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GRENADA
A PRELIMINARY REPORT

"The Marshal said that over two decades ago, there was only Cuba in Latin America, today there are Nicaragua, Grenada, and a serious battle is going on in El Salvador."

-- *Memorandum of conversation between Soviet Army Chief of General Staff Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov and Grenadian Army Chief of Staff Einstein Louison who was then in the Soviet Union for training*
March 10, 1983

"All citizens are asked to remain at home . . . anyone who violates this curfew will be shot on sight."

-- *The Revolutionary Military Council*
October 19, 1983

"I fully support President Reagan's move... He really did save our lives."

-- *Grace Brooke, U.S. citizen studying in Grenada*
October 26, 1983

"The people of Grenada . . . have welcomed the presence of the troops [of the U.S.-Caribbean security force] as a positive and decisive step forward in the restoration not only of peace and order but also of full sovereignty. . ."

-- *Sir Paul Scoon, Governor General of Grenada*
October 28, 1983

"Thank God they came. If someone had not come in and done something, I hesitate to say what the situation in Grenada would be now."

-- *Alister Hughes, Grenadian journalist*
October 29, 1983

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PREFACE

On October 25, 1983, units of the armed forces of the United States joined with forces from six English-speaking Caribbean countries to protect U.S. and other foreign citizens and to restore order in Grenada.

What the joint forces found in Grenada included:

-- Five secret military agreements -- three with the Soviet Union, one with North Korea, and one with Cuba;

-- Written indications of additional military agreements with Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia;

-- Almost 900 Cuban, Soviet, North Korean, Libyan, East German and Bulgarian personnel, including "permanent" military advisers;

-- Artillery, anti-aircraft weapons, armored personnel carriers and rocket launchers;

-- Thousands of infantry weapons with millions of rounds of ammunition;

-- Grenadians imprisoned and tortured, occasionally in the presence of Cubans;

-- Documents, notes and other evidence of a concerted attempt to transform Grenada into an instrument for Cuban and Soviet objectives; and

-- A warm welcome from Grenada's people, 91 per cent of whom were "glad the United States troops came," according to a CBS News poll conducted on November 3, 1983.

All documents quoted in this report have been released to the public. Although the information they contain is impressive, large numbers of additional documents remain to be catalogued and analyzed, hence the preliminary nature of this report.

Readers wishing to obtain copies of documents quoted in this report should direct inquiries to the Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20520.

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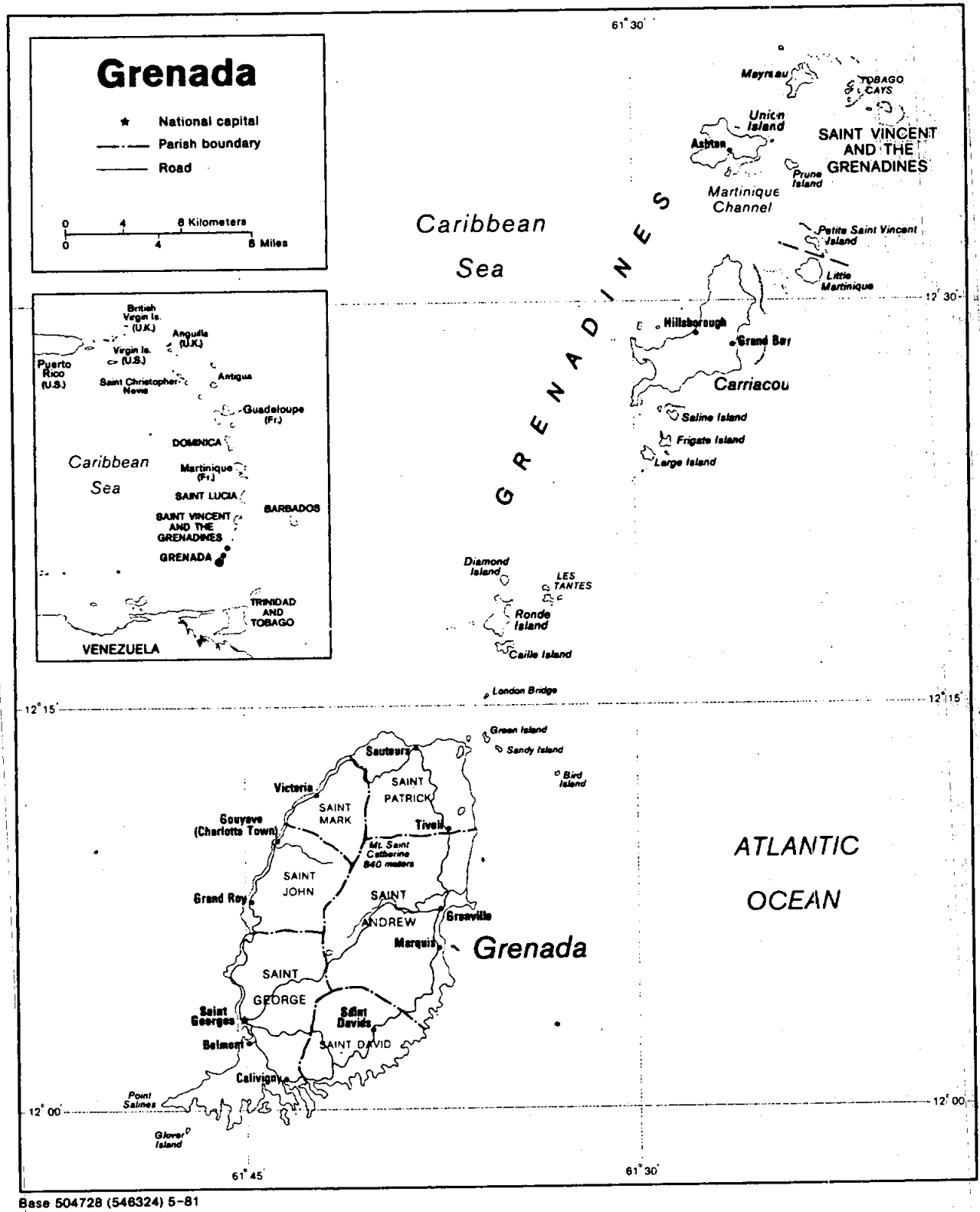


Base 504728 (546324) 5-81

I. The Collective Action

In the early morning of October 25, 1983, elements of a combined U.S.-Caribbean security force landed on the beaches south of Pearls Airport and parachuted into the Point Salines Airport. This force included units from the United States, Barbados, Jamaica and four member states of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States. U.S. forces provided airlift, sea and mechanized support for the operation.

By October 28, all significant military objectives had been secured, including the two airports, the campuses of the St. Georges University School of Medicine, the Governor General's residence, the radio and power stations, Forts Frederick and Rupert, and the Richmond Hill prison.

The combined forces were under strict orders to minimize casualties on all sides. U.S. casualties totalled 18 killed in action and 116 wounded in action. Grenadian casualty figures were 45 killed and 337 wounded. Of the Grenadian dead, 24 were civilians, including 21 killed in the accidental bombing of a mental hospital located next to an anti-aircraft installation. Among the roughly 800 Cubans on the island, 24 were killed in action and another 59 wounded. Five hundred ninety-nine American citizens were safely evacuated at their request.

By November 9, except for two Cuban diplomats, all Cubans, 17 Libyans, 15 North Koreans, 49 Soviets, 10 East Germans and 3 Bulgarians had returned to their countries. Of the two Cubans who initially stayed behind, one left after being declared persona non grata November 23.

By December 15, all U.S. combat forces had withdrawn; among the U.S. forces only training, police, medical and support elements remained.

The U.S.-Caribbean Decision to Act

The combined security operation was triggered by the disintegration of the government of Grenada following the murder on October 19 of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, three cabinet ministers and other leaders.

U.S. participation was based on three considerations:

First, to ensure the safety of approximately 1000 U.S. citizens whose lives were endangered by the breakdown of law and order, by a shoot-on-sight curfew, and by an unpredictable internal power struggle. In exchanges with visiting U.S. officials on October 23 and 24, senior People's Revolutionary Army officers repeatedly raised impediments to the orderly evacuation of U.S. citizens desiring to leave the island. Five State Department officers on the scene monitored developments continuously from October 22, and concluded that American lives were in jeopardy and that a peaceful, orderly evacuation would not be possible. This judgment was endorsed in public statements by many of the students on their return. It also was endorsed, in testimony before the U.S. Congress, by the Chancellor of the St. Georges University School of Medicine.

Second, to respond to a formal request for assistance from the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), a regional grouping of Dominica, St. Lucia, Montserrat, St. Christopher-Nevis, Antigua and Barbuda, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Grenada. At a meeting held in Bridgetown, Barbados on October 21, these democratic countries determined by unanimous vote that conditions in Grenada required action under the 1981 treaty that established the OECS. Grenada, which had no functioning government at the time, did not attend. The OECS asked Barbados, Jamaica, and the United States to assist them.

The formal OECS request for U.S. assistance was received on October 23. It cited "the current anarchic conditions, the serious violations of human rights and bloodshed that have occurred and the consequent unprecedented threat to the peace and security of the region created by the vacuum of authority in Grenada." Both the OAS Charter, in Articles 22 and 28, and the UN Charter, in Article 52, recognize the competence of regional security bodies to ensure regional peace and stability.

Third, to respond to a confidential appeal from the Governor-General of Grenada, Sir Paul Scoon, to the OECS and other regional states to restore order on the island. The Governor General's appeal carried exceptional moral and legal weight because it came from the sole remaining source of governmental legitimacy in Grenada. An invitation by lawful government authority is a valid legal basis for foreign states to provide the requested assistance.

Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica, chairman of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, discusses the situation in Grenada with Secretary of State George Shultz (left), President Ronald Reagan and National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane (back to camera). The meeting took place in the Oval Office of the White House in Washington, D. C., October 25, 1983.

ORGANISATION OF EASTERN CARIBBEAN STATES

Telegraphic Address: OECAS ST. LUCIA
Telex: 6248 OECAS LC
Telephone: 22537-8 & 23185
Our Ref:
Your Ref:

Central Secretariat
P.O. Box 179,
Bridge Street,
Castries, St. Lucia,
West Indies

Your Excellency,

The Chairman of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States presents her compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of the United States to the Eastern Caribbean and has the honour to transmit herewith a request for assistance under Article 8 of the Treaty establishing the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States.

The Chairman of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States avails herself of this opportunity to renew the assurances of her highest consideration.

Sincerely

Eugenia Charles

Chairman

Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States

23rd October, 1983

These three considerations -- the responsibility to protect U.S. citizens on the island, the request from the OECS nations, and the Governor General's appeal -- motivated U.S. action. They established a firm legal foundation for U.S. participation in the collective action.

