made a determined effort to evacuate the Americans peacefully. The White House has contended that the airport at Grenada had not been reopened last Monday, Oct. 24, but witnesses have

said that at least four charter planes left that day.

There is also no sign that the Administration explored other means, such as a charter boat, or the intervention of Red Cross or other intermediaries. Officials have acknowledged that there was no inclination to try to negotiate with the Grenadian authorities by the time the President had decided on Oct. 22 to proceed with invasion plans.

A Shift in Emphasis

The American explanation offered by Mr. Reagan and Mr. Shultz on the day of the invasion was that the United States led the invasion force to protect innocent people, including 1,000 Americans, and to forestall further chaos at the request of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States.

Since then, to justify the importance of the invasion and the growing size of the American force on the island, the President and other top aides have shifted the emphasis from the pragmatic earlier explanations to more ideological and East-West ones.

The Administration has pointed to the presence of heavily armed Cuban troops on the island, as well as advisers from the Soviet Union, East Germany, Bulgaria and North Korea, and to the discovery of what they say are large arms caches. The President said on Thursday night that Grenada had become "a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion."

"We got there just in time," the President said.

Doubts Irritate Some Officials

Indeed, many have been suspicious that the Administration's strongly held anti-Communist views led it to decide to invade Grenada on its own, and to use concern for the students and meeting the request from Caribbean nations as "cover stories." This has irritated top officials like Mr. Shultz.

"We haven't been trying to gin up anything," he told reporters on Wednesday night, during a flight to Paris.

"The idea that the United States stimulated a request from the Caribbean nations is not true," said Alan D. Romberg, a State Department spokesman.

A recapitulation shows that the Caribbean countries, particularly Barbados, did push the Americans to invade, but that given its own concerns, the Administration did not need too much encouragement. When asked today whether the invasion would have been launched if there were no Americans on Grenada, one senior official said, "That's a tough call. I don't know."

U.S. Had Scorned Bishop

In Washington, the first reports of Mr. Bishop's house arrest were barely noticed. Mr. Bishop had been largely scorned by the Administration for his ties to Cuba, but he was regarded as more moderate by Caribbean leaders.

The White House and State Department were preoccupied with a major review of Middle East policy and with choosing a new national security adviser to replace William P. Clark, who had just been named as James G. Watt's successor at the Interior Department. But in the Caribbean, the deposing of Mr. Bishop was the only story.

There was widespread speculation, expressed publicly by Prime Minister Edward P. G. Seaga of Jamaica, who

has close relations with Mr. Reagan, that Cuba was behind the coup. That was because Bernard Coard, Grenada's Deputy Prime Minister, who was a leader of the coup, was "Cuba's man," while Mr. Bishop, although a Marxist, was more independent.

Offer by American Reported

Prime Minister Adams of Barbados began considering the feasibility of a military rescue operation to free Mr. Bishop. He said in a speech that an American official had approached one of his aides on Oct. 15 and offered American help in transporting Mr. Bishop to freedom.

White House officials said today that they could not rule out an individual initiative to Mr. Adams, but they insisted that the Grenada matter had not received high-level attention until Mr. Bishop was killed along with many of his aides on Oct. 19.

On Oct. 17, while Mr. Bishop was in house arrest, some 1,900 marines left the United States for what was announced at the time as routine replacement duty in Lebanon. This force was diverted on Oct. 20. There is no evidence to support speculation that the force was already a "cover" for the Grenada invasion.

Officials insist that from Oct. 15 to 20, while concern grew and talk of a military move was increasingly discussed by Caribbean nations, little attention was paid to the matter in Washington. The State Department said in answer to a question that "the United States attitude throughout the period was one of listening and expressing the need to obtain more information than we had at the time."

'You Have to Understand'

The violence and apparently ruthless killings on Grenada "panicked Grenada's neighbors," one State Department official said. "You have to understand,

these English-speaking islands come out of the British tradition in which violence had been kept out of politics.

"Moreover," he said, "you have to understand that none of those islands had an army, and they knew that there were some 3,000 heavily armed thugs there."

Prime Minister Adams said publicly on Oct. 20 that "I am absolutely horrified at these brutal and vicious murders, the most vicious act to disfigure the West Indies since the days of slavery." In private, he sent a message through the American Ambassador, Milan D. Bish, pleading for an American invasion force.

Late in the afternoon of Oct. 20, Vice President Bush led the first special high-level group discussion on Grenada situation.

Concern was voiced at the meeting that the military rulers who seemed to be in charge of Grenada, particularly Gen. Hudson Austin, were the type of people who had held Americans hostage in Iran. In addition to discussion of the possible hostage situation, Mr. Adams's plea for military help was also considered.

Marines Secretly Diverted

Nothing was said publicly at the time about the results of that session, but Mr. Reagan, at the group's recommendation, secretly diverted the Lebanon-bound marine task force to Grenada, and he also ordered contingency plans for an invasion, an official said. Until then, a White House official said, there had been no serious planning. This may explain, the official said, why the intelligence information on the fighting ability of the Cubans was so weak.

The next day, Oct. 21, a special meeting of the Caribbean Community was held in Trinidad, and it discussed possible punitive actions against the Grenadian rulers. Mr. Adams failed to get the

approval of this large organization, with Trinidad among those opposing the use of force.

But Mr. Adams was able to persuade Prime Minister Seaga and the smaller group of eastern Caribbean countries to go along with his earlier proposal for an invasion. Late that night, in Barbados, Mr. Adams and Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica, who is the chairman of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, went to Mr. Bish, the American ambassador, and relayed the group's request for armed invasion.

Early-Morning Call to Georgia

The cable was sent to Washington, where it was received at about 1 A.M. by Adm. John Poindexter, the deputy national security adviser. Admiral Poindexter then made a telephone call to Augusta, where Mr. Reagan, Mr. Shultz and Robert C. McFarlane, the new national security adviser, were sleeping.

Mr. Shultz said he was awakened at 2:45 A.M. on Oct. 22, and he talked about the invasion request it with Mr. McFarlane. About a half hour later, Mr. Bush, in Washington, was called for a conference discussion. Mr. Shultz said the eastern Caribbean countries had told Washington that they had "brought Barbados and Jamaica in their counsels," where in fact, the evidence indicates, Barbados had taken the lead.

Mr. Reagan was awakened before 5 A.M., and he gave the go-ahead after talking to his chief advisers to proceed with invasion plans. Two emissaries were sent to Barbados to elicit a formal written invitation, and they carried with them a proposed draft that was agreed to and sent to Washington the next day. Military plans went ahead intensively.

Meanwhile, on Oct. 21, word leaked

to news organizations that the marines and the carrier task force had been diverted to the Grenada region. There was also stories in the Caribbean press on Oct. 22 that the Caribbean leaders were discussing an invasion of Grenada.

This led to a series of efforts by the Cubans and the Grenadians to forestall an invasion. At 9 P.M. on Oct. 22, the Cubans sent a message to the United States reminding Washington that Havana had criticized the death of Mr. Bishop and that Cuba was aware of American concern for the safety of the many Americans in Grenada.

The note also said Havana was concerned about the fate of "hundreds" of Cubans "working on various projects and about the reports that U.S. naval forces are approaching Grenada."

"According to our reports, no U.S. or foreign citizen has run into any problem, nor has our personnel met with problems," the note said.

A major point in dispute is whether in fact the Americans on the island were in such danger as to warrant an invasion. No official has produced firm evidence that the Americans were being mistreated, or that they would not be able to leave if they wanted. But officials say that when American Consular officers visited Grenada on Oct. 22, they were roughly handled by soldiers, and they left with little confidence that the word of the Grenadian military could be trusted.

There is also disagreement on whether the Grenadian airport was open for evacuation of Americans. The White House said the Grenadians had closed the airport on Monday, Oct. 24, after saying it would be open. The White House said the closing of the airport contributed to the decision to invade the next day.

However, at least four small charter planes left the airport on Monday.



NAVAL PRESENCE: Grenadian women walking along shore in St. George's Friday. In background are United States warships.

Associated Press

From a Grenadian Diplomat: How Party Wrangle Led to Premier's Death

By JO THOMAS

Special to The New York Times

HAVANA, Oct. 29 — A Grenadian Embassy official here says the events that led to the death of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop on Oct. 19 began at a secret meeting in Grenada the month before when the Central Committee of Mr. Bishop's party told him he would have to share leadership of the country with his Deputy Prime Minister, Bernard Coard.

The official, in an interview here Friday, said that by a vote of 9 to 1 with 3 abstentions, the committee voted on Sept. 14 to allow Mr. Bishop to continue as head of state but to have Mr. Coard privately assume control of the economy and take charge of party matters.

The events following this meeting, the official said, ended in tragedy after Mr. Bishop tried to float a rumor in Grenada, where he was very popular, that Mr. Coard and his wife, Phyllis, who was a Central Committee member, were trying to kill him.

Details of the party struggle, which at the outset were to be kept from the public, were provided by Donald McPhail, who is first secretary of the Grenadian Embassy and has been in charge of its affairs during the absence of Ambassador Leon Cornwall, who has been in Grenada since September.

'A Point of Stagnation'

According to Mr. McPhail, the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement met from Sept. 14 to 16 "to analyze the state of the revolution — it had reached a point of stagnation." Mr. Bishop was the chairman, and Mr. Coard, who was not a member of the committee, did not attend.

"A number of proposals came up," Mr. McPhail said, and the consensus was that "certain members had too many responsibilities, and as a result all of their responsibilities were suffering."

"The most outstanding proposal was that of joint leadership within the party — this was going to be shared by Bernard Coard and Maurice Bishop, to marry the talents of the two. Maurice has always been very good in the international world and very popular with the masses, while Coard was very

strong in the economic aspect of the revolution."

The private sharing of power "was to be an internal matter, a party question, and not to be publicized," Mr. McPhail said. One of the 14 committee members was sick. Of the 13 who voted, 9 were in favor, 1 was against and 3 abstained. Those abstaining, he said, included Gen. Hudson Austin, who had missed most of the debate because he was out of the country, Unison Whiteman, who said he was not sure about it, and Mr. Bishop, who said he needed time to think.

"He said the idea was a good one," Mr. McPhail said, "but he had practical reservations. He asked for time. He was given time, but the vote was binding."

The Origin of Rumors

On Sept. 27, the eve of Mr. Bishop's departure on a trip that would include Czechoslovakia and Cuba, the Central Committee met with party members for 15 hours, Mr. McPhail said. "Maurice was one of the last speakers," he said. "He accepted the joint leadership. Then he went away, and when he came back on Oct. 8 he was no longer in favor."

"On Wednesday, Oct. 12, rumors were on the street that two members of Government were trying to kill him," Mr. McPhail said. Those accused were Bernard and Phyllis Coard.

"But the security forces that investigated the rumor found it came from Bishop himself," he said. "The No. 2 man in his personal security unit gave evidence against him."

Mr. McPhail said that this security man, whom he did not identify, was one of two who lived in Mr. Bishop's house with him.

"He said he was called in by the No. 1 security man" — identified by Mr. McPhail as Cletus St. Paul — "and told that there was an important task, to get pencil and paper. Maurice wanted to contact people and tell them of a plot to assassinate him."

Mr. McPhail said the subordinate security man was then called to Mr. Bishop's bedroom, where Mr. Bishop looked at a list of people and ticked off



The New York Times

SLAIN LEADER: Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of Grenada. An account of a party struggle that reportedly led to Mr. Bishop's death were provided Friday by a Grenadian diplomat.

the names of those to be told. The subordinate made contact with two of the people before telling security forces about the matter.

According to Mr. McPhail, the names on the list were the upper- and middle-class businessmen and hotel owners that Mr. Bishop characterized as opinion makers. Although Mr. Bishop held the posts of Minister of Defense and head of national security, he did not notify the security forces about the danger, Mr. McPhail said.

"It's hard to imagine what he thought," he said, "but his leadership was going to be taken away from him."

Mr. McPhail said that he was present at a meeting later on Oct. 12 at which Mr. Bishop was asked to try to ease the tension. "There was nobody on the street that day," Mr. McPhail said.

Mr. Bishop "got on the radio," Mr. McPhail said. "He told the people there was no truth to the rumor, although the damage was done."

The next day, Thursday, Oct. 13, "there was a party meeting to inform the members, and Maurice spoke," Mr. McPhail said. "The issues were joint leadership and the rumor, and he spoke for approximately 45 minutes."

The chief of national security had already read the sworn statement of the No. 2 security guard.

"Maurice accepted that he had violated the principles of our party by not going ahead with the decision," Mr. McPhail said. "He claimed his refusal was mainly because of his own petit bourgeois weakness. He denied starting the rumor. He said he had nothing to do with that, but he said he would speak again if necessary."

Decision on House Arrest

"After that, the No. 2 man was sent forward to address the meeting. He came in front of everyone, and he gave an account of what took place. Then the Central Committee members called on Bishop to speak again, to deny it, and he refused."

"The general opinion there was that he was responsible for the rumor, due to his own failure to deny it."

There were several proposals, including the expulsion of Mr. Bishop from the party, but the meeting ended with his being placed under house arrest.

"The main reason was that it was felt by the security forces that under these conditions, counterrevolutionaries might try to aggravate the situation by making an attempt on his life," Mr. McPhail said.

The following day, Oct. 14, the Cuban Ambassador met with members of the Central Committee, Mr. McPhail said. "Because of the rumor, he wanted to know what was going on."

Mr. McPhail left Grenada to return to Havana on Oct. 15, he said, and his remaining information has come, he said, from a statement issued Oct. 20 by the armed forces of Grenada.

The statement said the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement made a formal offer to Mr. Bishop on Tuesday, Oct. 18, to continue as Prime Minister, and Mr. Bishop replied that "he would consider the offer but was not willing to talk."

Crowd Frees Bishop

The statement said that on Wednesday morning at 9:30 a crowd led by Mr. Whiteman, the labor leader Vincent Noel and two businessmen stormed Mr. Bishop's house. Soldiers guarding the road had instructions not to fire on the people, so they "broke through the barrier and stormed through the gates of the house." The crowd, according to the statement, realized that the soldiers had instructions not to fire.

By this account, Mr. Bishop then led the crowd to Fort Rupert, and despite efforts by the army to establish communication and negotiate the crowd's peaceful departure from the fort, Mr. Bishop, who was accompanied by Mr. Whiteman, "declared no compromise, no negotiations." They then disarmed the officers of the general staff as well as the soldiers guarding the fort and began to arm the crowd.

"They declared their intention to arrest and wipe out the entire Central Committee and senior members of the party and the entire leadership of the armed forces," the statement said. "At that point the revolutionary armed forces sent a company of soldiers to re-establish control of Fort Rupert."

Mr. Bishop and his group fired on the soldiers, killing Sgt. Dorset Peters and Warrant Officer Raphael Mason and wounding several others. The armed forces then stormed the fort, according to the statement, and Mr. Bishop, Mr. Whiteman and others were killed.

Reagan Is Disputed

The statement then said that the military intended to rule with a revolutionary military council until a government could be formed and that "anyone who seeks to demonstrate or disturb the peace will be shot."

Mr. McPhail said that after he received this explanation he was told that the events surrounding Mr. Bishop's death were being investigated.

"What President Reagan says, that

this was a Cuban-Soviet conspiracy, is untrue," Mr. McPhail insisted.

He went on to say that the changes in the party were not directed against free enterprise or constitutional government.

"The party had decided it was time to draft a constitution," he said, "and a team of lawyers had been established."

He also said it was Mr. Coard who worked out concessions to encourage private enterprise to invest in Grenada. As for weapons in the country, he insisted that they were only for use by construction workers in the event of an attack. "If we were going to store weapons, we wouldn't store them at the airport, which was full of people. There are lots of better places. We have an army and more than one military installation."

He also said President Reagan's assertion that terrorism was being exported from Grenada was not true.

"Reagan is trying to justify the invasion," Mr. McPhail said. "He himself must be sure the invasion of Grenada was a mistake."

White House Tactics Could Be Costly Next Year

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

WASHINGTON

RONALD REAGAN began his political life almost two decades ago, rising from the ashes of the Goldwater Presidential candidacy and slowly building a constituency around a glowing core of anti-Communist rhetoric that powered him ultimately to the White House. And leaning on that basic theme he'll survive politically, if he can, as the incumbent accountable no longer just for stump rhetoric but for actions with mortal implications against a force he measured in global proportions.

Last week, just when the President's political advisers were congratulating themselves for having avoided the sort of passive foreign-policy blunders that left the Carter White House paralyzed with the Iranian hostage crisis, Mr. Reagan, the modern President most identified with military preparedness, suffered the grievous destruction of the Marine Corps headquarters in Beirut. And just when they thought there had been an easing of his career-long stereotyping as a politician eager for physical confrontation with international rivals, Mr. Reagan became the candidate-President who ordered the secretive invasion of Grenada.

In a matter days, the whiff of summit possibilities and the profile in moderation that some Administration optimists sensed as a campaign theme seemed to have evaporated. Ronald Reagan was back to basics, rallying 'round the flag with fans and critics back to old enthusiasms and doubts. "This may be President Reagan's finest hour," said Richard A. Viguerie, the conservative polemicist and fundraiser. "Are we looking for a war we can win?" asked Senator Lawton Chiles, Democrat of Florida.

The initial opinion polls after the President's Thursday television address, in which he sought to bridge the two crises with warnings of ubiquitous Soviet troublemaking, left the White House ebullient. A New York Times/CBS News Poll showed no significant lessening of the President's approval, increased support for the presence of troops in Lebanon and approval of the presence of American forces on Grenada. The White House staff staged a pro-Reagan demonstration in his own backyard, cheering and applauding the smiling President as he left for Camp David at the end of the grim week.

But his political strategists had the harder questions of the long run to deal with: How could there ever be a show of the marines coming home from Lebanon in time for the 1984 Election Day if their fate is now to be tied to the stability of Lebanon, where violence dates to the Crusades? Would the Grenada invasion — seemingly a general's dream of lopsided odds in a sealed arena — spawn more protracted, troublesome guerrilla resistance from Cubans there or elsewhere in the Caribbean chain? White House officials insisted the notion of re-election was never allowed to figure in the week's harrowing events and decisions. But there was a quadrennial eeriness to the timing, and Mr. Reagan himself, defending the invasion as necessary to protect Americans on Grenada, declared, "The nightmare of our hostages in Iran must never be repeated."