The Soviet and Cuban Connection

The murder of Maurice Bishop came after four and a half years of deepening Grenadian political ties to Cuba and the Soviet Union, a major military buildup based on those ties, cooperation in the export of subversion, and repression of human rights and democratic leaders and organizations at home.

Though not a basis for the collective action, what was known about the Cuban and Soviet presence in Grenada had, of course, been a source of American and Caribbean concern. The evidence found in Grenada since the collective action provides a far more complete picture of how one small nation became the victim of Cuban and Soviet "internationalism."

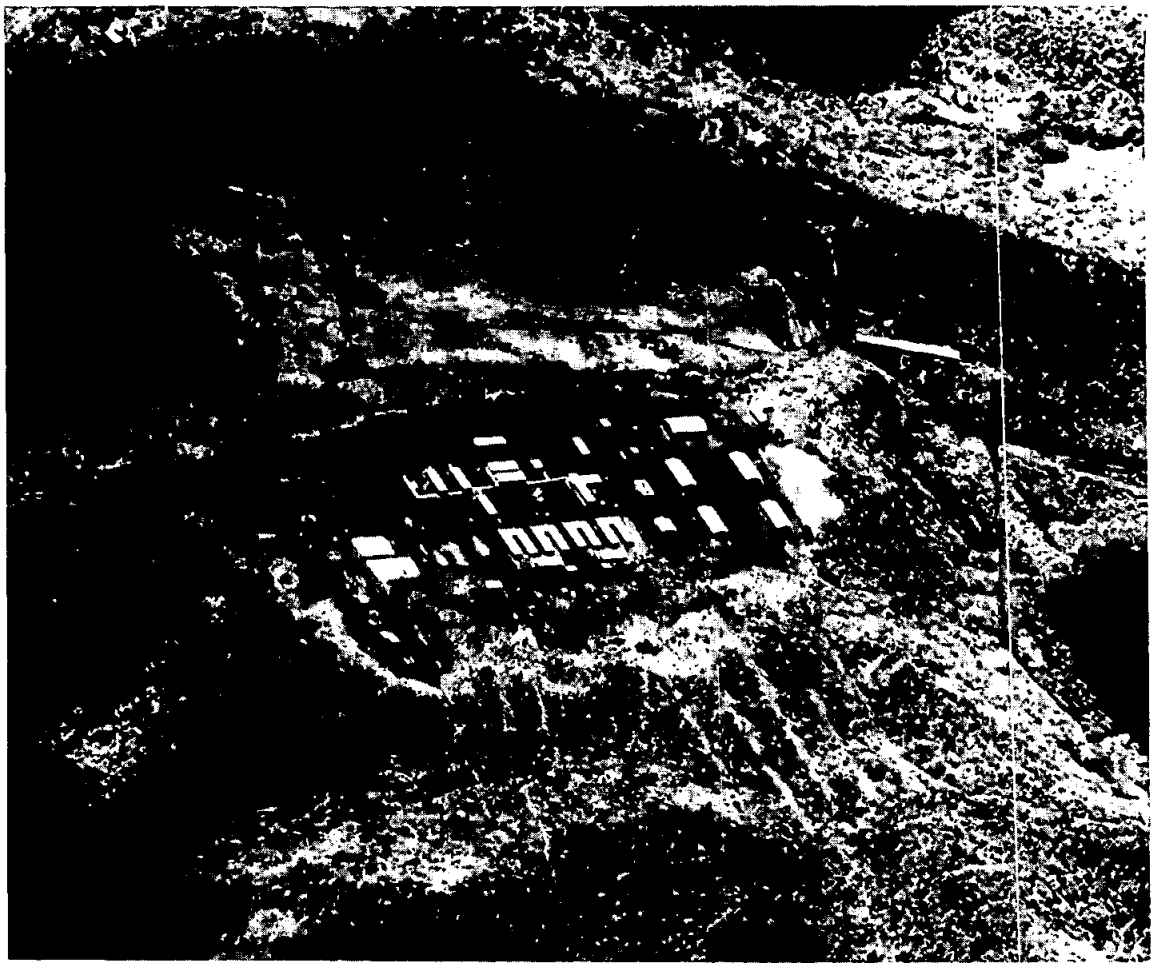
The Caribbean Basin is strategically important to the United States. Roughly half of U.S. sea trade and oil imports pass through the Caribbean. Strategic planning for the U.S. Navy requires free movement of ships from ports on the Gulf of Mexico. The Panama Canal remains a vital chokepoint for shipping.

The airport at Port Salines was scheduled to be inaugurated on March 13, 1984. With a fully operational 9,000 foot runway under Cuban/Soviet control, MIG-23s from Cuba and Grenada would have overlapping ranges covering the entire Caribbean. And while in peacetime it would have been used for tourism, the runway also would have facilitated Cuban air support for its 40-50,000 personnel in Africa, and Libyan and Soviet bloc flights to Central America. Had the Point Salines Airport been operational in April 1983, for example, the Libyan airplanes detained in Brazil while clandestinely ferrying a cargo of military supplies to Nicaragua could have carried out their mission by refueling in Grenada.

The Soviet and Cuban embassies in Grenada were large and active. Grenada's neighbors believed they were secretly channeling funds to anti-democratic forces in the Eastern Caribbean linked to Cuba, the USSR, Libya, Eastern Europe, Viet Nam and North Korea. In addition, an OECS statement of October 25, 1983, noted that "the extensive military buildup on Grenada over the past few years has created a situation of disproportionate military strength between Grenada and other OECS countries." Already worried by these activities, Grenada's neighbors were

alarmed by the explosion of violence against Bishop and concerned "that military forces and supplies are likely to be shortly introduced to consolidate the position of the regime and that the country can be used as a staging post for acts of aggression against [OECS] members."

Prime Minister Bishop's visit to the United States in June, 1983, had led to speculation that Grenada might adopt a more moderate course. In Bishop's meeting with National Security Advisor William Clark and Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam, the United States encouraged such steps. But Bishop's execution by his own comrades suggests in retrospect that such hopes were not realistic.



Cuban barracks area at Calivigny, which included perimeter security fencing, obstacle course and vehicle storage sheds.

II. The New Jewel Movement and the People's Revolutionary Government

The New Jewel Movement (NJM) was formed in March 1973 by the merger of two organizations: the Movement for Assemblies of the People founded by two lawyers, Maurice Bishop and Kenrick Radix, and JEWEL (Joint Endeavor for Welfare, Education, and Liberation) led by Unison Whiteman, Selwyn Strachan, Sebastian Thomas and Teddy Victor.

After Grenada became independent on February 7, 1974, a coalition between the NJM and other opposition parties mounted a serious challenge to long-time Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy and received 48 per cent of the vote in the 1976 elections. The eccentric Gairy, however, was popular with the peasantry and employed armed retainers (known as the "Mongoose Gang") to intimidate critics.

On March 13, 1979, the NJM took advantage of Gairy's absence from the country to carry out a coup d'etat. Some 50 to 60 NJM supporters seized the defense force barracks and the radio station. There was little resistance, and Maurice Bishop was named Prime Minister of a new People's Revolutionary Government (PRG). On March 25, Bishop announced suspension of the 1974 Constitution, and indicated that it would be replaced pending revision with a series of "People's laws."

Radicalization

The NJM started as a loose local grouping characteristic of many young political activists in the Eastern Caribbean of the 1970s. The original NJM manifesto, prepared in 1973 by Bishop and Whiteman, was an eclectic mixture of West Indian, Tanzanian, Marxist and nationalist formulations. It emphasized village assemblies and grassroots agricultural development. It rejected the "national-cultural prostitution" of the tourist industry. "We are not in favor of building an international airport at this time," the 1973 manifesto declared. "The present airport is more than adequate for our needs."

Once in power, however, the NJM was transformed by its ties to Cuba and the Soviet Union. One early link was a Cuban, Oswaldo Cardenas, who worked with the NJM in Grenada even before the 1979 coup (and later became Cuba's Ambassador to Suriname). But the integration of Grenada into the Soviet bloc was systemic as well as personal.

By 1983, Grenada had:

-- A Marxist-Leninist ruling party, complete with Central Committee and Politburo;

-- An army and militia that outstripped the combined forces of all of its OECS neighbors and provided an important vehicle for indoctrinating youth;

-- A highly developed propaganda machine that relied on government-monopolized media, and party-controlled entities throughout the society;

-- An array of mass organizations designed to compel support for the regime in all sectors of the society; and

-- An internal security apparatus that dealt harshly with critics.

In the United Nations, Grenada voted with the Soviets and their allies in over 92 percent of the votes of the 1982 General Assembly, including the vote on Afghanistan -- a pro-Soviet record exceeding even that of Nicaragua.

In Grenada itself, the new airport once rejected by the NJM became the regime's major project. The rationale was tourism, and the project had some Western financing and contractors. But the bulk of the financing came from Cuba, which was providing services valued at $40 million, supplemented by $2 million from Syria, $2 million from Iraq, $6 million from Libya, and $2 million from Algeria. Construction was in the hands of Cuban workers with arms and the training to use them.

Marxist-Leninist Power Structure

Bernard Coard, the leader of the faction that ultimately clashed with Bishop, started Marxist-Leninist study groups within the NJM in 1974. Few NJM leaders had actually studied in Communist countries before 1979. Once in control of the government, however, both leaders and party members began to travel routinely for consultation and training to Cuba, the Soviet Union and to a lesser extent Eastern Europe.

The NJM developed a Central Committee, a Politburo, a militia, a National Youth Organization, a National Women's Organization and other mass organizations designed to "educate the people," to monitor popular attitudes, and to develop party cadres. Party members held all major government positions. Discipline, policy and loyalty stemmed from the party.

Instead of the decentralized village assemblies envisaged in the 1973 NJM manifesto, sectoral mass organizations provided a high degree of central control. A series of standardized profiles of local communities contain analyses of recent political orientation, key economic, social and military objectives, lists of "our forces" and of "enemy forces." In the minutes of several Central Committee meetings there also is talk of organizing places of work and business, a proposal favored by Bernard Coard.

Application of Soviet Economic Model

Instead of local agricultural development, the central government's planning and allocation role increased throughout the economy. The minutes from a meeting of economic ministers held on May 9, 1983, indicate that nine mid-level economic officials would be sent to attend an eight-week course being offered by GOSPLAN, the Soviet economic planning entity. An undated draft resolution on agriculture discussed "How to build the firm alliance between the working class and the peasantry, begin the process of collectivisation and transformation of the countryside." The minutes of the Central Committee's First Plenary Session in July 1983 note the "commencement of long term trade with the socialist community...."

Deception on Economic Matters

At a meeting on August 3, 1983, the Political/Economic Bureau of the NJM noted that International Monetary Fund requirements for badly needed assistance would be difficult to meet. "Comrade Maurice Bishop suggested that we use the Suriname and Cuban experience in keeping two sets of records in the banks for this purpose." Later in the meeting, "Comrades again highlighted the urgent importance of training Comrades to adjust the banking figures. Someone should be sent to Cuba or the Soviet Union." And again, "The Comrades from Nicaragua and Cuba must visit Grenada to train Comrades in the re-adjustment of the books."

Coordination with Soviet and Cuban Communist Parties

An undated document entitled "Draft Workplan of the International Relations Committee NJM for 1983" indicates as the overall foreign policy objective "To develop the International Relations Work of the Party through programmes that raise the Internationalist consciousness

of our working people, [and] strengthen the Leninist character of the International Relations Committee...."

An agreement between the NJM and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), signed in Moscow on July 27, 1982, cites seven goals, including "to promote cooperation in the training of party and government cadres" and "to develop contacts between the party press and other mass communication media, to inform the public of their countries about the activity of the two parties, and of their home and foreign policy...."

In a handwritten memo dated October 8, 1983, a Grenadian student described the first month's activity of NJM students at the Leninist School of the CPSU. The course lasted from September to July and included topics such as "Historic Destinies of Marx's Teachings," "Proletarian International Law," "Lenin's Definition of Strategy and Tactics," "Party Organization," and "Social Psychology and Propaganda." Her report closes:

> "We take this opportunity to express ... our confidence in the Party's leadership and ... hard, organized, systematic, self-critical, Leninist-type work. The CPSU International Leninist Party School NJM Party Cell repledges our commitment to the Party, to building a strong party on Marxist-Leninist principles."

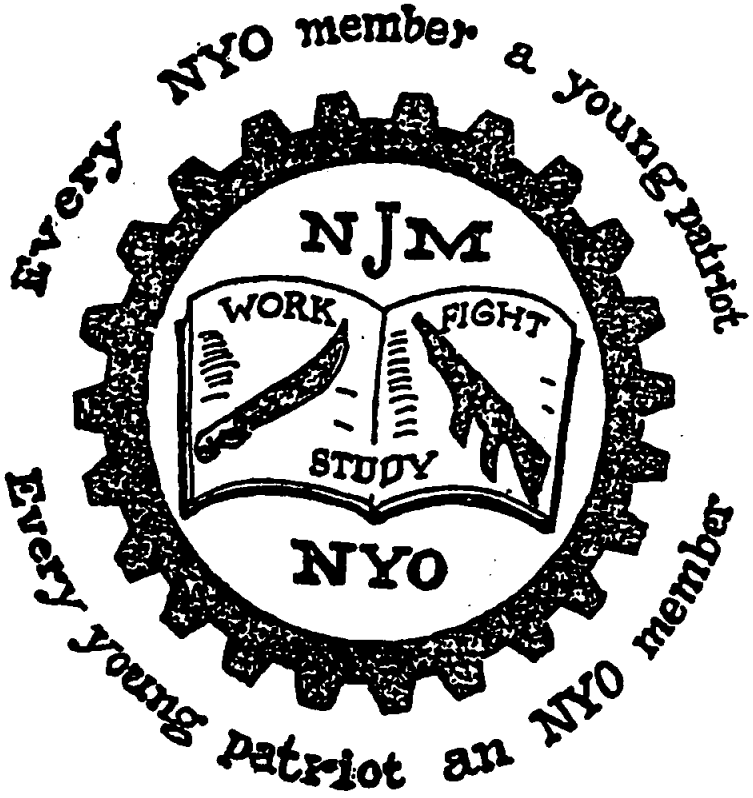
Cuba's Special Targets

An agreement with the Cuban Communist Party signed in Havana on June 29, 1983, provided for training of Grenadians in Cuba for:

- -- "work on religion..."
- -- "work on the Socialist International..."
- -- "work of Foreign Affairs, fundamentally with the Caribbean," and
- -- "work of organization, internal education and propaganda."

In reporting on a June 12, 1982 General Congress of the World Center for the Resistance of Imperialism, Zionism, Racism and Reaction, the NJM delegate notes that "Cuba... generally made Grenada aware ... what is their position and general guidelines for us to follow."

Seal of the National Youth Organization, the New Jewel party institution for young people.



Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and President Fidel Castro at May Day rally in Havana.

A "Secret Regional Caucus" to coordinate efforts to influence the Socialist International (SI) was held in Managua on January 6 to 7, 1983. Cuba, which does not belong to the SI, was represented by a member of the Cuban Communist Party. Participants noted that "Many of the European S.I. parties expect us to understand the concept of 'the Soviet menace'." They agreed to seek actions expressing SI "solidarity with Nicaragua, Grenada, and the F.D.R., F.M.L.N., and M.N.R. of El Salvador." The first and last are political organizations associated with the Salvadoran guerrillas; the FMLN is the umbrella guerrilla organization.

Propaganda

With the help of the Soviet Union and Cuba, the NJM established an elaborate mechanism for disseminating propaganda.

A document entitled "Work-plan and Guidelines for the Party's Propaganda Department" includes the following specific objectives of the 1983 NJM propaganda effort:

> "Deepen the consciousness of the masses as to the history and vanguard role of the party and the heroes of the revolution.... Deepen the internationalist spirit and socialist consciousness of the Grenadian masses.... Defend the party and revolution against counterrevolutionary, backward and reactionary attacks from inside and outside of Grenada.... Guide and co-ordinate the propaganda of the mass organizations and other party bodies."

In the print medium, the NJM immediately took control of the old West Indian and converted it to the Free West Indian, an organ of the new government. The NJM also established a network of newspapers tied to economic sectors and mass organizations. The same "Work-plan" lists the following "party publications" and their affiliations:

"New Jewel" --	New Jewel Movement
"Fight" --	National Youth Organization
"The Scotilda" --	National Women's Organization
"Fork" --	Productive Farmers Union
"Pioneers Voice" --	National Pioneer Movement (youth group)
"Workers Voice" --	Workers Committee
"Fedon" --	Peoples Revolutionary Armed Forces
"Cutlass" --	Agricultural and General Workers Union

Radio Grenada was upgraded from a one-kilowatt station to a 75-kilowatt station that could cover all the Caribbean. Renamed Radio Free Grenada (RFG), the new transmitter was built with Soviet equipment and installed by Cuban and Soviet technicians. Immediately after installation of the RFG transmitter, the Cuban news service, Prensa Latina, began English-language broadcasting at least partially to support RFG. Just before RFG began operations, Grenada terminated British BBC broadcasting, the island's traditional source of international radio news. Items prepared by the Soviet TASS and the Cuban Prensa Latina took their place. RFG broadcasts followed the Moscow line on everything from Afghanistan to Poland, the Soviet downing of the Korean Airlines Flight 007 and Central America.

In a speech delivered at the inauguration of the transmitter, on March 11, 1982, Bishop explained his philosophy of journalism:

> "We must make sure that... news reflects what we have been trying to achieve. We must make sure that the news continues to demonstrate the achievements of our revolution.... Therefore, our broadcasters have a great, great, responsibility... to make sure that every single word that they say on Radio Free Grenada is a word that will bring credit and reflect glory on our people and Revolution."

In addition to building this formidable propaganda apparatus, the NJM blocked the dissemination of competing views. It closed all independent news media including the Torchlight, Catholic Focus and Grenadian Voice. Four persons associated with the Grenadian Voice, one a high NJM official, were arrested in 1981; they were released only after the arrival of the U.S.-Caribbean security force. In 1981, a law was passed retroactively prohibiting publication of these or any other news journals. In 1982, the Inter-American Press Association condemned the Government of Grenada for "its repeated attacks on the freedom of the press."

GRENADA, CARRIACOU AND PETIT MARTINIQUE

DETENTION ORDER

MADE BY THE MINISTER RESPONSIBLE FOR MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIC SAFETY AND PUBLIC ORDER UNDER REGULATIONS 2(1) AND 3(1) OF PEOPLE'S LAW NO. 21 OF 1979 (AS AMENDED) AND ALL OTHER POWERS ENABLING HIM IN THAT BEHALF.

WHEREAS I am satisfied with respect to Anthony Mitchell, of Vincennes, St. David's that to prevent him acting in a manner prejudicial to public safety, public order or the defence of Grenada, or with a view to subverting or sabotaging the People's Revolutionary Government it is necessary to provide for his preventive detention:

NOW THEREFORE I, Minister responsible for maintenance of public safety and public order, DO ORDER that the said Anthony Mitchell of Vincennes, St. David's BE DETAINED in such place and under such conditions as I may from time to time direct.

GROUNDS FOR DETENTION

That the said Anthony Mitchell on the 15th day of October , 197? is reasonably suspected of counselling and conspiring with other persons to take action of such a nature that was likely to endanger public safety, public order or the defence of Grenada or to subvert or sabotage the People's Revolutionary Government.

Dated this Seventh day of November , 1979.

M. Bishop

Minister of National Security.

Detention order for political prisoner, signed by "Minister of National Security" Maurice Bishop.