Congressional Counter moods

Within two days of the invasion, Congressional complaint was mounting and machinery was under way in both houses again to confront the President through the War Powers Act with a mandate to remove the Grenada troops within 60 days unless Congress specifically authorizes them to stay. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., who like many in both parties and both houses had withheld criticism at first, said that Mr. Reagan made his "usual elegant performance" in addressing the nation. Then he turned sharply. "To be perfectly truthful, his policy scares me," Mr. O'Neill said. "We can't go the way of gunboat diplomacy. His policy is wrong. His policy is frightening."

Yesterday, Senate Majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee, who earlier had offered an amendment praising the President, joined Minority Leader Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia, in a call for a Congressional fact-finding mission to Grenada. "What I am concerned about," Mr. Byrd said, "is that we weren't given all the facts apparently at the beginning."

The grueling week began with an indulgence of the "Eisenhower model" cherished by Mr. Reagan's image makers, the attempt to depict a self-assured incumbent. Indeed, he was down in the Augusta National Golf Course in Georgia, staying in Mr. Eisenhower's old cottage and playing golf. But he was already planning the Grenada invasion even as he strolled the course. Within the next seven days, Mr. Reagan was using his master's talent for narrative reading and patriotic pleading to vividly depict Grenada and Lebanon as an unavoidable joint investment in protecting the free world.

By Friday, the first bodies were arriving home, and a year of domestic politics lay ahead. Symbols of the tragically altered world of Washington abounded.

There was William Clark, the former national security adviser who helped build the Lebanon strategy — the man whose tough attitude toward world trouble was summarized by his cowboy hat and heirloom six-shooter — kneeling in church with a rosary in hand as he prayed for the dead in Lebanon. There was Larry Speakes, the White House official who speaks for the President, privately warning the Administration about a credibility problem while publicly criticizing reporters for complaining about the sparse information funneled through the Pentagon's invasion hierarchy.

This may have been the first modern war where the United States sought to compensate for its blackout on professional news gathering by offering its own military's television footage that depicted the invaders in a positive light. The way the information policy worked, the Administration, with Mr. Speakes pleading ignorance each day on most details, thus shifted the focus from the Commander in Chief at the White House to the field commanders at the Pentagon.

By the week's end, President Reagan himself was emphasizing his "heartfelt thanks" for the flow of letters and telegrams to the White House, especially, he said, those on Grenada and the invasion force "performing so magnificently." In the Administration's attempt to entwine the two crises, Grenada clearly was being rated the more positive politically, and Administration officials noted that Mr. Reagan would not be greeting the first shipment of bodies and wounded returning Friday from Lebanon. Instead, the President left for his retreat at Camp David. Yesterday he dropped in on marines stationed there, telling them "how proud we are of you."

In Europe, Ammunition for Anti-Americanism

By JOHN VINO CUR

PARIS
OVERNIGHT last week, every West European who sees the United States as an unreliable, bellicose, immoral ally had found seemingly perfect justification in the United States invasion of Grenada. Overnight too, every West European who regards American missiles less as protection than as a threat to his safety considered his arguments had been bolstered.

Governments defending cruise and Pershing 2 missile deployment, scheduled to start in a few weeks, felt compelled to express disapproval of the United States intervention. The West Germans, among others, insisted they were not consulted in advance, a brusque and unsettling precedent. For Britain, where prior discussion had taken place, there was the Reagan Administration's disregard of a friend's advice to stay out. When the United Nations Security Council voted, 11 to 1, to deplore the intervention, its best friends left the United States isolated as it vetoed the measure.

It mattered little that the week brought gaffes and

embarrassment for the Soviet Union, notably three reported defections — a journalist denouncing a “return to Stalinism,” the son of Valentin Falin, a key Soviet propagandist, and a general believed to have fled to the United States via Turkey — as well as two expulsions of Soviet diplomats from Belgium for spying. These would normally have been headline events, but next to the political damage Washington's main allies believe the invasion has caused them, the Soviet clumsiness was reduced to gnat-in-a-china shop dimensions.

The extent of the damage to the Atlantic alliance is likely to hinge on how long it takes the Americans to leave Grenada. The more the time and trouble, the simpler the comparisons become between Grenada and Afghanistan. In addition, internal political forces in the three countries that are the main American allies, Britain, France, and West Germany, influence the degree of domestic interest in each country in pressing the issue.

Important differences in attitude were apparent. In France, after the Government condemned the invasion, there seemed to be a willingness not to pursue the matter. Outrage, feigned or real, was rare. Grenada was off the front pages of three of the country's four national newspapers by Friday. France gives priority to its engagements in Lebanon and Chad. It is privately concerned about growing Cuban influence on the French Caribbean island of Guadeloupe. And the Government is unwilling to encourage people President François Mitterrand refers to as Western Europe's pacifists and neutralists.

Brandt Sees a Parallel

The appreciation of pure power politics is much stronger in France than in Britain or West Germany. Michel Debré, who made a career out of anti-Americanism as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister under Charles de Gaulle, felt completely at ease last week in saying, “The American President acted according to a justified conception of the world situation. Manifesting the power of the United States is an important element for the Soviet leadership to contemplate. Therefore it's completely normal that a great power with the means to do so would avoid allowing an additional difficulty at its doorstep.”

But in West Germany, the Social Democratic opposition, which is openly fighting deployment of the missiles, was unlikely to let go easily. Willy Brandt, the party chairman, took the Grenada invasion as confirming his contention the superpowers act essentially alike. He immediately compared Grenada to Afghanistan, a significant measure of the party's attitude toward the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1980, Herbert Wehner, then the party parliamentary whip and one of its most influential voices, explained Soviet action in Afghanistan as defensive and pre-emptive in nature.

In any case, the invasion was a severe blow for the Government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, increasingly described by European diplomats as short of energy and ideas. Mr. Kohl has been waging the missile battle on the level of public perception of American and Soviet reliability rather than on long-term strategic issues. Grenada, for the Christian Democrats, carried negative weight comparable to the Reagan Administration's talk in 1981 of limited nuclear war in Europe. The invasion, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said, has affected West Germany “both psychologically and politically.”

In Britain, with its strongly felt Commonwealth ties, the American action was as painful for Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as for Mr. Kohl. Although the Conservatives insisted the analogy was a false one, the opposition asked what kind of brake Mrs. Thatcher's supposedly close relationship with President Reagan would be if he decided on his own to fire cruise missiles soon to be based in Britain. Parliament will continue the debate tomorrow.

Last weekend, the West European Governments seemed to be riding out large-scale antimissile demonstrations without serious damage. For some of them, Grenada may have given an unwelcome second life to the “hot autumn” they feared.

Squaring International Law With Political Imperatives

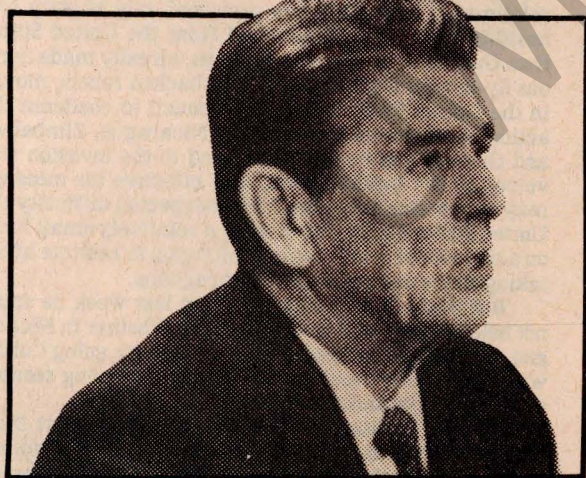
By STUART TAYLOR Jr.

WASHINGTON

DOES anything that deserves the name "international law" govern the use of military force? Last week's invasion of Grenada raised the question anew, as Reagan Administration lawyers and critics fenced with citations of treaties and charters, a familiar exchange in any shooting war.

The Administration's shifting legal rationale for reconciling the invasion with nonintervention provisions of the United Nations and Organization of American States charters seemed barely plausible to many allies abroad and legal experts at home. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., in expressing his fears of Administration policy, said the invasion was probably an illegal exercise in "gunboat diplomacy."

But not all legal experts saw it as bad policy. Such authorities as Don Wallace Jr., director of the International Law Institute at Georgetown University Law Center, said the episode showed the rules are inadequate. On occasion, he and others argued, good policy may require violating the rules or offering interpretations that bend treaty language. Washington cannot, they said, protect its interests as a great power and still comply with a literal reading of the United Nations Charter in the face of Soviet aggression and subversion, and internal repression by regimes of every stripe. If the Russians "insist on violating these rules," said Prof. Eugene V. Rostow of Yale Law School, "then pretty soon we're going to start violating them."



The New York Times / Paul Hosefros
President Reagan addressing the nation last week.

"Although I don't think we can square what we did in Grenada with the U.N. Charter system," Mr. Wallace said, "it may be that the system is now somewhat out of date." While it was not yet clear whether the situation in Grenada had been sufficiently threatening to the lives of Americans and the peace of the neighboring islands to warrant invasion on any grounds, "the policy justification was a lot more substantial than the legal justification," he said. In defending legality, "we're forced into a sort of hypocrisy which embarrasses people who believe in law," he added.

The charters of the organizations set up with American encouragement after World War II prohibit use of military force against a sovereign state, except in self-defense against "armed attack" or in collective peacekeeping actions by regional bodies with the "authorization of the Security Council." No authority has the power to interpret and enforce these rules, given the paralysis of the Security Council by the Soviet and American vetoes. The International Court of Justice in the Hague lacks power to enforce the rules against war. In a world awash with aggression, provisions of the international charters purporting to outlaw war are cited and ignored.

If international law has any force, it is as a set of clear, ideologically neutral principles commanding such wide respect that world opinion can be mobilized against violators. By that standard, the United States claim as guardian of the rule of law in international affairs took a beating; most of the United Nations Security Council and the world condemned the Grenada invasion. A quick operation to evacuate Americans in danger would have been easier to justify, but President Reagan has bigger goals — replacing a Cuban-influenced military regime with a democratic government.

State Department lawyers said obligations under nonintervention provisions of the international charters were overridden by "collective defense" provisions in a little-noticed 1981 pact signed by seven tiny Caribbean island-states, the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States. A handful of the pact's members invited Washington to invade.

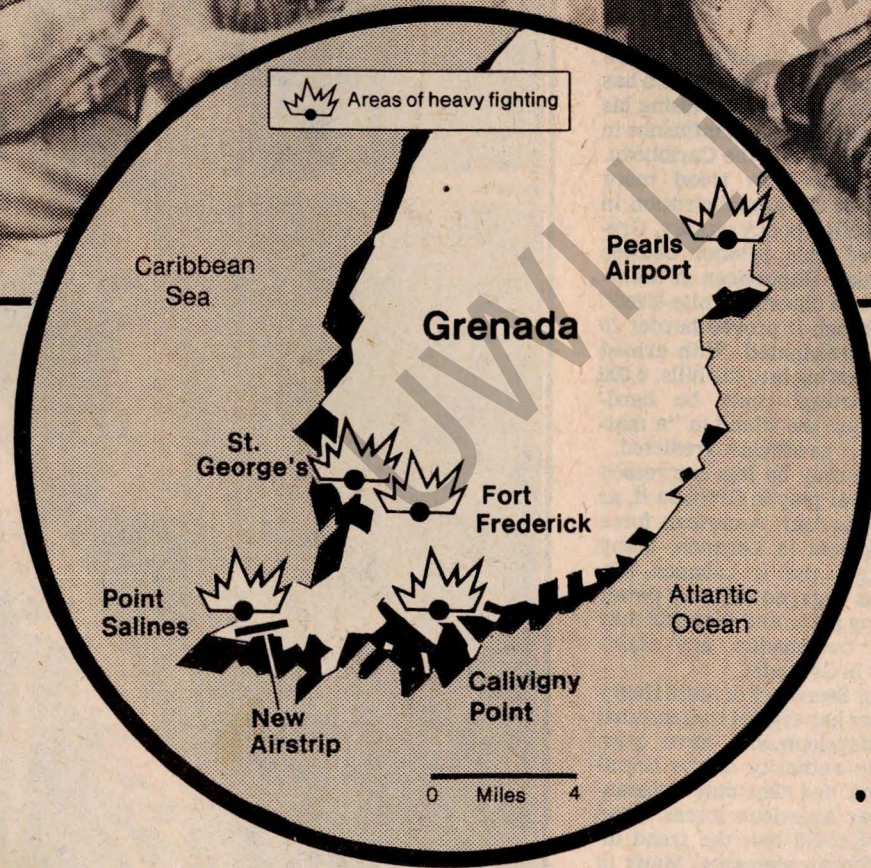
Until last week, Washington had not based its case on so narrow a group. The rationale, largely rejected in Latin America, seemed adaptable to a future invasion of Nicaragua, for example, if neighbors were to request it. Many legal experts said the Administration's interpretations would give a hollow ring to American denunciations of the "Brezhnev doctrine," the Soviet justification for invasions that re-established its control in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and installed a subservient regime in Afghanistan in 1979.

This was not to equate the United States with the Soviet Union. Compliance with international law is a matter of degree. Mr. Reagan has pledged to pull out of Grenada promptly and let the democratic process take its course. Fulfillment of that pledge would limit the damage to the frayed fabric of international law.

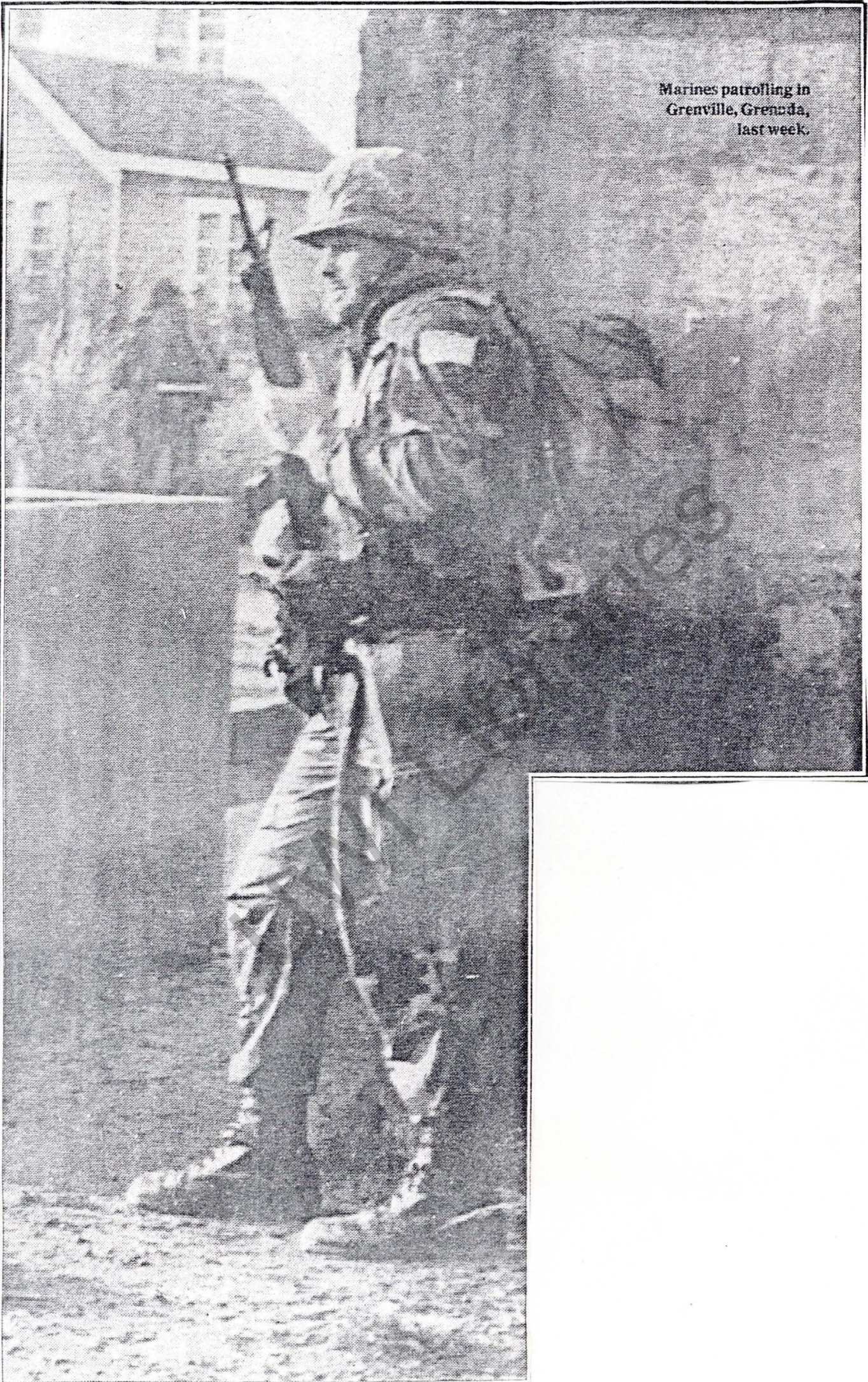
New York Times
Oct. 30, 1983



Cubans captured by U.S. forces near the Point Salines airport in Grenada; students from St. George's University School of Medicine arriving in Charleston, S.C., last week.



Marines patrolling in
Grenville, Grenada,
last week.



New York Times Nov. 6 1983

Most Grenadians Applaud U.S.

NEW YORK, Nov. 5 (AP)—More than nine out of 10 Grenadians interviewed for a poll said they were glad the United States invaded their island, and most said they felt in danger under the rule of Gen. Hudson Austin, CBS News reported.