III. Human Rights in Grenada

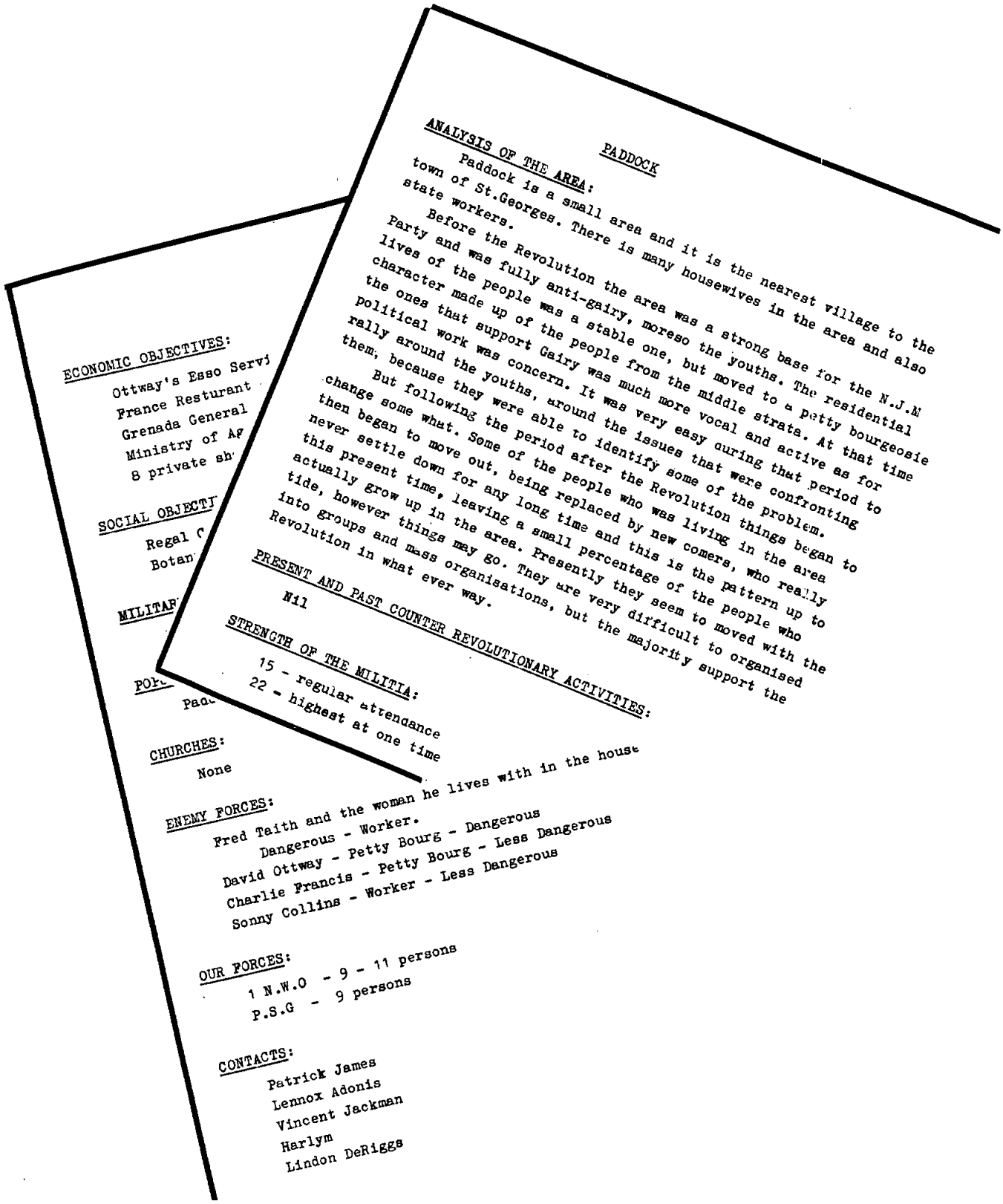
Public reaction to government abuses was muted because of the regime's control over information media and its ruthlessness in imprisoning its opponents or forcing them into exile. Grenada consistently refused to permit inspection of prison conditions by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The Grenada section of the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1982, published by the State Department, states:

> "The overthrow of the Gairy regime established Grenada as having the first nonconstitutional change of government in the commonwealth Caribbean.... Prime Minister Bishop has justified the continued detention of political prisoners by arguing that 'every revolution creates dislocations'.... There is physical evidence that prisoners have been abused during detention. Physical scarring would appear to substantiate their claim of having been burned by cigarettes and tortured with electric cattle prods...."

In suspending the 1974 constitution, the People's Revolutionary Government empowered itself to arrest persons without warrant for suspected counterrevolutionary activity. Although a 1980 law established a three-member tribunal appointed by the government to review these preventive detention cases, the tribunal did not adhere to its announced schedule of semi-annual meetings. Because the relevant law did not oblige the government to press charges, political detainees could be held indefinitely without formal charges.

In lieu of arrest warrants, "preventive detention orders" were issued. These orders stated only that the accused was "reasonably suspected of counseling and conspiring with other persons to take action of such a nature that was likely to endanger public safety, public order or the defence of Grenada or to subvert or sabotage the People's Revolutionary Government." The orders also provided that the accused "be detained in such place and under such conditions as I may from time to time direct" and often were signed by Bishop as "Minister of National Security."



PADDOCK

ANALYSIS OF THE AREA:

Paddock is a small area and it is the nearest village to the town of St.Georges. There is many housewives in the area and also state workers.

Before the Revolution the area was a strong base for the N.J.M Party and was fully anti-gairy, moreso the youths. The residential lives of the people was a stable one, but moved to a petty bourgeosie character made up of the people from the middle strata. At that time the ones that support Gairy was much more vocal and active as for political work was concern. It was very easy during that period to rally around the youths, around the issues that were confronting them, because they were able to identify some of the problem.

But following the period after the Revolution things began to change some what. Some of the people who was living in the area then began to move out, being replaced by new comers, who really never settle down for any long time and this is the pattern up to this present time, leaving a small percentage of the people who actually grow up in the area. Presently they seem to moved with the tide, however things may go. They are very difficult to organised into groups and mass organisations, but the majority support the Revolution in what ever way.

PRESENT AND PAST COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES:

Nil

STRENGTH OF THE MILITIA:

15 - regular attendance
22 - highest at one time

ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES:

Ottway's Esso Servi
France Resturant
Grenada General
Ministry of Ag
8 private sh

SOCIAL OBJECTI

Regal C
Botan

MILITAR

POL

Pad

CHURCHES:

None

ENEMY FORCES:

Fred Taith and the woman he lives with in the house
Dangerous - Worker.
David Ottway - Petty Bourg - Dangerous
Charlie Francis - Petty Bourg - Less Dangerous
Sonny Collins - Worker - Less Dangerous

OUR FORCES:

1 N.W.O - 9 - 11 persons
P.S.G - 9 persons

CONTACTS:

Patrick James
Lennox Adonis
Vincent Jackman
Harlym
Lindon DeRiggs

New Jewel internal surveillance report. Such reports, including lists of "enemies," were made of each locality on the island.

On July 21, 1983, Acting Commissioner of Prisons Justin Roberts stated under oath that the Government of Grenada was then holding 78 persons without charge at Richmond Hill Prison for national security reasons. At that time, some 25 members of the Rastafarian sect were being held at the Hope Vale detention camp. With 103 prisoners, the People's Revolutionary Government was then holding roughly one Grenadian out every 1000 as a political prisoner.

Jerry Romaine, a former manager of Radio Grenada, spent four years in Richmond Hill Prison without official charges. He estimated after his release by U.S. and Caribbean forces that 1,000 Grenadians -- one per cent of the population -- were held as political prisoners at one time or another during the four years of the Bishop regime. Their ranks included "politicians, journalists, labor union leaders, government officials, a surprisingly large number of disenchanted members of the ruling New Jewel Movement, and anyone else considered a threat."

Antonio Langdon, a Grenadian with permanent legal residence in the U.S., was arrested by the Bishop regime on August 15, 1979 during one of his periodic visits to Grenada. He was freed four years later when his guards abandoned their post at the Richmond Hill prison on the first day of the combined action. Following his release, Mr. Langdon publicly stated that he had been in prison for more than a year before he was given any reason for his arrest. As explained to him, he was under detention for making remarks critical of the Grenadian revolution while still in Brooklyn. On May 7, 1980, a prison guard shot him three times at close range with a Soviet AK-47. As a result, Mr. Langdon's chest is badly scarred and his left arm paralyzed. Mr. Langdon also testified that he was beaten and tortured, at least once by insertion of steel rods into his upper back, an operation carried out under the supervision of a Cuban "neurologist."

Following the murder of Bishop, members of his cabinet and many civilians, the Revolutionary Military Council closed down the airport, interfered with telephone and telex lines, declared a 24-hour shoot-on-sight curfew and arrested Alister Hughes, the only independent Grenadian journalist with international standing.

IV. The Military Buildup

When the NJM took power in 1979, Grenada had a British-style constabulary and a small and lightly-armed defense force. By October 25, 1983, Grenada had a regular army approaching 600 supplemented by a militia estimated at between 2,500 and 2,800 members.

The decision to create a militia was announced soon after Bishop took power. The militia's mission was to assist the army in national defense, to perform neighborhood control duties, and to serve as a vehicle for ideological recruitment and indoctrination. Militia members were uniformed but unsalaried, and received two months of basic infantry training at army camps or other sites, followed by two-hour classes each week largely devoted to political education. Service in the militia gradually came to be seen as a prerequisite for government employment.

In January, 1981, the PRG formed the Peoples' Revolutionary Armed Forces (PRAF), composed of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA), the People's Revolutionary Militia (PRM), the Grenada Police Service (GPS), the Coast Guard, the Prison Service, the Fire Service, and the Cadet Corps. General Hudson Austin, a former prison guard, was placed in command of both the PRAF and the PRA.

Although its forces already dwarfed those of its OECS neighbors, Grenada was planning to field 3 more active battalions and 9 more battalions in reserve. A July 2, 1982, request by the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces of Grenada to the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union reads as follows:

"The plan for the development of the Armed Force during the three (3) year period 1983 to 1985 for which the assistance is required is as follows:

"1983 - (i) Further consolidation of:

(a) One Permanent Infantry Battalion.

(b) Five (5) Reservist Infantry Battalions plus assurance and support units.

- (ii) The creation of:

(a) Two (2) more regular Infantry Battalions

С О Г Л А Ш Е Н И Е

между Правительством Гренады и Правительством Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о поставках из Союза ССР в Гренаду специального и другого имущества

조선민주주의인민공화국이 그레네이더인민혁명정부에
무상으로 군사원조를 줄데 대한 그레네이더인민혁
명 정부와 조선민주주의인민공화국 정부 사이의
협 정

Совершенно секретно

П Р О Т О К О Л

к Соглашению между Правительством Гренады и Правительством СССР от 27 октября 1980 года о поставках из СССР в Гренаду специального и другого имущества

Правительство Гренады и Правительство Союза Советских Социалистических Республик

PROTOCOL

OF THE MILITARY COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA AND THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF GRENADA

The Government of the Republic of Cuba and People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada, in full exercise of their sovereign right as free and independent State, based on the fraternal

Pages from the Soviet, North Korean, and Cuban military agreements with Grenada.

(b) Four (4) more reservist Battalions plus assurance and support units.

"1984 - Formation of one additional regular Infantry Battalion together with two (2) reservist battalions plus assurance and support units.

"1985 - Formation of three (3) additional reservist battalions plus assurance and support units."

The proposed 18-battalion force, even if organized into relatively small battalions along Cuban lines, would put 7,200 men and women under arms. Battalions of more conventional size would raise this to some 10,000 or more, excluding personnel on the general staff and in other support functions. In proportion to population, this would have given Grenada one of the largest military forces of any country in the world.

Military Agreements with the Soviet Union, Cuba and North Korea

Documents found by the U.S.-Caribbean security forces on the island indicate that in the last three years, Grenada signed at least five military assistance agreements: Three with the Soviet Union, one with Cuba and one with North Korea. The existence of a similar agreement with Czechoslovakia is suggested by a bill of lading and by an extensive memorandum written in the Grenadian embassy in Havana, which also mentions a military agreement with Bulgaria.

Secrecy. All of Grenada's military agreements were secret. The agreements with the USSR commit both governments to taking "all necessary measures to ensure keeping in secret the terms and conditions of the deliveries, all the correspondence and information connected with [their] implementation." The protocol with Cuba provides that Grenada and Cuba will "assure the secrecy of the permanency of the military personnel in both states and the character of the activities, as well as the mail and information related to the present Protocol."

What was to be provided. Taken together, the Soviet, Cuban, North Korean and inferred Czechoslovakian agreements provide for delivery by 1986 of the following (excludes some small weapons and support items):

-- About 10,000 assault and other rifles, including Soviet AK-47s, Czech M-52/57s, sniper rifles and carbines;

-- More than 4,500 submachine and machine guns;

-- More than 11.5 million rounds of 7.62mm ammunition;

-- 294 portable rocket launchers with more than 16,000 rockets;

-- 84 82mm mortars with more than 4,800 mortar shells;

-- 12 75mm cannon with some 600 cannon shells;

-- 60 crew-served anti-aircraft guns of various sizes, with almost 600,000 rounds of ammunition;

-- 15,000 hand grenades;

-- 7,000 land mines;

-- 30 76mm ZIS-3 field guns with almost 11,000 rounds of ammunition;

-- 30 57mm ZIS-2 anti-tank guns, with about 10,000 rounds of ammunition;

-- 50 GRAD-P howitzers with 1,800 122mm projectiles;

-- 60 armored personnel carriers and patrol vehicles;

-- 86 other vehicles and earthmovers;

-- 4 coastal patrol boats;

-- 156 radio stations;

-- More than 20,000 sets of uniforms; and

-- Tents capable of sheltering more than 5000 persons.

This listing includes enough to outfit a force of 10,000 with half that number in the field.

The Cuban Role

Early arms deliveries. Cuba began to provide arms as soon as the NJM seized power. A 1981 memo from the Grenadian Chief of Staff lists the following weapons received from Cuba in April 1979:

3,400 Soviet and U.S. rifles with 3 million rounds of ammunition;

200 machineguns with a half-million rounds of ammunition;

100 pistols with 66,000 rounds;

100 shoulder-fired rocket launchers with 4,000 rockets;

12 82mm mortars with 4,800 mortar shells;

12 75mm cannon with 600 shells; and

12 12.7mm anti-aircraft guns with 237,000 rounds.

These 3,800 infantry weapons and 36 artillery pieces arrived in Grenada long before the government had begun to organize its expanded military establishment. Cuba's rapid response is a good measure of its early interest in Grenada.

Cuba as Soviet intermediary. Cuba also took the lead in developing the Soviet bloc's military relationship with Grenada. The first two Soviet agreements were signed in Havana. The terms of all of the agreements with the USSR called for Soviet delivery of arms and supplies to Cuba for transshipment to Grenada. When in 1981, Prime Minister Bishop wished to send Army General Hudson Austin to the Soviet Union to discuss additional needs and assistance, he wrote to "Comrade Raul" (probably Raul Castro) asking for "advice and suggestions on the best ways to present this document to the Soviets." It was through the Grenadian embassy in Havana that Grenada formally requested the meeting with the Soviets. A bill of lading for "1,250 cases explosive ammunition (warheads, rocket)" sent by Czechoslovakia shows that other suppliers followed the Soviet pattern of shipping via Cuba.

Military Training. A signed but undated treaty with Cuba provided for nine Cuban military "specialists" to be stationed permanently in the General Staff of the PRA and twenty to be stationed in the field with Grenadian units. In addition, more Cuban military personnel were to be

assigned temporarily, six to the General Staff and six or seven elsewhere on Grenada. Their mission was to "assist Grenadian military men on the questions of Organization of the Organic Structure, Organization of the Instruction and combative and campaign training of the troops and staffs... and in the elaboration of the operative and mobilization plans for the defence of the country." Teams of experts were to be made available for service in Grenada, and scholarships were to be provided to train Grenadians in Cuban military centers.

The Soviet Role

Arms deliveries. The three Soviet agreements cited in this report provide for delivery between 1980 and 1986 of more than 1,000 pistols, more than 4,000 submachine guns, more than 90 portable rocket launchers, 7,000 land mines, 15,000 hand grenades and virtually all of Grenada's heavier artillery and heavier ammunition: 84 mortars, 400 heavy machine guns, 48 anti-aircraft guns, 50 GRAD-P howitzers, 30 field guns, and 30 anti-tank guns. The agreements also furnish sixty armored personnel carriers and patrol vehicles, in addition to 86 other military-related vehicles, and some 14,000 uniforms.

Military training. According to captured documents, the USSR also provided specialist training and courses for selected high ranking officers. Army Chief of Staff Einstein Louison attended a six-month course in the Soviet Union. Both of Grenada's two Deputy Secretaries of Defense, Lt. Col. Liam James and Lt. Col. Ewart Layne, went to the USSR for training. All three Soviet-Grenadian military agreements called for sending Grenadian servicemen to the USSR to be trained in the use of the promised Soviet equipment. The treaty signed in July, 1982, also stipulated that Soviet specialists would be sent to Grenada.

Intelligence Training. In addition to military training, the Soviet Union also furnished intelligence and security training for a handful of Grenadians. A letter dated February 17, 1982 from Army Commander Hudson Austin to the then chairman of the KGB, Yuri Andropov, requested training for three Grenadians for one year in counter-intelligence and one Grenadian in intelligence.

Use of economic "cover". The U.S.-Caribbean security forces found Soviet weaponry in crates marked "Oficina Economica Cubana," Cuban Economic Office. Bernard Coard's trip to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in May and June 1980 -- the first public Grenadian effort to seek

Soviet aid -- was portrayed as an economic mission. But his discussions were followed by the secret signing in Havana on October 27, 1980, of the first of the USSR-Grenada military assistance agreements discovered in the wake of the collective action. This was eighteen months before the USSR opened an embassy in Grenada. The documents also show that Grenadian contacts with the Soviet Union were handled primarily by Coard. Bishop, Army Commander Hudson Austin and lesser officials also were involved, but Bishop in particular had closer contacts with Cuba.

The Soviet Bloc Role

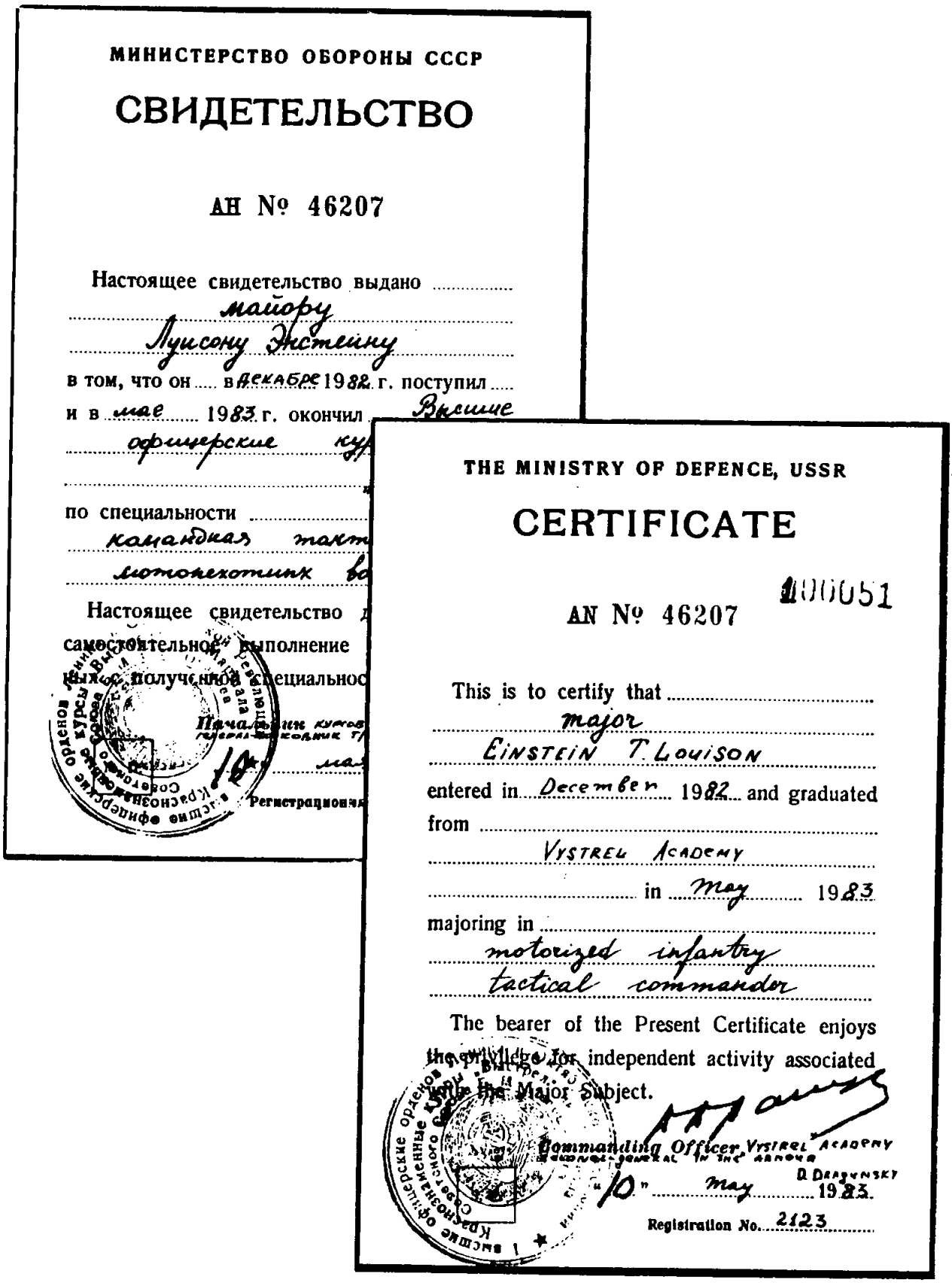
East Germany was the most heavily involved of the Soviet bloc countries, providing several kinds of assistance. Documents confirm that East Germans were active in party, trade union and youth organizations, and provided equipment for security forces, including uniforms, bedding, knapsacks and pistols. Two East Germans were also upgrading the island's telephone system.

Czechoslovakia supplied 3,000 assault rifles, 50 rocket propelled grenade launchers, and more than a million rounds of ammunition.

North Korea

North Korea and Grenada announced a five-year development program during Prime Minister Bishop's trip to P'yongyang in April, 1983. According to the public announcement, North Korea would help build a 15,000-seat stadium, a party headquarters building, a fruit-processing factory, two fishing boats and an irrigation system. North Korea would provide technical advisors and some construction materials and equipment, while Grenada would provide the bulk of the labor and materials and pay for the expenses of the technicians.

During that same visit to P'yongyang, however, Bishop concluded a secret military assistance agreement in which North Korea promised to supply small arms, ammunition and equipment to equip a force of more than 1,000 men. This equipment, listed in the formal agreement at a value of $12 million, was to include 1,000 assault rifles, 80 machine guns, 50 portable rocket launchers, 2 coast guard patrol boats, 6,000 uniforms, and large amounts of ammunition and other equipment.