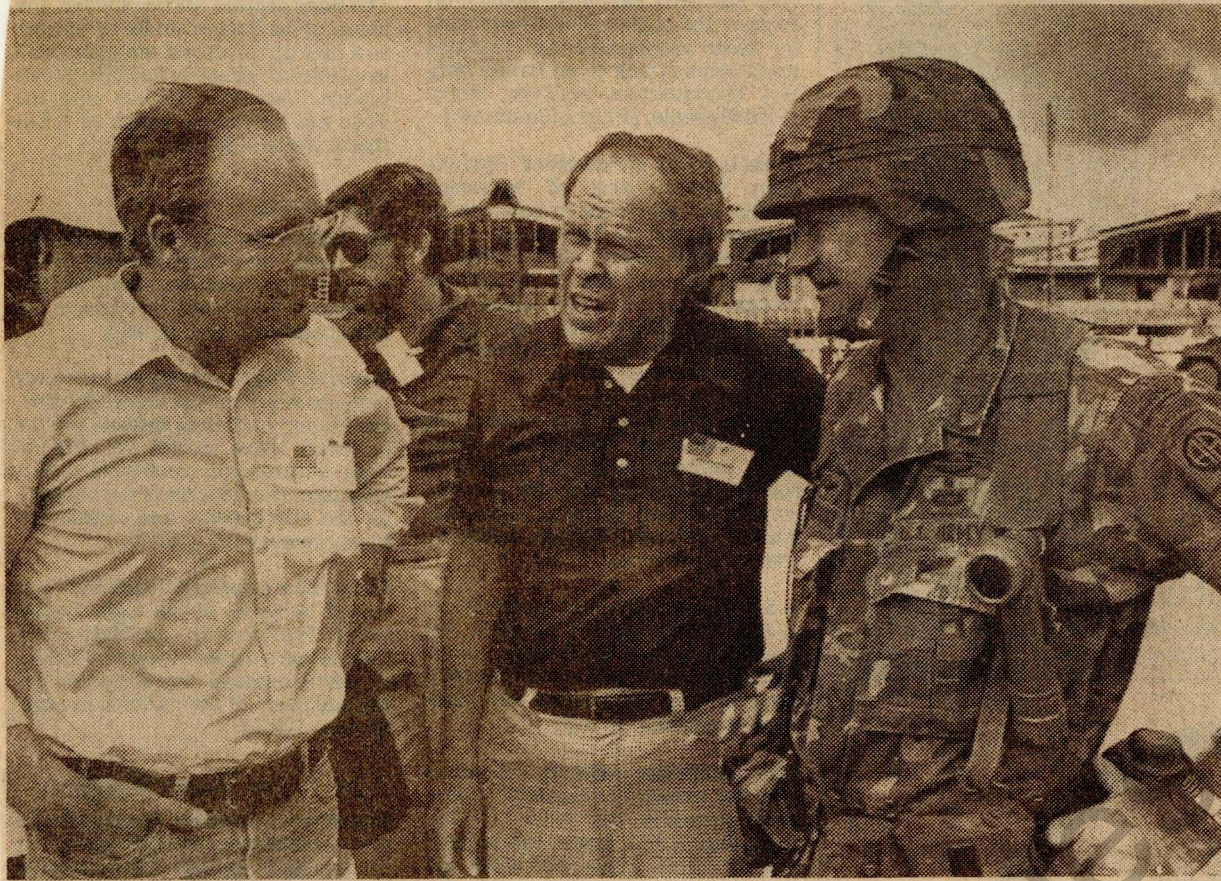
In a broadcast Friday, CBS said 91 percent of the 304 Grenadians interviewed Thursday said they welcomed the invasion, and 85 percent said they thought they had been in danger

from Austin, now a prisoner on the Caribbean island.

Eighty-five percent said they believed that the United States had invaded Grenada chiefly to dislodge Cubans and prevent their building a military base.

One in six said they saw Cubans carrying military weapons before the United States and Caribbean troops invaded. Eight in 10 said the invaders were courteous and considerate. One in seven said the Americans threatened their safety.

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Representatives Dick Cheney of Wyoming, left, and Elwood Hillis of Indiana, both Republicans, speaking with Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh, commander of 82d Airborne Division, at Point Salines airport in Grenada.

GRENADA PULLOUT DUE WITHIN WEEKS

Congressmen Say Troops Will
Go Despite Pleas to Stay

By **BERNARD WEINRAUB**

Special to The New York Times

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada, Nov. 5 — Members of a Congressional fact-finding delegation told Grenadian officials today that all United States military troops were expected to leave "within weeks" despite requests by eastern Caribbean nations that the soldiers remain.

At the same time, several members of the bipartisan delegation, which came to Grenada at the request of the Speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Democrat of Massachusetts, made it plain after listening to military briefings that new doubts about the quality of American intelligence, the degree of Cuban military involvement and the specific reasons for the invasion left them troubled.

The 14-member delegation arrived Friday. Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives decided Oct. 31 to send the group to investigate why American troops were sent to invade Grenada and how long they might remain. Republican leaders then endorsed the idea and said they would send Representatives to join the Democrats.

Representative Thomas S. Foley,

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

Grenada Aftermath: Lawmakers Visit the Scene

Congressmen See Grenada Pullout Within Weeks

Democrat of Washington, the leader of the delegation, said that despite "very strong disagreements" within the group about the invasion, the single theme that had dominated the visit so far was the necessity to withdraw the remaining 2,500 American soldiers within weeks.

Mr. Foley and others in the delegation said the withdrawal of the troops of the 82d Airborne Division would leave a vacuum as Grenada forms a constitutional government. Congressional and State Department officials said the Reagan Administration was seeking to shape an interim Commonwealth peacekeeping force that would include troops from Caribbean nations as well as Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

In meetings Friday night and today, Mr. Foley as well as the House minority leader, Representative Robert H. Michel, Republican of Illinois, and others in the delegation made it clear to Sir Paul Scoon, the Governor General, and to Col. Ken Barnes, the Jamaican officer who heads the 300-member Caribbean force, that the mood of Congress, the Administration and the American public was to pull out the American troops as quickly as possible.

"We're talking about withdrawing soldiers within weeks," Mr. Foley said, "several weeks."

Troop Strength Was 6,000

Initially, more than 6,000 United States troops participated in the invasion of the 133-square-mile island after appeals from Grenada's Caribbean neighbors that the United States send a

force to restore order and rescue 1,000 potentially endangered Americans, mostly medical students. At least 18 soldiers died in the invasion.



Associated Press; United Press International

CONGRESSMEN TOUR GRENADA: Representative Ronald V. Dellums, Democrat of California, walking past the area in Point Salines where Cuban prisoners are being held. Representative Robert H. Michel, Republican of Illinois, photographs a weapons storage building in Frequente.



Aides traveling with the Congressional group said Sir Paul was seeking to form an interim government and then hold elections.

Sir Paul, Colonel Barnes and labor and business leaders have urged a continued American presence for several reasons. They said eastern Caribbean nations were barely equipped to join a peacekeeping force — several of these nations have no armed force at all. They also said the presence of American troops had been warmly welcomed in Grenada and had quickly created a sense of normalcy in a situation that verged on the chaotic two weeks ago.

Soviet and Libyan diplomats have been expelled in recent days, and the Cuban Mission is under guard and may close after some 600 Cuban prisoners are returned home.

The Congressional delegation includes members of the House Armed Services Committee, the Foreign Af-

fairs Committee and the Intelligence Committees as well as aides.

In their two-night stay in Grenada, they are meeting ranking officers of the 82d Airborne Division as well as enlisted men and are conferring with Grenadian officials, visiting the site beside the Point Salines airstrip where Cuban prisoners are being held and conferring with Grenadian and Caribbean officials.

At a briefing late Friday at the still-incomplete Port Salines airport, Maj. Gen. Edward Trobaugh, commander of the 82d Airborne Division, told the Congressmen that the Grenadian People's Revolutionary Army had generally been an inept combat force but that the Cubans had fought well.

He said the Grenadians were "a go-along-to-get-along outfit."

"When the firing began," the general said, "they started to fold. There were a lot of Grenadians out there who didn't believe in Cuba or Communists. They were there for \$7 a day, which is more than they could make in St. George's."

Of the Cubans, he said, "We didn't

think we'd get into as much of a fight as we did."

General Trobaugh said his troops found 8.5 million rounds of ammunition in Grenada. "I don't get that much in a year for the 82d," he said.

'Just Plain Confused'

Several members of Congress expressed skepticism about the rationale for the invasion, and the information they received today seemed to confirm some of their doubts.

"I think we are just plain confused about why the United States went in," said Representative Don L. Bonker, Democrat of Washington, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, as he walked beside warehouses crammed with Soviet AK-47 rifles, 82-millimeter mortars, anti-aircraft cannons and Czechoslovak-made hand grenades.

"What we're finding is impressive in terms of Cuban and Eastern European military equipment," he said, "but when the President announced his reasons for the invasion, all he said was that we were going in to save American lives and end the political chaos here,

nothing about Cuban weapons.

"I'm still not convinced that rescuing U.S. nationals was a justified case for an invasion," he said, "because the evidence was their lives were not in danger. In Congress, I think, the jury is still out. Just why did we invade this place?"

'Why Was All That There?'

Nonetheless, one Congressional aide, who described himself as "one of the more left-wing people on this trip," said he was impressed at the stacked warehouses of weapons in Frequente, on the southern tip of Grenada.

"What is that warehouse?" the aide said. "Why was all that there?"

He said that after the military briefings, the consensus among some of the Congressmen who opposed the invasion was that "there seems to be a potential threat here, but not an actual threat."

Such a view was disputed by several senior Democrats and Republicans on the Armed Services Committee, including Representative Samuel S. Stratton, Democrat of New York, and Representative Elwood Hillis, Republican of Indiana.

"Just look at those weapons," Mr. Hillis said, gazing at a crate of ammunition that lay open, with a cover showing that it had been shipped to the "Oficina Economica Cubano — Grenada," the office of the Cuban economic office on the island. He added, "What we were beginning to see was a way-state, a satellite for Cuban forces."

Mr. Stratton pointed to the weapons, saying, "This alone justifies what Reagan did."

159 'Sympathizers' Among Cubans

What troubled several of the members of Congress was that the number of captured Cubans did not constitute a major fighting force. According to General Trobaugh, 366 "workers" were seized, mostly construction men working on the Point Salines airport, as well as 141 "combatants," and 159 "sympathizers."

It was indicated that "sympathizers" appeared to be people whose functions ranged between construction work and taking up weapons.

Of the American medical students, General Trobaugh told the Congress-

men that he had "no information that they had been threatened."

After the Army briefing, Mr. Foley said that "military intelligence was not perfect" during the invasion.

Representative Michael D. Barnes, Democrat of Maryland, chairman of the House subcommittee on Western Hemisphere affairs, was even more blunt. "It's remarkable," he said, "how little we knew before we went in here. The Administration was beating the drums on Grenada for months, and when we launched the invasion all we had were tourist maps. Incredible!"

Representative Edward P. Boland, Democrat of Massachusetts, chairman of the Intelligence Committee, asked General Trobaugh about United States intelligence before and during the invasion. General Trobaugh replied: "In some cases it was adequate. In some cases, it wasn't."

The general said tourist maps were used by the troops because these had street by street markings, unlike reconnaissance maps. "The tourist maps were best," he said, "done by the British."

New York Times Nov. 6, 1983

VISITING CONGRESSMEN



United Press International
A soldier from the 82nd Airborne Division, standing on confiscated ammunition, briefs U.S. congressmen and aides at the Pointe Salines airport on Grenada. The legislators met with Governor General Paul Scoon. Story, Page A18.

Grenada Aftermath: Dissatisfaction Over News Restrictions

In Wake of Invasion, Much Official Misinformation by U.S. Comes to Light

By STUART TAYLOR Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5 — In the aftermath of last week's invasion of Grenada, it has become clear that Reagan Administration officials and military authorities disseminated much inaccurate information and many unproven assertions. They did so while withholding significant facts and impeding efforts by the journalists to verify official statements.

This picture has emerged from a review of initial statements made by Administration officials about the invasion in light of evidence that emerged later, including subsequent official statements that contradicted earlier ones.

Some misleading official statements apparently grew out of inadvertent errors in the confusion of a combat situation. Others appear to have involved selective and incomplete reporting of events and assertions designed to put Administration actions in a favorable light. But some apparently involved deliberate distortions and knowingly false statements of fact.

Criticism of the Administration's deception of reporters who asked beforehand whether an invasion was planned has been muted by a broad consensus that secrecy, if not lying, was necessary. But inaccurate official assertions of fact continued long after the invasion had been launched and publicly announced.



United Press International

CUBAN PRISONERS: U.S. soldiers escorting Cubans captured in Grenada. Over three days Pentagon estimates of the number of Cuban fighters on the island dropped from more than 1,000 to fewer than 200.

Cuban Strength Inflated

In general, Administration statements in the days after the Oct. 25 start of the invasion inflated the number of Cuban military personnel in Grenada, made other misleading factual allegations to bolster President Reagan's unproven assertion that the invasion was necessary to prevent a Cuban military takeover, and exaggerated the evidence that Americans in Grenada had been in danger.

The Administration also failed initially to disclose several mishaps that cost the lives of Grenadian civilians and American servicemen, while praising what Mr. Reagan called the brilliant performance of the invading forces. For six days, for example, the Administration did not report (and, it says, did not discover) the inadvertent Oct. 25 bombing by a Navy plane of a civilian mental hospital, which killed at least 17 people.

Official statements also understated the amount of planning for an invasion that the Administration had done before a formal request from a group of Caribbean island-states provided one of the main stated legal justifications for it.

At the same time, tight restrictions on press coverage prevented timely independent checking of the accuracy of official statements. The Administration barred reporters from Grenada until two days after the invasion began, strictly limited access to the island over the next few days, provided only



United Press International

RESCUED: American medical students being evacuated from Grenada. The students were divided on whether they were in danger before the invasion.

sketchy information to official spokesmen about casualties and other key facts, and sought to curtail amateur radio communications regarding Grenada.

News From Official Handouts

The result was that the public received most of its information in the crucial early days from official news handouts. They portrayed the invasion in a more favorable light than the fuller, but less prominently publicized, picture that has emerged as officials have backed away from some of their assertions in the face of evidence to the contrary.

Administration officials publicly assert that the errors were inadvertent. They say the restrictions on press coverage were needed to preserve secrecy before the invasion, to prevent interference with military operations, and to avoid putting reporters in danger.

But many members of Congress, journalists and other critics have suggested that a politically motivated design to influence public opinion pervaded the Administration's handling of information about the invasion.

Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, the Democratic minority leader, complained of "censored news re-

ports" giving only "little morsels of information." Senator Paul S. Sarbanes, Democrat of Maryland, said the most disturbing thing about the invasion was "the unprecedented treatment of a free press," which, together with other Administration efforts to control Government information, could lead to a situation in which "the only sources of information are official sources." Edward M. Joyce, the president of CBS News, testified in Congress that in Grenada "some threshold got crossed very early on, from military censorship to political censorship."

Inaccurate Statements

Some of the inaccurate official statements that have come to light, and unproven assertions that have been made, are summarized below, starting with official denials up to the eve of the Oct. 25 invasion that any such thing was planned.

White House spokesmen Larry Speakes and aides were asked by reporters on Oct. 24 whether United States troops had landed on Grenada. They checked with Rear Adm. John Poindexter, the deputy national security adviser, who said this was "preposterous," while keeping the press aides in the dark about the fact that troops would be landing the next day. Mr. Speakes and aides repeated this denial to reporters. They went on to deny that an invasion was planned.

That same evening, a reporter asked a Pentagon spokesman the whereabouts of the Marine task force ultimately destined for Lebanon that had been diverted towards Grenada. "They are afloat in the Atlantic and headed for the Mediterranean," the spokesman replied. Hours later the same Marines landed in Grenada.

Les Janka, a Speakes aide, resigned this week, saying his personal credibility had been damaged. But the White House has defended the pre-invasion deception of its own official spokesmen as well as the press as necessary to safeguard the secrecy of the operation. Most critics have agreed that secrecy was necessary, but have accused the White House of deliberately making false statements when some kind of "no comment" would have served as well.

Reports in Caribbean Press

In any event, the secrecy had already been compromised by reports in the Caribbean press and on Grenadian radio more than two days before the invasion that such an operation was being planned by Caribbean leaders. Adm. Wesley L. McDonald, commander of all United States forces in the Atlantic region, said Oct. 28 that the Cubans had known that "U.S. intervention was likely" and had prepared for it.

Many of the inaccurate official statements about Grenada have involved vastly inflated estimates of the number of Cuban military men on the island and other assertions offered in support of President Reagan's statement, in a nationally televised speech, that "a Cuban occupation of the island had been planned."

That Oct. 27 speech was the centerpiece of the Administration's largely successful effort to win support for the invasion from a public that, because of restrictions on the press, had not yet seen the kinds of bloody television footage that turned many against the Vietnam War.

Mr. Reagan said the number of Cubans on Grenada was "much larger" than the initial intelligence estimates of 400 to 600. He said "they were a military force" rather than the construction workers they were believed to have been.

Count Rises to 1,100

The next day, Admiral McDonald said at a news conference that captured documents showed there were at least 1,100 Cubans on Grenada, all "well-trained professional soldiers" who had been "impersonating construction workers." He said 638 Cubans had been captured and 300 to 350 apparently remained at large. Other military sources said as many as 1,000 Cubans might have taken to the hills to fight a guerrilla war.

Then, last Sunday, the State Department acknowledged that the estimate of 784 Cubans on the island that the Cuban Government had given earlier was about right. And on Wednesday, United States military authorities in Grenada said most of the Cuban prisoners had been classified after interrogation as workers, with only about 100 "combatants."

Thus, over three days the Pentagon estimate of the number of Cuban fighters who had met the invading forces

seems to have plunged from more than 1,000 to fewer than 200, including the estimated 30 to 70 Cubans who were killed. The up-and-down fluctuations in the estimates have not been fully explained. Cuban officials say only 43 Cuban military personnel were on the island.

Mr. Reagan also said in his Oct. 27 speech that Grenada "was a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy," and that "we got there just in time" to prevent Cuban occupation of Grenada.

'A Terrorist Training Base'

The next day Admiral McDonald added that "there was a terrorist training base taking place at Caligny barracks," and that "the Cubans were planning to put their Government into Grenada." He said captured documents showed that "341 more officers and 4,000 more reservists" were to arrive as part of a plan for "the Cubans to come in and take over the island, which they had already started to do at that time."

A senior Pentagon official later said privately that the Admiral had been confused about the 4,341 additional troops, and that they were to have been Grenadians, not Cubans as the Admiral had suggested.

Captured documents released Friday by the State Department indicate that Cuba had an agreement with Grenada's Marxist regime to base 27 military advisers there to train Grenadian troops, and the Soviet Union and North Korea had agreed to deliver \$37 million in military equipment to the Grenadians.

The Administration has repeatedly said that its assertions were supported by what Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam called "a treasure trove of documents" captured by the invaders. But there is no evidence that a terrorist training base existed or that Cubans had planned to take over Grenada either in the documents released Friday or in any other materials made public by the Administration.

Closed-Door Briefings

Democratic and Republican Senators who received closed-door intelligence briefings agreed that the evidence presented did not support the Administration's sweeping pronouncements.

In his Oct. 27 speech, Mr. Reagan cited the discovery of three warehouses of military equipment, including one with "weapons and ammunition stacked almost to the ceiling, enough to supply thousands of terrorists."

Reporters who inspected the warehouses the next day said that this seemed an exaggeration, and that the equipment might have been as appropriate for defense against an invasion as for export of terrorism. There were many Soviet-made weapons and ammunition, but the warehouses were no more than half-full, and many weapons were antiquated.

Mr. Reagan also asserted that the Soviet Union "has assisted and encouraged the violence" in Grenada and that "it is no coincidence that when the thugs tried to wrest control of Grenada, there were 30 Soviet advisers" there, along with the Cubans. This was a reference to the Oct. 19 killings of Maurice Bishop, the Marxist prime minister of Grenada, and several aides following a coup by other Marxists. One news report quoted a "senior Administration official" who said a Soviet-backed assassination team had been responsible for the killings.

Killing Denounced by Castro

But the Administration has made public no evidence that supports its suggestions of a Soviet or Cuban role in the killings, which were forcefully denounced by the Cuban regime of Fidel Castro, often described as a close ally of the late Mr. Bishop.

Whether the 1,000 or so American citizens on Grenada were in danger of being harmed or taken hostage, a risk that Mr. Reagan cited as the primary reason for the invasion, is in dispute. Several assertions offered by officials as evidence that the danger justified the invasion have proven to be inaccurate.

Mr. Speakes had said the day before the invasion, Oct. 24, that there was no indication of danger to Americans. After the invasion he said they had been in danger.

He stressed that the airport on Grenada had been closed Oct. 24, thwarting any possibility that the Americans, mostly medical students, could be evacuated peacefully. This proved to be false, Mr. Speakes acknowledged Monday, after witnesses had said the

airport opened Oct. 24 and that at least four charter planes had left that day.

Air Links Cut

Canadian and British planes scheduled to pick up citizens of those countries from Grenada that day were prevented from doing so because Barbados and other neighboring Caribbean states cut off air links to Grenada. Prime Minister Tom Adams of Barbados was already planning for the invasion with United States representatives.

In addition, Administration officials initially did not disclose that during the days before the invasion both Grena-



CASUALTY: Marine wounded in Grenada being returned to the U.S. The Pentagon had offered little detail on American casualties suffered in the invasion.

dian military officials and the Cuban Government repeatedly provided assurances that Americans on the island would not be harmed and could leave if they wanted. After this had come to light Mr. Speakes said the Administration did not trust the pledges.

Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger said last Friday that there were "indications" from "intelligence reports" of plans to take American hostages. But intelligence sources later said there was no clear evidence of such a threat.

Students at the medical school have been divided on whether they were in danger before the invasion, although most agreed they were terrified during the fighting and many praised the invasion. Some school administrators, including one who said he approved of the invasion, have said they had also received assurances from Grenadian authorities and did not think there had been any danger to the students before the invasion.

Accounts of Invasion Planning

Questions have also been raised about whether Mr. Reagan and Secretary of State George P. Shultz gave a full account last week when they suggested that serious planning for the invasion had begun only after they received a request for help by the seven-member Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, under a collective defense treaty, on Oct. 22.

American officials later said that Mr. Reagan had ordered urgent contingency planning for an invasion on Oct. 20. This was the day after the killing of Mr. Bishop had prompted a request for intervention by Prime Minister Adams of Barbados, which, like the United States, is not a party to the treaty. Mr. Reagan also ordered Oct. 20 that a naval task force carrying Marines to Lebanon be diverted towards Grenada.

The officials said Mr. Reagan ordered that the plans proceed on Oct. 22, after an informal request from the Caribbean group had been received, but before the formal, written request

that the State Department later made public had been obtained.

There have been news reports quoting private statements by unidentified Caribbean leaders that unidentified United States officials had seemed to favor military intervention in Grenada since well before the Oct. 19 killings.

Speech by Adams

In addition, Mr. Adams said in a public speech last week that an American official had approached one of his aides on Oct. 15, and offered American help in launching an operation to rescue Mr. Bishop, who had been put under house arrest. White House officials did not deny this account, but said the Grenada matter did not receive high-level attention before the Oct. 19 killings.

Evan Galbraith, the United States Ambassador to France, said in an Oct. 26 interview on French television that the invasion "was an action which had begun two weeks ago." This statement, offered to show that the invasion was not a "riposte" to the Oct. 23 bombing of a Marine barracks in Lebanon, placed the beginning invasion planning before the Bishop overthrow and assassination. It conflicted with the Reagan-Shultz account.

Mr. Galbraith later said he had "mis-spoken," and that it would be "ridiculous to suggest" that the planning had begun before the overthrow of Mr. Bishop. It is not clear whether he had been privy to the invasion plans in advance, or whether France had been asked to participate in it.

One apparently deliberate, although relatively minor, deception understating the United States' dominant role in the invasion came in a news conference by Vice Adm. Joseph Metcalf 3d, the commander of the United States task force that landed on Grenada. When asked about the Oct. 29 capture of Bernard Coard, the deputy prime minister of Grenada who helped lead the coup that deposed Mr. Bishop, he first replied that Grenadians had detained Mr. Coard.

Confronted with a report that in fact United States Marines had captured

one point, perhaps in jest, to fire upon unauthorized press boats that tried to reach the island. This contrasted with Mr. Weinberger's statement Oct. 26 that reporters had been barred from Grenada for their own protection.

Henry E. Catto, Jr., who was Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs from March 1981 until September 1983, cited "the buzzing, with open bomb-bay doors, of small ships carrying reporters — and cameras," as shown in television news, as an example of what he called the military's unduly hostile attitude towards the press. Mr. Catto, who is now contributing editor of the Washington Journalism Review, made the observation in an op-ed article in *The Washington Post* Oct. 30.

There has also been misinformation, lack of information and confusion about casualties in Grenada, including those of Grenadian civilians and soldiers, American troops and Cubans.

Reports on Civilian Casualties

For example, a senior Administration official who briefed reporters just before Mr. Reagan's Oct. 27 speech stressed that there had been no known civilian casualties. The Pentagon held to this position through Sunday Oct. 30. Official spokesmen pointed with pride to the surgical precision with which the invaders had supposedly avoided inflicting civilian casualties.

Then a Canadian journalist who had visited the site of a civilian mental hospital reported that it had been bombed on Oct. 25, the first day of the invasion, with as many as 47 dead. The Pentagon finally confirmed on Monday that a Navy plane had bombed the hospital without realizing what it was, killing 12 or more Grenadian civilians. The count later rose to at least 17. Officials said they had not disclosed this sooner because they had not known of it.

Mr. Speakes suggested Monday that United States forces had not discovered the bodies initially because "I am told there is a religious custom that the Grenadians bury their dead very soon after they die." He later said the practice "may not be religious." Bodies are usually buried quickly in tropical climates.

On Oct. 27, after most of the fighting had been finished but before Mr. Reagan's televised speech, officials reported 8 American servicemen dead, 39 wounded and 8 missing. The latest official figures are 18 dead, 89 wounded and none missing. Most of the casualties apparently occurred on the first day, Oct. 25.

Details on American Casualties

The Pentagon provided little detail on how the American casualties had been incurred until after news reports based on interviews with soldiers and witnesses had described accidents in which some servicemen had been killed and wounded. On Monday, six days after the invasion, the Pentagon issued a statement that 12 soldiers had been wounded when a Navy jet inadvertently dropped a bomb on their position, four Navy commandos had died when their landing craft tipped over in rough seas early Oct. 25, and two men were injured when a helicopter disabled by enemy fire collided with another helicopter.

The Pentagon stressed, however, that no Americans had been killed in Grenada "as a result of friendly fire." It said the mishaps were typical of those that occur in combat.

There has been persistent confusion about the number of Cuban casualties. On Thursday, nine days after the invasion started, an Administration official in Washington said at least 60 Cubans had been killed, while an Administration official in Grenada placed the number at 38.

The Pentagon's early statements also understated the number of American troops that would be used in the invasion. On Oct. 26, Mr. Weinberger said he thought that the 3,000 troops then reported to be on Grenada would probably be "sufficient" to secure the island.

Two days later, Admiral McDonald disclosed that the number of United States troops on the island had jumped to 6,000. It was also learned that the invading forces had used heavier firepower, including bombing and naval bombardment, than the Pentagon had originally implied. On Thursday it was announced that the United States force on Grenada had been cut back to about 3,000.

Mr. Coard by threatening to blow up the house in which he was hiding, Admiral Metcalf said, "Okay, let's be technical, okay." Pressed further, he conceded that he had known all along that Mr. Coard had been captured by Marines.

Admiral Metcalf answered many press queries with the words, "I haven't the foggiest idea." He threatened at



RUINS OF HOSPITAL: Civilian mental hospital in St. George's, bombed on Oct. 25, the first day of the invasion. The Pentagon confirmed Monday that a Navy plane had bombed it by mistake.

Letters

Of Grenada and the Right of a Great Nation

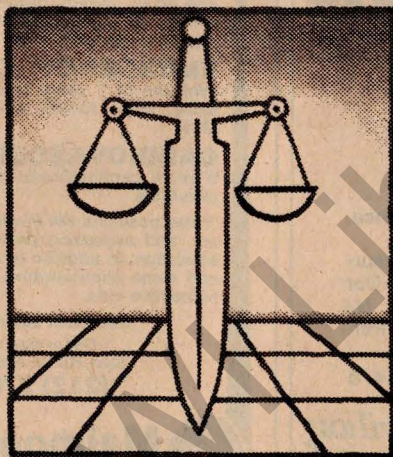
To the Editor:

In your Oct. 30 editorial regarding the U.S. invasion of Grenada you grant the worthiness of America's objective (removing a potential Cuban springboard for regional subversion) but ultimately condemn the operation because the price the U.S. must pay is too high. This is none other than "loss of the moral high ground" and a demonstration that "America has no more respect for laws and borders, for the *codes of civilization*, than the Soviet Union" (my emphasis).

Your readiness to conclude that the United States exercise in Grenada has squandered the "moral high ground" reveals an erroneous appreciation of just what constitutes "civilization" in international relations. The primary code of civilization in world politics, which dates back to the emergence of the European state system after the breakup of the Holy Roman Empire, is not the relatively recent provision of the United Nations Charter against the violation of borders.

Rather, it is the assumption that great powers have the right, indeed the obligation, to defend their legiti-

mate national interests, with or without the use of force. It is this predictability of the behavior of states that accounts for the small, but nonethe-



Bob Gale

less essential, amount of order in world politics.

On the other hand, what has been traditionally viewed as immoral is gratuitous and unpredictable aggres-

sion that stems not from a sense of one's legitimate security needs but from pure lust for power.

If the U.S. operation in Grenada, or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (to which it has been compared), correspond to this second type of behavior, then they violate the codes of civilization that govern the atomistic, anarchical world of international relations. It is precisely because Hitler's foreign policy expressed an undorned desire for expansion that the Third Reich provoked such concern.

The invasion of Grenada conforms perfectly to the classic, legitimate and moral behavior of responsible great powers acting in their own interest.

Whether the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan reflects the workings of a traditional great power or rather of an expansionist, outlaw state is still a matter for speculation. Answering this question would shed much more light on the relative morality of the superpowers than continued musings over the Grenada affair.

PETER S. RASHISH
Washington, Oct. 31, 1983

No Time to Invite A Critical Press

To the Editor:

When over half the nation (as many as 71 percent in a New York City poll) support the President's action in Grenada, the public is not being "kept in the dark," as you contend in an Oct. 28 editorial.

When the Marines hit the beach, is that the time for reporters to be there? If the press condemns the operation — which your editorial certainly indicates it does — might its presence in the initial phase not be counterproductive? This was not Iwo Jima, one battle in a very different conflict.

The journalistic responsibility to 235 million Americans was apparently met, at least from the coverage I observed. There was enough information, both pro and con, to fill the major dailies and the various television news shows.

Perhaps it is difficult for the journalistic establishment to accept, amid frustration, furor and bruised egos, that the success of this mission, necessitating precise execution, did not require reporters on location contemplating its ethics and morality. Attempts at discrediting the move could be made later, as many Congressional leaders acknowledged.

For better or for worse (and I often concur that it is for worse) the American people elected Mr. Reagan President, not Walter Cronkite, Dan Rather or The Times. If nothing else, the President demonstrated decisiveness when procrastination and uncertainty on foreign policy issues seemed the order of the day.

Unfortunately, the journalistic establishment fails to see itself as just another vested interest — a powerful one, albeit with an awesome responsibility, but at times no different from the Pentagon. The issue here is not *whether* government should be exposed to public scrutiny but *when*. There is a difference.

LEONARD WEISS
New York, Oct. 31, 1983

To the Editor:

When the President addressed the nation on Oct. 27, I was still shocked by the attack on the Marines in Beirut and the invasion of Grenada, but during the speech I experienced an emotion — unfortunately somewhat foreign to me in recent years — which mitigated that shock and which I knew would soon replace it: pride in our country, the men and women who serve it and the spirit that unites us.

THOMAS J. MINET
Lynbrook, L.I., Oct. 27, 1983

A Failed 'Hidden Agenda' on the Americas

To the Editor:

Your editorials "Harvest of Failure in Grenada" [Oct. 21], and "Which Threat in Grenada?" [Oct. 26] and Tom Wicker's Oct. 21 column, "A Policy of Hypocrisy," point to a fundamental malady that afflicted U.S. policy long before the failure to support a moderate regime in Grenada, the continuing policy failures in El Salvador and Nicaragua and the illegal invasion of Grenada.

The sickness and the hypocrisy have become so obvious under President Reagan that one must suspect a hidden agenda that goes even beyond the "geopolitical and cold-war reasons" suggested by Mr. Wicker.

The "unstated, political reasons" noted in an Oct. 28 news article might be on that agenda, which I believe calls for a battery of covert and overt actions to prove that no left-leaning nationalistic government in the Americas can be allowed to succeed.

This would mean that any government, even if democratically elected (witness Allende's Chile), which seeks a transfer of power away from an oligarchy of ruling families, armed forces and multinational corporations is to be replaced, "destabilized" or otherwise neutralized. That attitude would make a stable, prosperous political environment in Latin America an impossible goal.

The fact is that it may be necessary for a developing social system in which pre-constitutional institutions are still strong to pass through an arbitrary developmental stage — in

which a so-called leftist government controls and aids the economic institutions — before a democratic constitutional system can develop. The latter may be either a pseudo-democratic alliance of semi-feudal institutions with those of an industrialized economy (Mexico style?) or a more mature, person-oriented system for which we have neither a name nor an established example.

However, we do have transitional examples — e.g., Guyana, Nicaragua and Grenada (before the extremist takeover that precipitated the invasion) — in which uncontrolled free-market industrialization and democratic elections are seen to be harmful or meaningless until the population has acquired a new social awareness. The late Prime Minister Bishop's phrase, "cooperative socialism," describes a policy of that kind, aimed at basic literacy and self-sufficiency.

In Iran under the Shah and in the Philippines under Marcos we have examples of the failure of an alternative developmental policy — imposition of premature industrialization with an equally premature "democracy" as an imagined goal.

There is still a chance that talks and elections in El Salvador and thoughtful "carrot and stick" attention to Nicaragua can undo the failures of hidden ideological agendas. I pray that a better understanding of the realities may lead to a reversal of current counterproductive policies before it is too late.

ROY V. JACKSON
Wilmington, Del., Oct. 28, 1983

Beyond the Limit of a President's Legal Power

To the Editor:

The debate about the invasion of Grenada seems to have missed a key point. The President's use of U.S. troops to occupy the island — an action unrelated to the rescue of U.S. medical students — violates the Constitution's limits on Presidential war-making powers. In the absence of Congressional authorization or the need to protect the United States from imminent attack, the President has no right to order troops to occupy a country or overthrow a government. And no request from a foreign government can confer on the President powers denied him by the Constitution.

Acquiescence by Congress and the public in the Grenadian occupation would set an extremely troublesome precedent — there would be nothing to stop any President from unilaterally and unconstitutionally invading and occupying other foreign countries.

Under Mr. Reagan's justification for the Grenada incursion, "to restore democracy," dozens of nations would be eligible for U.S. military takeover simply on the President's say-so. The Constitution never intended to place such awesome powers in the hands of a President acting alone.

The 1973 War Powers Resolution requires the President to withdraw the troops in 60 days. But the act also allows Congress to order their return before then. Congress should do that.

We cannot let the need to counter tyranny abroad become an excuse for constitutional usurpation. That was the bitter lesson of Presidential war-making in Vietnam and the illegal bombing of Cambodia. It would be a pity if that lesson were to be forgotten now.

ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN
Brooklyn, Nov. 3, 1983
The writer, Brooklyn District Attorney, is a former U.S. Representative.

New York Times Nov. 6 1983

Experts Say 5 Arms Pacts Suggest Moscow Had Designs on Grenada

By PHILIP TAUBMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5 — United States military and intelligence experts said today that five Soviet-bloc military aid agreements with the former Government of Grenada suggested that the Soviet Union and Cuba appeared to have been preparing to use Grenada as a guerrilla training site or a depot for the shipment of military equipment to leftist rebels in Latin America.