МИНИСТЕРСТВО ОБОРОНЫ СССР

СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО

АН № 46207

Настоящее свидетельство выдано
майору
Луисону Экстейну
в том, что он в декабре 1982 г. поступил
и в мае 1983 г. окончил Высшие
офицерские ку
по специальности
командная такт
мотопехотных во

Настоящее свидетельство д
самостоятельное выполнение
ных с полученной специальнос

Начальник курсов
генерал-полковник Т

10 мая

Регистрационн

THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE, USSR

CERTIFICATE

AN № 46207 100051

This is to certify that
major
EINSTEIN T. LOUISON
entered in December 1982 and graduated
from
VYSTREL ACADEMY
in May 1983
majoring in
motorized infantry
tactical commander

The bearer of the Present Certificate enjoys the privilege for independent activity associated with the Major Subject.

Commanding Officer VYSTREL ACADEMY
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL IN THE ARMOUR
D. DRAGUNSKY

"10" May 1983

Registration No. 2123

Military training certificate given by Soviet defense ministry to Major Einstein T. Louison.

СОГЛАШЕНИЕ

о сотрудничестве между Коммунистической партией Советского Союза и партией Новое движение ДЖУЭЛ Гренады

Центральный Комитет Коммунистической партии Советского Союза и Центральный Комитет партии Новое движение ДЖУЭЛ Гренады,

руководствуясь стремлением углублять отношения между двумя партиями в духе дружбы и солидарности,

отмечая, что общая приверженность идеалам мира, национального освобождения демократии и научного социализма создает благоприятные возможности для сотрудничества,

исходя из общности целей в борьбе против империализма, неоколониализма, расизма и реакции во всех формах и пр

подтверждая свое неизме
ку всем народам, борющимся
учитывая, что межпартийн
жественных отношений между
подписали настоящее Со
о своем намерении:

1. Неуклонно расширять
2. Постоянно осуществлят
социальным, экономическим
обмен информацией и матери
3. Регулярно обмениваться
и обмен мнениями по междун
процесса и современного общ
взаимный интерес.
4. Содействовать сотрудн
кадров и повышения их полити
5. Развивать контакты ме
информации, знакомить обще
внутренней и внешней политик
ской и реакционной пропаганде
6. Способствовать всесто
между массовыми общественн
7. Периодически согласов
зей, включая в них и те иници

За Коммунистическую партию
Советского Союза

27 июля 1982 года

AGREEMENT

on cooperation between the New JE of Grenada and the Commu of the Soviet Union

The Central Committee of the New JEWEL Movement of G
e Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

guided by the desire to deepen relations between the tw
solidarity,

noting that common commitment to the ideals of peace, n
ntific socialism creates favourable opportunities for cooperat

proceeding from common goals in the struggle against imp
reaction in all their forms and manifestations,

reasserting their constant striving to render internationalist
ir freedom, independence and social progress,

and considering that inter-party cooperation is a most impo
ndly relations between the peoples of Grenada and the Soviet

have signed the present Agreement under which both pa

1. Steadfastly to extend and deepen their cooperation a
2. Continuosly to exchange experience in party work and
mic and cultural development of their countries, including regu
terials on the aforesaid topics.
3. Regularly to exchange delegations of party workers,
anges of opinion on international matters, problems of the
esent-day social development, and other matters of mutual in

Cooperation agreement between New Jewel Movement and Communist Party of Soviet Union.

The Cuban Presence

Cuban construction workers, other paramilitary personnel and regular military forces in Grenada outnumbered the total active strength of the Grenadian People's Revolutionary Army (PRA). Cuban advisers held positions in all key ministries.

According to an official Cuban communique, 784 Cubans were on Grenada on October 25. The Cuban breakdown lists 636 as construction workers. Military and security personnel, not including a dozen crew members of two Soviet-built AN-26 transports, were listed as 53. Not counting Carlos Diaz of the Americas Department of the Cuban Communist Party, diplomats were listed as 18. Other Cuban ministries listed as having more than 6 persons on Grenada were Public Health, with 17, and Education, with 12.

Referring to the construction workers, Fidel Castro stated at his October 26 press conference that "of course, as workers, like all workers in Cuba, they have received military training."

Cuban workers constructed a battalion-sized military camp at Calivigny, less than five miles from the airport. The camp included a large training area and Soviet-style obstacle course. At Frequente, adjacent to the airport, a Cuban barracks had rifle racks down the center aisle.

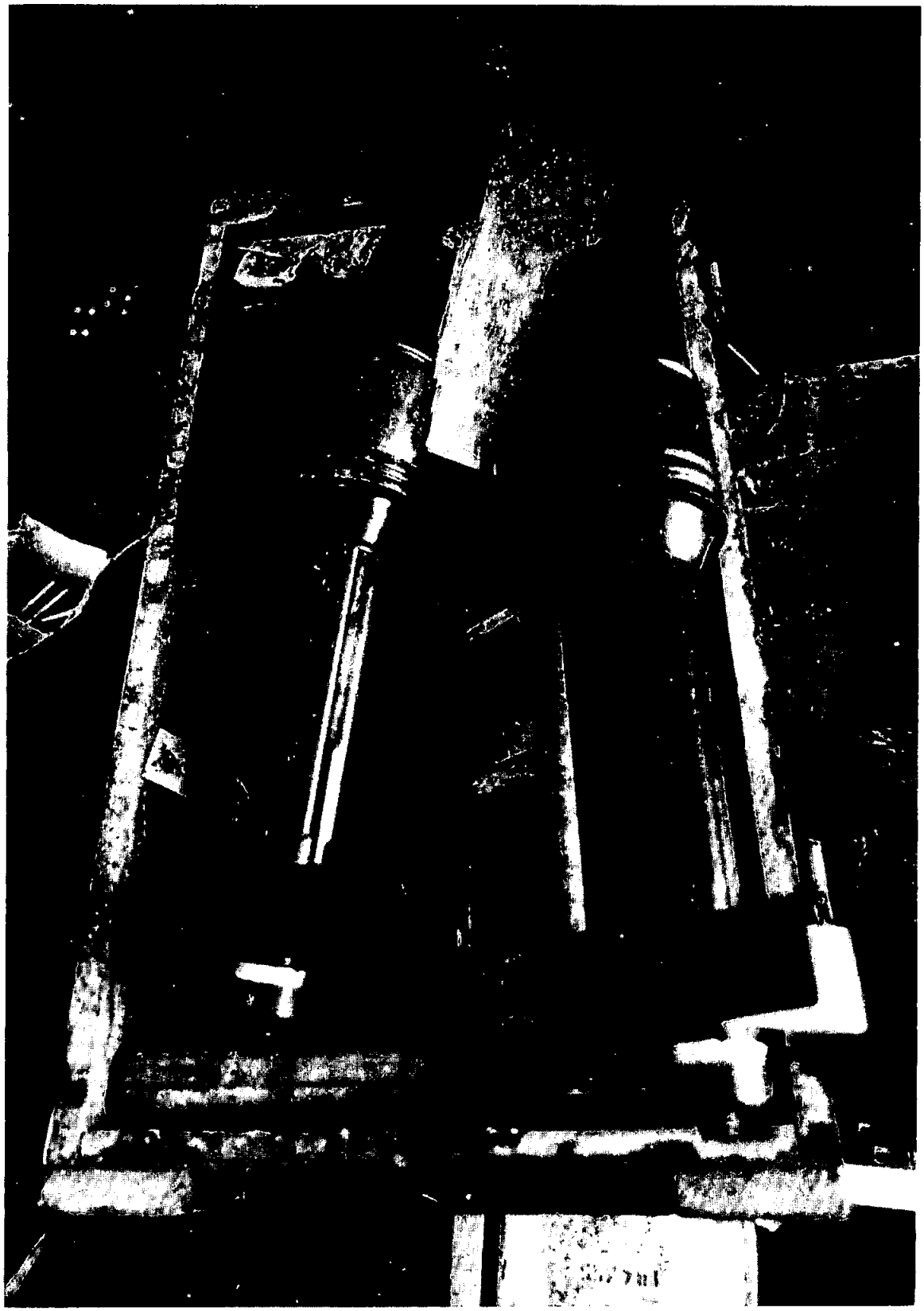
The Cuban officer who had commanded the Cuban military mission in Grenada from 1981 until May 1983, Colonel Pedro Tortolo Comas, returned to command the Cuban-led resistance less than 24 hours before the landing of the U.S.-Caribbean security force. More than 40 Cuban military advisers on the scene were reporting to Havana through a Cuban vessel, the Viet Nam Heroico, stationed immediately outside St. Georges harbor. Relative to their numbers, the highest casualty rate was suffered by the Cubans, who had been instructed by Fidel Castro to "fight to the death" in spite of U.S. assurances to Havana that all Cubans would be treated humanely and repatriated to Cuba as soon as practicable.

The Weapons Actually Found

Large numbers of weapons, many still in crates, have been discovered on Grenada. The single largest concentration was at Frequente, which probably was the "central store room" referred to in several documents. There were six warehouses at that site: one for arms; one

Crates of Soviet 7.62mm small arms ammunition found in storage on Grenada.

U.S. Marines gather Soviet–built weapons captured from combatants.



Soviet rocket propelled grenades (RPG's) in their shipping containers.

for ammunition; and four for quartermaster items, spare parts and vehicles. Arms also were found at the Cuban construction camp, Fort Rupert, Fort Frederick, Richmond Hill and many smaller caches.

A complete inventory of these weapons will be released when it is available.

The Point Salines Airport

The precise purposes behind this military buildup remain unclear, but ostensibly civilian projects such as the extension to 9,000 feet of the runway at the Point Salines Airport, and the Soviet study of the feasibility of a Grenadian port to service large deep-draft ships, had important military potential.

Cuba reached an agreement with Grenada in November 1979 to build a new airport in the Point Salines area of southern Grenada. Before the month was out, a pilot team of 36 Cuban construction workers had arrived to begin the project. The following March, the Cuban merchant ship Playa Larga arrived in Grenada with heavy construction equipment and a brigade of 136 construction workers. By November, 1980, the total involved in building the airport had reached 300. According to the Cuban government communique cited earlier, the total in October, 1983, was 636.

While most Grenadian officials consistently denied that the Point Salines airport would serve any military purpose, the possibility of both Soviet and Cuban use was clearly envisaged. Selwyn Strachan, the Grenadian Minister of Mobilization, stated publicly in 1981 that Cuba would eventually use the new airport to supply troops in Africa, and that the USSR would also find it useful because of its "strategic location" astride vital sea lanes and oil transport routes. An NJM member who had received training in Moscow wrote in his personal notebook, apparently in October, 1983, that rumors were being spread that "the Party wanted Bishop to sign for the Airport to be a Military Base and he did do that." Finally, the Cuban motivation for constructing such a modern, all-weather airport must be assessed in light of the other Cuban activities on Grenada.