The experts said the agreements would have provided aid that exceeded the needs of the Grenadian armed forces.

The specialists, including former senior officials in Republican and Democratic Administrations, said the amount of military aid outlined in the agreements, more than \$38 million over five years, did not show in themselves that the island was in danger of being occupied by Cuba.

Russians Promised Weapons

Copies of the agreements were made public by the State Department on Friday.

Under the secret agreements, the Soviet Union and North Korea promised to send Grenada large numbers of weapons, including 4,000 submachine guns, 2,500 automatic rifles, 7,000 mines, 15,000 grenades, 60 armored personnel carriers and more than 10,000 military uniforms. Cuba agreed to base 27 military advisers in Grenada full time until the expiration of its

agreement with Grenada on Dec. 31, 1984.

But, the experts said, the quantity of arms and ammunition, and the number of advisers called for in the agreements, did not by themselves necessarily mean that the island was becoming a Soviet-Cuban colony.

President Reagan, in an address to the nation on Oct. 27, two days after United States forces invaded Grenada, said American troops reached the island "just in time" to prevent a planned "Cuban occupation."

Reagan Administration officials said today that the military agreements formed only part of the Government's contention that Grenada was rapidly falling under Soviet and Cuban control. The officials cited earlier Administration reports about large stockpiles of military equipment already located on the island, the construction of a 10,000-foot runway at Point Salines that could accommodate long-range Soviet bombers and advanced jet fighter aircraft and minutes of meetings among Grenadian leaders.

Bobby R. Inman, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence in the first two

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

Experts Say 5 Arms Pacts Suggest Moscow Had Designs on Grenada

Continued From Page 1

years of the Reagan Administration, said today that based on descriptions of the agreements he had seen in news reports, "it appears that Grenada was going to be used by the Soviet Union and Cuba as a contingency depot to facilitate the export of revolution in this hemisphere."

Mr. Inman, who resigned last year to go into private business, added: "I can't draw an automatic conclusion about the degree of Soviet and Cuban control these agreements meant for Grenada. In democratic countries, where military aid is usually overt, the control that flows from such agreements is relatively limited, but in nations with an authoritarian government, whether right or left, the potential for a handful of outsiders to exert control becomes much greater."

A former senior Defense Department official who served in the Carter Administration said: "The amount of aid specified in the agreements was far more than Grenada could absorb for its own use, suggesting that the weapons were going to be re-exported or used for training paramilitary forces from other nations. But if you break it down over five years, \$7 or \$8 million a year in military aid doesn't buy control of a country, even one as small as Grenada."

Differing Interpretations

Another former Defense Department official who specialized in military assistance matters for the Carter Administration said the military aid packages with Grenada could be interpreted several ways.

The official said: "If you're predisposed to see a Soviet and Cuban threat, then you can find evidence of a significant military buildup in Grenada and carry it one step farther to see the makings of a Soviet-Cuban puppet state. On the other hand, if you bring a different bias to the agreements, it's possible to argue that a paranoid, Marxist leadership was rushing to improve its armed

forces for fear that Grenada might be invaded someday."

The official added, "It might not be convincing, but the Russians could take the United States military assistance program in El Salvador or Honduras and by just presenting the raw numbers of guns and ammunition make the propaganda argument that the United States is turning those countries into a military bastion."

Minutes of Grenadians' Meetings

Reagan Administration officials said that minutes of meetings among Grenadian leftist leaders showed a growing dependence on Cuba, with frequent references to meetings with the Cuban Ambassador and repeated concern about how the Cubans would react to various political decisions. These records were also made public by the State Department on Friday.

Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth W. Dam told an editors' conference in Kentucky on Friday that, taken together, these pieces of intelligence information suggested "that Grenada would have become a fortified Soviet military outpost."

He said the Soviet and Cuban presence the United States found in Grenada "may be summed up as the military underpinnings" for the use of Grenada as "a staging area for subversion of nearby countries, for interdiction of shipping lanes and for transit of troops and supplies from Cuba to Africa and from Eastern Europe and Libya to Central America."

Administration officials denied today that the State Department, concerned that the documents would not fully support the Administration's statements about Soviet and Cuban activities in Grenada, intentionally delayed public release of the papers until early evening on Friday to limit coverage on television news broadcasts.

The officials said that the release of the documents was delayed because of mechanical problems in copying and assembling the papers and getting final approval for their publication from Sir Paul Scoon, the Governor General of Grenada.



Associated Press

LEAVING GRENADA: Pfc. Charles Blount of the 82d Airborne Division waiting to board plane at Point Salines for flight to the U.S.

Bloody Wednesday and Aftermath Began as a Personal Feud

For Grenada, a Small, Sad Revolution



Shoppers lining up for food last week in St. George's, Grenada.

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — Ten years ago, just as Grenada was becoming independent, Bernard Coard, a Brandeis University-trained economist, sat in the house of his old friend, Maurice Bishop, a London-trained lawyer, and told a reporter from New York that Eric M. Gairy, the man about to become Prime Minister of this tiny island state, was "clinically mad."

Now, Mr. Bishop, who overthrew Mr. Gairy in 1979, is dead, killed by soldiers apparently loyal to Mr. Coard. Mr. Coard is in the custody of United States forces. Mr. Gairy says he plans to return from exile. And ordinary people say passionately that they want no more politics after suffering the effects of a schism among revolutionaries that, in its small way, was as sharp as those that turned Robespierre against Danton and Stalin against Trotsky.

A power struggle that seems to have involved a personality clash cloaked in revolutionary jargon came into the open last month and led to "Bloody Wednesday," the day when Mr. Bishop, freed from house arrest by youthful followers, was carried to the fortress. There troops, acting in support of Mr. Coard, the Deputy Prime Minister, fired and killed Mr. Bishop and at least 16 of his supporters, according to eyewitnesses. "That was the day the revolution died," said James Sylvester, a worker who, like many Grenadians, admired Mr. Bishop and accepted his guidance and leftist rhetoric without apparently taking it too seriously.

But the fight within the Central Committee of the party that governed this island of tourism, sun and nutmegs, may have changed the politics of the Caribbean. Certainly if it were not for Mr. Bishop's death, the

American landing here would not have been so welcomed. It was Mr. Bishop who first announced and approved the building of the large airfield that aroused Washington's suspicions. It was he who approved the creation of the Marxist-style mass organizations and welcomed Cuban and East German support. Mr. Bishop also traveled to Washington last summer in what appears to have been an overture to the West, perhaps brought on by his growing isolation within the ruling clique.

The legacy of bizarre politics continues to shape events on the island. Mr. Gairy, while in office, sought to alert the world to the menace of flying saucers. He squashed all opposition using a group of gunmen who had styled themselves the Mongoose Gang and which he renamed first

the Secret Police, then the Night Ambush Squad and finally Volunteers for the Defense of Fundamental Human Liberties.

At the basis of the power struggle that ensued four years after Mr. Bishop ousted Mr. Gairy, as nearly anyone can figure it out, was simple jealousy on the part of those who thought that Mr. Bishop was too charismatic and that people liked him too much. As for Mr. Bishop, he appears to have been corrupted by power, according to those who knew him. "At the beginning, Maurice was really interested in social justice, not socialism," said Lloyd Noel, a lawyer and former Attorney General. Last week, Mr. Noel was freed from the jail cell where he had been detained without charges for more than two years with the approval of his longtime friend. But, he explained, "it was easier to be in opposition than to govern. At first, I noticed that we never implemented any of the things we had demanded as opposition. We had attacked Gairy for confiscating estates but we never returned them. Little by little I could see Maurice proving the truth of Lord Acton's phrase" about absolute power corrupting absolutely.

Evidence of the break between the Bishop and Coard factions lies in the notes of the Central Committee meeting on Sept. 19, 20 and 21. The waterlogged mimeographed minutes were found in the ruins of Mr. Bishop's home. They involve endless discussions by the 16 members of the Central Committee of a plan submitted by Mr. Coard, calling for collective leadership and a curb on Mr. Bishop's power. The Prime Minister would still deal with the masses but the decisions on economic development and the army were to be made by the Coard faction. Mr. Bishop appears to have rejected Mr. Coard's plan. The coup and Bloody Wednesday followed.

When some of the eastern Caribbean islands and the United States moved in to fill the power vacuum, their forces, reviled weeks before as agents of imperialism, were welcomed as saviors. Mr. Bishop, who did some of that reviling himself, is now being called a martyr and is being disassociated from the policies of the New Jewel Movement he founded. The Governor General, Sir Paul Scoon, is expected to name a "non-political" provisional administration this week and has promised elections within a year. Members of Mr. Bishop's movement and Sir Eric Gairy will be allowed to participate, "provided they had no criminal charges against them." More bizarre politics may be in the offing.

Objections to an Unwitnessed War

"The press, we welcome the press," Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam said last Sunday. But the commander of United States forces on Grenada expressed a different view. "I know how to stop those press boats; we've been shooting at them," Vice Adm. Joseph Metcalf 3d joked. No shots were fired but Navy planes buzzed one press charter boat away from the island; another was turned back by Navy ships.

Journalists and Congressional leaders, including many who approved of the invasion, were outraged by what some saw as an assault on the public's right to know. The Senate voted, 53 to 18, that the restrictions should "cease." As fighting on the island subsided last week, the House of Representatives dispatched its own fact-finders. Press groups said the blackout on combat coverage had no precedent in World War II, Korea or Vietnam. "The Defense Department has let down the American public," the American Society of Newspaper Editors said.

Information was confined at first to Govern-

ment handouts, Pentagon film and amateur radio broadcasts. Later, reporters got brief escorted tours. As protests swelled, news people were allowed to remain on their own.

Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger said permitting direct coverage might have jeopardized the operation and journalists' safety. A House judiciary subcommittee looked for broader implications. Chairman Robert W. Kas-tenmeier, a Wisconsin Democrat, saw the curbs as part of "a swing back toward restrictions on civil liberties" that included President Reagan's executive orders. The orders have expanded authority for political surveillance, the use of lie detectors to discourage unauthorized disclosures, lifetime censorship of the writings of high-level officials and tightened restrictions on scientific communication. Senator John Tower, Texas Republican, told the admirals who took responsibility for the Grenada restrictions, "You have done the right thing." This view was shared in many letters published by the newspapers.

Reagan Gains By Grenada, But Mostly on His Own Turf

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

WASHINGTON
WITH the fighting in Grenada over and the American troops on their way home, the Reagan Administration was exulting last week over what it regarded as a major foreign policy success.

Mr. Reagan, who had seemed beleaguered and depressed by the death of the 230 marines in Lebanon and by his inability to make much headway in any diplomatic area, was buoyed by highly favorable polls and the muting of any significant criticism over Grenada. The marines and soldiers, who defeated some 750 Cubans and their Grenadian allies on the Caribbean island, are "heroes of freedom," Mr. Reagan said. As for the United Nations, which voted 108 to 9 to condemn the invasion, Mr. Reagan said "it didn't upset my breakfast at all." There has been criticism raised in the past two weeks about limits on press freedom, Administration credibility, loss of allied support, an undue haste to use force, and abandonment of the "high road" in world diplomacy, but Mr. Reagan and his aides have swept them aside.

The Administration views the Grenada operation as a major gain not only in political but in strategic terms. This may turn out to be an exaggerated estimate; Grenada is, after all, only a tiny island. But for the moment there were few in Washington ready to argue.

Several White House officials said that politically, the use of force had had a cathartic effect on many Americans, particularly Mr. Reagan's hard-line conservative backers who had been grumbling over his shifting of William P. Clark, a darling of the political right, from national security adviser to Secretary of the Interior.

The popularity of the Grenada operation, particularly the fact that it was carried out with relatively few casualties, was seen as a setback for the Democrats, who had been expressing concern over policy in Central America. Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, who has opposed covert aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua, said "I'm a political realist — I can also count" in explaining why he did not contest a voice vote in the Senate approving continued secret funding.

Pluses and Minuses

A senior State Department official said, "I guess what really is significant is that it is the first time there has been a rollback of the Brezhnev Doctrine." He was referring to the late Soviet leader's policy enunciation after the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 that Moscow would not allow any Soviet-bloc country to slip out of its orbit.

The trouble with this "rollback" is that it is not clear, captured documents notwithstanding, that Grenada was viewed by the Soviet Union as part of its camp. And it is questionable whether such an easy opportunity for a "rollback" will appear again. The documents released Friday by the State Department included three secret treaties with the Soviet Union, one with Cuba and one with North Korea. The treaties provided for military equipment, which Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth W. Dam previously said amounted to \$37.8 million.

Another official said that the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua will now know that "we are not paper tigers." In the same breath, however, he said no invasion of Nicaragua was planned.

Among the minuses, the Grenada operation caused new problems with European allies. Only Britain was told about the invasion plans ahead of time, and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher chose to distance herself from her friend, Mr. Reagan. None of the Europeans voted with the United States in the United Nations. The move gave new ammunition to the critics of American missile deployment who have argued that the United States could not be trusted with avoiding a nuclear war in Europe.

Efforts were made to restore allied confidence. Mr. Dam is going to Europe this week, and a new arms control proposal is being readied for Geneva.

'Nervous Nellies' in Europe

Needless to say, with President Reagan riding the anti-Soviet tiger, the episode did nothing to improve the atmosphere for Soviet-American relations. In keeping with the toughened mood in Washington, a key Reagan official, commenting on European reaction said, "It may be my own prejudice, but it reveals the Europeans are so parochial and such Nervous Nellies. They moan bitterly when the United States doesn't do something, and when we do. They moan when we don't have good communication with the Soviet Union, and they moan when we do, saying we are forming a condominium over their heads. I just don't have much patience with their criticism."

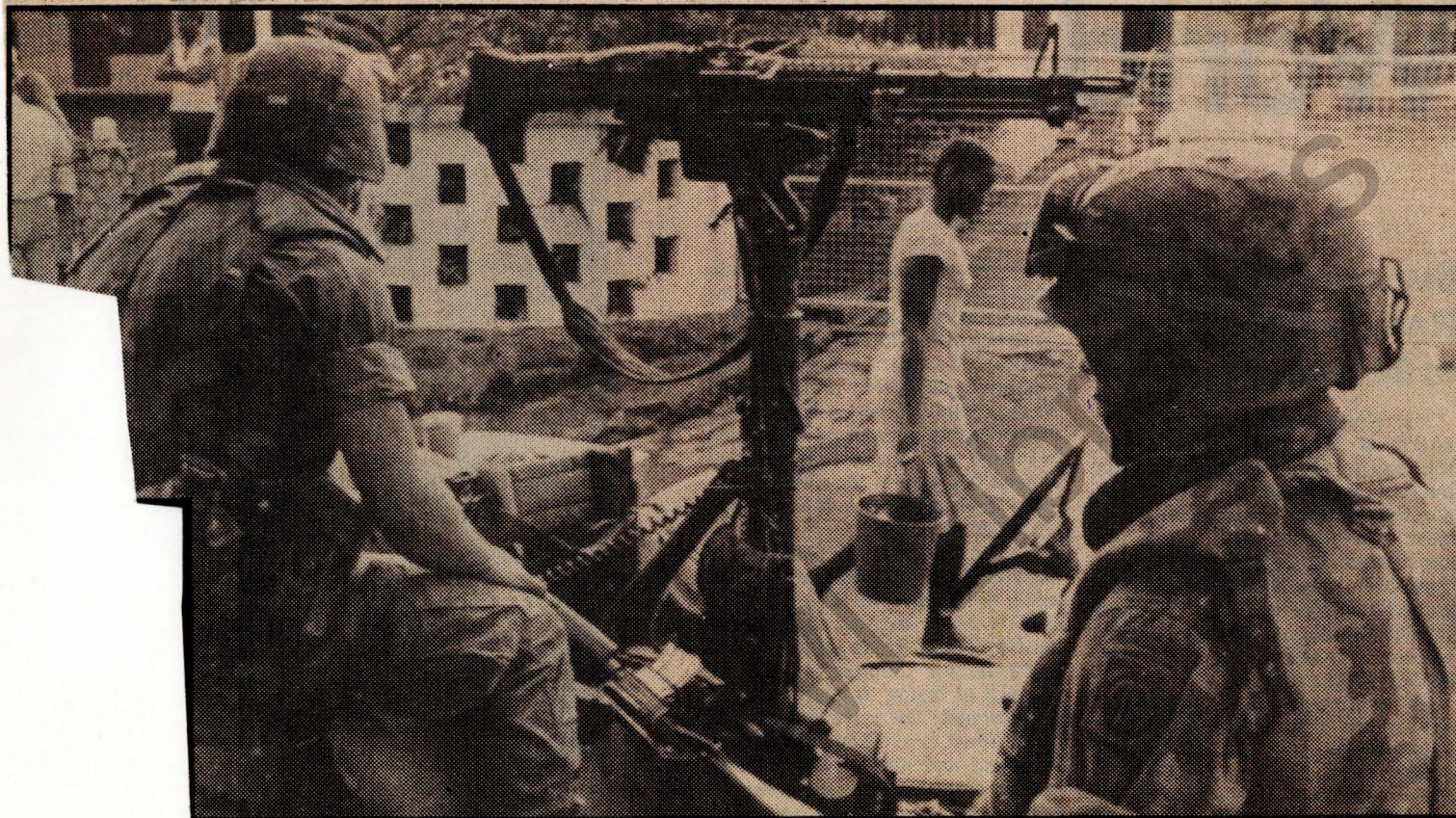
"I suppose our biggest minus from the operation," one official said, "is that there now is a resurgence of the caricature of Ronald Reagan, the cowboy, ready to shoot at the drop of a hat."

Others have suggested that the United States now faces difficult problems in taking the diplomatic "high ground" against the Soviet Union and Cubans. In New York, the United Nations General Assembly is due to take up again the condemnation of Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. It is possible that the Russians, their shooting down of the Korean airliner a thing of the past now, will be able to deflect attention from Afghanistan by talking about Grenada.