V. Internal Breakdown

While Grenadians were becoming disillusioned with the regime, friction was rising sharply between Prime Minister Bishop and a faction led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard and his wife, Phyllis, who controlled Radio Free Grenada.

Party Disarray

The draft minutes of the First Plenary Session of the NJM Central Committee, July 13-19, 1983, express dissatisfaction within the party:

> "Over the year under review our Party has demonstrated many weaknesses -- ideologically, politically and organizationally. At the same time, the emergence of deep petty bourgeois manifestations and influence in the Party has led to two ideological trends [one Marxist-Leninist and the other not]."

The August 26, 1983, extraordinary meeting of the Central Committee again raised these misgivings:

> "We need to look at this situation in a special way -- We are seeing the beginning of the disintegration of the party." (Lt. Col. Liam James, Deputy Secretary of Defense and Interior; emphasis in original)

> "Sections of the party have begun to rebel against the higher organs of the party.... This silent rebellion will turn into open rebellion if we do not address it now it will be resolved in a petty bourgeois way...." (Minister of Mobilization Selwyn Strachan)

Party Restructuring

In response to these criticisms, another extraordinary Central Committee (C.C.) meeting was convened September 14-16. The agenda was: "(1) Analysis of the party and revolution, (2) Analysis of the C.C. (Main Problem), (3) The way forward." The session again began with recriminations:

> "[Failure] to build the party into a Marxist Leninist vanguard in a country that is dominantly

petit bourgeois.... We have to develop an army with more complicated means. Tighten our relations with the World Socialist Movement, especially Cuba, S.U. [Soviet Union], G.D.R. [East Germany]...." (Lt. Col. Ewart Layne, Deputy Secretary of Defense and Interior)

"In some respects the masses have gone backwards ideologically using the present positions on the Korean plane incident and comparing it with the position of the masses on the Afghanistan in the early days of the revolution.... people are getting their lines from VOA [Voice of America]." (Chalkie Ventour, Central Committee Member)

"All programmes of the Revolution are in a very weak condition, while propaganda work is still very bad. The mass organizations are showing less participation in the political work... The guidance of the Women's Committee work is now in the hands of non-party member.... The militia is non-existent, the army demoralized.... If this is allowed to continue the party will disintegrate in a matter of 5-6 months... the Comrade Leader [Bishop] has not taken responsibility, not given the necessary guidance,... is disorganized very often, avoids responsibilities for critical areas of work...." (Phyllis Coard)

Prime Minister Bishop joined in the self-criticism but attempted to deflect the meeting's conclusions toward increased "individual and collective leadership of the C.C.," the need to develop a more Marxist-Leninist work guide and to improve communication with the masses and membership of the party.

In the following session, however, Liam James offered a proposal for restructuring the party leadership. The completeness of the proposal, its close congruence with the preceding discussions, and its almost immediate acceptance by the majority of the Central Committee suggest prior coordination among the members.

The James proposal called for leadership to be shared between Maurice Bishop and Bernard Coard. Bishop would remain Prime Minister and Chairman of the Central Committee, but his specific responsibilities would be reduced to the public aspects of party and government work. Coard would return to the Central Committee as a full member and chair the Politburo and the key Organizing

Committee. In addition, Coard would be responsible for party organization, the "formation of cadres," and "strategy and tactics."

After much discussion, votes were held on formalization of "Joint Leadership" and specifically on James' proposal; both were approved by nine votes out of thirteen. Other shifts in the portfolios of the NJM leadership also were approved, removing Bishop adherents from key positions. Bishop did not oppose the decisions as such but specifically called them a demonstration of "no confidence" and questioned how he could carry out his residual duties without the backing of the Central Committee.

This restructuring was rationalized as follows in the summary report on the August and September extraordinary sessions:

> "The C.C. acknowledged that in reality joint leadership had existed in the party for 10 years. During this time, Comrade Bishop in practice led the party in the areas now assigned to him and Comrade Coard in his now assigned areas...
>
> "In some countries, all of these [leadership] qualities exist in one Comrade, e.g. Comrade Lenin possessed them all. So does Comrade Fidel today. In other countries all the qualities do not exist in one person, e.g. Nicaragua since the death of Comrade Fonseca. These qualities exist in nine Comrades, hence the establishment of a nine-man Joint Leadership [the Sandinista comandantes]."

In fact, the Central Committee decision represented a major shift in the leadership of the New Jewel Movement. Bernard Coard now controlled the chief policymaking element of the party (and therefore the government), the Politburo, and the chief administrative organ of the party, the Organizing Committee. By controlling these two entities, he controlled two of the three chief organs reporting to the Central Committee (the third was the armed forces), thereby nullifying Bishop's theoretical power as Central Committee chairman.

Bishop probably was kept as Prime Minister because of his public standing. His political opponents were apparently seeking a solution that he would not reject out of hand and that would not enrage his many followers.

During the period September 16 to 26, the Central Committee was in session almost every day. A meeting of the full party membership overwhelmingly approved the restructuring on September 25. Notes from those meetings indicate a general consensus in favor of addressing the ideological and organizational problems raised in the September 14-16 meetings. Except for a general meeting of party members to which he was brought against his inclination, Bishop boycotted all meetings for which minutes are available.

Bishop Fights Back

Bishop departed on September 27 for Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Before returning to Grenada on October 8, he also stopped briefly in Moscow and East Berlin and made an unscheduled visit to Cuba, where he met with both Fidel and Raul Castro. He was accompanied by two of his staunchest supporters: Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman and Agriculture Minister George Louison.

There is no indication that Bishop received backing against the Coard faction on his trip. But Bishop's campaign to regain the leadership of the NJM began in earnest as soon as he returned. Bishop's bodyguard and confidant, Cletus St. Paul, and others of his closest adherents, reportedly began to circulate the rumor that Bernard Coard was seeking Bishop's assassination. Pro-Bishop elements of the militia tried to arm and mobilize. Army Chief of Staff Einstein Louison sought to rally support for Bishop in the PRA. Strikes and demonstrations were held at key points including, for instance, the Ministry of Education. Confusion and suspicion were widespread. One insider wrote that "C.C. members have been keeping their distance from each other and have become very scarce at night."

The issue was joined squarely at a meeting of the Central Committee on October 12. Bishop challenged both the decision of the Central Committee on September 16 and the idea of sharing power with Coard. According to handwritten notes, Liam James led the attack on Bishop:

> "We have to be coldblooded and cast all emotions aside, we have to be determined. MB [Maurice Bishop] is mainly responsible for the crisis in the party....
> There have been threats on the lives of C.C. Comrades as a result of the crisis -- B and PC [Bernard and Phyllis Coard] and other comrades who took the Leninist position.

"The security forces have adopted a number of measures to secure the lives of the C.C. and party comrades. (1) Confine MB [Maurice Bishop] indefinitely. (2) Phones of MB cut off. (3) Disarmed for his own safety by PS [Police Service] comrades to guarantee his safety. (4) Einstein Louison suspended and confined for his opposition and petty bourgeois behavior on this issue. He tried to influence Comrades in AF [armed forces]. (5) The people spreading the rumours being called in for strict warning and others for indefinite detention.

"The situation demands Bolshevik staunchness. The leadership of AF [armed forces] shares this view."

Bishop lost again. The Central Committee remained adamant and apparently voted to place him under house arrest. On the morning of October 14, according to the report of one of Bishop's supporters, General Hudson Austin and Minister of Mobilization Strachan went to his house and informed him he had been expelled from the party.

Strachan announced that Coard, who had resigned as Deputy Prime Minister on October 12, had succeeded Bishop as Prime Minister. Coard, however, made no statement and dropped out of sight. (He was not to be seen again until U.S. forces found him in hiding with Liam James after the collective action.) Justice Minister Kenrick Radix was arrested for organizing a demonstration on Bishop's behalf.

General Austin, in an October 17 public statement on behalf of the NJM, stated:

"... Sisters and brothers, over the past four-and-a-half years, the Central Committee has struggled very hard to win Comrade Bishop to a position of collective leadership. Comrade Bishop was hoping to use the masses' love for him and violate the principled stand by the Central Committee of the party.... Even with all the love and admiration which exists within our party for Comrade Maurice, the entire membership, except for a tiny minority, fully support the position of the Central Committee.... Comrade Bishop is at home and he is quite safe."

The Final Confrontation

On October 18, after five days of effort to achieve a compromise, five ministers loyal to Bishop resigned: Jacqueline Creft (Education), Norris Bain (Housing), George Louison (Agriculture), Lyden Ramdhanny (Tourism) and Unison Whiteman (External Affairs). Whiteman stated that "Comrade Coard, who is now running Grenada, has refused to engage in serious talks to resolve the crisis.... it became clear to us that they did not want a settlement and seemed determined to use force and provoke violence to achieve their objective." That day, school children demonstrated for Bishop's return to office.

On October 19, shops closed. A crowd of several thousand, apparently led by Whiteman, freed Bishop and Creft, also held prisoner at Bishop's home. They then proceeded via the marketplace to Fort Rupert, where Radix was believed imprisoned. Once there, the crowd disarmed the garrison, and Bishop took over the fort's central office. A few hours later, however, PRA troops, some in armored personnel carriers, converged on the fort. They fired into the crowd, causing numerous casualties and general chaos. Bishop, Whiteman, Creft, Bain and two union leaders were captured, brought into the fort's small interior courtyard, and executed. CANA and EFE wire services from St. Georges reported 50 casualties, including women and children, from troops firing into the crowds.

Radio Free Grenada announced the deaths and the formation of a Revolutionary Military Council (RMC) headed by Army Chief General Hudson Austin. That night an official proclamation announced a round-the-clock, shoot on sight curfew until October 24 at 6:00 a.m. Agriculture Minister Louison, a strong supporter of Bishop, was arrested. Pearls Airport was closed, a LIAT flight from Barbados was turned back, and all subsequent flights were canceled.

International journalists arriving in Grenada were met at the airport and forced to depart the country immediately. Alister Hughes, a widely respected journalist and the only independent newsman to file on-the-spot reports of the freeing of Bishop from house arrest and later of the shooting at Fort Rupert, was arrested immediately after Bishop's murder. He was held in prison until freed by the arrival of the combined security forces.

On October 21, the curfew was lifted between 10:00 am and 2:00 pm to allow the purchase of food. Riots and looting were reported.

Cuba issued a statement asserting its non-involvement, called for investigation and "exemplary punishment" of those guilty of the deaths of Bishop and the others. But Cuba also reaffirmed its support for the "revolutionary process" in Grenada.