But Mr. Reagan, at least, did not seem fazed. When a reporter compared Grenada to Afghanistan, Mr. Reagan expressed surprise and shot back:

"Well, for heavens sakes, anyone who would link Afghanistan to this operation. . ." The difference, he said, was that the Russians were still in Afghanistan, have installed their own leader and had "used every vicious form of warfare, including chemical warfare," against the Afghan people. While in Grenada, he said, "it was a successful rescue operation and the people that have been rescued, and the Grenadians that have been liberated are delighted with and giving every evidence of appreciation and gratitude to our men down there."

New York Times Nov. 6, 1983



United Press International

U.S. soldiers in St. George's, Grenada, last week; Sir Paul Scoon, Governor General of Grenada, announced plans to appoint a nonpolitical interim government this week and hold elections within six months or a year.

Grenada Aftermath: Disputes Within the Party

GRENADIANS' DATA SHOW PARTY RIFTS

Marxist Rulers Were Engaged
in Quarreling as Economic
Problems Heightened

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5 — Documents seized in Grenada by United States forces show that the island's Marxist rulers were engaged in such disarray and factional struggles in the months before the Oct. 25 invasion that they feared "possible disintegration of the party."

The documents, issued by the State Department late Friday, include handwritten notes, minutes and summaries of meetings of the New Jewel Party, which ran the Government. The documents are strewn with Marxist revolutionary jargon that would seem almost juvenile and comical but for the deadly ending of the struggle on the tiny tropical island.

The documents also show that the small group of rulers was having great difficulty feeding the nation's army and providing the most rudimentary public services to the population of 110,000, while amassing a considerable arsenal of Soviet-made weapons.

Chagrin at Cuban Statement

President Reagan and other Administration officials have hinted that the Soviet Union and Cuba were behind the killings of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, the leader of the party and Government, and several aides on Oct. 19, six days after Mr. Bishop was put under house arrest.

But a set of handwritten notes dated Oct. 21 reflect chagrin on the part of some of Mr. Bishop's more militant "comrades" at a "sharply worded statement" by Cuba condemning the killings.

"The Cuban position creates an atmosphere of speedy imperialist intervention," the notes assert. In a reference to the Cuban leader Fidel Castro, they complain of the "deep personal friendship between Fidel & Maurice which has caused the Cuban leadership to take a personal and not a class approach to the developments in Grenada." The words "personal" and "class" are underlined in the notes.

Sprinkled through the party records are such vintage revolutionary phrases as "lumpen elements," "socialism or death," "persistent ideological backwardness and economism" and "right opportunist path."

There are also curious Caribbean variants such as "one-manism," a sin attributed to the late Mr. Bishop, who was popular with "the masses" but was seen by his militant colleagues as leading the masses toward "counter-revolution." Another document exhorts party leaders to "sink, but not drown yourself amongst the masses."

A Party 'at the Crossroads'

A summary of a party meeting stated that as long ago as October 1982, members of the Central Committee criticized "the weak chairmanship and leadership of Comrade Maurice Bishop" and said the party "stood at the crossroads."

The document, which appears to be dated Sept. 20 or 28, 1983, says one pos-



Associated Press

BACK HOME: Returning from Grenada, a member of the 82d Airborne Division celebrates his arrival at Fort Bragg, near Fayetteville, N.C. About 1,800 men of the 82d returned yesterday; approximately 3,000 remain.

sible path "is the petty-bourgeois route," which would be "easy to follow, given the objectively based backwardness and petty bourgeois nature of the society" but which "will surely lead to the deterioration of the party into a social-democratic party and hence the degeneration of the revolution."

The document continued: "The second route is the communist route. The route of the Leninist standards and functioning. The route of criticism and collective leadership." It said the Central Committee agreed in October 1982 that "the party must be put on a Leninist footing."

This document went on to conclude that "the main problem" was Mr. Bishop's leadership. Despite his "tremendous strengths, his ability to inspire and instill confidence in people, his ability to unite the masses and hold so high the banner and prestige of the revolution regionally and internationally," Mr. Bishop did not have such "Leninist" qualities as "great depth in ideological clarity" and "brilliance in strategy and tactics."

Bernard Coard, the Deputy Prime Minister, who was later to lead the coup against Mr. Bishop, was identified in the document as the person with the qualities needed to surmount "the growing complexities and difficulties on the economic, political and military fronts facing us."

It said the Central Committee had decided that the best solution would be "joint leadership," with Mr. Bishop re-

sponsible for rousing support among the populace and abroad and Mr. Coard in charge of party organization, "strategy and tactics."

Mr. Bishop apparently resisted any dilution of his power, leading to a protracted struggle and, eventually, to his death under circumstances that are still not entirely clear.

Long, Doctrinaire Debates

Records of a series of party meetings in August and September portray long, doctrinaire debates and harangues in which other party leaders were critical of Mr. Bishop for traveling abroad at a time when the party was in what one member called its "worst and most dangerous crisis ever." The Marxist group had seized power four years earlier in a coup against an elected leader who was viewed as corrupt.

There was talk of "open dissatisfaction and cynicism" among the masses, disintegration of the militia, battered morale among party members and the threat of an "upsurge of counterrevolutionary activity."

There were also complaints about inadequate food supplies for the army at a time when party leaders were driving new cars along deteriorated roads.

According to a handwritten report on a 15-hour meeting on Oct. 12, Mr. Bishop was accused of spreading false rumors that Mr. Coard and his wife were plotting to kill him. It was then that a decision was made to confine him to his house, disarm him and cut off his telephone.

New York Times Nov. 13, 1983

Grenada Invasion: Sound Politics vs. Spurious Legitimacy

To the Editor:

Anthony Lewis (column Oct. 27) is wrong. Devotion to "legitimacy" — the sanctity of borders — is not America's strength. Rather, America's strength is the chief bulwark of legitimacy in this world. Indeed, both realpolitik and morality may have required the invasion of Grenada.

It is now clear that Grenada promised to be a replay of the Soviet Union's favorite gambit. In order to swell their growing power, Moscow bypasses a strict constructionist concept of legitimacy. As in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and Afghanistan in 1978-80, indigenous forces — "thugs" is not too strong — first topple a shaky government, i.e., one already heavily mortgaged to leftist politics, while more disciplined instruments of Soviet foreign policy stand by ready to take advantage.

It turns out that several hundred armed Cubans, Moscow's favorite Hessians, were in place in Grenada. Anyone who doubts they were sufficient to the task lives under too many illusions to dispel in a letter. But even if the requirements of realpolitik are unsettled in the case of Grenada, it is not so for morality.

Morality is like mathematics. Both initially exist in the abstract. As

mathematics deals with the real world only when joined to physics, so morality is in the world only when wed to politics — it does not breathe in the real world unless politics allows for it. As a matter of fact, in the world in which we live, only regimes which are responsible allow for morality, even if imperfectly.

A necessary condition of responsibility in the world I live in is accountability. Governments which are not accountable to their subjects are, strictly speaking, not responsible. They are irresponsible. They are closed to moral considerations arising out of the political process except for tactical reasons and hence only fitfully, if at all.

The record is clear. No government which is part of the Soviet empire — including collaterals, e.g., Nicaragua — has ever had a genuine election. None are accountable. They are all irresponsible.

(The fate of Flight 7 is not so much

an instance of Soviet "paranoia" — a term which even hands-on psychiatrists use with caution when dealing with individuals — but of Soviet immorality. The Soviet Government is not accountable. It acted irresponsibly. It still does so. It has yet to offer compensation.)

Cuba is a prime example of the socialist pattern. Fidel Castro, the boss, has been ruling for over 20 years. He has not the political courage to stand in free elections. Even political cowardice is a species of immorality.

Grenada's fate was as tolerably clear as human affairs allow. Until and unless the Soviet Union and its allies respect a meaningful concept of legitimacy, thoughtful observers will be prepared to see the U.S. tiptoe around a world where spurious "legitimacy" must at times be sacrificed to sound politics.

JOSEPH GONDA
Associate Professor of Philosophy
Glendon College, York University
Toronto, Oct. 31, 1983

ESSAY

NATO After Grenada

By William Safire

In the U.S., our successful action blocking Cuba's takeover of Grenada has met with the approval of all but our most die-hard doves; in Europe, however, President Reagan's decision to prevent further Communist penetration of this hemisphere has met with disapproval from what we thought were our most reliable allies.

In West Germany, protected by a third of a million American troops, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher announced, "We would have advised against the intervention." Chancellor Helmut Kohl — who retained Mr. Genscher, the neutralist center-party leader, instead of replacing him with anti-Communist Franz Josef Strauss — did not direct his U.N. Ambassador to support the U.S. when Nicaragua led the General Assembly to demand our "immediate withdrawal" from Grenada.

In France, Mr. Mitterrand's Government raised its eyebrows at our "surprising" action, then had its U.N. Security Council representative vote to deplore our "flagrant violation of international law."

In Great Britain, for whose claim to the Malvinas the U.S. risked the enmity of millions of Latin Americans, Prime Minister Thatcher huffed that we should not have used force "to walk into other people's countries." The British then left the U.S. isolated in the Security Council. It may be that Elizabeth II, in her role as Queen of Grenada, could not pass on to the Prime Minister of Great Britain all she had been told about requests for rescue; still, the pique of Mrs. Thatcher at the United States for protecting its own citizens where the British lacked the power and the will was the unkindest cut of all.

What does this chorus of denunciation from our European allies about an action the U.S. considers to have been in its vital security interest teach us about the Western alliance?

Not, as doves here say, that our allies are right about American security; and not, as apologists for Euro-isolationism say, that West German and British conservatives need to placate their leftists with anti-American rhetoric so that they can deploy U.S.-made missiles.

The lesson is that our NATO partners are interested exclusively in having the United States defend Europe and are resentful of any action the U.S. takes elsewhere to protect its own security.

That obsessive self-concern is why Western Europeans grow furious at our aid to anti-Communist forces in Central America. The Euro-isolation-

ists demand the right to be protected by American troops and America's nuclear umbrella while reserving the right to undermine American security everywhere else.

That removes the "mutual" from mutual defense. In the 50's and 60's, we agreed that Europe was "America's first line of defense," but that is ancient strategic history. Our first line is now our nuclear deterrent.

In today's reality, American troops are no longer in Europe to help our Western allies turn back a Soviet invasion in a war limited to that continent; our men are there as hostages, to make certain that an attack would draw us into a nuclear war between superpowers, fought over Europe's head rather than on Europe's ground.

We now know that on the one-way street known as the NATO alliance, the U.S. cannot depend on diplomatic support for our non-European moves from even the most conservative and hawkish politicians in power in London and Bonn. Europe's turning away, begun with the gas pipeline deal, has now escalated to diplomatic isolation.

The anti-U.S.-Grenada reaction goes beyond the normal criticism within an alliance; it reveals a profound difference of strategy about the way Soviet expansionism should be countered, and calls for a reassessment of our outdated Europe-first defense.

In arms control, the Soviet Union has long sought to split Europeans from the U.S.; we have resisted that mightily, which is what the cruise and Pershing deployment is all about. But Europe's Kohl and Thatcher, in lashing at the U.S. on our Central American defense, are showing the nervousness that comes from incipient weakness; they are signaling an accommodation to Soviet pressure.

If that is the case, might we not think about applying jujitsu to the force of change? The time is coming for an independent European defense, with the U.S. offering for sale the latest intermediate missiles but not the rental of our troops.

In that world, the U.S. could negotiate with the Soviet Union the control of strategic nuclear arms while the Europeans negotiated limitations on intermediate-range weapons. At the superpower Start talks, we would not bear the burden of Europe's missiles; General Rowney would stay and Paul Nitze could come home.

"Wayward sisters, depart in peace," Horace Greeley told the seceding states. As Western Europeans turn inward, the U.S. should wish them well and look to its own vital interests.

Settling Down In Grenada

Nearly three weeks after the invasion, American forces on Grenada were settling in for an indefinite stay despite President Reagan's initial assurances they would be out in a matter of days. Congressional sources said last week they had received private estimates ranging from two or three more weeks, from members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to six months, from Sir Paul Scoon, Grenada's Governor General.

Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger said they would be home "within a short time," possibly within the 60-day period set by Congress in the War Powers Act. But he declined to set a date. The Senate and House have passed measures invoking the War Powers Act, but final action on this has been blocked by an unrelated parliamentary wrangle.

Despite the apprehension of critics, opinion polls and most politicians agreed the Grenada operation has been a coup for Mr. Reagan. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, who had fiercely attacked "gunboat diplomacy," retreated after listen-

ing to the reports of colleagues he had sent to the island for a first-hand look. Because of the "potentially life-threatening situation," Mr. O'Neill said last week, the invasion was "justified under these particular circumstances" — although a repeat performance in another country "would be hell on earth."

Three dissenters among the 14 House members who returned from Grenada insisted they knew of no evidence of that there had been a direct threat to the Americans there. But hundreds of rescued medical students applauded Mr. Reagan at a Rose Garden ceremony. "It is very easy for some smug know-it-all in a plush protected quarter to say that you were in no danger," Mr. Reagan said. Seven other House Democrats contended the invasion violated Article I of the Constitution, which empowers Congress to declare war. Admitting to small hope of success, they introduced a resolution calling for impeachment of the President.

On the island itself, Maj. Gen. Jack Farris, the Army commander, said 2,000 troops were still searching for holdout Cubans, weapons caches and graves. Soldiers exchanged fire with snipers in the hills and retrieved the presumed remains of the murdered Marxist Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, from a shallow grave. A Grenadian nurse said Mr. Bishop cried out just before he died at the hands of those who ousted him, "Oh, my God. They have turned the guns against the people."

The Governor General asked Meredith Alister McIntyre, a Grenadian United Nations official, to head an interim Government until elections. Sir Paul also banned public meetings, authorized arrests without warrants and said he would impose press censorship. If these restrictions were indeed imposed, Mr. Weinberger said, "that would certainly be a question we would address" with the Grenadian authorities.



Associated Press

In Grenville, Grenada, American soldiers inspect a vehicle traveling to the airport. There have been some sniping incidents, the Pentagon asserts.

U.S. Aides Put Toll of Grenadians in Invasion at 21

Special to The New York Times

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada, Nov. 12 — American officials here said today that a total of 21 Grenadians had been killed in the United States-led invasion of this Caribbean island. But they left open the possibility that the toll might be higher because some of the 42 unidentified bodies now presumed to be those of Cubans might actually be Grenadians.

The figure of 21 Grenadians was announced hours after a military transport plane flew the 42 bodies to Barbados, where they were to be shipped to Cuba for forensic examination.

Maj. Gen. Jack B. Farris, commander of American forces here, said today of the 42 bodies that "some number of that number may also be Grenadians."

The officials said the figure of 21 Grenadians known dead included 18 patients of a mental hospital that was bombed during an American air raid in the early stages of the invasion. One of the other three, the officials said, died of wounds after the invasion in an American medical unit here; the other two died in a Grenadian hospital.

The figure of 21 Grenadians indicates that American officials believe that all of the combatants killed at the time of the actual battle were Cubans, and not Grenadian soldiers.

Since the invasion, United States military and civilian authorities have stressed that most of the resistance that American troops met on the island had come from Cubans, not Grenadians.

Cuban authorities have asserted that only 27 Cubans were killed in the invasion.

American Toll Put at 18

Officials have put the American toll in the invasion at 18. They said they expected to make no adjustments in that figure.

The Americans originally had hoped to ship the 42 unidentified bodies to Barbados and to have a forensic team and Cuban representatives inspect them there. The Barbadian Government balked, however, contending that certain hygienic standards had not been met.

American officials said they did not

expect to find any more Grenadian or Cuban dead. "That is all we can find," said General Farris.

Jim Dandridge, an American spokesman here, said, "We don't know anything about any other graves."

Mr. Dandridge said that Kendrick Radix, who held a variety of top-level positions in the Government of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, had been detained overnight by Americans and members of other foreign forces here. Mr. Radix, who was one of the Grenadians who met with a Congressional delegation that visited the island a week ago, was released early this morning.

Three More Suspects Found

Capt. George Wright, a military spokesman, said Mr. Radix had been detained because he had been cited by members of the local populace as "an instigator in spreading bad will among the people in public places." Captain Wright and other American officials here declined to elaborate.

They said, however, that American paratroopers, continuing their efforts

to ferret out Cubans from the hills and forests, had apprehended three suspects on Friday in an area east of Point Salines in the southern part of the island.

American officials are operating under the assumption that there are, at one of them put it, "10 to 60" Cubans still hiding on Grenada.

Mr. Dandridge said that American military personnel, along with those from other nations, were using a computer printout in an effort to find people of "certain categories of interest to the Government," such as former officers of the People's Revolutionary Army and members of the group that overthrew the Bishop Government shortly before the American landing.

He said that two Americans were included on that printout. An American official, who spoke on condition that he not be identified, said later that one of them was under Federal indictment in the United States for arms running and the other, who also held a passport from a second country, had been involved in some revolutionary activities here.

Protesters Scorn Reagan on Policies in Latin America and Caribbean Region

By **ROBERT PEAR**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12 — Thousands of people gathered here today near the White House and the State Department to protest President Reagan's policies in Central America and the Caribbean.

Planning for the protest began in June, but many demonstrators said in interviews that their concern about United States intervention in the region had deepened after the recent invasion of Grenada.

The protesters included people from civil rights, Hispanic and religious groups, labor unions and organizations seeking an end to the nuclear arms race. There were many young people and college students, but also many veterans of the movement against the Vietnam War.

Blustery, Overcast Day

Some demonstrators said they had hoped to see more people at today's protest. Preliminary estimates by the United States Park Police put the size of the crowd at 20,000.

They marched on a cool, blustery, overcast day from three small rallies to one big rally on the Ellipse, just south of the White House. One rally, outside the headquarters of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, expressed support for refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala and Haiti, some of whom were in the crowd.

At another rally, outside the Department of Health and Human Services, speakers complained about the "social costs" of military intervention in Central America, saying it drained money from social programs in the United States. "Feed the People, Not the Pentagon," said one sign.