Diplomats from the U.S. Embassy in Barbados attempted to travel to Grenada on October 19 but were turned back because Pearls Airport was closed. On October 22, after passing a request to the Grenadian authorities through the medical school, two U.S. diplomats from Embassy Barbados arrived on a charter flight. On October 23, one of them met with Major Leon Cornwall, the British Deputy High Commissioner and the local British representative to discuss evacuation of U.S. and British nationals. Cornwall denied that there was any need for an evacuation and demanded that anyone departing utilize commercial carriers. However, LIAT, the regional carrier, was no longer flying to Grenada. Another charter plane brought in two additional U.S. diplomats, including the Consul General from Barbados, who continued the conversations with Cornwall. All U.S. participants concluded that Cornwall was stalling for time and seeking to impede the orderly evacuation of U.S. citizens as much as possible.

The RMC announced on the radio on October 22 that a new cabinet would be appointed "within the next 10 to 14 days." Scattered looting and lawlessness were reported. Adding to the confusion, the RMC announced that Lt. Ashley Folkes had been "erroneously named" a member of the Council the day before, that Pearls Airport would reopen October 24, and that the curfew would be reduced. In fact, although a few small planes were allowed to land and depart, the airport was not opened to normal traffic.

NOTE: Spelling in the quotations from NJM notes and other documents has been corrected throughout to facilitate reading.

Grenada's Governor General Paul Scoon (C) in consultations with Gen. Rudyard Lewis (L) of Barbados and Prime Min. Tom Adams (R) of Barbados at Scoon's residence in St. George's.
October 29, 1983

American students at St. George University on Grenada surround an American soldier after his arrival at the campus with the U.S. – Caribbean forces.

Soviet–built BTR–60 P armored personnel carriers disabled during the Grenada operation.

VI. Recent Developments

On October 28, Governor General Sir Paul Scoon delivered a radio broadcast to the nation thanking the countries involved for coming to Grenada's assistance and stating that the Grenadian people had welcomed the troops as a positive and decisive step toward the restoration of peace, order and sovereignty.

On November 1, the Governor General broke Grenada's diplomatic relations with the USSR and Libya and reduced ties with Cuba.

On November 15, the Governor General named an Advisory Council to serve as an interim administration until elections can be held. The Council's membership was as follows on December 8:

Nicholas Braithwaite - Chairman - health, education, youth and community development and sports;

Dr. Alan Kirton - Deputy Chairman - civil services and secretary to the Advisory Council;

Arnold Cruickshank - agriculture, natural sources and industrial development;

Dr. James Pitt - construction, housing environmental matters, science, and technology;

Patrick Emmanuel - foreign affairs, civil aviation and tourism;

Mrs. Joan Purcell - labor, employment and women's affairs;

Christopher Williams - without portfolio;

Raymond Smith - telecommunications, information and postal services; and

Randolph Mark - without portfolio.

Alister McIntyre, Deputy Secretary General of UNCTAD, was initially invited by the Governor General to chair the Advisory Council, but health problems prevented him from assuming this responsibility. The expertise in economics he was expected to bring to the Council is now to be provided by William Demas, Director of the Caribbean Development Bank, who has agreed to serve as Economic

Consultant to Grenada. The newly appointed legal advisor, retired British Foreign Service officer Anthony Rushford, resigned on December 6, reportedly following disagreements over the pace of institutional restoration. However, the Governor General announced December 9 that a Supervisor of Elections would soon be named, and that voter registration would begin in March.

In its first ordinance, the interim administration lifted the state of emergency and created an Advisory Tribunal to review the cases of persons under detention. The ordinance also states that except for cases that would endanger public safety, detainees must be released or formally detained within 72 hours of being apprehended. The Tribunal reviewed the cases of all detainees, concluding that some 30 prisoners fell under the terms of the new ordinance and should continue in detention. Additional measures have been taken to assure that detainees have access to counsel and are held under safe conditions in accordance with the guarantees of the 1974 constitution. Governor General Scoon has invited access to detention facilities by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Efforts are also underway to reorganize and train the Grenadian police force, which was completely politicized under the Bishop regime.

Free institutions -- press, trade unions, political organizations -- have begun to reappear.

Foreign Assistance

As soon as the fighting ceased, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) began to ferry emergency supplies by air. This assistance included generators, water tanks, medicine, food, and infant supplies valued at $475,000. Personnel from the Department of Defense, AID, the Atlanta Center for Disease Control and the Government of Grenada together determined the most immediate needs. AID initiated disaster rehabilitation activities in health, water, electric power, sewage disposal, environmental sanitation and critical road repair at an additional cost of $1.7 million. These activities already have employed more than 500 Grenadians.

The U.S. Congress in November provided $15 million for medium- to long-term economic development in Grenada. A $5 million balance of payments grant under this authority will help provide liquidity for resumption of commercial lending to the private sector, help the Grenadian Government meet local costs of development programs and help finance essential supplies of food, raw materials and

spare parts needed to permit economic recovery and increased employment.

A number of Caribbean institutions are also expanding their activities in Grenada. Key areas include agricultural extension, farm research, private sector credit and investor identification, development training and management improvement. Additional projects being considered include rehabilitation of some 14 miles of seriously deteriorated roads; training of Grenadians who are replacing Soviet bloc technicians; labor union training; and agricultural marketing, land conservation and soil analyses. The first Peace Corps volunteers are scheduled to arrive in January.

With regard to the incomplete Point Salines airport, an economic feasibility study is under consideration to help Grenadian authorities decide the best approach to this costly project.

Cheering townspeople of Greenville, Grenada, welcome the arrival of the U.S. – Caribbean forces.

APPENDIX

The Government of Grenada

(As of August 31, 1983)

Governor General	Sir Paul Scoon
Prime Minister	Maurice Bishop
Deputy Prime Minister	Bernard Coard
Minister of Agriculture	George Louison
Minister of Communications, Works and Labor	Gen. Hudson Austin
Minister of Defense and Interior	Maurice Bishop
Minister of External Relations	Unison Whitemen
Minister of Education, Youth and Culture	Jacqueline Creft
Minister of Health	Christopher De Riggs
Minister of Housing	Norris Bain
Minister of Industrial Development and Fisheries	Kenrick Radix
Minister of Lands and Forestry	Unison Whitemen
Minister of Justice	Kenrick Radix
Minister of National Mobilization	Selwyn Strachan
Minister of Tourism	Lyden Ramdhanny
Minister of Women's Affairs	Jacqueline Creft
Attorney General	Richard Hart

Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement

(As of August 31, 1983)

Maurice Bishop, Chairman

General Hudson Austin

Selwyn Strachan

George Louison

Unison Whiteman

Phyllis Coard

Maj. Leon Cornwall

Lt. Col. Liam James

Lt. Col. Ewart Layne

Christopher de Riggs

Chalkie Ventour

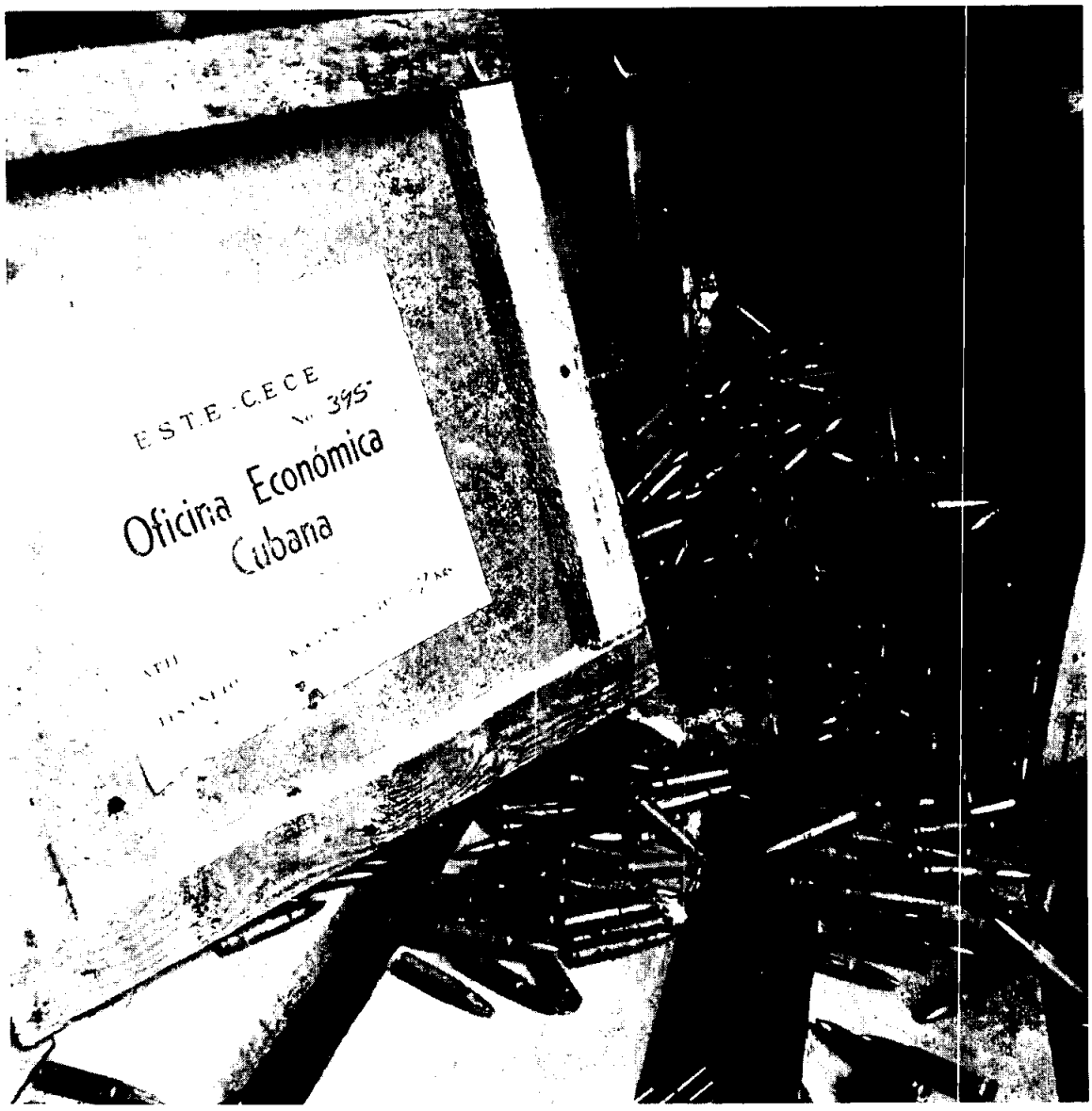
Kamau McBarnette

Tan Bartholomew

Fitzroy Bain

Ian St. Bernard

Last U.S. combat troops departing Grenada.



7.62mm ammunition found in crates marked "Oficina Economica Cubana."