Noting polls that showed public support for the Grenada operation, Risa H. Ehrlich, a mathematics teacher from New York City, said she was pessimistic about the prospects for achieving a quick change in United States foreign policy. "A wave of righteous arrogance has taken over the nation," she said, "a lack of modesty and respect for other nations' right to self-determination."

Susan C. Edwards of Philadelphia deplored what she said was the new "bully mentality" of the United States. "I can't stand what our Government is doing, the invasion of Grenada and, I think, the imminent invasion of Nicaragua," she said.

Sister Joan Winn, one of eight Sisters of Mercy who came here from Windham, N.H., said, "Our military intervention in Central America does not meet the needs of the people there." She said the United States should instead be providing scientific, medical and technical assistance to the region.

'Ashamed of Our Nation'

Connie Hogarth, who came on one of three buses from Westchester County, lamented what she said was "the expansion of militarism" in United States foreign policy. "I'm ashamed of our nation," she said. "In 1984, people will repudiate President Reagan, his false patriotism and his policies of machismo."

Representative Ted Weiss, Democrat of Manhattan, told people why he was supporting a resolution to impeach Mr. Reagan. In ordering the invasion of Grenada, he said, the President had authorized several unconstitutional acts. The invasion, he said, was "a usurpation of Congress's right to declare war" and a violation of treaty obligations that were supposed to be binding on the United States. Further, he said, restrictions on press coverage of the invasion were a violation of the First Amendment.

Mr. Weiss said that "at the moment, public opinion is much more supportive of the President's position than ours."

The Rev. William Sloane Coffin, senior minister at Riverside Church in New York City, who was a leader of the antiwar movement in the 1960's and 70's, denounced Reagan Administration policies in Central America. "The American people," he said, "are meekly acquiescing in policies they are unwilling to examine in depth."

Weinberger Is Linked to Press Curbs in Grenada

By JONATHAN FRIENDLY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12 — A Pentagon spokesman said this week that Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger approved in advance the restrictions imposed on reporters in the first days of the invasion of Grenada.

Mr. Weinberger himself said at a news conference on the second day of the invasion Oct. 26 that the policy had been made by commanders in the field and that he would not overrule them.

The Pentagon spokesman, Michael I. Burch, said in an interview that Mr. Weinberger had discussed the issue of news coverage before the troops landed and had decided to keep the press away.

On the same issue, the White House chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, said he had not known about the restrictions in advance but did approve of them and would use them again in a similar situation, which he characterized as "a commando raid."

Reporters were excluded from the island for the first two days of combat in a move criticized by some members of Congress and the press as having denied the public independent verification of military progress reports. In the next two days, a small number of reporters were allowed on the island, and then only for short, closely controlled visits to areas chosen by the military.

No Written Plan

Mr. Burch and Mr. Baker said that there was no written plan for handling the press and that the issue was not raised in National Security Council meetings before the invasion. Mr. Weinberger was thus the highest ranking civilian to pass on the propriety of the restrictions.

In the initial days of the invasion, of-

ficials implied that the curbs had been imposed almost as an afterthought by the task force commander, Vice Adm. Joseph Metcalf 3d. In an interview in which he said he had made the decision, he added, apparently in jest, that press boats would be shot at if they tried to land. Four American reporters who did manage to get ashore on the second day were picked up, taken to the helicopter carrier Guam and held incommunicado for two days.

The restrictions have prompted debate both inside and outside the Administration.

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. John W. Vessey Jr., is forming a panel of officers and journalists to examine how the press curbs worked and to suggest guidelines for future operations. Mr. Burch said Mr. Weinberger was also discussing the issue with reporters to see what policies might be acceptable both to journalists and to the military.

Lawsuit Being Considered

Journalists who protested the controls are considering bringing a lawsuit against Mr. Weinberger and the Department of Defense. Jack Landau, director of the Washington-based Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, said, "We are exploring the possibilities and looking at the types of law available."

Mr. Burch repeated the Pentagon's earlier assertions that reporters had been excluded because of a need for secrecy and because the military could not assure their safety.

Reporters have dismissed both arguments. They say any element of surprise had already been weakened because Grenadian and Cuban leaders knew the invasion was coming. They also said journalists had historically

not held the military responsible for their safety.

Mr. Burch said live reports transmitted by broadcast correspondents might have given the opposing forces information about the disposition of American troops. Journalists have said that they did not violate security embargoes in the past and would not have done so in this case.

Mr. Burch also said that reporters might have been captured by enemy forces and that the military would have felt compelled to go to their rescue.

Marchers in Rumania Assail Arms Plans of East and West

BUCHAREST, Rumania, Nov. 12 (AP) — About 30,000 people joined a Government-sponsored march today against missile deployment in Europe by both East and West.

The Soviet Union has reportedly been pressing Rumania to accept deployment of Soviet missiles if Soviet-American arms talks fail and new missiles are deployed in Western Europe. According to the reports, the issue was raised by Marshal Viktor G. Kulikov, commander of Warsaw Pact forces, during a visit here Sept. 13.

So far only East Germany and Czechoslovakia have been declared ready to station new Soviet weapons in response to any Western deployment starting next month. Rumania has pursued an independent foreign policy and is the only Soviet-bloc country that does not contribute soldiers to Warsaw Pact maneuvers and does not allow Soviet troops on its territory.

Mr. Baker said the White House would have had trouble selecting a pool of reporters to accompany the landing forces, as some journalists have suggested and as has been done in the past.

"We have 1,800 people accredited here," he said. "We would have had such backbiting and scratching that the hue and cry would have been worse."

But he criticized the military for barring reporters on the second day of the invasion, when the original decision called for giving them access. He said the military had control of the situation and the President believed "that the commander should make that decision."

There are no firm rules governing when reporters and cameramen should be allowed on the scene of combat, and Pentagon press officers say there is no written policy on the matter.

Many in the press say frequent conflicts between military claims and the reality, as in Vietnam in the late 1960's, has made the public distrustful of the Government even when it is telling the truth. Public opinion sampling about Grenada, however, has indicated general support for the President and no immediate or widespread skepticism about Pentagon claims.

Mr. Baker, who has authority over the White House press office, said the need for secrecy also led to the decision not to tell that press office about the plans in advance.

On the night before the landing, the White House press office dismissed as "preposterous" reports that such an action was imminent. Later the chief spokesman, Larry Speakes, said the incident had undercut his credibility with reporters, and his deputy, Les Janka, resigned, protesting the fact that he had not been told the truth.

U.S. Detention Camp On Island Is Closed

The Return to Normal Is a Slow Journey For Grenada

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

ST. GEORGES, Grenada — Its tourist planners like to portray Grenada as an exotic spice island, full of romance, sparkling beaches and tropical drinks with rum and a twist of lime. But even more exotic than its nutmegs, cacao and bananas are its politics.

Grenada's recent political history has been a peculiar progression from revolution to an alignment with Cuba to a military coup and finally to last month's invasion by American troops. Former Prime Minister Maurice Bishop's revolution "for work, for food, for decent housing and health revenues" is dead, along with its leader, and the alliance with Cuba is shattered. While once Grenada was the focus of American concerns in the Eastern Caribbean, the United States is now the focus of Grenadian hopes.

The response to these hopes is seen as important to the United States position throughout the hemisphere. For the time being, the Americans are the heroes, bringing Grenada a breath of fresh air, an infusion of dollars and, perhaps most important of all, an armada of road repair equipment to level the grades and fill the potholes that make travel around the 133-square-mile island treacherous. But American officials, secure in resort hotels behind sand bags and barbed wire, know that before long the people of Grenada will grow weary of the American presence here, with its military transports, jeeps and armed foot patrols.

So they are struggling to mold a policy that is at once firm but gentle, trying to fill the vacuum created by the departure of the Cubans and the Russians, making it clear that Grenada is to remain in the American sphere, but rendering that palatable with the sorts of inducements that only money can buy. "I think it would be a mistake for us to duplicate the Russian or Cuban presence," Charles A. Gillespie, chief of the United States Mission, said. "I think we should try to avoid that."

Ominous Beginnings

For some Grenadians, the American stay began ominously enough, the swift invasion being followed by the establishment of a detention camp with grim isolation chambers. Last week, perhaps in response to a public outcry in the United States, the camp was abruptly closed and the number of roadblocks was diminished. These actions, along with the swearing-in of an interim governing council, seemed to signal that life on the island may be inching back to its customary relaxed tone.

It is, however, an enforced calm. Grenada is something of an occupied country. American propaganda posters cover many of the slogans of Mr. Bishop's New Jewel Movement. American soldiers direct traffic, all but run the only radio station on the island, have taken control of the airport the Cubans were helping to build at Port Salines and are occupying hotels and homes. "We love our beaches here," said one Grenadian, "but now the barbed wire has taken away the taste."

At the same time, many questions remain about the independence both of the council and of the Governor General himself, Sir Paul Scoon. American officials are quick to deny that they are playing a part in governing Grenada. "The people who have surfaced in the Government were not chosen by Americans," said a senior State Department official. But the new administration is academic and technocratic in flavor, and the leading role played at its swearing-in by the council's legal adviser, a retired British Foreign Service officer named Anthony R. Rushford, did little to calm fears that the council would be prevented from acting as it wished.

Not all Grenadians are enthusiastic about their new Government but won't have any choice or much say for a while. No timetable for elections has been set and some emergency powers remain in force.

Perhaps the most curious development in the new atmosphere that prevails here is the revisionist view of Mr. Bishop being taken by American officials. Even his Grenadian opponents regarded Mr. Bishop as a popular and brilliant leader, ruling both by force of personality and by intelligence. He was, for many years, a nemesis to the United States, but now American officials, undertaking a psychological offensive on the island through posters and loudspeakers in the remote countryside, take pains not to cast aspersions on him.

"Prime Minister Bishop was a very charismatic figure," said Col. Jim Ashworth, head of Military and Psychological Operations on Grenada. "His death was very tragic."

'Jobs, Jobs, Jobs'

There is concern about his followers and sympathizers, including the 600 members of the People's Revolutionary Army and the militia who were detained at the American camp. Many of them are teen-agers, and when the American road crews and soldiers have gone, these young people will remain. The struggle for the future of Grenada is a struggle for their allegiance.

The major issue may be, as American politicians are fond of putting it, "jobs, jobs, jobs." Mr. Bishop's entire army is now unemployed and so are the 400 who worked at the airport project. Youth unemployment, a chronic problem in the West Indies, is especially severe on Grenada. "You've got to give these people jobs," said an Englishwoman, a long-time resident. "We need so many things on this island, and for the cost of one of those helicopters we could put some young people to work. They're on the streets at an explosive age."

So the familiar phrase "hearts and minds" is now on the lips of Americans again. This time, the United States begins with a formidable advantage, the genuine good will of a foreign people. How it uses that good will may help determine what good will the United States will have throughout the Caribbean and Central America.



United Press International
U.S. Army paymasters paying Grenadians for filling sandbags and clearing brush in Grand Anse, Grenada.

Sunday, Nov. 30, 1983

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U.S. Army paymasters paying Grenadians for filling sandbags and clearing brush in Grand Anse, Grenada.



United Press International

RANGERS HONORED: John O. March, Secretary of the Army, awarding Combat Infantry Badges to 210 Rangers who took part in the Grenada operation. The ceremony was held Friday in Fort Lewis, Wash.

Grenada's New Airport Seems on Hold for Now

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

Special to The New York Times

POINT SALINES, Grenada, Nov. 16 — The runway here is unfinished, electrical wires hang from the ceiling of the cinder-block terminal building and it is unclear when the airport that Cubans were helping to construct before the invasion of Oct. 25 will be completed.

Neither the United States nor the Grenadian authorities appear to be certain who will pay for the airport, which the Government of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop had planned to commission next spring.

Before Mr. Bishop was deposed and slain by soldiers loyal to Marxist hardliners in the ruling New Jewel Movement, his Government had declared 1984 to be the Year of the International Airport, to coincide with the fifth anniversary of his seizure of power. Pictures of the airport appear on the cover of the current telephone directory and on calendars throughout the island.

In the aftermath of the invasion, however, American officials say the United States has no formal plans to press for the completion of the airport.

"But that doesn't mean we're ignoring it," said James Dandridge, a State Department spokesman here. "We just have no official project on the completion of the airport. Right now we have to get the country moving again."

'See What the Situation Is'

"At the moment, we've stopped to see what the situation is," said Alex Forbes, site manager for Lessey, the British company that was installing the power, baggage handling, public address, navigation and communications systems at the airport. "We don't know whether we carry on or not," he said.

Negotiations are under way among local construction officials, the new Grenadian Government, United States officials and international lenders to find financial commitments for the completion of the project.

Much construction equipment was damaged in the invasion, and some has been vandalized since then. The runway still lacks one of the five levels of pavement required to seal it for the use of jumbo jets, and there is concern that the traffic of American C-130 and C-141 military transport aircraft may already have damaged it. Meanwhile,

the nearly 400 Grenadian workers who had been employed in airport construction are without jobs.

United States officials expressed suspicions before the invasion that the airport was intended for military purposes. Now, while the airport is unfinished, it has emerged as the fulcrum of American military activities.

Huge American military transport planes sit on the tarmac, the uncompleted terminal is full of American military officers and a large flag flutters from a nearby hill.

A few miles away, on the campus of the St. George's University Medical School, the scene is similar. Barbed wire and sandbags line the campus, which is being used as the headquarters of the 82d Airborne Division, and olive jeeps are parked beside the students' beached canoes and sailboats.

The medical students are gone, their classes having been temporarily relocated to New Jersey, Long Island and Barbados. The sign-up sheets for intramural basketball and volleyball are fading in the Caribbean sun. The 115 local employees remain, mingling with the soldiers and their equipment, but all but a handful of the university's American employees are gone.

Classes are expected to resume on the Grenada campus in January.

"We have no structural damage anywhere, just some bullet holes here and there," said Gary J. Solin, bursar of the school. "The big problem will be the parents, who will wonder if it is safe."

United States military personnel also control another symbolic power center, the nation's air waves. From a one-room studio set up by the Navy, Radio Spice Island broadcasts news, weather, music and announcements.

That, too, is temporary, according to Col. Jim Ashworth, commander of military psychological operations on Grenada. When Grenadians are ready to resume operating the station, "we will depart the area," the colonel said.

At the Point Salines airport, Ronald G. Smith, the project manager, remains confident. "It will get finished," he said. "By whom, and how, and exactly when, I do not know, but it will get finished."

Reporters, Allowed Into Cuba, Found Familiar Curbs

By RICHARD J. MEISLIN

Special to The New York Times

HAVANA, Nov. 15 — The Government of Fidel Castro, conscious that the battle over Grenada was one of image as well as military might, was unusually open in allowing foreign reporters into Cuba after the invasion.

But once here, the journalists found their access to other than the official line virtually as limited as always.

The openness, according to officials and foreign diplomats here, was intended to insure that Cuba's side of the story was presented internationally as well as to pose a contrast to the Reagan Administration's prohibitions against reporters traveling to Grenada in the first days of the conflict. In a country that is normally a stickler for red tape, one reporter from The Los Angeles Times was even permitted to enter without his passport.

"What they obviously wanted," Mr. Castro said of the Reagan Administration, "was to monopolize and manipulate the information so they could lie without hindrance to world public opinion, including the people of the United States."

A Contrast Is Made

He said: "There was no manipulation of the news, nothing was hidden from the people, in our country. All reports concerning the invasion that were received directly from Grenada were transmitted to our population just as they arrived, even though the ones on Oct. 26 turned out to be exaggerated. As a matter of principle, at no time were efforts made to play down the seriousness of the situation or to minimize the magnitude of the dangers facing our compatriots."

Although Mr. Castro did not say so, the Oct. 26 report he mentioned was believed to be one that said the last six resisting Cubans had wrapped themselves in the Cuban flag and set themselves afire.

Reporters covering the story from Havana were given relatively rapid access to Government communiqués and official statements and unusual access to diplomatic notes passing between the Cuban and the United States Governments.

While questions remain over some of the information offered — where the Cuban troops were fighting on the island and what Cuba's long-range intentions for Grenada might have been, for example — the vast majority of factual information was subsequently shown to be correct.

'Fidel Is Running This One'

"It's uncharacteristic," one Western diplomat here said, "but Fidel is running this one himself, and when that happens, the information flows."

The improved access extended to some interviews with officials as well, but, as usual, only with those the Government felt it appropriate for reporters to see. Mr. Castro himself had a

news conference the night after the invasion, and the Deputy Foreign Minister, Ricardo Alarcón, was available for news conferences and private interviews several times.

Other interviews, however, were handled as they are during most visits by reporters to Cuba — a formal request was made to a reporter's Foreign Ministry liaison (the people referred to by the press corps as "the nannies") and a judgment was made on whether or not the person would be available.

"They kept asking me to make a list of the people I wanted to see, so I finally did," one United States newspaper reporter said. "They came back the next day and said, 'Sorry, we can't do these this time.'"

Embassy Contacts Are Limited

Reporters wanting to visit Cuba are generally asked to provide such a list before their visas are considered, and whether the interviews will be approved influences the decision on whether the visa is granted. A Foreign Ministry spokesman said the Government might divine what a reporter's intentions were from the list but that this was not fundamental to deciding whether a visa would be issued.

Because of the limitations of this system, reporters covering Cuba seldom have a group of independent, knowledgeable people they can call to give additional insight into official statements.

In addition, since the United States Interests Section here is strictly limited in its contacts with Cubans, it tends not to be able to offer much in the way of inside information, as United States embassies elsewhere in the region often do.

One United States official here dispiritedly gave an assessment of Cuban public opinion based on "my usual Cuban source" — a member of his household staff.

Looser Rein on Reporters

With more than 120 foreign reporters in the country at the peak of the crisis, the Government was unable to monitor their movements as closely as usual. While it made up for this by scheduling frequent news events that brought everyone together, those who preferred to miss the third landing of an aircraft bringing back prisoners from Grenada could wander Havana without any obvious difficulty, trying to get a sense of the Cuban people and their impressions of what was happening.

With the tightly controlled press, radio and television and the influence of labor committees and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution — block organizations that keep close track of individuals' movements — those impressions were quite consistent, although one could get a sense that Cuba's policy of "internationalism" did not have universal support.

Some reporters were wary of making too many unauthorized forays, however, lest they hurt their chances of returning in the future.

A spokesman for the Foreign Minis-

try said this fear was groundless. "You have full access to this country," he said, adding that about 98 percent of United States journalists' requests for

visas to Cuba were granted. He said requests by Cuban journalists to cover the United States were routinely denied.

Cuba Takes Out Ad in Times To Publicize Castro Speech

The Cuban Government, in a paid advertisement in The New York Times today, is publishing the complete text of a speech given by Fidel Castro last Monday denouncing the United States invasion of Grenada.

A Cuban official in the Cuban interests section of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington said in a telephone interview yesterday that the speech was being publicized in the United States "because we think it's a good time to do it." Mr. Castro's speech was widely reported by foreign correspondents in Havana.

"It is a simple element of transmitting this to the North American press," the official said. "We think it's important to give what Fidel said in this speech." The advertisement appears on pages 40 and 41 of the main news section of The Times today.

New York Times Nov. 6 1984

Cuba Loses a Foothold but Keeps Its Cool

By RICHARD J. MEISLIN

HAVANA

HAVING watched the revolution it had nurtured in Grenada collapse under internal divisions and then get swept aside by the American invasion, the Cuban Government last week turned its attention to containing the damage to its prestige and influence. Havana seemed to be seeking to portray itself as a country whose stake in Grenada, aside from the safety of its citizens there, was limited — suggesting that it could afford to be unconcerned about events on the island save as evidence of the “imperialist Yankee aggression” it says is threatening the Caribbean and Central America.

While the United States was barring reporters from Grenada, Fidel Castro invited the foreign press to Havana en masse. He deluged reporters with daily communiqués, news conferences, and copies of usually secret, low-key diplomatic notes exchanged with the Reagan Administration.

Mr. Castro even displayed a dry sense of humor. Asked about the military role of the Cubans on Grenada, he said “the proof that they are workers and constructors is the excellent airport they built in a very brief time, where dozens of American aircraft were able to land despite the fact that it was not yet finished.” The understated, nonprovocative tone, a Foreign Ministry official said, was calculated to give a statesmanlike impression abroad while persuading people at home that their future was not at stake. “It shows a maturity,” the official said. “We are not a great power, but we do have a role.”

At home, it seemed to work. Things in Havana, so far as reporters had the opportunity to see, went on normally. The lives of most Cubans seemed to be interrupted little more than the lives of most Americans during a foreign policy crisis. The relative speed with which the United States took control of the island and repatriated the Cubans there also seemed to be working in Mr. Castro's favor by preventing impatience from developing.

Abroad was another matter, however. Mr. Castro was forced to remind the outside world of a reality often forgotten. “We do not have the means” in terms of planes or ships, he said, to give direct military assistance to allies under assault by the United States. Nor did Mr. Castro appear eager to get into a grand-scale test of wills or force with the United States, a Cuban official said privately. “If there are hostilities between the United States and Cuba,” he added, “they will involve not only the United States and Cuba.” Who else would become in-

involved was not entirely clear. East European diplomats in Havana reminded reporters that there was no mutual defense pact between Cuba and the Soviet Union, any more than between Grenada and Cuba.

The danger for Havana was that its caution would be viewed abroad as a sign of weakness. The influential French newspaper *Le Monde*, in a front-page editorial, asserted that “Cuba, severely checked, appears to be the big loser of the Grenada operation.” A more common view expressed by Cuban officials and Western diplomats in Havana was that while Grenada was a setback for the Cubans, it would probably have little long-term effect on its “internationalist” stand. “We have not, we are not, going to reconsider our internationalist policy,” insisted Ricardo Alarcón, the Deputy Foreign Minister. “I would say it is the United States that has to reconsider its policy when by continuing this aggressionist, interventionist policy in the area it provokes more opposition, more anger, more denunciations.”

Without doubt, however, the Grenada events caused nervousness among some Cuban allies. Nicaragua, which has long feared that the United States-supported insurgency against it could turn into direct United States military intervention, has been issuing daily demands for condemnation of the Grenada attack since the Marines landed on Oct. 25.

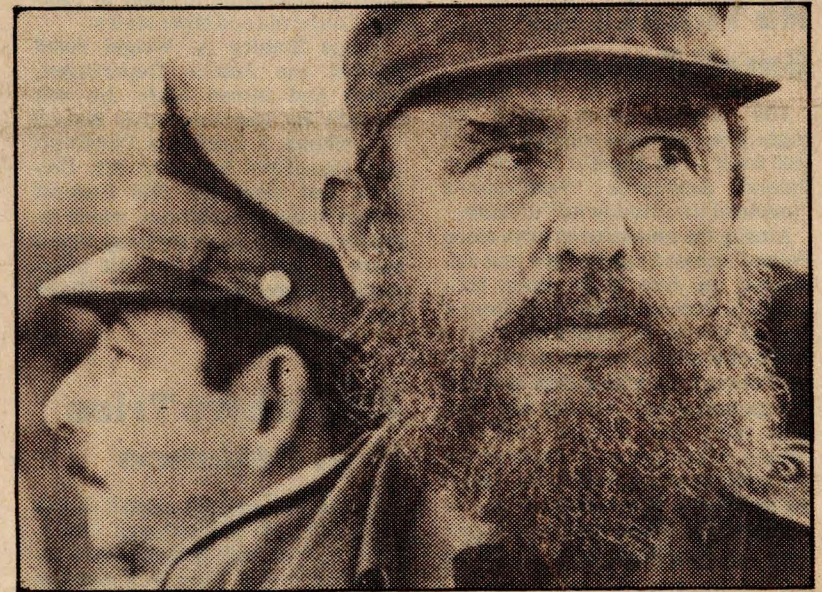
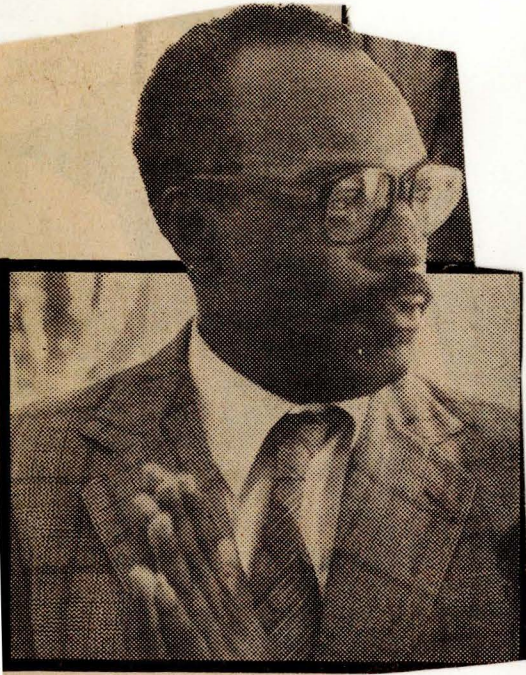
‘David and Goliath’

Lieut. Col. Dési Bouterse, the leftist leader of Suriname who had enjoyed friendly relations with Havana, surprised Cuban and Western diplomats by expelling the Cuban Ambassador. Although the Cuban Government has not commented, a Western diplomat said Colonel Bouterse had been made nervous by the Cubans' contacts with lesser Suriname officials and may have feared that Cuba was sowing dissent in his ranks. A Western diplomat friendly to the Reagan Administration, meanwhile, said the impact on the Cubans would depend on how well they sustained the “David versus Goliath” image — noble Cuban construction workers battling thousands of invading troops.”

“Certainly Reagan has kept him off balance,” the diplomat said of Mr. Castro, but to gain an advantage, the Administration would have to “get across the idea that the Cubans were really up to something dirty.” The Reagan Administration last week made public copies of what it said were secret military agreements by Cuba, the Soviet Union and North Korea to supply Grenada with military equipment and advisers.

The wounded Cubans flown back to Havana from Grenada last week did not give the impression of being members of the crack fighting force described in Washington. Nor, from their own reports, did they appear to have been the people who offered the unexpected resistance reported by the Pentagon during the first days of fighting. Several returnees spoke of lacking guns or guidance on how to battle the Americans.

In their conversations with foreign journalists, at least, the construction workers had little to say about the legitimacy of their task in Grenada. “I would like to stay here,” said Miguel Adama Gay, a 44-year-old steamroller operator who returned home from Grenada last week. “But if Fidel tells me to go, I’ll go again.”



Fidel Castro and brother Raúl at ceremony for wounded Cubans last week.

Associated Press

To Ordeals In Grenada, Add a Trial

By JOSEPH B. TREASTER

Special to The New York Times

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — In a small, bare courtroom, high on a wind-swept pinnacle overlooking the picture-postcard harbor dotted with sailing yachts, steamers loading bananas and cruise ships unloading tourists, 17 men and a woman are being tried here on charges of committing one of the most spectacular murders the Caribbean has ever witnessed.

It was a crime that not only took the life of the leftist Prime Minister of Grenada, Maurice Bishop, and 10 others nearly three years ago. It also brought about the death of a revolution proclaimed by the leftists, whose Government was seen by the Reagan Administration as a festering threat to the United States and its allies throughout the Western Hemisphere.

The killings grew out of a dispute over leadership of the radical Government, which was then four years old. After Mr. Bishop's death, a hard-line faction that called itself the Revolutionary Military Council took over and imposed a 24-hour curfew that made residents of the spectacularly beautiful little island prisoners in their own homes. Six days later, the United States sent in more than 5,000 marines and paratroopers in the first use of force in the Caribbean by American military units in nearly two decades.

A Return to Tranquillity

The American troops, along with a small force of Caribbean soldiers, arrested the members of the Revolutionary Military Council and installed an interim Government that administered Grenada until elections were held in the fall of 1984. In that election, Herbert A. Blaize, a 66-year-old self-educated lawyer who is an admirer of Ronald Reagan, became Prime Minister.

Now, for the most part, fascination with international politics has waned in Grenada. More than \$80 million in United States aid has made Grenada more prosperous than some of the neighboring islands in the eastern Caribbean, but it is gradually returning to the sleepy pace that had once made it a favorite with the international yachting set and other foreigners who dreamed of a tropical hideaway.

The trial, however, is a painful reminder of the autocratic regime of Sir Eric Gairy, which dated from pre-independence days and was overthrown in 1979 by the leftists, and of the years that followed, in which Grenada's economy went into disastrous decline and the leftist Government itself finally exploded in violence.

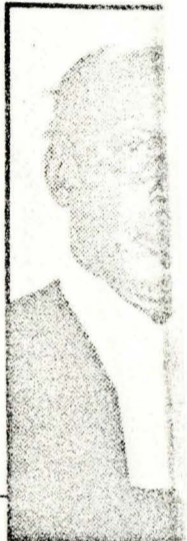
Stunning Ferocity

Witnesses have described a killing of stunning ferocity. Mr. Bishop, who was an enormously popular Prime Minister, and three senior members of his Government, including the Minister of Education, Jacqueline Creft, who was pregnant with Mr. Bishop's child, were lined up against a wall at a fort in the heart of the capital along with four other Bishop supporters and were cut down with bursts from automatic rifles and submachine guns.

One of the executioners cut off one of Mr. Bishop's fingers to steal a ring, and



Acting Chief Justice Dennis Byron, above, is presiding in trial of 18 defendants for the murder of Maurice Bishop, top right, former Prime Minister of Grenada, and 10 others. Among members of the prosecution team are Ciric S. Dougan, far right, and Karl Hudson-Phillips.



slit his throat well after it was clear that he was dead, a witness has told the court. Then all the bodies were dumped in an open pit, doused with gasoline and set afire. Only fragments of bone, clothing, jewelry and scraps of charred documents were recovered.

The police and many Grenadians say they believe that as many as 100 other supporters of Mr. Bishop may have been killed in other shooting at the fort. The defendants are accused of killing three others in addition to those cut down by the firing squad, but no other bodies have been found and a coroner's inquiry has been postponed until after the murder trial.

A Political Drama

To the dismay of most Grenadians, the defendants and their team of eight Jamaican lawyers have succeeded in turning the trial into a long-running political drama that is likely to continue for months, if not years, through appeals and possibly even a retrial. All the defendants are accused of murder and face the death penalty.

At their arraignment 21 months ago, the defendants refused to plead guilty or not guilty. They referred to themselves as prisoners of war and said they had been tortured and otherwise mistreated in jail. Prison authorities denied the accusations.

In an outburst in court, Leon Cornwall, a defendant who had been a member of the ruling party's Central Committee and the leftist Government's Ambassador to Cuba, its principal ally, said he and the others had been "kidnapped" and "put on trial" by the United States so that "they can justify their illegal invasion."

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Defense Law

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Government and that no Grenadian the case and that b ants said they had ernment paid the fees and expenses, total of nearly \$400.

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Ordeals Grenada, and a Trial

JOSEPH B. TREASTER
Special to The New York Times

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — In a courtroom, high on a wind-blew over-look- ing the picture- harbor dotted with sailing yachts and banana plantations, 17 men are being tried here on charges of committing one of the most heinous murders the Caribbean has witnessed.

The crime that not only took the life of the late Prime Minister of Grenada, Maurice Bishop, and 10 others in 1982, but also brought about the death of a revolution pro- moted by the leftists, whose Govern- ment was overthrown by the Reagan Adminis- tration, is a festering threat to the Caribbean and its allies throughout the Hemisphere.

The events grew out of a dispute over the leadership of the radical Govern- ment, which was then four years old. Bishop's death, a hard-line left- ist called itself the Revolutionary Council took over and imposed a 24-hour curfew that made the spectacularly beautiful island a prison for its own people. Days later, the United States sent in more than 5,000 marines to help the Caribbean by American troops in nearly two decades.

Return to Tranquillity

American troops, along with a handful of Caribbean soldiers, ar- mament that administered elec- tions were held in 1984. In that election, Herbert Bla- 66-year-old self-educated is an admirer of Ronald Rea- gan as Prime Minister.

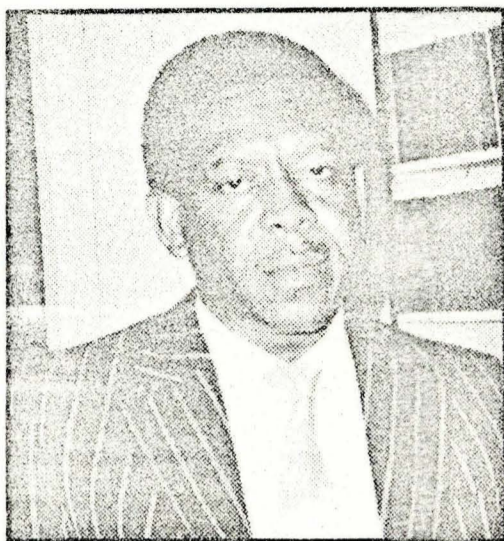
For the most part, fascination with national politics has waned in Grenada. More than \$80 million in aid has made Grenada more prosperous than some of the islands in the eastern Caribbean. It is gradually returning to a pace that had once made it a magnet for the international and other foreigners who had fled a tropical hideaway.

However, is a painful re- minder of the autocratic regime of Sir Eric Gairy which dated from pre-inde- pendence and was overthrown in 1979 by leftists, and of the years since, in which Grenada's econ- omy has declined and Govern- ment itself finally ex- tended.

Violence Feroz

He described a killing of a popular Mr. Bishop, who was a popular Prime Minister. Senior members of his cabinet, including the Minister of Education, were shot. Mr. Bishop's child, were shot at a wall at a fort in the capital along with four supporters and were cut off from automatic rifles. The guns.

Executioners cut off one of the fingers to steal a ring, and



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The New York Times/ Joseph Treaster and George Tames



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The Americans, he said, had organ-

ized "these vulgar proceedings," hoping to "physically eliminate us."

Defense Lawyers Withdraw

In mid-April, shortly before the jury was sworn in and after many attempts to have the case dismissed had failed, the leader of the defense team announced that he and his colleagues were withdrawing from the "supposed trial," leaving their clients to fend for themselves. Eventually, the lawyer, Ian Ramsay, was charged with contempt of court.

Mr. Ramsay, who went on to describe the Grenada court in a letter to Jamaica's leading newspaper as a kangaroo court, told Acting Chief Justice Dennis Byron that his clients had ordered him to withdraw. But one defendant, who later testified for the prosecution in exchange for a conditional pardon, said in a sworn statement that Mr. Ramsay had told his clients to dismiss their lawyers as part of an overall strategy to disrupt the proceedings.

Government and court officials say that no Grenadian lawyers would take the case and that because the defendants said they had no money, the Government paid the Jamaican team's fees and expenses, which came to a total of nearly \$430,000.

Mr. Ramsay has continued to meet with the defendants outside the court and to pursue various appeals. The defendants have filed half a dozen motions maintaining that the Grenada Supreme Court, which many of the defendants helped the radical Government create, is unconstitutional and should not be hearing their case.

The court, which the new democratic Government has temporarily retained, is almost identical to one it superseded,

except that the old practice of taking appeals to the Privy Council in Britain, a holdover from colonial days, was eliminated. Now, independent Grenadian lawyers say, what the defendants most want is to have their appeal heard by a court that is thousands of miles from the scene of the crime.

Protests in Court

As the prosecution began presenting witnesses in April, the defendants broke into loud chants, clapping their hands and stamping their feet until the judge ordered them handcuffed and removed from the courtroom.

Then, after each witness testified, the defendants were led back into court and asked, one by one, if they wished to cross-examine. They consistently refused, but often took the opportunity to denounce the court and proceedings.

As the trial continued, the defendants insisted that they were not participating. But in an awkward version of legal language, they often raised objections about "the said witness," the prosecution lawyers and the impossibility of their getting a "free and fair" trial. The prosecution rested its case early in the second week of July, and the accused were invited to speak in their own defense. Some declared their innocence in a few words; others rambled on for several hours.

There is strong local sentiment against the defendants. Nearly everyone seems convinced that they are guilty, and many seem distressed that the proceedings have taken so long and have become a platform for political speeches. There are unhappy mutterings, too, over the cost of the trial, which Senator Derek Knight estimates may run to nearly \$2 million.

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